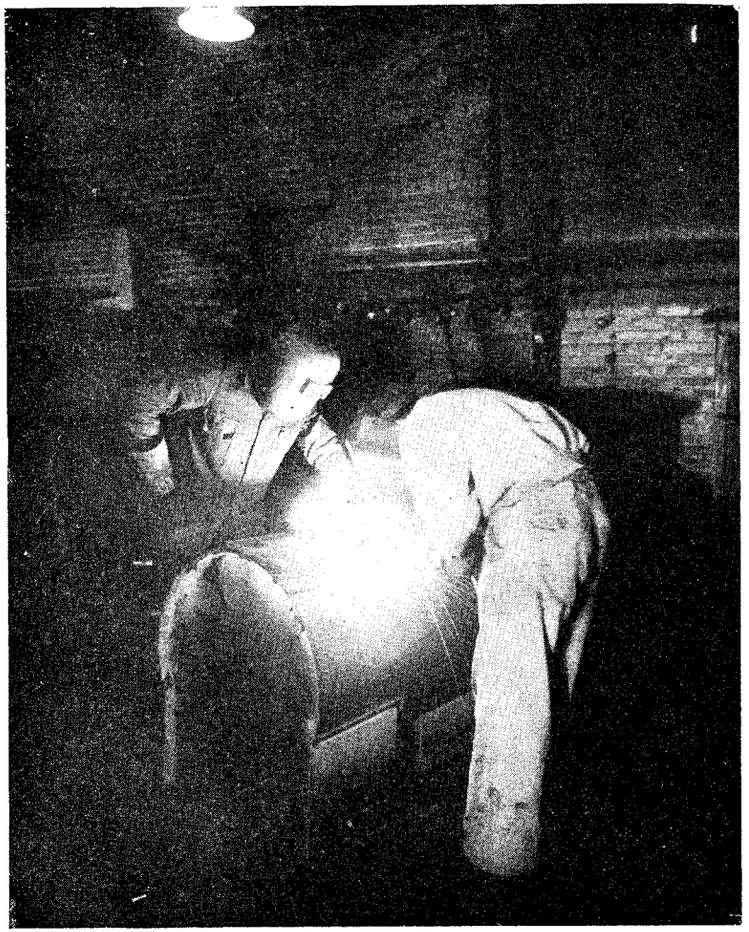
schools and the organization and content material of a given subject. The high school of earlier days was for the few who wanted to prepare for college. As the college was academic and emphasized classical scholarship, so the high school had to be academic.

Social and economic changes have clearly imposed new and serious responsibilities upon our public school system. In attempting to adjust itself to these changes, the school system has con-



FROM THE DOWAGIAC PUBLIC SCHOOLS

102. LEARNING TO BE A WELDER

stantly increased its activities. Children who do not fit into the school curricula drop out with or without permission. In the past these children were allowed to go to work. Now, since legislative

enactments and economic conditions prohibit them from working, the school has an obligation to retain them in school. Public education must accept the responsibility of adapting its instruction to the capacities, interests, and needs of those children who might leave school at an early age. Many of these boys and girls are not interested in a course to prepare them for college. Their interest in education centers around immediate or near-future employment.

Life's span is so short that young people balk at being marched over a common intellectual parade ground. Every-day contacts with the automobile, radio, and talking pictures contribute such a vast fund of knowledge, more or less automatically absorbed by our young people, that the limitations of the present school curriculum appear to have a "braking" effect. This is especially true of the large majority who find it necessary to consider the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth grade the terminal point in their formal school life.

Many young people between the ages of 14 and 18 find school uninteresting. They will drop out regardless of laws or the attitude of industry. What will happen to this group during the time after they leave school and before they reach the age for entrance into employment? Physically they are sufficiently mature to perform certain kinds of work. Mentally they are capable of benefiting by the training received through job experience. Industry and

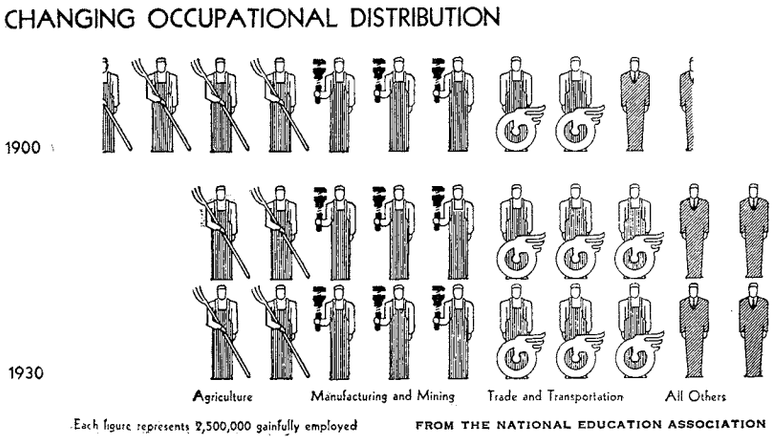


FIGURE 103. CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

commerce should assist the schools in providing a cooperative training program which will allow young people to enter into employment as apprentices at an age level lower than 18. Thirteenth and fourteenth grades should be added to the school program to provide

additional training opportunities for young people who wish to prolong their school life and at the same time provide themselves with marketable skills prior to entrance into employment. Youth in accordance with nature's plan desires work and must therefore be prepared for employment. As apprentices these young people should attend school on a part-time basis until their training programs are completed. Inasmuch as industry and commerce are the ultimate beneficiaries of trained workers, their establishments, equipment, and personnel should be used to assist the schools in providing youth with practical training opportunities.

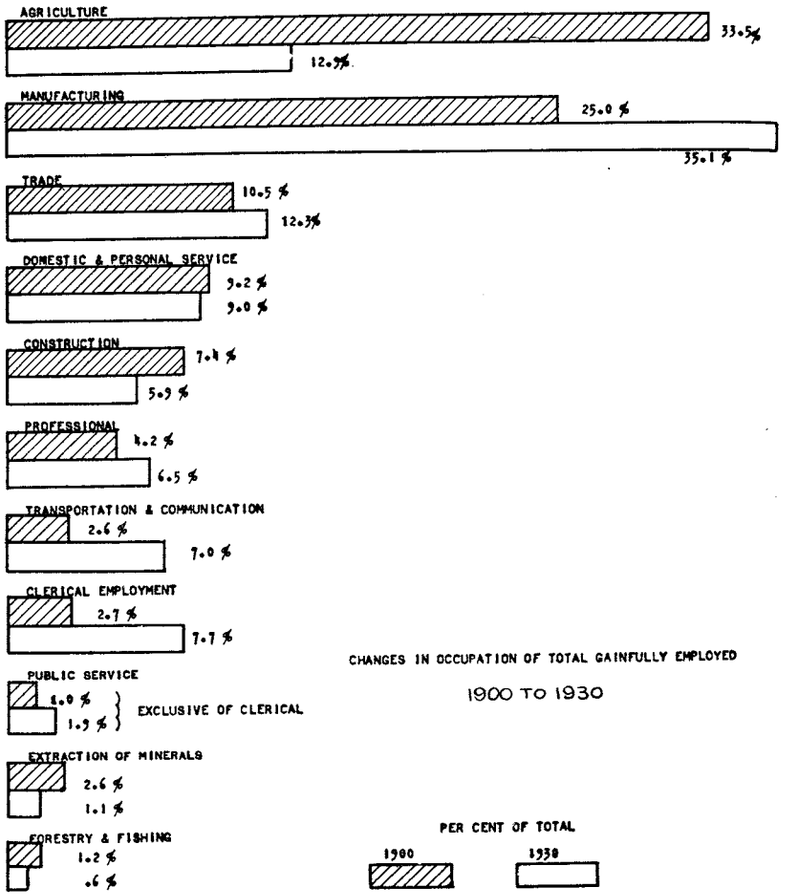


FIGURE 104. CHANGES IN OCCUPATION OF TOTAL GAINFULLY EMPLOYED

Total Extent of Employment and Unemployment

Nearly one-fifth of the employable workers in Michigan, or 18.8 per cent, were unemployed on January 14, 1935.* An additional 4 per cent were working without pay for other members of their families. Seventy-seven workers out of every hundred were gainfully employed in private industry or in regular government employment. The employment status of the 1,820,534 employable workers in the state, which is shown in more detail in *Table 32*, was as follows:

TABLE 32.—Employment Status of Persons Fifteen Years of Age and Over, by Sex. State Summary: January 14, 1935.

Occupational Status	Total	Male	Female	Per Cent Distribution by Employment Status			Sex Distribution (Per Cent of Total)	
				Total	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population 15 years of age and over	3,392,525	1,742,513	1,650,012	100.0	100.0	100.0	51.4	48.6
Not seeking work	1,571,991	285,923	1,286,068	46.3	16.4	77.9	18.2	81.8
Employable (working or seeking work)	1,820,534	1,456,590	363,944	53.7	83.6	22.1	80.0	20.0
Total employable population	1,820,534	1,456,590	363,944	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	20.0
Gainfully employed	1,398,678	1,121,195	277,483	76.8	77.0	76.2	80.2	19.8
Unpaid family workers	77,233	43,759	33,474	4.2	3.0	9.2	56.7	43.3
Not working—illness, injury, industrial dispute	1,731	1,339	392	.1	.1	.1	77.3	22.6
Unemployed—Total*	342,892	290,297	52,595	18.8	19.9	14.4	84.7	15.3
Totally unemployed with previous work experience	272,080	233,331	38,749	14.9	16.0	10.6	85.8	14.2
On work relief or temporary made work projects	42,335	39,789	2,546	2.3	2.7	.7	94.0	6.0
Totally unemployed with no previous work experience	28,477	17,177	11,300	1.6	1.2	3.1	60.3	39.7

*Persons on work relief or made work projects are included in the unemployed.

Gainfully employed at private or regular government employment—1,398,678 workers, or 76.8 per cent. This total includes all persons working for wages or other compensation who worked four or more days for the same employer during the month ending January 14, 1935, together with self-employed persons such as farmers and retail dealers. The percentage was approximately the same for male and female workers.

*While actual field enumeration was made later than January 14, in some cases as late as April, the employment status was in each case reported as of January 14—the census date—to assure uniformity.

Not working because of injury, temporary illness, or industrial dispute—1,731 workers, or 0.1 per cent. This classification applied only to workers who had been separated from their jobs within the last thirty days, and these may for most purposes be considered gainfully employed.

Working without pay for relatives—77,233 workers, or 4.2 per cent. This classification includes boys helping their parents with farm work, women and children helping in an office or store operated by the family, wives who were adding to the family income by keeping lodgers or boarders, and other workers, who supplemented

TABLE 33.—Employment Status of Total Population by Age and Sex, State Summary

Age and Sex	Total Population	Not Seeking Work	Working or Seeking Work				
			Total	Gainfully Employed	Unpaid Family Workers	Unemployed Seeking First Job	Unemployed with Previous Experience
TOTAL							
15 years and over	3,392,525	1,571,991	1,820,534	1,398,678	77,233	28,477	314,415
15 to 19 years	422,779	311,496	111,283	53,151	19,911	19,570	18,571
20 to 24 years	380,978	131,010	249,968	173,455	16,299	8,497	51,493
25 to 29 years	371,590	139,022	232,568	189,163	8,011	335	34,869
30 to 34 years	362,844	144,438	218,406	183,227	6,529	40	28,459
35 to 39 years	367,035	148,081	218,954	183,556	6,296	9	28,954
40 to 44 years	348,036	138,619	209,417	173,567	5,828	11	29,762
45 to 49 years	297,816	119,348	178,468	143,597	4,753	7	29,913
50 to 54 years	237,839	98,604	139,235	107,901	3,704	2	27,471
55 to 59 years	179,541	79,128	100,413	74,827	2,377	.....	23,074
60 to 64 years	146,602	69,340	77,262	54,353	1,682	1	21,124
65 and over	277,465	192,905	84,560	61,881	1,843	5	20,725
MALES							
15 years and over	1,742,513	285,923	1,456,590	1,121,195	43,759	17,177	273,120
15 to 19 years	213,605	144,164	69,441	26,763	18,099	11,667	12,858
20 to 24 years	188,678	21,255	167,423	107,920	13,677	5,304	40,407
25 to 29 years	184,062	6,432	177,630	143,171	4,789	183	29,369
30 to 34 years	184,467	5,176	179,291	151,575	2,501	22	25,071
35 to 39 years	188,238	5,176	183,062	155,907	1,379	.....	25,664
40 to 44 years	185,307	6,183	179,124	151,008	869	.....	27,053
45 to 49 years	159,835	6,321	153,514	125,303	485	.....	27,553
50 to 54 years	126,972	6,702	120,270	94,045	538	1	25,554
55 to 59 years	94,285	7,125	87,160	65,229	398	.....	21,408
60 to 64 years	75,513	8,722	66,791	46,921	325	.....	19,448
65 and over	141,551	68,667	72,884	53,353	699	.....	18,735
FEMALES							
15 years and over	1,650,012	1,286,068	363,944	277,483	33,474	11,300	41,295
15 to 19 years	209,174	167,332	41,842	26,388	1,812	7,903	5,713
20 to 24 years	192,300	109,755	82,545	65,535	2,622	3,193	11,086
25 to 29 years	187,528	132,590	54,938	45,992	3,222	152	5,500
30 to 34 years	178,377	139,262	39,115	31,652	4,028	18	3,388
35 to 39 years	178,797	142,905	35,892	27,649	4,917	9	3,290
40 to 44 years	162,729	132,436	30,293	22,559	4,959	11	2,709
45 to 49 years	137,981	113,027	24,954	18,294	4,268	7	2,360
50 to 54 years	110,367	91,902	18,965	13,856	3,166	1	1,917
55 to 59 years	85,256	72,003	13,253	9,598	1,979	.....	1,666
60 to 64 years	71,089	60,618	10,471	7,432	1,357	1	1,676
65 and over	135,914	124,238	11,676	8,528	1,144	5	1,990

*Differences in the intensity of unemployment among workers in various regions and types of community, as described in the following pages, are affected to a significant extent by migration of unemployed workers after loss of work. Preliminary tabulations show that from 39 to 45 per cent of the unemployed workers enumerated in small towns and villages had last held their usual occupations in rural townships; and that more than one-third of the jobless workers in metropolitan townships were usually employed in the first-class cities. Thus decreased employment in one type of community may cause a high unemployment rate in some other type.

the family income without themselves receiving wages. Unpaid family workers represented only 3.0 per cent of the employable men in the state but 9.2 per cent of the employable women.

Totally unemployed or working on made work and work relief jobs—342,892 workers, or 18.8 per cent. Of this number 272,080 were totally unemployed but had had previous work experience; 28,477 were totally unemployed and were without previous experience; and 42,335 were engaged on work relief projects and other types of "made work" (emergency conservation work, etc.).

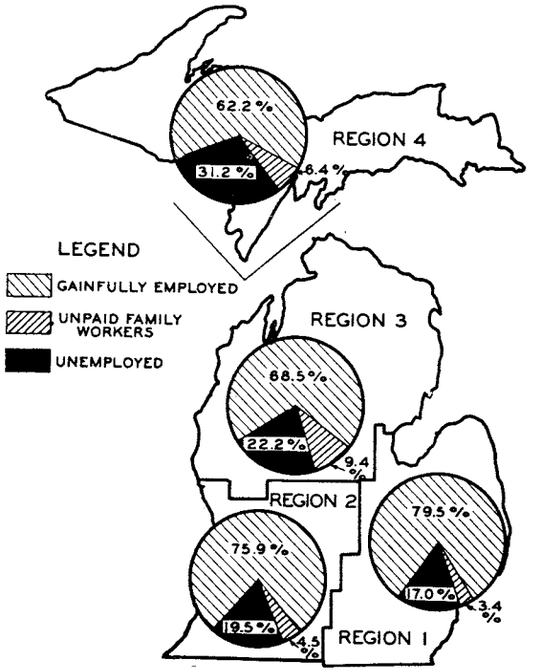
Since the persons working on work relief and "made work" projects were, in almost every case, receiving work relief earnings for which they were eligible only because they were cut off from regular employment, they may for most purposes be considered as unemployed. In the discussion which follows, this group is included in the unemployed total unless otherwise indicated.

The percentage of unemployment among employable persons covered by the census was much greater among men than among women (19.9 as compared to 14.4 per cent). The great majority of the male unemployed possessed previous work experience and were seeking reemployment; only 17,777 of the 290,297 unemployed men (6.3 per cent) were seeking work for the first time. More than one-fifth of the unemployed women workers, on the other hand, had had no previous work experience; 11,300 of the 52,595 unemployed women or 21.5 per cent were seeking work for the first time. Among men and women alike, nearly all of the inexperienced workers were between 15 and 24 years of age.

Regional Differences in Intensity of Unemployment

Employment conditions were markedly unequal in different sections of the state. For purposes of comparison, data was tabulated separately for four regions, the boundaries of which are shown in *Figure 105*. The percentage of unemployed workers was greatest in Region 4 (the Upper Peninsula) where 31.2 per cent of the employable population were totally unemployed or engaged on work relief and "made work" projects. The northern half of the Lower Peninsula (Region 3) was also more seriously affected than the state as a whole; 22.2 per cent of all workers were without regular jobs. In Region 1 (the southeastern section of the state, which includes Wayne County and other important industrial counties) the unemployment ratio was well below the state average (17.0 per cent); and in Region 2 (17 southwestern counties) the percentage of unemployed workers was 19.5.

Unpaid family workers were relatively more numerous in the northern sections of the state, accounting for 9.4 per cent of the



FROM THE STATE EMERGENCY WELFARE RELIEF COMMISSION

FIGURE 105. EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF EMPLOYABLE WORKERS IN FOUR REGIONS. JANUARY 14, 1935

employable persons in Region 3 and 6.4 per cent in Region 4. In some of the least prosperous rural areas there can be no doubt that this group includes many workers who are so engaged only because of the absence of normal employment opportunities in private industry. Only 62.2 per cent of the workers in Region 4 and 68.5 per cent in Region 3 were gainfully employed at ordinary private or government jobs.

Total Employment—All Industries

The total employment in all Michigan industries is shown as a percentage of all employable persons in the state from January, 1932 to June, 1936, in *Table 34*. Although a gain of 51.5 per cent is recorded in the volume of employment from the low point of the depression to June, 1936, a continuing volume of unemployment amounting to 15 per cent of all of the employable workers of the state marked the first half of 1936.

TABLE 34.—Industrial Distribution and Employment Status of Male and Female Workers

State Summary

Current or Usual Industry	Gainful Workers†			Employed			Unemployed		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
ALL INDUSTRIES	1,741,570	1,411,492	330,078	1,398,678	1,121,195	277,483	342,892	290,297	52,595
Industry Ascertained	1,628,434	1,322,053	306,381	1,394,703	1,118,015	276,688	233,731	204,038	29,693
Agriculture, Fishing, Forestry	232,554	224,789	7,765	199,546	192,310	7,236	33,008	32,479	529
Agriculture	214,280	206,717	7,563	187,321	180,247	7,074	26,959	26,470	489
Fishing	2,230	2,209	21	1,675	1,659	16	555	550	5
Forestry	16,044	15,863	181	10,550	10,404	146	5,494	5,459	35
Extraction of Minerals	20,182	19,859	323	13,207	12,935	272	6,975	6,924	51
Coal Mines	2,628	2,615	13	2,400	2,389	11	228	226	2
Copper Mines	5,128	5,081	47	1,815	1,787	28	3,313	3,294	19
Iron Mines	7,009	6,983	26	4,773	4,752	21	2,236	2,231	5
Other	5,417	5,180	237	4,219	4,007	212	1,198	1,173	25
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	684,583	614,388	70,195	579,516	516,666	62,850	105,067	97,722	7,345
Building and Construction Industry	48,064	47,557	507	26,234	25,867	367	21,830	21,690	140
Chemical and Allied Industries	20,343	17,556	2,787	18,596	15,953	2,643	1,747	1,603	144
Clay, Glass and Stone Industries	5,356	4,805	551	4,013	3,517	496	1,343	1,288	55
Clothing Industries	10,444	4,067	6,377	9,291	3,622	5,669	1,153	445	708
Food and Allied Industries	35,659	30,009	5,650	29,860	25,273	4,587	5,799	4,736	1,063
Iron, Steel, Machinery and Vehicle Industries	433,062	402,734	30,328	376,465	349,087	27,378	56,597	53,647	2,950
Automobile Factories	342,301	318,574	23,727	297,245	275,876	21,396	45,056	42,698	2,358
Automobile Repair Shops	9,522	9,410	112	8,136	8,040	96	1,386	1,370	16
Blast Furnaces and Steel Rolling Mills	14,442	13,390	1,052	13,147	12,167	980	1,295	1,223	72
Other Iron, Steel, Machinery and Vehicle	66,797	61,360	5,437	57,937	53,004	4,933	8,860	8,356	504
Metal, except Iron and Steel Industries	13,091	11,635	1,456	11,528	10,173	1,355	1,563	1,462	101
Leather Industries	6,918	6,122	796	6,009	5,307	702	909	815	94
Lumber and Furniture Industries	28,081	25,684	2,397	22,446	20,285	2,161	5,635	5,399	236
Saw and Planing Mills	7,044	6,774	270	5,637	5,393	244	1,407	1,381	26
Furniture Factories	21,037	18,910	2,127	16,809	14,892	1,917	4,228	4,018	210
Paper, Printing and Allied Industries	32,000	26,620	5,380	28,920	24,103	4,817	3,080	2,517	563
Textile Industries	5,925	2,930	2,995	5,120	2,442	2,678	805	488	317
Other Manufacturing Industries	45,640	34,669	10,971	41,034	31,037	9,997	4,606	3,632	974
Transportation and Communication	121,207	111,469	9,738	92,718	83,695	9,023	28,489	27,774	715
Construction and Maintenance of Streets, etc.	30,143	30,024	119	15,388	15,309	79	14,755	14,715	40

TABLE 34.—Industrial Distribution and Employment Status of Male and Female Workers.—*Cont.*

Current or Usual Industry	State Summary							
	Gainful Workers†			Employed			Unemployed		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Steam and Street Railroads	33,524	32,408	1,116	28,792	27,792	1,000	4,732	4,616	116
Telegraph and Telephone	12,493	5,954	6,539	11,149	5,031	6,118	1,344	923	421
Truck, Transfer and Cab Companies	18,526	17,965	561	15,422	14,895	527	3,104	3,070	34
Other Transportation and Communication	26,521	25,118	1,403	21,967	20,668	1,299	4,554	4,450	104
Trade	262,294	204,764	57,530	233,239	181,830	51,409	29,055	22,934	6,121
Banking and Brokerage	14,420	10,062	4,358	13,149	9,177	3,972	1,271	885	386
Insurance and Real Estate	23,099	16,754	6,345	21,353	15,431	5,922	1,746	1,323	423
Wholesale and Retail Trade	214,834	171,356	43,478	189,759	151,353	38,406	25,075	20,003	5,072
Other Trade	9,941	6,592	3,349	8,978	5,869	3,109	963	723	240
Public Service (not elsewhere classified)	40,608	33,521	7,087	35,874	29,419	6,455	4,734	4,102	632
Professional Service	112,520	57,614	54,906	105,806	53,258	52,548	6,714	4,356	2,358
Recreation and Amusement	14,532	11,020	3,512	12,062	8,839	3,223	2,470	2,181	289
Professional Pursuits	91,337	43,149	48,188	87,536	41,265	46,271	3,801	1,884	1,917
Semi-professional Pursuits, Attendants and Helpers	6,651	3,445	3,206	6,208	3,154	3,054	443	291	152
Domestic and Personal Service	154,486	55,649	98,837	134,797	47,902	86,895	19,689	7,747	11,942
Hotels, Restaurants, Boarding Houses, etc.	52,788	26,249	26,539	45,756	22,104	23,652	7,032	4,145	2,887
Laundries, Cleaning, Dyeing, and Pressing Shops	11,451	6,497	4,954	10,185	5,715	4,470	1,266	782	484
Domestic and Personal Service (n.e.c.)	90,247	22,903	67,344	78,856	20,083	58,773	11,391	2,820	8,571
No Usual Industry or Not Specified	84,659	72,262	12,397	3,975	3,180	795	80,684	69,082	11,602
Under 60 Years of Age	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	59,636	50,734	8,902
60 Years of Age and Over	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	21,048	18,348	2,700
No Previous Work Experience	28,477	17,177	11,300	.....	.....	.....	28,477	17,177	11,300

†Does not include Unpaid Family Workers or persons not working due to illness, injury or industrial dispute

*From "Industrial Classification of Unemployed and Gainfully Employed Workers," State Emergency Welfare Relief Commission, December, 1936. Series 1, Bul. 3.

Unemployment and Relief

The volume of unemployment shown in *Figure 106* is nearly double the average number of unemployed during the 1920's, and far exceeds the capacities of pre-depression relief measures. Added to the difficulties imposed by the size of the problem, the unequal distribution of unemployment places the relatively heavier burdens upon communities least able to provide for relief.

Figure 106 also shows the proportion of unemployed receiving aid from state and federal relief and work programs from July, 1933 to June, 1936. Although a number of unemployed were provided for by relief measures prior to July, 1933, as evidenced by the expenditure of $21,798,493 of R.F.C. funds from August, 1932 to June, 1933, and approximately $10,000,000 per year was spent by the counties for outdoor relief, no records of case loads were maintained of sufficient accuracy to measure the trend. The unemployable portion of the S.E.R.A. case load is included in the chart to indicate the extent of the relief problem, but is shown above the 100 per cent line to avoid interference with percentage computations involving employable workers only.

FIGURE 106. EMPLOYMENT, UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF IN MICHIGAN
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYABLE WORKERS
100%—1,927,498 Workers, as Listed in Census of 1930

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SOME IMPORTANT SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES

by C. R. Hoffer
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Michigan State College

Social change is an inevitable and unavoidable factor in modern life. It pervades every field of human activity and affects the entire population. The causes of social change are numerous. Some are entirely beyond the control of man, whereas others may be subjected to a certain amount of direction by human endeavor. Examples of influences in the former group are variations in temperature and rainfall, changes in the natural fertility of the soil, the supply of natural resources, and catastrophies caused by moods of nature. Those changes created by man himself are much more numerous. In fact, they constitute by far the greater number of changes in modern society and in some respects are the more perplexing.

Social changes are not necessarily harmful. If properly understood and adaptations made to them, they are an important stimulus to social progress. Often they appear harmful because the web of human relationships is so inextricably woven together that a change in one phase of social organization creates maladjustment in others before the proper adaptations are made to the new condition. It is vitally important, therefore, to know what the major social changes are and to comprehend their meaning, so that adjustments to them may be made in a quick and orderly fashion. A few of the more important social changes in our state may be mentioned by way of illustration.

Changes in the population are occurring constantly, as the preceding section dealing with population indicates. Economic activities vary greatly also. There are few places in the United States which illustrate this fact so well as Michigan. During the early days lumbering was a major industry but now it has practically disappeared and agriculture and forestry have become the dominant means of livelihood in rural sections. In the realm of manufacturing the great development of the automobile industry and the changes resulting from it are so well-known that it is merely necessary to mention them. The decline of the furniture industry in certain parts of the state is also a change of great importance.

These changes and others which could be mentioned have brought about new conditions in family, neighborhood, and community life. Although these units of population remain and appear to be as essential as ever, they are affected to a much greater extent than formerly by the influence of larger groups like the state and nation. Their self-sufficing character in several respects has disappeared. Adaptations to new conditions are unavoidable.

All of these changes have affected the role of government. They have created the necessity for numerous additional functions of government which involve not only a greater expenditure of funds but increased services in education, road building, health protection, welfare, and in regulatory services. Small units of government are unable financially or administratively to perform many of these services and consequently the organization of larger governmental units for the performance of certain services is imperative.

These changes, whether completed or in process, have created new demands on education. Education is preparation for living and obviously a static, unchanging system of education would be insufficient in a changing world. What is needed is a curricular and extra-curricular program which is pliable enough to familiarize the oncoming generation with the circumstances of life it is likely to meet.

Social Maladjustments

There is seemingly an increase in the comparative number of persons who are in some way socially maladjusted as a result of social change. An individual is adjusted to any organization when he plays his part in it with at least a reasonable degree of efficiency. But when he fails to do this, we say that he is out of step with or maladjusted to its aims and procedures. In this country public opinion expects every citizen to conform to certain reasonable requirements. He is expected, for example, to obey the law; to be self-supporting; to respect the rights of others; to practice habits that do not imperil the health or safety of his neighbors or fellow workers; and to be faithful to his home.

There are numerous maladjustments in our society, but our discussion here is confined to three trends only: increasing number of crimes and criminals; increasing difficulty of finding and holding suitable employment; and the effect of scientific management.

Crime and Disobedience of Law

The growth of crime and disobedience to law furnish striking evidence of increasing social maladjustment in this country. No one

questions any longer the fact that the United States is facing an appalling increase in the number of crimes and criminals. For numerous and varied reasons individuals fail to make satisfactory adjustments to their social environment, or in other words they become, as we say, maladjusted. The causes of this difficulty may be bad home environment, poor neighborhood influences, lack of recreational facilities, and many others. Since the causes are numerous and often cover a long period in the life history of the individual, remedial methods through legal means including imprisonment are not always successful. However, such means are necessary and need to be constantly improved from the standpoint of effecting reformation and affording protection to society. It is for this reason that such devices as probation, parole, the indeterminate sentence, and many others are being used with, it may be said, excellent results when the difficulty of the task is fully comprehended.

Since the juvenile offender tends to become the adult offender, it is expedient to put forth special effort to correct social maladjustments of juveniles. In this endeavor the juvenile court and well-trained probation officers are a great asset, but they alone cannot perform the task of preventing delinquency. Such a task can be accomplished only when there is a good environment created for the child. This requires the cooperation of the home and every institution and organization in the community for each either prevents or contributes to delinquent behavior to the extent that it influences the personality of the child.

Unsuitable Employment*

Employment in an occupation for which a person is not suited is one widespread form of social maladjustment. This kind of maladjustment we have always had with us and probably always shall have to some degree. An economic system in which every man follows the occupation for which he is best fitted in interest and ability constitutes a millenial state. The real question here is whether conditions are such that workers now have greater difficulty than in the past to secure and hold steady employment at a living income.

Decreasing Competency

The social phenomenon basically involved in these rising demands on workers is an increase in the number of wage earners who are unable to secure or retain steady employment because they are not

*Much of the following material is based upon "Vocational Education and Changing Conditions."[1]

thoroughly competent. Lack of competency in employment constitutes a very definite social handicap. An individual who cannot earn enough to support himself decently is almost as much socially maladjusted as if he had lost an arm or a leg. And he may be fully as socially dependent. But this plight of the individual is not without its social aspects. New inventions and new techniques in manufacturing may deprive the worker of his opportunity to earn a livelihood, even though he has spent years in following a particular occupational pursuit and has become increasingly competent in it. This is ordinarily known as technological unemployment and should not be confused with a lack of competence on the part of an individual. Both are serious in their effect and their prevention calls not only for individual initiative and will power but for social planning as well.

Research and Invention

Research and invention are the two main causes of most economic changes and variations in employment opportunities. They result in a never-ending stream of new tools, machines, devices, precision instruments, methods, physical and chemical processes, and materials which are utilized in the production of old and new commodities through industry, agriculture, and the home; in the distribution of commodities through commerce and transportation; and in the work of a wide variety of service occupations such as those of the auto repair man. In a sense, the service rendered by those engaged in these service occupations is the commodity they produce and sell.

Progress of Scientific Management

Another potent cause of economic change is the progress of scientific management. Controlling large amounts of capital and unlimited labor-saving devices, scientific management conquers markets by the mass production of goods at the lowest possible unit cost. Through combines and mergers, plants are enlarged, abolished, or shifted to new locations so as to take better advantage of sources of raw material, customers, or an attractive labor supply. Migratory industries and plants within industries tend to reshape the industrial map of the country.

Beginning where research and invention leave off, scientific management uses their mechanical and chemical contributions to increase the production of goods, to improve their quality, and to decrease the unit cost of production. By substituting mechanical for human power, tasks are almost without limit subdivided and specialized. As a result, many old jobs are constantly being abolished or greatly modified and many new jobs created. Spurred

by economic competition, equipped with the best labor-saving facilities, and skilled in the regimenting of men, scientific management constantly raises production records to new levels. Overproduction eventually results in and is followed by intermittent or seasonal employment that may end in underconsumption and an inevitable business depression.

Managerial Responsibility

Industry and commerce can and do employ special managers to make the most of technological advance. The situation is different in agriculture and homemaking. The farmer is usually his own manager. In proportion as he, too, becomes scientific does he succeed under the conditions of competitive farming. Science, discovery, and invention have contributed wonder-working farm mechanisms for his use. Scientific agriculture has developed, together with the knowledge of soils, plants, and animals, so that large quantities can be produced. In fact, the adjustment of agricultural production to consumption is now one of our gravest national problems. Yet scientific agriculture and scientific management on farms should not be discouraged. They are advantageous to all concerned and should not be blamed for the results of an ineffective system of distribution.

The American home is in constant process of adjusting itself to the new mechanical devices and processes which the housewife, as producer and consumer-manager, is eager to utilize for the safety, comfort, and happiness of her family. Many different fields of science contribute useful knowledge which aid her in the discharge of her responsibility in making and maintaining the home as the fundamental social unit for the care and conservation of childhood and youth.

Mass Education a Remedy for Social Maladjustment

There is a changing concept of education from that of training for leadership alone to that of mass education as a remedy for social maladjustment. For a number of years the concept of the function of education as a social agency has been changing. This change is reflected in the writings of a large number of laymen as well as professional educators. The general tendency is to change the purpose of education from that of training scholars and leaders in the traditional sense to the training of all pupils for contemporary life needs. This change is so well known that it calls for no special discussion or proof here, particularly since the literature on the subject is ample and easily accessible. The trend toward education as adjustment to life has been manifested by all such movements as vocational education, adult education, education for special groups such as the various types of handicapped individuals, and the growth of social science studies. It is believed that an intelligent understanding of the real affairs of life on the part of the great mass of citizens is the best possible safeguard for democracy.

Social Drift Away from Individualism and toward Group Action and Control

If cooperation in our economic and social affairs is to take the place of individualism in its traditional sense then the mass of ordinary citizens must be made more intelligent in making decisions and more competent as team workers in executing them. The individual develops his personality not by opposing group organization, but rather by using group organization to attain benefits which would otherwise be impossible. Thirty or forty years ago the conservative tendencies were very completely in control of education in this country. Conservative influences have constantly opposed the introduction of new objectives, new subjects, and new methods. But in spite of this opposition, the objectives of education are slowly being restated in terms of the citizen's need. Subjects and subject matter are slowly coming to be selected for their use-value.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

PRESENT STATUS OF MICHIGAN YOUTH

by C. R. Bradshaw

Director National Youth Administration

The present status of youth in Michigan has as its background striking changes in the social and economic structure of the state during the past fifty years. Formerly an agricultural state, Michigan has now become essentially an industrial region with its population and employment concentrated in large manufacturing centers. By 1930, 65 per cent of the state's population was in ten industrial counties.

The decline of old industries such as lumbering and mining, and the rise of new industrial cities, precipitated a movement of population which has created serious problems of transition and adjustment for the youth migrating to new centers and for those remaining at home.

This changing social and economic picture has marked implications for young people and for those agencies devised to function for young people. We have passed from the period of the practically self-contained farm and rural community to an interdependent and highly specialized, industrialized, and urban manner of living. Rural self-sufficiency has been replaced in good measure by urban wage dependency.

A primary consideration is the changed status of the family today. In a rural economy the large family was a tangible financial asset, but in our modern urban society, the large family becomes an economic liability. Where the rural youth from an early age, paid his way in services to the family, the urban youth has less opportunity for such productive enterprise, and becomes a greater and greater responsibility to his family and to society.

Youth's Situation

The problems of youth today center more or less around the orbit of employment. Inevitably, when the economic depression of 1929 penetrated into all strata of society, it affected young people most seriously. Youth had less to offer on a highly competitive labor market—less training and experience—and consequently was at a distinct disadvantage.

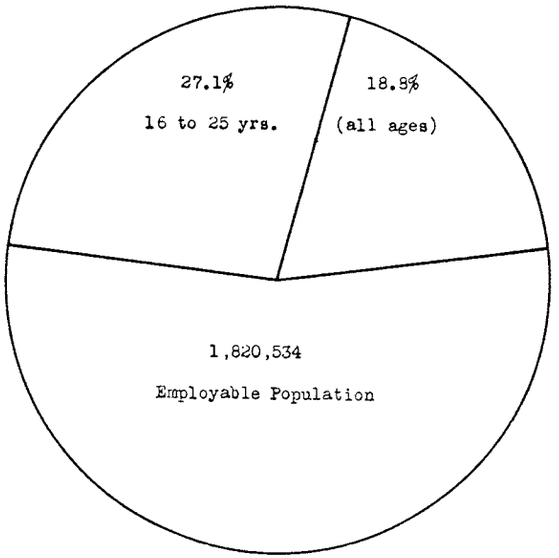


FIGURE 107. PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT—16-25 YEARS OF AGE
(Michigan Unemployment Census, 1935)

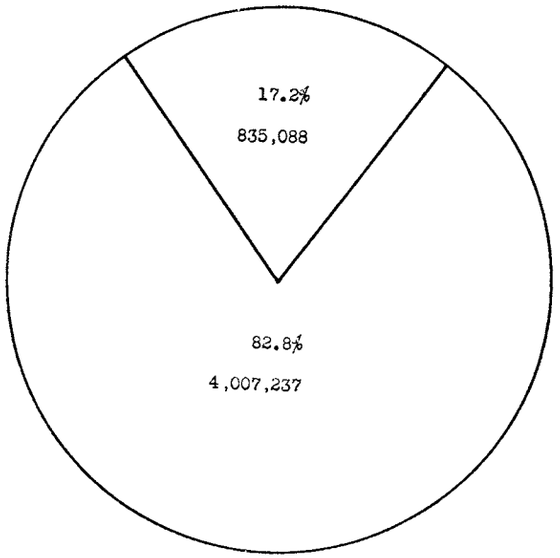


FIGURE 108. PERCENTAGES OF MICHIGAN'S POPULATION
17.2 per cent, 16-25 years of age
82.3 per cent, all others

Five million young people in the United States—one out of every four in the country—are without constructive occupation at school, work, or home.[13] It is not surprising to learn that in August, 1935, there were in Michigan alone nearly 130,000 unemployed young people between the ages of 16 and 25, 85,000 of whom were from families on the public relief rolls.

Recent statistics augment these facts. Unemployment in the 16 to 25 year age group in 1935 was 27.1 per cent, nearly 50 per cent higher than the state average for all age groups of 18.8 per cent.

Youth has felt the brunt of Michigan's unemployment problems and social maladjustments most severely. At a competitive disadvantage in seeking private employment, youth has faced the same obstacles in obtaining public employment. Until the past two years no government agency was designed to deal with unemployed youth specifically.

This meant that the family was dealt with as a unit in the administration of relief. The normal breadwinner, or head of the family, was naturally given preference in any assistance given the family in terms of emergency employment. If the father or mother was unable to work and there was a boy or girl of working age, this younger member might be permitted to earn the family's sustenance, hence removing the family from the relief rolls. From the standpoint of filial duty or conservation of relief funds this practice was no doubt worthy, but it left the young person of working age dependent upon his family (which was in turn dependent upon the relief agency) at a time when he normally would be breaking family ties and at least beginning to establish himself as a more or less independent individual.

If the young person was fortunate enough to secure private employment, his wages were considered part of the family budget and he was in exactly the same status, so far as dependency is concerned, except that he now had the family "hung about his neck" and dependent upon his earnings, and with no opportunity of establishing himself apart from the family. The result of this situation tended to be an attitude of "what's the use" on the part of the young person, consequent killing of ambition and initiative, and bowing to the seemingly inevitable.

The implications for society in this army of young people growing to working age in relief households are intensified when the similar situations are considered. We find the tragic phenomenon of young people, now at working age and appearing on the relief rolls, who have been born and reared on the dole with no member of the family, during their life-time, having been gainfully

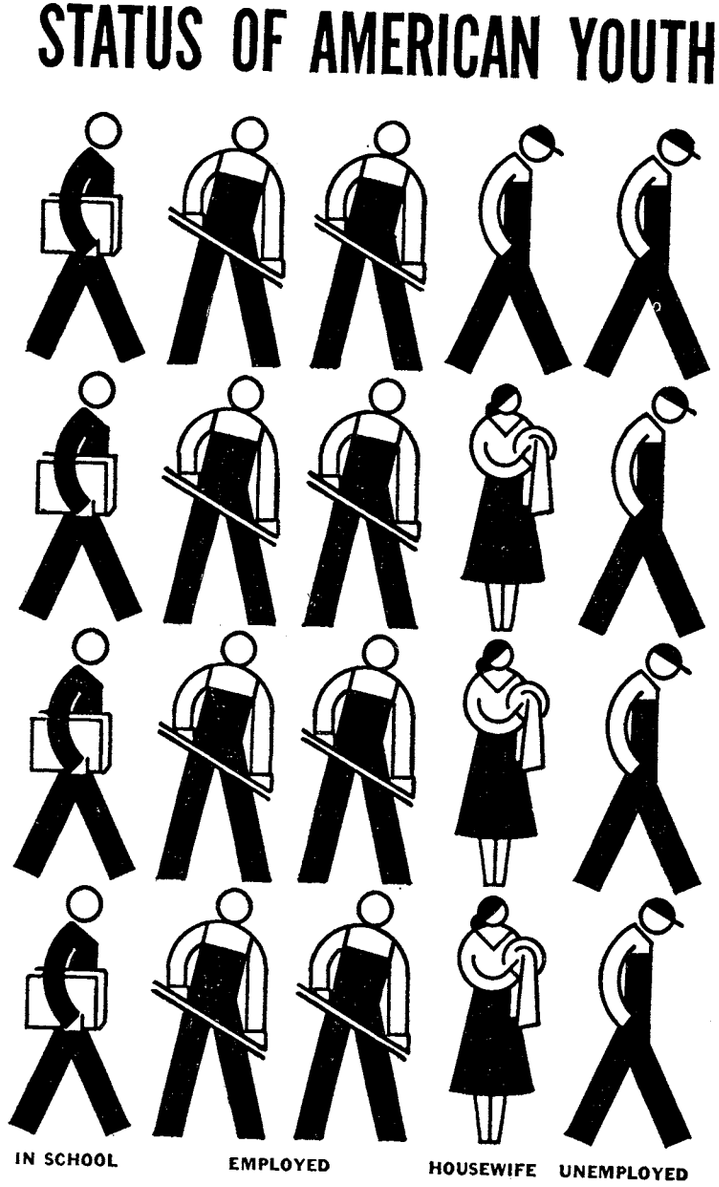


FIGURE 109. EACH SYMBOL REPRESENTS 1,000,000 YOUTH, 16-24

employed. Perhaps we are approaching the same condition in Michigan, where we see thousands of children recently grown to school age with no other protection against want and insecurity than family relief. Other thousands have grown to working age with no concept of gainful employment as part of the normal family pattern, and accustomed to dependency as a normal condition.

According to the Michigan Unemployment Census of 1935 the highest degree of unemployment was among young workers in the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups. More than one-third of the employable workers between 15 and 19 years of age, and nearly one-quarter of those between 20 and 24 were unemployed.

Severest unemployment was experienced by those 19 years of age where 42 per cent were out of work; the next being those 18 years of age with 38.4 per cent unemployed. After the 19 year age group a sharp drop in unemployment was evident in the 20 year group, there being 29 per cent unemployment—a decrease of 13 per cent.

Young men between the ages of 15 and 25 years of age make up a good share of the unpaid family workers in the state—one in every four in the 15-19 year group and one in every twelve in the 20-24 year group were found by the Unemployment Census to be working without pay for some member of the family.

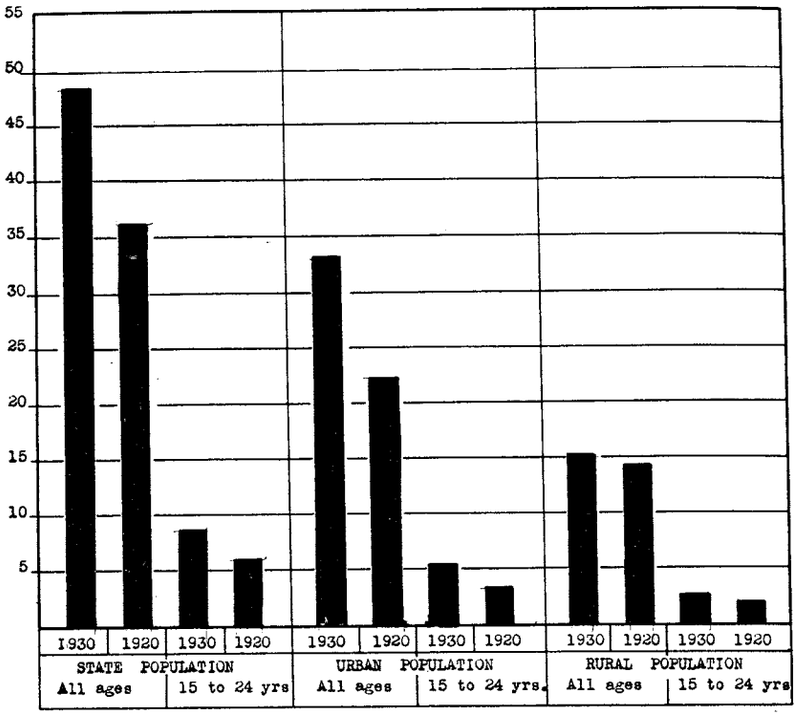
Over half of the unemployed between 15 and 19 years of age, according to figures from the same source, had had no previous work experience. This percentage of inexperienced workers decreases in the next age group—20 to 24 years—to about one in seven.

The overwhelming preponderance of inexperienced and unskilled workers leaves little room for conjecture as to why this army of young people are unemployed in a competitive labor market. They have too little to sell in terms of training and experience. Without work experience they are refused jobs and without jobs they are unable to gain work experience.

In the past, American youth was, in general, trained and retrained for work on the job, by vicarious experience, and by drifting from one job to another until desire or circumstance stabilized the individual and he made a satisfactory work adjustment. However, when jobs disappear, work experience disappears, and this customary avenue of training opportunity is closed.

Because the problem of unemployment is predominantly a problem of youth and the aged, with youth receiving considerably the worst of the deal in both percentages and numbers, it is important

to recognize the fact that unemployed youth today lacks something to sell in terms of occupational training and work experience.



*Numbers = hundreds of thousands.

FIGURE 110. MICHIGAN YOUTH POPULATION

Youth and Education

This lack of opportunity for youth in industry was accompanied by a marked increase in high school and college enrollments. From 1926 to 1935 high school attendance increased 63 per cent and from 1928 to 1936 college enrollments increased 70 per cent. Other factors were also instrumental in increasing Michigan's school population. Urban centers offered increased opportunities for education and, with their expanded teaching facilities, were an incentive for youth to remain in school. Furthermore, modern industrial living, more complicated and intricate, required more training and skill than was necessary in the rural environment.

Teachers and educators joined in selling the idea that secondary and higher education was a panacea for all our ills, particularly for youth, if they wished to better their position in life. This betterment, of course, as was typical of the times, was sold strictly

on the basis of dollar-and-cent enrichment—some sources even estimating how many thousands of dollars each year of education meant in monetary rewards.

School and industry, in the main, absorbed the majority of our youth—not satisfactorily to be sure, as evidenced by juvenile delinquency records of the period and the large number of students leaving school to drift into "blind alley" jobs principally because they could find nothing in school which appealed to their utilitarian interests.

With the depression came financial retrenchment. Cuts were made in most cases where the least protest would ensue. Children and youth being in the least favorable position to protest effectively, consequently suffered the most. School budgets were cut drastically.

The depression of 1929, closing the avenues of employment, left youth stranded in a world in which little opportunity was offered to gain experience or develop normally. Unemployment precipitated other problems and individual attitudes of despair which are foreign to the reactions of young people. Communities became conscious of a youth problem in their midst and began to make attempts to meet it, their success depending largely upon local initiative and leadership. Each community saw the problem in the light of its own existing conditions and the type of plan proposed to remedy these conditions depended largely upon the local leaders involved. Many significant local experiments in community youth work were made during this period.

The value of such experiments came not through reaching a solution of the current youth problem but through the dividends reaped in furnishing guide lines and developing leadership for the future.

There is no doubt that the brunt of the youth problem was felt first in the high schools with increased enrollments and the return of students for post graduate work. Professor G. E. Carrothers of the University of Michigan reported that in three years, enrollments in 200 of the largest high schools in the state increased from 108,000 to 142,000 students—a 31 per cent increase. College enrollments experienced a similar increase until the peak of the depression and then dropped off due to the inability of many thousands of students to sustain themselves away from home.

Character-building agencies for many years had faced the problem of expanding their facilities to meet the needs of the increasing number of young people coming to them for help. Particularly was

this true during the depression with its attendant youth unemployment and abundant leisure time.

For example, in 1930-35 the Young Men's Christian Association in Michigan had its budget cut in half with the number of youth serviced increasing from 16,193 to 74,323, or over 350 per cent.

Probably publicizing the boy and girl vagrant did more than any other single thing to dramatize and bring to public attention the plight of young people during the depression. The creation of the Transient Bureau and the Civilian Conservation Corps was the result of national sentiment aroused by various magazine and newspaper articles on our growing army of transients.

While the most appealing part of material written about the transient problem has been that concerning the number of youth involved, the transient problem is not a youth problem at least as far as Michigan is concerned.

Of the average of 19,289 receiving transient aid from July, 1934, to June, 1935, there were only approximately 250 young women and 2,250 young men between the ages of 16 and 25. To be sure even this small number is important yet it represents a very slight percentage of the total number of unemployed youth.

The Civilian Conservation Corps is unquestionably one of the most popular of the emergency youth programs. In actual practice it is a combination of two programs: first, a much needed conservation program to expand the country's timber resources, and second, to provide employment for young men and veterans. The administration of this national system of forest camps is in the hands of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work, assisted by the Secretaries of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Labor. Created by executive order of the President in March, 1933, it has, to August 31, 1936, given employment to 56,638 youth and veterans in Michigan.

Michigan has 78 forest camps in operation at the present time with a quota of 200 men for each camp. Average enrollment for the entire state has been estimated at approximately 13,000. Those enrolled are between the ages of 17 and 28 years and are selected from public relief rolls. Enrollment is voluntary but must be for a period not less than six months. All members are required to allot a portion of their salary of $30 a month to needy dependents.

All educational activities in C.C.C. camps are under the supervision of the Office of Education, Department of the Interior. As the program has progressed more emphasis has been placed on this particular phase of the work.

Perhaps the greatest educational contributions of the C.C.C. are its insistence on at least an elementary school training, and the development of practical skills in the various types of work such as stone-masonry, surveying, forestry, terracing, road-building, clerical work, and project management.

Establishment of a system of free tuition schools for first year college education in 94 cities in the state was a Michigan contribution to emergency education. Inasmuch as only 7,000 of the state's high school graduates enroll each year in Michigan's colleges, it was felt that through such a system a large number of students desiring to study but unable to meet college expenses, would have the opportunity of beginning their higher education.

Leading colleges sponsored this emergency program, supervising instruction and curriculum, and granting extension credit if the student qualified for entrance. Classrooms and equipment, of course, were furnished locally. Over 6,000 students enrolled in these freshman colleges during the first year of their inception.

A special program was necessary to aid self-supporting college students whose opportunities for part-time employment had been curtailed by the depression. Consequently early in the emergency relief program the Federal government announced that funds would be available to provide work for needy college students. Loan committees were set up in each college and money allotted to them in proportion to their enrollment. These committees were responsible for selecting students on the basis of both need and scholastic standing.

The program was broadened in 1935, when the number of students to receive aid increased from 2,139 in 1934 to 3,392 in 1935. Job planning councils organized in the various colleges selected the types of work to which the students were assigned. The program enabled thousands of college students, who would otherwise have been forced to abandon their studies, to remain in school and continue their education, instead of being thrown on an already overcrowded labor market.

The major state agency for youth aid, since July, 1935, has been the Michigan National Youth Administration. Until this time, there had been no organization specifically created or designated to deal with the various problems of an emergency nature faced by youth 16 to 25 years of age.

During the winter of 1934-35, many of those close to school and relief problems in the nation felt that the young people were the real "forgotten men" of the depression and were devising plans for

a possible youth program. Committees from the University of Michigan, the State Department of Public Instruction, and the metropolitan area of Detroit were appointed by the Dean of Education at the University to draft plans for this youth project. After conferring with state educators and representative laymen these committees consolidated their plans into one unified program which was presented in Washington, December, 1934. Other states doubtless followed similar courses of action.

On June 26, 1935, President Roosevelt, through an Executive Order, established the National Youth Administration as a division of the Works Progress Administration. A National Advisory Committee was appointed by the President consisting of representatives of labor, business, agriculture, education, and youth.

Major objectives of the National Youth Administration as outlined were:

1. To provide funds for the part-time employment of needy school, college, and graduate students between 16 and 25 years of age so that they could continue their education.
2. To provide funds for the part-time employment on work projects of young persons, between 16 and 25 years of age and chiefly from relief families—the projects being designed primarily not only to give these young people valuable work experience, but to benefit youth generally in the local communities.
3. To establish and to encourage the establishment of job training, counseling, and placement services for youth.
4. To encourage the development and extension of constructive educational and job-qualifying leisure time activities.

The program of the National Youth Administration has been simple. It sought first to make it possible for those among the youth who were qualified and wished to continue their work in high school and college to do so. Secondly, for those who had completed their educational work, or for some reason or other did not wish to continue it, it provided an opportunity for useful work on projects of benefit to youth itself. And finally, it aided in establishing community machinery to examine the youth problem and provide for it.

All activities of the National Youth Administration in Michigan have been grounded on two principles. In the first place, a reasonable amount of effective labor has been required of each youth who is eligible for and receives government aid. Secondly, types of activities have been selected which by the nature of their operation develop in the young worker new and improved skills and render him a more useful citizen by being qualified to compete more successfully for a livelihood.

Viewed from this angle, it will be clear that all youths who are employed by the National Youth Administration in any capacity are considered as students. If Michigan has anything to offer other states and other agencies in its manner of handling government aid to youths, probably it lies in this type of emphasis. The youth working on landscaping a public lawn, building a camp, correcting tax records in the office of the county treasurer, or directing a recreation project, is as much a student as is the young person who is enrolled in high school or in college. For all of them the paramount consideration is one of providing an opportunity for improvement in personal fitness, in work experience, and in earning an income.

During the two years of its existence the National Youth Administration has given assistance to approximately 50,000 Michigan youth, over 30,000 of whom have been high school and college students and 20,000 out-of-school youth from relief rolls.

High schools and colleges selected the students for part-time work on the basis of need, and designed and supervised the projects to which they were assigned. High school students received an average of $6 a month and college students $15.

The out-of-school youth were assigned to projects sponsored by local community agencies and approved by the National Youth Administration. The type of work done has ranged from grading and leveling a playground with picks and shovels to the drawing of intricate maps and charts for traffic surveys.

Labor turn-over is often high on these projects as the training and experience youth receives and the instilling of correct work habits increases their employability.

Perhaps the most critical factors facing Michigan youth today are the lack of training and experience which limit their acceptance on the labor market and their great need for more intelligent choice of an occupation.

At present, in various parts of the state, school authorities, the Michigan Unemployment Service, and the National Youth Administration are organizing guidance centers where youth may receive help in the selection of an occupation and further assistance in finding work opportunity.

With such channels provided for Michigan youth, together with emergency aid for needy students and out-of-school youth, the transition from juvenile to adult life will be considerably facilitated.

One thing is certain. The unemployed youth problem will be with us for many years and there is no panacea which will suddenly remove it. It can be dealt with effectively only on a broad front with every possible avenue opened to assist youth in living a normal and wholesome life. To do this requires the cooperation of all available governmental, educational, and private resources.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

SOCIAL PLANNING AND SOCIAL CHANGE

by C. R. Hoffer
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Michigan State College

Social Planning Essential in Social Progress

Preceding discussions in this bulletin have shown the need for social planning. It is just as essential for society to have a plan of action as it is for an individual to have one. In fact, planning is an indispensable part of social organization for the very nature of organization implies some plan of action. Social planning is the development and acceptance of definite attainable goals in social organization. These goals differ from social ideals inasmuch as ideals represent the desirable ultimate achievements whereas social planning represents the determination and acceptance of goals with reasonable assurance that programs can be devised to attain them. Consequently social ideals tend to become goals in social planning but the two never become identical because new ideals develop as conditions change and as goals in social planning are realized. On the other hand, social planning is not identical with program making for the latter process begins when the goals are accepted. Program making consists in the devising of ways to meet goals regardless of how they may be set up.

Social Planning an Old Practice in Civilized Society

It is incorrect to assume that social planning is a new process in civilized society. There have been numerous examples of social planning though they probably were not realized as such and were given a different name. Ever since the beginning of civilization man has planned for his own welfare. It can be said with much truth that man is "a planning animal." In modern times the establishment of democratic government itself represents a good example of social planning. It is a definite way of realizing the ideal of political equality which arose during the eighteenth century. We may also consider tariff policies, universal education, and land policies which have been effective in the past as examples of social planning. Social planning appears to be something new now because, first, it involves larger groups than formerly, and second, the method of planning is changing from a traditional trial and error basis to a scientific basis.[1]

Modern Changes Create a Great Need for Social Planning

The need for this change in method of planning is urgent. Social organization has become much more complex with the advent of the machine age. Changes come rapidly and in unexpected ways. Natural resources have been used freely or even wasted so that already we realize the folly of some of our previous plans. The increase in population, if nothing else, has shown need for the conservation of natural resources. Other problems have also arisen. The increased use of machinery has made workers more and more dependent on a wage system and created the hazard of unemployment. Old age assistance and dependency have increased. Health problems have become more complex. The circumstances creating these problems are so intricate and varied that an adequate understanding of their nature without the aid of scientific investigation is impossible. Yet unless we have such an understanding, intelligent planning cannot be achieved.

Each Group Possessing Legal Entity Must Plan for Its Own Development

The need for social planning pervades all phases of social organization. Each group possessing legal entity and autonomy is confronted with the necessity for social planning. Planning by one group of this type can be effective for others only in a general way. Each group has its characteristic problems, and with such assistance as other groups can give, it must work out their solution. Social planning on a national scale represents the largest group which is usually thought of in connection with social planning, but the need for it on an international basis is inevitable. The numerous economic conferences and voluntary associations of an international character are an evidence of this need. Eventually social planning on a world-wide basis will come and the sooner it is practiced the better.

National Planning Considers Problems of National Importance

In the realm of national planning there are numerous problems to be solved. The aim is to get a comprehensive understanding of each major phase of national life and the inter-relationships of one to the other. Typical problems are land policies, conservation of natural resources, flood control, regional development, industrial development, unemployment problems, conservation of health, disease control, and a great many others which might be mentioned.

State Planning Supplements National Planning

The results of national planning need to be supplemented and interpreted with the aid of state planning. Each state has its own

peculiar characteristics and problems which will be likely to differ in detail, if not in principle, from those that occur on a national basis. It is helpful to know what the economic and social resources of a state are and what changes are affecting each one. Only with such information will it be possible to gain a comprehensive view of the state as a basis for program making. The foregoing discussion and data concerning Michigan suggest some of the problems that need to be considered.

Planning for Community Development Necessary to Utilize Benefits of State and National Planning

What has been said with reference to the relationship of state and national government applies equally well to the relationship between state and local government. Local areas or communities differ. Each possesses industrial resources and social conditions which cause it to be unique. Thus social planning on a community basis is essential for without it the benefits of state and national planning may in a large measure be lost to the local community.

Social planning on a community basis involves the study and analysis of many phases of community life. A few may be mentioned as examples: (1) the physical basis of the community in relation to its present and future development, (2) the history, present status, and probable future development of the industrial activities of the community, (3) the social conditions in the community such as housing, public health facilities, educational needs, recreational facilities, and the adequacy of welfare and character-building agencies.

Social Planning Involves Securing, Disseminating, and Discussing Facts

There are certain discernible social processes in social planning. The first is fact finding and analysis of facts. This involves the utilization of many phases of research already done or being done by various research agencies and governmental departments. The special task of a social planning board would be to integrate these findings and supplement them wherever advisable and possible. Thus all institutions and organizations can and do participate directly or indirectly in social planning. The second step is the dissemination and discussion of the results of the findings of the social planning agency. This may be done through the various means of publicity and avenues for the dissemination of facts. The aim is to get as wide an understanding of the facts as possible. Following this discussion there will emerge a certain crystallization of opinion and decision regarding goals to be attained, such as land zoning for recreational purposes and forestry uses, public improvements, and legislative changes. When these proposals are adopted through

popular vote or administrative decision the objective of social planning will have been attained and the next step, program making to carry out the objectives of social planning, will begin.

The School Can Promote an Understanding of Goals in Social Planning

Social planning has numerous implications for education because the public school is readily recognized as an effective agent to create an understanding of the goals sought for in social planning and to impart the training which will lead to their realization. Statesmen throughout the centuries have realized this fact but it has never been so clearly demonstrated as in the present generation. The use of schools to establish its objectives by the Communist Party in Russia is the outstanding example in modern times, but other illustrations might be cited.

The Role of the School in Social Planning Can Be Effective Only under Certain Conditions

It is indeed a question if the school can avoid giving emphasis to social planning regardless of its nature since it is so definitely a part of our community life. However, if the role of the school is effective three conditions must prevail. First, there must be definitely conceived goals based upon accepted social values. Second, there must be a fair degree of uniformity of opinion in the method to be pursued in their realization. And third, there must be control of the educational process to an extent sufficient to assure the realization of such goals.[2] Most of the confusion and objection to an emphasis on social planning in the school may be traced to two circumstances: (1) a disagreement with the goals embodied in social planning, and (2) a lack of understanding of the nature and implications of the goals which results in an unwillingness to accept them.

Dissemination of Facts Is Its Principal Function

The constructive role of the school in social planning consists mainly in the dissemination of the facts basic to social planning as presented by agencies or boards of various kinds and a discussion of the probable benefits to be derived from it. Dissemination and discussion of facts are a part of the traditional role of the school. It is common practice for example to consider the results of the census, research bodies, and the like. The findings of a state planning board worthy of the name would fall in a similar category. People need to be informed about the resources and problems of their community, state, and nation as well as about their history. Without this, social planning on a sound basis is impossible.

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

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The preceding chapters have shown that social and economic forces which are remolding society have long been at work. Within recent years they have been merely accelerated until today all over the civilized world humanity faces a new order which bodes either good or ill for the common man. Therefore, in this day of great social and economic change the school stands upon the verge of a new educational era. Just what form the new school will take can only dimly be foreseen, but of its philosophy we are sure; it will attempt to lead future citizens into the more abundant life by equipping them to direct social and economic trends rather than to yield passively to them.

Increasing Numbers, Changing Needs

In our country we have not despaired of educating all the children of all the people to participate in a democratic society to the limit of their several abilities. The challenge, however, is a dual one. On one hand, to provide the physical facilities and the teaching personnel to care for the millions of children who are eligible for an education at public expense has neither precedent nor parallel; and on the other, to devise a program adequate to the individual needs of these millions for living in an undiscerned future is a task for educational statesmanship of the first magnitude.

The extent to which the public schools have already assumed the task of meeting both of these issues is not generally realized. In no other country does youth have such free access to an education. Trends in high school enrollment speak eloquently here. Thus from 1893 to 1926 the enrollment in public secondary schools had increased 1,000 per cent, whereas the general population had increased only 100 per cent. By 1932 enrollments had advanced to 1,500 per cent. Today, it is estimated that 7,000,000 boys and girls are registered in the public high schools of the United States. This is approximately 70 per cent of the youth of secondary school age.

This enormous high school population reflects the educational aspirations of the young people who comprise it. It is apparent that, generally speaking, this attendance is in part voluntary since in the upper high school years these boys and girls are beyond compulsory school age. What educational needs do they represent?

The clue to the question lies in the 10-to-1 rate of increase in high school attendance over the rate for the population at large. In 1893, secondary education was predominantly selective. Preparation for college was its primary purpose. But, as the rates of increase which have been referred to became more and more divergent, the children, not only of the doctor, the lawyer, and the minister, but of the tradesman, the farmer, and the mechanic as well, found their way into the high school. As a consequence the educational base was broadened. The school program, until then narrow and restricted, slowly began to yield to the pressure for a more serviceable curriculum.

Concurrently with this upsurge of numbers was felt the influence of the research worker. If the schools were to render effective service to youth, more must be known about the native abilities of the individual pupils, the opportunities open to them, and the fundamentals to be kept in mind in the teaching-learning process. Naturally enough, the whole school program was examined in the light of the facts thus disclosed. Many deficiencies were discovered. In this manner great impetus was lent to re-interpretation of the basic purpose which public education must serve in a democratic society.

A Lagging Curriculum

Although certain changes have been made in harmony with such a philosophy the lag in curriculum revision has been manifestly great. This lag may be ascribed to various forces. For instance, human beings cannot transcend their inability to pierce the future and thereby anticipate those desirable educational adjustments which the ever-changing social scene demands. Even if it were possible to do so it is scarcely probable that curriculum adjustments would be made parallel with contemporary social change, since the former should be dictated by reasonably stable conditions which only time will reveal. Moreover, the public mood is generally conservative with regard to what the schools should do. This attitude is, perhaps, one of the more potent forces which cause educational lag. Then, too, it is held that even though the college has progressively modified its program, it has not accorded similar freedom to the high school to revise its pattern of offerings. We shall see later on, however, that this domination of the lower schools by the higher is becoming less rigid.

Whatever the relation of the high school to the college may have been some years ago, there is reason to believe that at present this so-called domination is overemphasized.

Evidence is accumulating that both college officials and college faculties are willing to consider the question of what constitutes proper preparation for college. Indeed, this same evidence indicates that thought on all educational levels is converging toward a common educational philosophy. Thus certain interesting undertakings are now going forward which are based upon the idea that preparation for life constitutes the best preparation for college. The core idea in these programs is that students preparing for college in selected schools should be released from the formal college entrance requirements to pursue, without later penalty, basically different programs. Under these plans admittance to college is based upon cumulative records of the pupil's school life, educational progress, activities, interests, quality and quantity of work, and the like. Scores of colleges, the number running into hundreds, have agreed to accept matriculants on this basis and to observe them through a careful follow-up period. In Pennsylvania,* in California** and in the country at large,*** under various auspices experimental programs have been set up along these lines. In Michigan, also, similar steps are being taken.****

Although the general insufficiency of the standard public school education in this country had been the target for legitimate criticism for some years prior to 1929, the acute experiences through which our country has since passed have emphasized the sorry lag between the school and actuality. So great is the need for closing this gap that the American Youth Commission, comprised of a few well-known educators and laymen with imposing reputations, has been set up to study American education intensively, in the hope of making it come to grips with the actual needs of American youth in a changing world. The American Council on Education has set aside $800,000 for this work which will continue if necessary for five years.

The picture is now clear. We have seen that, while social and economic changes have been taking place, millions of boys and girls have been crowding into the schools, throwing quite out of gear the machinery which had been devised for a limited educational output

*"Program for a Study of the Relations of Secondary and Higher Education." Abstract of a Report to the Joint Commission of the Association of College Presidents and of the State Department of Pennsylvania, 1928. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

**"Recent Developments in Secondary Education in California." The State of California Department of Education, *Bulletin No. 6*, 1936, Sacramento, California.

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****"Proposal for an Experimental Study of the Secondary School Program in Michigan." State of Michigan, Department of Public Instruction, *Bulletin No. 304*, 1936, Lansing, Michigan.

of a particular kind. The elementary schools, by and large, have adjusted much more quickly and much more satisfactorily to the manifold needs of this army of young people. Here and there, as we have seen, through cooperative efforts both the high school and the college are experimenting with new conceptions of their relation to each other in light of the times.

Education Faces Specific Social Issues

But what are the specific trends which these two institutions must face? The preceding chapters have outlined several, together with their educational implications. If there is to be unity in a system of education supported by the state, such unity must be expressed in terms of common responsibility for desirable educational results. Indeed, education from kindergarten through college represents a continuous process which should not be thought of as representing different "levels" with "unique" functions. Therefore, the educational implications of these social and economic trends are incisive for every unit in the public school system from primary schools to university alike. For the sake of emphasis these social tendencies as stated and expanded by others[9] are set down as follows:

1. The widening gap between our wants and our ability to satisfy them.

2. The increasing concentration of economic control without a corresponding acceptance of social responsibility.

3. The weakening of control for the integration of the child's personality exercised by religion and the home.

4. The increasing complexity and strain of modern life to which the individual must adjust.

5. The shifting character of the population.

6. The struggle for international cooperation.

7. The clash of world political ideas with its implied threat to American democracy.

8. The influence of machines and scientific technique on the number and type of occupations.

9. The widening gap between the expert and the masses.

10. The growing conviction of the masses regarding desirability of education.

11. The discovery of the public school by numerous pressure groups as an instrument for the control of the ideas of children.

These are representative of the social issues which the school must face. How can it do so? Obviously, it must look to its organization —what it fundamentally purports to do, the curriculum through which it aspires to do it, and the human agencies, the pupils and the teachers, through whom the school expresses itself.

The Curriculum and Life

If the fundamental task of the school is to prepare children for life, the curriculum must be as wide as life itself. It should be thought of as comprising all the activities and the experiences afforded by the community through the school whereby the children may be prepared to participate in actual affairs of life. Since the former isolation of rural sections is rapidly disappearing, this concept of the curriculum has acquired a universality which once it did not possess. It follows that the school should look upon the community as the social laboratory in which to work out its plans for practical living. Therefore, every resource of the community should be catalogued as a means of enlarging the educational experiences which the school affords. Thus life within the community and experience within the school will merge in an effective manner.

Equally basic to the idea that the school should thus prepare for life is the requirement that every pupil must be looked upon as a dynamic organism in its own expanding cosmos, not a mechanism activated only by the push and pull of rote learning. Most adults, teachers included, underestimate the capabilities of children. Consequently they treat them as infants entirely too long, with disastrous results, since unfolding personalities require meaningful situations with which to deal, significant issues summoned from the stream of experience in which they are submerged.

Social-mindedness and the Present Curriculum

It may be argued that this is a counsel of perfection whereas teachers must face actuality, not theory, in the classroom. It is quite true that the ideal curriculum has not yet been devised. The well-known subject-matter divisions will doubtless be with us for some time to come. The resourceful teacher, however, will not be deterred from working out appropriate modifications and applications within the present framework of the curriculum in her effort to bring social meaning into the school experiences of her pupils. She can do this by making the community her laboratory in which to apply both subject matter and related activity. This has already been pointed out. No subject need be exempt from such treatment. Algebra, geometry, languages, science, English, and the like can be put to work in this social setting. Ingenuity and imagination alone

are required. The point is that the task of developing social-mindedness need not go by default while a curriculum more clearly adapted to that end is being evolved.

In order to develop critical social-mindedness the child must be exposed throughout his entire educational experience to meaningful activities in which the question of social values is given a prominent place. It is reasonable to assume that he will be more competent to participate as an intelligent citizen under such a program than if he acquires only the rote learning which characterizes present practices. Various names have been given to this newer procedure—the problem method, the project method, units of learning, and the like—which for all practical purposes mean the same thing. Although the textbooks which a given teacher may be using may not be organized upon such a basis, her subject matter can be reorganized effectively along this line through the use of supplementary materials.

The Teacher Must First Become Oriented

What does all of this require of the teacher? First of all, the ability to see life steadily and see it whole. The ancient admonition that the blind should not attempt to lead the blind has lost none of its force. Therefore, before the pupil can be oriented in regard to social problems the teacher must first orient herself. Here higher educational institutions and their philosophies are involved because, in the final analysis, they largely control the educational perspective of their students through various traditional practices. At present specialization is the keynote whereas the times demand wide generalization—some systematic exposure to a broad background of socially significant study—to cultivate that social wisdom which every leader of youth should have. This means that every individual who is now teaching or who is preparing to teach should become familiar to the greatest possible extent with the great fields of knowledge in their relation to organized society. Specialization well might wait until this broad background has been established. Throughout the entire process of both generalization and specialization the functional aspects of the subject studied should be emphasized. In this way the teacher can prepare herself to cultivate social consciousness in those whom she will instruct.

On the personal side tolerance, patience, and understanding should be developed, not only with youth but with the community at large. To a much greater extent than is now recognized clashing temperaments of teacher and pupil affect success in the classroom. It need not be said that careful consideration should be given to this fact and unremitting efforts be made to overcome such a conflict when it

occurs. Not only is the immediate educational welfare of the pupil at stake, but the development of his personality as well. Moreover, every teacher and every executive must remember that the adults who support the school and who, as a community, frequently seem resistant to school development are so because they interpret the school in terms of their recollection of it a generation ago. This situation calls not for criticism but for an intelligent program of interpretation which will reveal the issues which the school must face and the requisite means of doing so. A comprehensive community program should result, not because it is thrust upon the neighborhood, but because it evolves from it. Disaffection and antagonism flow from ignorance of what the school is attempting to do. A community thoroughly advised is a sympathetic community.

A Program of Guidance Is Essential

Nothing that has been said in the preceding pages is in conflict with the assertion that a program of pupil guidance is an indispensable part of the school as a socializing agency. Unfortunately, the idea is widely held that guidance is restricted to the vocational field. On the contrary, its scope is much wider than this because it implies systematic attention to the adjustment of a pupil to his problems whatever the nature of these problems may be. Guidance must follow him through his experiences in school and anticipate his welfare after he has left it. Guidance, therefore, is a whole-school function concerned with all aspects of living. Indeed, it may be thought of as the very essence of education which the entire program of the school subserves.

Adults Also Go to School

There was a time when young people at relatively early ages broke off their formal schooling to go to work. This was the logical thing for most of them to do, since, as we have seen, the school and life had little in common. Any further exposure to "education" was therefore laid aside with their books as youths entered the "school of hard knocks." Later it would have been incongruous for these people, as adults, to attempt to improve themselves through further education in the community, since only formal subjects were available through regular channels. Only boys and girls, not men and women, went to school.

Now this is being changed. The newer interpretation of the place of the school in the life of the community construes it as the agency through which education is made available from infancy to old age. Already many communities in Michigan, as in other states, have set

up programs in their public schools to care for the interests of adults. Therefore, appropriately and conveniently, whole families, sons and daughters, fathers and mothers, even grandfathers and grandmothers, may now profitably "go to school".

Adult education is as far-reaching and forward looking a movement as any other which has been developed in our country in the last fifty years. Far from being a social experiment, it is a sound, basic trend in education. It should command the unqualified support of all those who are interested in the future welfare of our country. Although adult education, in the broader sense of the term, is as old as humanity, it is, in its modern definition, a comparatively new activity in the field of education.

Never more than now has there been a time when it was essential that grown men and women should have the opportunity for continued education, and never has there been such interest in education on the part of adults as at present. Something very important must be happening in the adult thinking of our state, when almost as many adults are attending school as there are children enrolled in high school.

What are these men and women studying? A wide array of interests is represented. Occupational activities, of course, are very prominent. For perfectly obvious reasons many individuals desire to improve their economic resources through restudying their vocational aptitudes. Therefore, to be most effective in this field, some programs of adult education provide for vocational counseling in order to prevent wasteful effort and consequent disappointment through the selection of inappropriate subjects. Others want to keep abreast of social and economic trends through a survey of current history. Still others are giving expression to the creative urge through the study of the arts. And so the story goes. Indeed, some communities have surveyed the desires of their citizens and have set up activities of some sort in every field in which a group could be brought together.

Our country is in need of a richer community life. We lack social solidarity because our interests are so diversified as to pull us apart, rather than to build up a sense of "belonging," as people elsewhere experience it. A philosophy of education, broad enough to embrace the community as a whole, is needed to help all of our citizens to work and to play together. In such a program, the strategic position of the school as a public institution is apparent. It is the only agency through which richness of living can be cultivated on a community basis. But to keep such a program abreast of technological and social developments, it must encourage grown-ups to come back to school.

Conclusion

In conclusion, then, the school as a social institution is concerned with the welfare of the community which supports it. For instance, the well-being of society is inextricably woven into the social philosophy with which youth will emerge into adulthood. The school cannot escape the grave responsibility of developing within its young clientele a sensitive social consciousness of human values in anticipation of the responsibilities of citizenship. Courageous recognition of present social and economic trends is therefore indispensable. Moreover, these same trends make mandatory some plan for the continued education of adults as well. Only through life-centered schools can this dual task be accomplished. Here is a challenge of first magnitude to educational statesmanship.

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TOPICS FOR DISCUSSION

Outlined by J. B. Edmonson,
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1. What geological and physical features mentioned in Chapter One are characteristic of your immediate vicinity?
2. If the predictions in the closing paragraph of Chapter Two come true, how may our educational system be affected?
3. How could the schools increase the interest of Michigan citizens in the recreational opportunities mentioned in Chapter Three?
4. What industrial development in your area is dependent on the mineral resources of our state as decribed in Chapter Four?
5. How do you account for the population changes in your county as reported in Table 3 of Chapter Five?
6. Of what significance for educational planning are the facts in Chapter Five relating to the age composition of our population?
7. Do you believe that the high school should provide for the consideration of the family problems mentioned in Chapter Six?
8. Is your school district a community school district of the type defined in Chapter Seven? If not, what changes would make it is a community school district?
9. How can the school increase the interest of a community in attacking its own local problems of real significance?
10. What are some of the possible gains of the trends in government mentioned in Chapter Eight? The possible losses?
11. Do you agree with the common criticism that school progress has lagged behind the progress in transportation and communications as reported in Chapter Nine? Justify your opinion.
12. How are the major trends in industry mentioned in Chapter Ten likely to influence the curriculum of Michigan schools?
13. What would you suggest as helpful remedies for the unemployment problems defined in Chapter Eleven?
14. Do you agree with the viewpoint presented in Chapter Twelve under the topic "Man and Machine?"
15. What changes in the program of the senior high school of your community are required by the proposals in Chapter Twelve under the topic "New Responsibilities Imposed upon Public Schools?"

16. Do you fully agree with the opinion expressed in Chapter Thirteen that mass education is a remedy for social maladjustment? If so, how do you account for the increasing amount of social maladjustment in America where a program of education for all is provided more generously than in other countries?
17. Does a youth problem exist in your immediate community such as is defined in Chapter Fourteen?
18. If the Federal Government should cease to provide the youth services mentioned in Chapter Fourteen, what problems, if any, would be created for your community?
19. Why is it so difficult to secure cooperative planning of the kind mentioned in Chapter Fifteen?
20. What provision for community planning exists in your community? If none exists, what kind of agency would you recommend?
21. What forces and conditions are responsible for the curriculum lag that is discussed in Chapter Sixteen?
22. What pressure groups would be likely to oppose the adoption of a curriculum that was built in terms of the philosophy expressed in Chapter Sixteen? What pressure groups would be likely to favor such a curriculum?

TYPES OF DISCUSSION GROUPS

Unlike the lecture, designed primarly to transmit information, the discussion has as its objective the development of understanding. If a person is to understand a particular problem he must have the opportunity to ask questions and to check up on his thinking. In the give and take of discussion, relationships appear which give meaning to isolated facts. The scientific verification of this accounts for the current emphasis in school upon "participation" as aid to learning.

There are three general patterns for discussion groups: (1) the symposium, (2) the lecture-forum, and (3) the panel. All of these types have certain common elements and lend themselves readily to many variations. Since the effectiveness of the discussion depends largely upon the degree of informality and the extent of the participation, the type used is not important. The current vogue for the panel type of discussion arises from its use of the minimum of formal procedure.

(1) *Symposium*—Usually three to five competent speakers are assigned to speak for about 10 to 15 minutes. Each speaker focuses attention upon a specific phase of the general question under consideration. When the final speaker finishes, the audience has been given a comprehensive picture fitted together like a mosaic. The chairman then opens the meeting for questions. Usually each question is directed to some one of the speakers and is usually limited to the area of his special competence. The extent and spontaneity of the questioning depend largely upon the chairman. The long period of more or less formal lecturing is not easy to surmount in reaching an informal period of discussion. At the same time, the symposium has the advantage of setting up a systematized background as a basis for questions. Even tho the informal discussion period fails to materialize, the audience will have had the presentation of several points of view.

(2) *Lecture-forum*—This procedure is essentially the placement of the formal lecture upon an informal basis. The leader should be prepared to outline the scope of the problem under consideration. He may spend from 15 to 30 minutes presenting facts, pointing out relationships, and raising questions. Usually without any great formality he draws the audience gradually into the discussion. In time the brunt of the discussion is being carried by the group with the leader merely keeping the procedure within reasonable distance of the main issues. At the close the leader may summarize the discussion himself or ask some member of the group to do so. The success of this procedure depends largely upon the personal spontaneity and quickness of the leader. A well-informed person with

a sense of humor can succeed very well with small groups of six to thirty persons. Beyond this top figure the "round table" element drops out and the plan probably has less merit than the panel.

(3) *Panel*—The panel, or as it is sometimes called, the "jury panel," plan is now widely used. Usually it means that anywhere from five to twelve persons are seated on the platform facing the audience. The chairman sits in the middle of the group. Thru the cross-fire of discussion and thru the questions raised by the audience it is possible to explore many aspects of the problem under consideration.

There are several ways of preparing the audience and beginning the discussion. Some prefer to have a 15 to 30 minute formal talk by an invited speaker. The speaker is then subjected to questions by the panel and the audience. In other cases the chairman makes a brief statement on the question and then suggests questions for the panel members to discuss. Sometimes by prearrangement the chairman has asked the members of the panel to be prepared to discuss specific questions for a period usually not in excess of three minutes each. After these statements have been made, the discussion is opened for questions by the panel and by the audience. Perhaps the most informal way is for the chairman merely to introduce the panel, state the question, and then invite discussion.

All of these methods of launching the panel have been used without agreement as to their relative success. On the one hand, there is the tendency for speeches or even short statements to so formalize conditions as to discourage free discussion, while on the other hand, without some systematic effort to present the problem, the discussion begins and ends in a rather aimless fasion. Even under the most informal procedure, great responsibility rests upon the chairman to formulate and to propound questions which will promote active participation. With widespread interest and activity on the part of the audience, a tendency to wander around the major topic may not be undesirable.

The termination of the panel discussion is also a moot question. There is agreement only upon the desirability of stopping while the interest is still at a fairly high pitch. But whether the discussion should be summarized, and if so by whom are questions upon which experts disagree. A particular occasion probably does not need to be summarized if it is part of a series which will be brought together at the end. A single isolated panel discussion probably is most effective when summarized briefly by the chairman.

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