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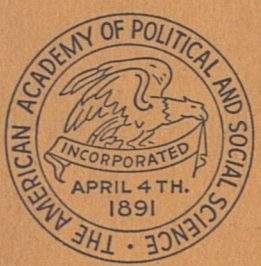

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EARL GRANT HARRISON

1899 - 1955

On July 28, 1955, Earl Grant Harrison, member of the Board of Directors of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, was stricken suddenly by a heart attack.

Mr. Harrison had a distinguished career as a public servant and as a private citizen. He was director of alien registration, United States Department of Justice (1940–41); special assistant to the Attorney General of the United States (1941–42), and United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization (1942–44). Later, he served as the United States Representative on the Intergovernment Committee on Refugees (1945–46) and as vice-chairman of the President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization (1952).

In his home city, Philadelphia, he served his community in many ways. From 1936 to 1943 he was president of the Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania, and since 1939 he had been vice-chairman and then chairman of the Philadelphia Award Trustees. At the University of Pennsylvania, where he received the degree of bachelor of arts in 1920 and of bachelor of laws in 1923, he served at various times as instructor, professor, and dean of its Law School, as a vice-president of the University, and as a member of its Board of Trustees. Since 1948 he had been a partner of one of the city's most prominent law firms.

Mr. Harrison was an administrator of extraordinary ability, he freely gave of his time and effort to many worthy causes, and his friendship was treasured by all who were privileged to enjoy it. By his death the Academy has lost a warm friend and wise counselor.

FOREWORD

Public education has experienced a striking development in recent years. The increase in the number of children has necessitated large expansion. Development in other ways has been even more significant. Increasingly, as the problems of society have mounted, public education has been required to assume more responsibility for the growth of children and youth through an almost limitless variety of learning experiences. It is society's most consciously conceived instrument to strengthen the individual and to improve community life.

The problems of modern society—the unmet needs and tensions—have also demanded the provision and rapid expansion of other public services. Public interest in land use, housing, public health, social welfare, youth services, and other public services has increased sharply. In many of these areas there has been an awakening in recent decades comparable to that experienced in public education a century ago. Many of these developments have large significance for the development of children and youth.

It has been said that each child attends two schools: his home and his school. Perhaps it should be said that each attends at least three schools: his home, his school, and his community.

With the increase in the number of agencies concerned with children and youth, and with the growing size and complexity of schools, school systems, and other services, the problem of the co-ordination of effort emerges. It demands new approaches. The more adequate provision for the growth of children and youth is a major challenge to our society. It cannot be met by any one agency alone.

But how shall co-ordination be effected? Is there a danger that it may result in conflict and reduction in the exercise of initiative? How can various agencies come to understand the role which each can play most effectively? Can an agency serve its primary purpose as well (or better) while co-operating with another public service? Are changes in governmental policy, structure, and organization needed? Is the problem largely one of developing understanding among various professional staffs? What is the level of public opinion and action? Can the "conflict" among services be reduced or eliminated, to the desired enrichment of all through co-ordination? In the long run will the administrative "independence" which our society has granted to public education give it greater strength? In an increasingly complex society is such independence more necessary or less so? Should the agency which co-ordinates also administer?

To these questions, which concern men of many nations, this issue is addressed.

THEODORE L. RELLER

Changing Scenes—Changing Issues

By Theodore L. Reller

FOR more than a century, the people of the United States have been studying and experimenting with a variety of arrangements pertaining to the relations of public schools and other governmental departments and services. Practices have varied widely over the years and among communities at any given time. On the one hand, education has been seen as an integral part of local government. In New England, for example, the Education Committee was a committee of the town responsible to the town either through the town meeting or a town governing body. Under these circumstances, education was considered in relation to other town services and seen as one of the services without notably exceptional features. In fact, the construction and maintenance of buildings, the levying of taxes, the development and approval of the budget, were in many instances not the responsibility of the Education Committee but rather of the governing board of the town. This resulted in costly conflicts and delays. As the educational program developed, it became so large in many towns that the Education Committee was granted greater responsibilities and a greater measure of independence of action in regard to all matters pertaining to education. Education became the largest of the responsibilities of the town. At about the same time, there was a growing recognition of the importance of education in the society, with emphasis upon the desirability of having it set up in such a way that it would be in the direct control of the people, with little or no responsibility to other local governmental bodies.

Thus there developed the Board of Education with large responsibilities and powers conferred upon it by statute. In its "best" form, this Board of Education had no direct relationship to the city government or to any other local governmental body. It levied taxes, employed personnel, secured land, and constructed buildings, and under either direct or implied statutory powers did anything necessary to maintain schools. In many communities, education has never had this measure of independence. But educators have generally sought it while political scientists have tended to question its soundness. Various studies conducted in this field have not offered a conclusive answer to the issue. In the meantime, changes have been occurring in society as well as in education and in other public services, and it is therefore believed that the present is a most opportune time to re-examine the problem in at least some of its many phases.

At the present time, established administrative structure and the informal arrangements existing between agencies and their staffs vary widely from state to state. Mere fiscal dependence or independence of schools, for example, does not necessarily tell much of the story regarding the extent to which there is co-ordination of effort on the part of educational and other public service agencies. The problem of co-ordination to be considered here is, therefore, deeper than—though not unrelated to—such matters as established governmental structure and finance. It certainly involves, also, public opinion and the views of the professional groups involved.

PREMISES

This issue of THE ANNALS was not planned to cover all phases of this exceedingly large and complex problem. It concerns itself with: (1) education at the elementary and secondary levels; (2) governmental services directly related to individual and community development, such as health, welfare, libraries, land use and housing, and delinquency control; and (3) services provided rather than details of program and methods of any of the agencies involved. It does not explore directly or in detail such important problems as the relation of public educational services and the military; fiscal dependence or independence and related financial matters; the curriculum as it facilitates community development; the exact arrangements between the city or other local government bodies and the board responsible for education. The volume is fundamentally pointed toward the problem in the United States. Although it gives attention also to other societies, it does so primarily in an effort to find new, different, or additional possible approaches to a solution of the problem. It involves the viewpoint of educators but especially looks at the problem from the point of view of those who are students of or leaders in other areas. It aims to describe briefly better practices, to isolate and explain problems and issues, and to evaluate in broad terms. It does all of these things in an effort to stimulate further thinking and study concerning the problems of co-ordination and to point to potentially promising future developments.

In developing this series of papers a few general assumptions have been made, as follows: (1) The co-ordination or perhaps even the integration of the efforts of those responsible for public services which impinge directly upon the development of children and youth should contribute to the effectiveness of these services. (2) Each agency, organization, or service involved has certain responsibilities and competencies, some of which may not relate directly to children and education. (3) The co-ordination or integration which is achieved should not interfere with the discharge of the various responsibilities of the respective agencies but rather should facilitate meeting them. (4) Significant improvement can be effected in the working relationships of those public agencies in our communities which have a responsibility for the development of children and youth.

EARLY FORCES STIMULATING SEPARATISM

In order to understand the situation existing today it is necessary to look briefly at some of the forces or factors which influenced the developments that occurred through a century. Among the more important of these are the following:

Public education developed earlier and more vigorously than most of the related services. The great awakening in regard to public education occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century. This was almost a century earlier than the public awakening concerning such matters as land use, housing, and public health.

Public education was considered imperative if the new republic with a strong democratic faith was to carry forward. The early leaders of the nation emphasized the relationship between an educated people and a free government conducted by the people. The importance attached to education is shown also by the attitude of the federal government in the development of the great public domain—the land in the West. The policy which was established prior to the adoption of the Constitution and which persisted was to

set aside large acreages for the establishment and the endowment of public schools.

There was a strong desire to have the schools close to the people and not too readily responsive to those in positions of influence and power in government. The significance of education for the development of the state was not underestimated; rather, popular control was intended to ensure an educational program which would provide a basis for a more perfect union rather than for the enhancement of the power of any one group, including public officials. It was an early attempt to find an answer to such questions as: In whose interest shall the schools be operated? May schools be used to contribute to the improvement of the society and its government or are they the instruments of those who govern or of government? Probably partly as a result of European backgrounds but perhaps even more as a result of the independence men found in America, especially as they moved west, the people were desirous of keeping the schools directly responsive to them. The remoteness and relative security of our new continent also made it unnecessary for education to be a direct instrumentality of the state—and, of course, much less so of those governing. The "climate" encouraged belief in the perfectibility of man and of society, and education was among the leading instruments utilized in the pursuit of this faith.

Local government was believed to be "corrupt," and many people wished to remove the schools from this corruption. The last half of the nineteenth century was a period in which corruption was rampant in the governments of many American cities. "Boss" rule was widespread, and the only direct escape from it appeared to be the removal of vital services, such as education, from the control of city government. The elimination of corruption was seen as a task which would involve many years—years during which education should be carried on apart from local government.

Education came to be regarded legally as a function of the states. This was less true, formerly, of social welfare, health, recreation, libraries, and some other matters, which were viewed more generally as the responsibility of local government, since they were considered services less vital than education to the continued existence of the state. The legal concept that education was a function of the state supported those who were anxious to eliminate local governmental control of education because of corruption: it was argued that the state should establish separate and independent local Boards of Education to provide and maintain the educational service. Conceivably the local government could have served the state in the educational field—though this arrangement would probably have been more involved because of the many other powers of the local government. The creation of the local Board of Education ensured direct action within limits prescribed by the state.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

In the early years of the twentieth century, the clear and complete separation of education from all general local government control was widely accepted in the educational world as a satisfactory solution to the question under consideration. Though separation in administrative structure did not deny the desirability of co-ordination of effort between the educational system and other agencies, there can be little doubt that it did not encourage co-ordination. Yet almost as this solution was coming to be accepted in theory, and increasingly also in practice, a series of new forces appeared to disturb some of

those who believed they had "found" an answer. Among the forces which challenged the pattern that had been developing were the following:

The society was characterized by increasing urbanization, growing complexity, and more governmental action. Urbanization and industrialization brought new and difficult problems. The interrelationships between various social and economic policies and practices became clearer. Governmental action was demanded and provided on an ever increasing front. Relatively, education may have commanded considerably less of the thought devoted to public-service issues than at an earlier date. It became increasingly doubtful whether any service could stand alone effectively in such a complex and interrelated society.

Schools came to be more concerned with their potential impact upon society. They gave more attention to the conditions under which people lived, and to the problems of individuals and of the society. One important test of the effectiveness of the school became the contribution which it made to the improvement of community living. Thus schools directed more attention toward problems of government, concerned as it was with housing, health, delinquency, employment. This movement or expression of interest raised the question as to whether schools should not work more closely with other governmental agencies concerned with the same problems. It was clear that the activities of schools were inevitably closely intertwined with those of other agencies.

The society was confronted with problems pertaining to children and youth with which no one agency could cope effectively. Juvenile delinquency, the result of a vast complex of factors, was obviously a challenge to the whole society and to many of its institutions. No agency alone could hope to prevent or eliminate it. The schools inevitably had a large role to play—as had other public services.

Expansion of social services

A number of the social services expanded in the first half of the twentieth century somewhat as education had in the nineteenth. Social welfare, health, land use and housing, were no longer solely or largely consigned to private action. They received public consideration. Programs of action by government at various levels were developed. While education continued to expand in the twentieth century, the "awakening" about it had occurred in the nineteenth. In the twentieth century a public awakening regarding other aspects of living led to public action—and correspondingly to an increasing "competition" for the tax dollar among the social services, and between the social services and the demands of preparedness resulting from international tensions.

Professionalization

With the expansion of the social services and in the light of the study of problems of local government, various governmental services were professionalized and greatly improved. The city manager contributed to the strengthening of local government as the city superintendent of schools had strengthened educational administration a half century or more earlier. Highly trained professional workers made their appearance in library service, social welfare, public health, and juvenile court service. Although schools and school people may well have hesitated to coordinate efforts with the earlier untrained "political" officeholders, this hesitation was now much less well founded. This is not to argue that all is well regarding the position of pro-

fessional personnel in education or other service fields. It is, however, to recognize that the wide gap in professional standards of appointment and service was narrowing; in some cases even disappearing. The statements of the American Library Association on the need to defend freedom to read and to learn, the need to fight the book burners posing as superpatriots, might well have made educators proud to have been in their ranks. Professional development in a number of groups raised the question whether each could not achieve its purposes and responsibilities more significantly if it were working co-operatively with and supported by others who had common purposes and common problems. Too frequently various groups with common goals were unaware of each other's efforts and so could not strengthen one another in their common struggles as they should have. Professionalization tended to raise walls between groups.

How independent?

There was growing recognition of the fact that although formal organization was important, informal organization could be equally so, and that one type of organization had relatively little significance without the other. Thus it was clear that while schools were independent they were not nearly so independent as had been imagined. To preserve their independence, they sometimes avoided controversial or dangerous areas which they should have been considering. Their independence may thus have reduced their influence upon community living. Perhaps they were too far removed from the maelstrom of public debate for their own best development. Certainly many groups without legal control over the school system exercised large control over what was taught and how. Under the impact of congressional investigating committees, for example, some teachers avoided consideration of even such matters as the Bill of Rights, yet these committees have no formal organizational relationship to the schools. Here, then, was a difficult question. Was independence, though much less real than apparent on the surface, to be preferred to less formal independence and more public struggle regarding the place, character, and role of education in a democracy? Obviously not all had been gained through independence that had been hoped for. But did any other answer promise as much?

Difficulties of co-ordination

The principles of administration which were widely accepted led to difficulties in co-ordination of effort. Line and staff organization was generally accepted. The school administrator, as a result, saw the health and library service for the school child as his direct responsibility. The public health officer saw all aspects of public health, including school health if related to his department, as his direct responsibility. Thus, to have the lines of authority straight it appeared necessary to keep school health separate from public health—or worse, probably, to keep matters of school health, if under the public health officer, separate from health education. An organization that would fix responsibility upon the proper party, that would include the various interested parties, and that would not result in long delays in decision making was not to be formed readily. Was there a type of organization which could bring together essential resources in an effective service? Or was it necessary to continue to have a public library service and a school library service co-ordinated informally if at all?

Religious groups entered the field of education more than they entered other public service areas and sought limited

aid for their schools (or for the students in them) from noneducational services. The problem of achieving close co-operation among various publicly provided services was much complicated by this situation, for public schools were generally provided under laws specifying that the funds for them should not be used to aid private schools of any type, while funds for public health and social welfare, on the other hand, were allocated to these purposes and could be offered through private and parochial schools as well as through public schools. In some communities the city health department provided health services in the parochial schools while the public school health services were provided by the Board of Education. The co-ordination of these two health services, if effected, would have to be effected with care to avoid spending public education funds for private schools. Thus, the "aid follows the child" theory—or the desire to provide health services wherever needed—complicated the establishment of a co-ordinated or integrated school and public health service program.

State and local governments

The concept that education is a function of the state, and thus different from other public services, was held to less rigidly, and more attention was given to the partnership idea. Legally education remained a state function. In practice, however, probably as a reaction to the trend toward centralization which characterized many aspects of life, the view was held that the local education authority should be more a partner of the state and less a mere instrument of it. This development encouraged more local initiative and raised the question as to the manner in which the local partner could best play its role. It opened for consideration again the co-ordination of services at the local level. At the same time, state departments of education were attempting to develop programs in co-operation with a number of other state departments, such as highways, health, conservation, and libraries. Additionally, other services than education came to be more generally recognized as services for which the state had large responsibility.

Wider participation needed

Problems confronting the public schools and attacks made upon them awakened citizens to the need of having many more concerned and informed individuals give attention to public education. Merely to provide buildings and teachers for the greatly increased numbers of children and youth was an enormous problem. Even more difficult of solution were questions of curriculum arising from confusions in society itself on social and political issues, domestic and international. Under the challenge of Communism some wished to abandon traditionally democratic rights and procedures. In some instances groups sincerely trying to improve the schools were infiltrated by the insincere.

Many recognized that a promising reply to malicious and deliberate attack was the development of more fundamental understanding through wider participation in the planning of school programs and policies. This desire to include more people in educational planning raised again the question as to whether the independence of the schools facilitated the attainment of understanding and co-operation. Was it better to maintain the organization that had developed over the years and to provide by other means, such as citizens' committees, for the participation of more people? Or should the organization be examined with a view to developing a broader base and wider co-

operative action? Or were there other answers? Was it contradictory to be independent and separate and then to seek co-ordination of effort? Had the various other public services concerned with the development of children and youth played the role in the advancement of education that might properly have been expected of them? Or were they too often on the sidelines? If so, why?

FROM THIS EVIDENCE

These are some of the problems and issues which were the genesis of this issue of THE ANNALS. Answers to them are not to be found easily. Present forms of organization have developed through long years of experimentation and struggle. Are they adequate today? Do they need strengthening? Are there new roads worth exploration? In the chapters which follow, much evidence will be offered on present problems and the results of various attempted solutions. From this base, it is hoped, provision for the development of children and youth may be more effectively made—more soundly conceived and planned and more realistically financed. The values of a democratic society offer no alternative.

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The City Planning Process: A Framework for Community Education

By Francis Violich

THE city planning process is essentially a local governmental function which serves the purpose of co-ordinating and guiding the separate decisions which are made daily concerning the use of land in our urban areas. Its objective is physical growth in an orderly and functional arrangement reflecting the best interests and basic social-economic needs of the citizenry. Its principal instrument is the general or master plan, the community's own statement of a policy of development for the following decades.

Land as the Basis for All Community Activities

The very existence of this service and its rapid development during the last twenty to thirty years are based on a concept which should be clarified at the outset: that land is a basis for all community activities and that the way in which urban land is used has a direct effect upon the way a particular social group functions. The physical relationship between lands used for various purposes can limit or encourage most forms of human enterprise. Education is one of these activities, and it can be directly affected for better or worse through such physical factors as location of the facility in relation to users, the amount of land set aside, and the timing of construction in relation to other community needs. Without the land itself, and with any of these conditions lacking, the ability of the educational plant to serve human needs is impaired. Viewed in this light, city planning is essentially community planning. No other governmental service has this especial assignment.

Independent Decisions on Land Use

The basic problem behind providing land for needed community purposes in the proper physical relationship is essentially one of co-ordinating numerous independent decisions. We know how relatively simple it is to plan a home, or a school, or a church, where ownership is under one authority and where conditions are controlled by a unified group responsible for all policy questions. In planning a city, or even a small town, we have a far more complex situation. Each day many hundreds of decisions regarding physical change of the city have to be made by a wide variety of owners of land—private individuals and firms, semipublic organizations, government at various levels. Private owners of land, for example, decide to open and close shops and stores and to build whole new shopping centers; building firms decide that homes will be built in a certain area and initiate the subdivision of land; investment companies are at work deciding on the location of new industries and the provision of related utilities, railroads, and the like. Semipublic owners of land are likewise constantly in the process of making decisions regarding the location of churches, institutions, and similar community facilities for which they are responsible. In the public realm, city, county, state, and federal officials are daily considering what land to buy, what school, community center, recreation building, li-

brary, hospital, and the like to build. These officials are responsible for perhaps the most essential decisions, for they must decide on the routes for streets, highways, transit lines, and other lines of communication which serve to link the physical facilities built by private interests.

Key groups

Here are some of the key groups who are responsible for providing the physical components of our urban areas and whose daily decisions must be brought into a reasonable whole through the city planning process.

Private	*Semipublic*
Home builders	Church groups
Merchants	Institutions
Industrialists	Welfare agencies
Business firms	Hospitals
Banks	Improvement associations
Realtors	

Public

Recreation and park departments	Schools
Public works	Fire departments
Public welfare agencies	Police departments
Public health departments	Traffic departments
Libraries	Housing, redevelopment, and renewal agencies

In any given community many more such groups could be added to the list. It is through the innumerable independent actions taken by these varied groups that our cities grow and are formed. As Miss Bauer points out in the article on "Housing Policy and the Educational System," this accumulative process is accentuated by the trend toward large-scale, long-term development fixing patterns of land use for all time with fewer but more significant decisions, and making advance planning by public bodies more imperative than ever before.

GROWTH OF CITY PLANNING

City planning authority and techniques have developed steadily—and within the last five years rapidly—as a means of co-ordinating these many decisions which result in physical changes within and on the fringes of our existing cities. Most large cities now accept city planning as a function of municipal government, working under authorization by state enabling legislation in force in most states in the Union. These state planning acts were based on a Standard Enabling Act prepared by the United States Department of Commerce in 1928. The act[1] under which California operates, passed originally in 1929 and amended several times since, is one of the best in the country. This act permits cities to set up planning commissions and requires counties to do so; it provides the conditions under which city and county planning commissions may operate; it requires the preparation and adoption of comprehensive, long-term general or master plans; and establishes the general framework within which local planning may be done.

Municipal charters also provide enabling legislation and often establish more detailed or specific provisions related to the process of city planning. County planning is carried on in many states as an extension of county government, with authority only over the unincorporated areas. At the metropolitan regional level a few urban centers in the United States, such as New York, Detroit, and Los Angeles, have official or unofficial planning agencies. These, however, are generally inadequate, owing to the lack of a unified governmental base. At the federal level, legislation related to housing, redevelopment,

[1] Contained in State of California, Printing Division, Documents Section, *Laws Relating to Planning*. Sacramento (Calif.), 1953.

and public works recognizes local city planning processes and, in some cases, actually requires the existence of a planning program or master plan as a prerequisite for loans or grants.

Budgets for city planning in most large cities in the United States have been greatly increased over those of ten years ago. San Francisco, for example, which was spending some $50,000 per year in 1940 is now providing $150,000 for a well-staffed city planning department. Contra Costa County has increased its planning budget from about $60,000 to $175,000 per year during the past five years. The number of staff persons and consultant services has increased proportionately. The profession of city planning, which was established during the second decade of this century with the founding of the American Institute of Planners, has grown in size and strengthened itself in terms of city planning knowledge and experience. The Institute, which had about five hundred members just after World War II, now has a membership of about a thousand. California, long active in city planning, had some thirty-five members in this professional organization in the 1930's, about seventy-five in the early 1940's, and today has approximately three hundred members.

CITY PLANNING PROCEDURES

These indications of the growth of the city planning profession suggest the increasing recognition of planning as a co-ordinating force in dealing with problems concerning the use of urban land. In this country the planning process is designed to reflect traditional democratic procedures in making important decisions affecting the public welfare. For this reason the work of a local city planning agency is basically advisory to the elected officials who hold final authority. A citizen commission is appointed by the city council, board of supervisors, or mayor for the purpose of advising them, and the commission is provided with a professional staff which offers technical study and formulates conclusions to serve as a basis for the lay commission's recommendations. Public hearings are required by law. Although this concept slows down the co-ordinating process considerably when urban growth is going on at a rapid pace and decisions have to be made in a hurry, the end result has many social advantages when it works. Obviously political factors may intrude.

The master plan

Assuming good local government and observance of democratic procedures, basic policy in this country is brought together by the city planning commission in the form of a general or master plan which shows the community's concept of the direction in which it should grow. The plan must look far into the future, yet relate to current needs; it must be based on study of the various alternatives which might be followed; and it must be broad, comprehensive, and flexible in order to meet all potential needs as they may develop. Specifically, the general plan would indicate a general pattern of land for residential, commercial, industrial, public, and other purposes, the network of circulation routes of various kinds, and the related terminals for them. The plan would provide a general range of population densities for the various residential areas and indicate limits for each area. In this way a total holding capacity for each portion of the community and for the city as a whole is established. The plan provides no specific program or schedule for the provision of facilities or the timing of development of particular areas, but rather presents the picture of the community as it might best develop—a

large design the details of which can be developed little by little.

Since the general or master plan is to become an expression of public policy, it is essential that before the plan is finally adopted the wants and interests of the community be obtained and citizen participation secured through citizen advisory committees, public discussion prior to and during preparation of the plan, and the official public hearings required by law. In the past, adoption of the plan by the planning commission has been considered sufficient; more recent thinking, however, concludes that if the plan is not adopted by the legislative body it does not really become official community policy. In the City of Berkeley, for example, the first comprehensive master plan, completed in 1954, was adopted by the City Council in 1955.

EFFECTUATING THE PLAN

Since the master plan is considered policy and not law, its effectuation must be brought about through various specific means. One of these is legislation in the form of zoning ordinances regulating in precise terms the uses to which private land may be put and the conditions under which it may be built upon, and subdivision ordinances which control the quality of land development for residential purposes as to lot and street pattern. Another means is the requirement that all public improvements, including acquisition and sale of land by any city department, be referred to the planning commission for its recommendation as to conformity with the general or master plan. This so-called "referral process" permits the legislative body to approve capital improvements only after having first received a recommendation from the planning agency. The plan is further effectuated through the urban development, public housing, and slum clearance programs described in the following article. Perhaps the most important factor in making the general or master plan a creative force in shaping the physical aspect of the city is public participation itself and the understanding it engenders. This fact is recognized in most planning legislation, which usually requires consultation with the public, calls for public hearings, and urges or makes mandatory public education programs related to the general or master plan.

THE LONG VIEW

This brief review of the city planning process indicates the opportunity at hand to set forth community objectives as to the use of land, to determine the location and extent of such uses, and therefore to bring into focus community activities themselves. City planning has in this sense been playing a far more creative role in the last ten years than it did in the earlier periods, when the emphasis lay in making separate decisions on zoning and subdivision development without taking the long view of community needs as a whole. With this kind of planning proved inadequate, contemporary city planning has become a dynamic process.

SCHOOLS IN THE CITY PLAN—CURRENT THEORY

Against this background of city planning practice, let us look at the way in which school planning fits into the picture. Most city planners base location of schools on the so-called neighborhood theory. This concept, put forth during the early thirties by Clarence Perry [2] and others, calls for the shap-

[2] *The Neighborhood Unit Plan: Its Spread and Acceptance.* Compiled by James Dahir. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1947.

ing of residential areas so that an elementary school is located at the center of each subarea, which in turn is planned to hold sufficient population to support the elementary school. The size of the subarea is based on a walking distance to school of not more than one-half mile, approximately. This measure provides also a convenient guide in determining land-use patterns, spacing of major and secondary arteries, and location of related neighborhood facilities such as recreation centers and shopping facilities.

Opponents of this theory have argued that from a social point of view such precise functional planning of areas can lead to a too neat and inflexible patterning of residents according to income and race. Even worse, the pattern would be reflected in the elementary school itself.

As an outgrowth of the neighborhood theory, planners have developed the concept of the "community," made up of a series of neighborhoods, served by a single high school or junior high school, and bounded by such primary barriers as freeways, major arteries, railroads, or geographic elements. While the neighborhood idea is based on walking distances, the community concept is based on travel by public transportation or car; location of the junior high school or high school central to a cluster of neighborhoods means that such "community-wide" travel can be done without passing through other neighborhood areas. This arrangement provides a framework for locating major traffic ways, transit routes, and related community facilities and, in fact, offers some of the advantages to be obtained from the self-contained small town with a population of some twenty-five to forty thousand. It may be argued that this "community" concept broadens the neighborhood idea and offers a basis for greater heterogeneity of population types. Certainly the school is a key element in each system.

Facilities of higher education such as colleges and universities and adult education facilities serving the city as a whole or possibly even the region would, according to this general theory of planning, be located in places between or central to communities; here also will be found other major institutions which serve the whole urban area, the central commercial sections, and the major public facilities and civic buildings.

These concepts provide a convenient general procedure to follow in integrating schools into the residential pattern. Population densities can be predetermined and held in place through zoning, total holding capacity calculated, and sufficient land for the needs of the population set aside in advance of development. Related community and neighborhood facilities can be located to form "focal points" of social activities, and street patterns can be laid out to foster their use and accessibility and to discourage through traffic foreign to local needs.

OBSTACLES TO GOOD SCHOOL PLANNING

This straightforward, theoretical method of planning schools in relation to the city as a whole is less simple in application, owing to a number of obstacles to good planning. We shall attempt in this section to consider some of them, and to point out problems which are not being solved and which are blocking proper co-ordination. In the solution of these problems the assistance and close co-operation of educational administrators are essential.

Schools must be paid for

One fundamental problem is related to the economic base of the community and its ability to pay for needed school facilities. Too often members of school

boards and particularly citizens at large fail to see the relation between planning of education facilities and land-use planning for commerce and industry in terms of the quality and quantity of these uses for taxing purposes. A typical situation is one to be found in many of the newer residential suburbs in California, where the residents want good new schools but do not want any intrusion of industry or "heavy" commerce. They fail to realize that industry and commerce, properly located and set up with proper restrictions, can provide an employment and tax base by which first-class schools can be financed. In Davis, California, an essentially agricultural university town of some ten thousand population, older residents have opposed setting aside land for industry because of their desire to maintain the semirural environment. Newer residents, particularly those with growing families, are convinced that a large area should be set aside for industry and appropriate types of industry brought in, because they know that this industrial development will lead to better schools and better education.

On the other hand, a similar problem often exists in reverse, when major industrialists or downtown commercial interests oppose bond issues for schools on the basis that thrift is good public policy. These groups overlook the significant fact that if school standards fall the attractiveness of the community as a place in which to live and raise families diminishes, and that population which serves as a stable labor force and as a market for the products and services of business may go elsewhere in pursuit of a more favorable total living environment.

In both these examples relating to economic results of land-use planning, co-ordination between all phases of the development of the physical environment, the essence of the city planning process, is the key to community welfare.

Too many of a kind

Unbalanced population makeup is another important obstacle to proper co-ordination. For example, in Santa Cruz, California, a bond issue for schools failed to pass even though an almost desperate need for school-plant development existed and one school had to be closed as a hazard. The reason for the failure was the large number of older persons in the community who were retired on limited pensions and who had no interest in paying for schools. Whenever the population is composed too much of one kind or another, problems are likely to arise. In many California communities where zoning and subdivision controls set a pattern of similar lot size and dwelling units, the net result in terms of population composition is uniformity. A similar pattern of age groups prevails throughout the community, placing a major load on the school for children of a particular school age. As the children grow older a hiatus is left below and another crisis occurs at higher grade levels. Had there been established a more rational land use and density pattern, permitting or encouraging a wider range of dwelling types—from single-family, detached residences, owned by their occupants, to rented row houses and apartments—a more normal range of population groups would have resulted.

Where is the school?

The basic problem of co-ordination in physical terms is that of space. We have become so completely casual and unconcerned about the shaping of our urban areas that we allow all the land in new areas to be filled up by houses and stores and streets without carefully

thinking through in advance what land is needed for schools and other community facilities. The houses are built, the families move in, and then comes the realization that space is needed for schools. One way or another space is found, but not without certain losses. In a recent new subdivision in San Mateo County, houses were built and occupied during one summer; with hundreds of school children waiting for a desk and a teacher, some of the brand new homes had to be withheld from sale and converted into an elementary school by linking them with covered walks. In this instance a substandard facility was used. In other cases, a small site must be accepted; in still others, a site poorly located in relation to the service area or to other neighborhood uses requiring extended bus trips. Generally, sites secured as afterthoughts cost more. Sometimes existing schools must be overcrowded to take care of the new population.

Built but not planned

When we add subdivision to subdivision, school site to school site, we are in effect building a new city. Yet the resultant product is generally lacking in the element most characteristic of a city—that is, the focal point at which may be obtained a variety of services unavailable in rural areas. We allow ourselves to take second-rate sites for schools while good sense would tell us to take only the best for this important function. We miss the chance to relate residential sections and street routes with neighborhood and community facilities in a logical and functional whole. We are building, not planning, new cities, and they are formless. We are neglecting opportunities to use the school itself as the core of the central area of human activities, relating to it such other facilities as recreation, welfare agencies, clinics, churches, libraries, civic buildings, police and fire departments, parks, and shopping centers. This lack of imagination, of creative concern for the design of the community as a whole and of its centers, is a major weakness on the part of city planners themselves, to say nothing of school planners. Exceptions can be found: we have outstanding examples of collaboration in San Francisco's redevelopment program on Diamond Heights and in the Sunset Community Center.

Establishment of standards for space and location should lead to a concept of grouping of community facilities so that they relate to each other, mutually reinforce each other, and together form a core of community services. A community lacking a focal point for the various community activities cannot function fully as a community. The school is essential to this focal point, both physically and socially. California is becoming covered with residential areas which resemble miles of wallpaper unrolled over the landscape, a sea of rooftops, telephone poles, and television antennas unbroken by a recognizable place where community activities can take place.

The school in the community

The school in its central location, its central role in community life, is one of "the intangible instruments of community creation" referred to by Dr. N. L. Engelhardt.[3] Juxtaposition of the school and other community facilities may be an important way of assuring many community gains. Some of these gains might be, for example, a

[3] N. L. Engelhardt, Sr., Educational Consultant, New York, in an address on "The Future Community and Its Schools" given at the Conference on Schools and Community Planning, August 1953, sponsored by the School of Architecture and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

greater knowledge of economic values on the part of school children through occasional exposure to shopping facilities near the school; frequent use of the church by both child and adult if it is within walking distance of the school site; a more mature self-reliance and initiative in children if schools are within easy access on foot rather than so far away that the family car or the school bus must be used; a sense of belonging to a somewhat loosely formed social group, developing from the use of common facilities.

School and local government

Perhaps the greatest obstacle to co-ordination is a political one—the independence of the school district in relation to other segments of local government. In Contra Costa County, California, there are 150 separate jurisdictions, many of which are school districts each with its own board. In a typical small city, the city planning department reports to the city council in the same way that a number of other city departments do—parks, libraries, health, and others; in this situation it is readily possible for the physical improvements proposed by these departments to be co-ordinated through the recommendations of the city planning department. But the school, a central and most important community facility and a key to the distribution of streets and other community facilities, stands outside the framework of co-ordination under a comparatively autonomous jurisdiction. Although the California State Education Code requires that all planning commissions review acquisitions of school sites, minimum use is made of this requirement, and in other states no such requirement exists, even on paper. Simplification of the school-districting pattern at the local level and on a metropolitan regional basis is needed to bring about more natural and assured integration with the other political jurisdictions responsible for decision making. Since city planners depend so much on school-planning criteria, the judgment, knowledge, and experience of school planners are needed in determining location, size, and land-use relationships of schools. To this end closer collaboration is imperative.

THE PARTS AND THE WHOLE

While we in the United States have not so far achieved any high degree of success in shaping our cities toward the maximum in convenience and functional qualities, as well as in beauty, many of the separate elements of our cities are exemplary in comparison to those in other parts of the world. One of these elements is the school plant as a building and site unit. With this as a major achievement during the first half of the twentieth century, we might well look forward to making the second half distinctive by reason of creative ideas concerning the location of schools in relation to the city as a whole. Let them be so placed that they not only serve the surrounding population in the best possible way as far as accessibility and space are concerned, but also help bring into being community centers composed of related facilities of which the school is a key element.

WIDER UNDERSTANDING NEEDED

In all of this, we must remember that the laws enabling city planning and the techniques developed are only as good and as effective as the people who use them. Therefore, our greatest need lies in fuller understanding by responsible officials and laymen alike of these complex problems of urban development and of the potentialities of the city planning process. School personnel, par-

ticularly, can be effective in working toward better co-ordination by using the city planning process in their own communities and by spreading through their own educational channels, to adults as well as children, greater knowledge of city structure and city planning. In fact, because of the central position of the school in the urban scene the future of our urban areas should be the joint concern of school planners and city planners. Techniques of preparing for the future, of analyzing expected needs, should be shared and thereby made more fully effective than they have been in the past.

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Housing Policy and the Educational System

By Catherine Bauer

EFFECTIVE planning can establish the general pattern for community development. But the force which actually creates neighborhoods in three-dimensional, flesh-and-blood terms is residential construction. Wherever new homes are built, people move in who will require schools and all essential community services, whether or not their needs have been fully anticipated.

In the postwar civic scene home building has been a very dynamic factor indeed, owing to the combined effect on housing demand of a long-standing shortage, high marriage and birth rates, general prosperity, and the rising desire to replace slums and blighted areas. At the beginning of 1955 almost ten million nonfarm dwellings, or more than 20 per cent of our total nonfarm housing supply, had been erected in the previous nine years. And this rate is likely to continue for some time to come. Indeed, if slum replacement is to move ahead at the hoped-for scale, an even higher rate of residential construction will be necessary.

More important, however, is the fact that this new housing tends to be produced by methods essentially quite different from the traditional system of home building in the United States. And these new methods pose some entirely new problems of community organization, servicing, and social structure. Enlightened community planning is more urgently needed than ever, but in some ways it is rendered much more difficult. Fundamental social questions are involved, for one thing, which the professional housing and planning administrators are hardly qualified to decide unaided, even if they had the power to do so.

In particular, the educational authorities are directly involved at many points, not only with respect to school plant but also in terms of basic educational philosophy and democratic community values. They should therefore understand these changes in the housing process and the implications for sound community development and responsible civic leadership.

The Revolution in Housing

Until about twenty years ago, houses and even apartments were mainly built by individual initiative or small-scale private enterprise, with credit from various independent private sources, on land that had been previously subdivided and sold in small parcels. Since construction in any given area tended to be on a piecemeal basis over a period of years, schools and community facilities could be fitted in gradually as required, and ultimately most neighborhoods included a considerable range of dwelling types and income groups.

In terms of modern design, technology, and production methods, however, the home-building business was exceedingly backward. Urban homes were expensive, and costs were further increased by two additional factors: the rising standards of space, sanitation, and safety enforced by official ordinances, and the chaotic, highly speculative mortgage system. Together, these conditions tended to limit the effective market for new dwellings to upper-income families, forcing the vast majority either to pay too much or take whatever they could find among older, cheaper homes. The result was mounting slums and blight and, when the depression struck, almost universal bankruptcy and

paralysis in the whole field of residential construction and home finance. The evidence of failure and signs of impending change are spread throughout the numerous housing studies of the early 1930's. During the past generation, therefore, both the system of home building and its characteristic products have been greatly altered.

Larger-scale operations

In the first place, there is a basic trend toward bigger housing operations by professional building agencies. Individual consumer initiative is not dead by any means: owner-built houses still apparently accounted for about 18 per cent of the total home production in metropolitan areas in 1949.[1] But this included both tailor-made homes for those who could afford them and, at the opposite end of the housing spectrum, substandard shacks in areas where codes are not enforced. In between, the vast majority of new dwellings are provided on an increasingly mass-production basis. By 1949, 25 per cent of the new one-family homes in selected metropolitan areas were turned out by large firms building more than a hundred houses per annum. Moreover, with the tremendous increase in over-all volume, the total number of units built by relatively big operators was at least six times as great as a decade earlier. Today the scale of operations is undoubtedly still greater, above all in the ever expanding suburban fringe areas.

Following World War II there was a surge in large-scale projects that moved from raw land to complete communities within the very short time of two years. Thousand-acre projects such as Panorama City and Lakewood in Southern California, Park Forest southwest of Chicago, the Levittowns in Pennsylvania and Long Island, Fairless Hills in Pennsylvania and Lincoln Village near Columbus, Ohio, were built as single operations to meet local housing needs. The combination of warborn circumstances such as housing shortages in areas of great population growth, record family formation, inflation and easy mortgage payments make possible these mammoth, single phase community developments by the new kind of merchant builder.[2]

Since most of these factors still prevail, the trend continues. And meanwhile in central districts rental projects of unprecedented size are being developed by housing authorities and big institutional investors such as life insurance companies, as well as by large-scale speculative builders and, in a few cities, co-operative initiative.

Federal aid and responsibility

A more sudden and sweeping change in the housing process, however, with at least equally great civic implications, is the degree of federal intervention now taken for granted. Of the 9.4 million nonfarm dwellings constructed from 1946 through 1954, almost four million were financed with mortgages either insured by the Federal Housing Administration or guaranteed by the Veterans Administration. This proportion was much higher in the major urban centers, amounting to 75 per cent of the "professionally built" one-family houses in certain sample metropolitan areas in 1949. In 1954 almost half the estimated total mortgage debt outstanding in the United States, or about 36 billion dollars worth, was underwritten by the federal government. Moreover,

[1] The factual data in this section are from either the Bureau of Labor Statistics or the Housing and Home Finance Agency, in some cases as derived from these sources by Sherman Maisel in his book, *Housebuilding in Transition,* Berkeley (Calif.), 1953.

[2] Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builders Handbook* (Washington, D. C., 1954), pp. 17–18.

the home-finance terms, practices, and standards inaugurated by FHA and the Veterans Administration now tend to set the pace for the entire private housing market, which is also indirectly influenced by the operations of the Home Loan Bank Board and the Federal National Mortgage Association.

In addition, about 300,000 dwelling units have been constructed by direct public initiative during the postwar period, for the most part by local housing authorities for low-income families from slums, with annual subsidies from the Public Housing Administration. And finally, there is a separate network of federal aids and accompanying controls for the improvement of slum and blighted areas. The 1949 Housing Act provided substantial capital grants to local redevelopment agencies for the wholesale acquisition and clearance of substandard areas, in order to free such sites for suitable reconstruction. The 1954 Act broadened this program to include special aids and inducements for "renewal" in declining areas where modernization and code enforcement might turn the tide. These programs are now in the planning stage, at least, in some two hundred different communities in thirty-two states and territories. Federal grants are also available under certain conditions for state and metropolitan planning, and local public works programing.

Over-all results

All in all, the process of providing American families with homes and neighborhoods has been revolutionized. What was a small-scale, amateurish enterprise, almost wholly local in character and control, has become a highly organized, big-time affair, both at the operating level and in terms of powerful interest groups representing builders, lenders, and reformers of various types, continually jockeying for advantage in the national arena. Moreover, what used to be a strictly private business is now one of the largest and most complex forms of "mixed" private-and-public enterprise extant.

In many ways this complicated new machinery has proved effective. The rate of home construction has been both higher and steadier than at any time in the past, and the postwar shortage is therefore considerably eased (at least for upper- and middle-income white households of average size). Mass-production methods and cheaper financing have enabled millions of families of moderate means to purchase houses on easy terms. Indeed, many had no other choice, since both federal policy and builder practice greatly favor individual ownership, with little encouragement for medium-rental or co-operative initiative. The proportion of owner occupancy increased from 41 per cent of all nonfarm homes in 1940 to 53 per cent in 1950, and is doubtless still going up.

A major effort to tackle slums and blight is also under way for the first time in our history, although the powerful tools available for clearance are not yet matched by adequate machinery or resources to relocate displaced families. A commission appointed by President Eisenhower estimated that five million homes must be demolished and fifteen million homes rehabilitated.[3] But the low-rent public housing program is extremely limited in scope, most slum and blighted areas are fully occupied with no better homes available at comparable prices, and there is an acute housing shortage for minority families at all economic levels. Rehousing the aged, single workers, and other groups with special needs is likewise an unsolved problem. And in the field of rehabilita-

[3] The President's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies and Programs, *A Report to the President of the United States* (December 1953), p. 111.

tion, the current drive may yet produce substantial results but stronger incentives will probably be required sooner or later.

But however the balance sheet may be drawn up, one thing is certain. The new housing system is here to stay, by and large. It may be modified, expanded, or refined in the course of producing the next ten million homes, but there is no question of going back to small-scale laissez faire in the housing business.

Home building, moreover, has become an extremely dynamic factor in the organization and quality of everyday community life. The suburban tide is rapidly changing the shape and social-economic structure of metropolitan areas, creating problems that challenge the traditional concepts of local government, including school administration. The ultimate effects of decentralization and dispersal are not yet visible. Redevelopment, renewal, and public housing pose related issues for central districts. Enormous population shifts are fostered if not compelled by housing trends and policies, which tend to encourage the high rate of residential mobility that makes us the most nomadic nation of modern times. "Home ownership," under the present system, has little of the stabilizing influence that made it the symbol of solid middle-class achievement and settled community status. In short, urban society is in a state of flux.

Since housing practices tend more and more to shape the whole neighborhood environment and its social structure, everyone concerned with the quality of community life should therefore cast a critical eye on the results of the new system to date. For it is in this context rather than in national statistics that certain weaknesses and potential dangers are most apparent, with particular significance for school planning and perhaps the entire educational system.

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE COMMUNITY AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

The opportunity to develop "complete communities" all at once has long been cherished and promoted by progressive planners and architects. As against the endless dreary grid of the land speculator and the chaos often resulting from scattered individual and small-scale initiative, the qualitative advantages of unified planning and design have been stressed quite as much as the potential economies of large-scale building operations. Housing, schools, roads, and all the other elements could be carefully plotted ahead to meet the most advanced standards, and properly integrated to form a community which might be beautiful as well as orderly, safe, healthy, and efficient.[4]

The "neighborhood unit" concept carried these principles of planning and design over into the realm of basic social values. A distinctive residential area, carefully designed and equipped to serve about five thousand people, would help to counteract the impersonality and *anomie* of mass metropolitan society by stimulating friendly contact and responsible participation at the "face-to-face" neighborhood level.[5]

Some of the most interesting and influential experiments in modern housing, from Radburn and the Greenbelt communities to Britain's current New

[4] See Henry Wright, *Rehousing Urban America* (New York, 1935), for a persuasive early analysis; also American Public Health Association, *Planning the Neighborhood* (Chicago, 1948), for detailed technical standards and recommendations.

[5] See Clarence Perry, *Housing for the Machine Age* (New York, 1939); James Dahir (Compiler), *The Neighborhood Unit Plan* (New York, 1947); as well as many statements by Lewis Mumford and others.

Towns, including also many less ambitious schemes, have been developed on such principles; and at their best these pilot projects demonstrate many of the virtues claimed for this approach.[6]

"Community" housing: principles and problems

Clearly the present trend toward large-scale housing construction subject to national standards and policy controls, along with increased acceptance of local city planning, could favor the application of these ideas on a much wider basis. And a conscious effort has been made in many cases to translate the principles of integrated community development into ordinary policy and practice. City plans, as noted in the previous article, now tend to be based on school-centered neighborhoods. The HHFA has recently published a set of *Suggested Land Subdivision Regulations* for the guidance of builders and local governments, in which advance co-operation with the planning commission, city or county engineers, school board, and recreation and transportation authorities is stressed. Similar recommendations are made in the *Community Builders Handbook* issued by the Urban Land Institute (an affiliate of the National Association of Real Estate Boards) and in various publications of the National Association of Home Builders. The Federal Housing Administration issues detailed "Neighborhood Standards" for each region as criteria for mortgage insurance and takes pride in its encouragement of community planning.[7]

The Public Housing Administration's standards are concerned with over-all site planning and community facilities, and renewal policy makes minute stipulations with respect to the comprehensive community plans which must be officially adopted before a project can be approved for federal assistance. In the Declaration of National Housing Policy which introduces the Housing Act of 1949, Congress dedicated the act to "the development of well-planned, integated, residential neighborhoods and the development and redevelopment of communities."

In actual practice, however, the results of large-scale housing development on a "community" or "neighborhood" basis often bear little visible relationship to the ideal principles thus set forth. In any case some new problems are increasingly evident in this type of development which were not always anticipated in community-planning theory or fully recognized in the early experiments.[8] Moreover these mounting issues

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[6] See Clarence S. Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*. Chicago and Liverpool, 1951.

[7] "In 1934 the homebuilding industry was characterized by speculative land development, by land subdivided in excess of need and only partially improved, and by many small inefficient builders building on scattered lots and creating unstable, heterogeneous neighborhoods. Today the typical operative builder develops land as it is required for immediate building purposes, and constructs not only the dwellings but the utilities, streets, and other land improvements as an integrated operation. This method produces stable, completely improved neighborhoods that are more attractive to home buyers, better risks for lenders, and desirable additions to the communities in which they are located. The land planning service of the FHA has been a significant factor in the transformation that has taken place in the last twenty years in land development." —Byron R. Hanke, Chief, Land Planning Section, FHA Underwriting Division, "Two Decades of Land Planning," *Insured Mortgage Portfolio,* Summer 1954, p. 12.

[8] Neighborhood planning issues have been debated extensively in recent years. General references include: Catherine Bauer, "Good Neighborhoods," THE ANNALS, November 1945; Reginald R. Isaacs, articles in the *Journal of Housing,* July and August 1948; and Svend Reimer, *The Modern City* (New York, 1952), Chap. XVII.

on the housing horizon are in some ways quite as closely related to basic educational problems and policy as they are to housing per se.

In general terms, three such issues seem to stand out:

1. "Community planning" is no longer merely a pleasant, enlightened civic ideal, to be attempted where conditions are favorable. With mass-production housing methods increasingly dominant, effective planning becomes absolutely necessary, if essential community facilities are to be reasonably well located and efficiently provided for the people who will occupy the homes. School programing, in particular, must now be integrated with over-all community planning well in advance of actual housing development.

2. Thus far the new housing system tends to promote a much greater degree of social segregation at the neighborhood level by income, age, and racial groups than has been traditional in the United States. This trend can readily be modified, but only by a conscious civic effort to reshape housing and planning policy in terms of basic community values. Race segregation, particularly, has become a major issue. Since school structure and the educational system are directly affected by neighborhood social structure, the responsibility for solving these knotty problems falls in part on educational leaders.

3. In the packaged neighborhood the home seeker comes in last, and the individual consumer has little real choice or influence with respect to his home and community environment. In redevelopment, moreover, families are forcibly uprooted on a wholesale basis, and their relocation raises fundamental problems of social justice. Effective machinery for bona fide citizen participation in the planning and housing process at the neighborhood level must therefore be created. But this is at base a problem of adult education in civic affairs, and therefore a problem to be shared with the community's educational system, broadly conceived.

SCHOOLS MUST BE PLANNED AHEAD

In another article in this volume, Professor Violich points out the close interrelationships between school planning and other aspects of city planning, emphasizing the need for greater foresight and stronger integration to guide the process of community development. A key factor is the trend toward large-scale housing operations which, along with its obvious opportunities, seems to make effective over-all planning both more difficult *and* more imperative.

It is all too evident that if a big builder (whether speculative or institutional, private or public) is allowed to pursue the economic benefits of mass production with single-minded zeal, housing is likely to blanket enormous areas, with no spaces left over for any other purpose whatever. And in the flood of postwar residential construction, housing initiative too often got ahead of planning, thus contributing to many of the emergency school problems now so universally rampant in suburbia. The homes, however, were badly needed. And if the provision of adequate community facilities, properly located, is now extremely difficult and costly it is not the home builders, by and large, who should be blamed. What was lacking was an equal degree of *civic* initiative, to overcome the anarchy of unrelated governmental agencies, special districts, and so forth which preclude effective land-use controls and advance planning in the burgeoning metropolitan fringe areas. The autonomous school district, as Mr. Violich suggests, is frequently one of the obstacles to better integrated development.

In the redevelopment of central slum

areas it is also necessary to anticipate in the planning process changing school demands. The Stuyvesant Town project built by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in New York City accommodates 12,000 families but includes no school or other community facility. And in renewal or conservation schemes where an effort is made to stabilize declining areas by selected improvements, the provision of modern schools and playgrounds will often play a key role, if carefully related to an over-all plan.

Builders, investors, home seekers, and housing agencies are, it is true, gradually becoming more sophisticated about the need for schools and other community facilities, properly located in relation to homes. This is real progress, but it only reinforces the need for comprehensive development plans, officially adopted *before* housing enterprise gets under way in any given area.

Moreover, planning should facilitate the advance acquisition of sites for schools and other public uses, before development has enhanced the land values. And if the home builders ought to contribute, by land donations or otherwise, to the facilities required by the population they will bring into an area, then the necessary legal and administrative machinery must be solidly established as an integral part of the system of advance planning and subdivision control. This is a complex and controversial problem, for planners and school administrators alike.[9]

TREND TOWARD SOCIAL UNIFORMITY

The new housing system tends to turn out a highly standardized product unless there is a firm determination to achieve some degree of variety and balance. This standardization is due in part to the rationale of mass production but perhaps even more to bureaucratic influences and certain cherished real estate doctrines. The rigidly specialized system of federal housing aids and controls favors uniform results in any particular project or category, in terms of dwelling type, size, design, tenure, and price level. In addition, many local zoning ordinances still force absolute uniformity of lot sizes and dwelling types over enormous areas. And finally, real estate mythology has actively promoted the credo that any deviation from complete neighborhood homogeneity will undermine property values, an article of faith long embodied in minute detail in every handbook for subdividers, whether from private or public sources.

The combined effect of these influences is visible on every hand, in a high degree of social as well as physical standardization: vast suburban tracts of identical small houses wholly occupied by veteran families of almost equally identical age and income, firmly excluding nonwhites; equally enormous public housing projects in central areas consisting solely of many-storied structures limited to very low-income families of two or more persons (along with many additional strictures on eligibility), sometimes "mixed" as to race but quite often all white or all Negro or all Mexican. In the field of private redevelopment, similar homogenized schemes can also readily be found.

Of course there have long been "protected" upper-class districts on the one hand and equally well-defined slum areas and racial ghettos on the other. But the present housing machinery promotes neighborhood social uniformity to a much more refined and absolute degree than was possible earlier. And as the system is inevitably expanded to include more private construction for

[9] *Proceedings of the Conference on Schools and Community Planning* (August 28, 1953, sponsored by the School of Architecture and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology), pp. 11, 14.

nonwhites, housing for the aged, new types of rental, co-operative, or self-help initiative, and so on, this will simply mean new versions of the large, single-purpose standardized "project," unless there is a very firm and positive civic effort in the meantime to encourage more physical and social diversity in residential areas.

Schools for "project" children

When a community is entirely made up of young veterans, for instance, the sudden bulge in first graders will continue to create abnormal problems of school organization for years to come. But unbalanced age groups are only one small aspect of the educators' problem.

The peculiar social character of the one-class dormitory suburb has been explored from various viewpoints, often with conflicting judgments. But many would agree that there are likely to be heavy pressures for conformity, some degree of anti-intellectualism, a matriarchal social order, and perhaps (despite the frenetic mobility) a tendency to view the city and the world from a rather insular perspective. Moreover, at least two sharp observers have recently suggested that the educational system has a particularly important role to play in such communities. It can either reflect and rationalize the community's inherent limitations *or* try in some measure to compensate for them.[10]

The danger of a more paternalistic type of regimentation in big, high-density, one-class rental projects operated with a firm hand by public housing authorities and institutional investors has likewise been pointed out.[11] And where a school is destined to serve mainly (or often wholly) the children from such a project, it certainly has special responsibilities, both as a neighborhood community center and in the more formal aspects of education.

The whole question of school districting is likewise involved. Where the neighborhood social pattern is highly standardized, is it always a sound ideal for schools to conform to the same pattern? Clearly there are some difficult and controversial issues here, with conflicting values to be resolved. But if schools are supposed to train children to live successfully in a highly variegated world, this is a very real problem for the educational system.

New push for greater diversity

The standardized neighborhood pattern is itself being challenged, moreover, from various quarters. There are efforts to make zoning regulations more flexible, for a wide array of social, civic, economic, and aesthetic reasons. Some signs of a cautious shift in real estate practice and philosophy are visible, although hardly to the point of welcoming low-rent housing or nonwhite families in middle-class communities.[12] But redevelopment schemes in Philadelphia

[10] William H. Whyte, Jr., "The Transients" [a series of articles on suburbia], *Fortune,* May through August 1953; and Sidonie M. Gruenberg, "Homogenized Children of New Suburbia," *New York Times Magazine,* September 19, 1954.

[11] See particularly Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Housing and Social Structure.* Philadelphia Housing Authority, 1952.

[12] "Better balanced communities and greater stability may often be obtained by having houses of various prices in a single community. Similar opinion with regard to a reasonable diversity of housing types within the neighborhood is developing. A well balanced neighborhood plan containing a reasonable variation of housing accommodations will aid materially in stabilizing values and preventing decline by permitting the individual family to adjust its housing requirements to its age, marital status and size at any given time and still remain within the community of its choice."—Urban Land Institute, *op. cit. supra* (note 2), p. 57.

and Detroit, for instance, are designed to encourage small, varied projects, public and private, rental and ownership, to serve all racial groups. And at the political level, racial exclusion practices are becoming a major issue in housing policy, with direct implications for education as well.

Race segregation: a critical issue

Since the Supreme Court decision on desegregation of schools, the frontier for race relations has been shifting more and more to the housing field. The sequence is obvious, since the degree of integration in the schools now depends very largely on the residential pattern. And the neighborhood pattern is shaped by housing policy and practices which are in a state of conflict, confusion, and potential change, sometimes promoting complete nondiscrimination (as with public housing and sometimes even private redevelopment, in many northern cities) but frequently enforcing a degree of absolute segregation hitherto unprecedented anywhere in the country (as in most new suburban communities). Housing and redevelopment policies can serve any kind of purpose with respect to race relations. They can even be used to get around the Supreme Court.[13]

With the continued urban migration of Negroes and their improving economic status and power, with public agencies involved in housing at a hundred points, and with large-scale operations tending to force a definite decision one way or the other over wide areas, residential segregation versus nonsegregation is certain to be a lively political issue, nationally and locally, for some time to come. Many civic groups, leaders, and officials, including educators, will have to share the responsibility for its successful solution.

Nondiscrimination has worked fairly well in northern public housing and is just beginning to be tested in some private redevelopment and co-operative projects. Minority families are also gradually taking up residence on a more scattered basis throughout most of the older districts of northern urban centers, and on the whole they are encountering somewhat less resistance and hysteria than formerly. Redevelopment, in breaking up the old concentrations, will inevitably speed up this process but perhaps at the price of more opposition. Most "conservation" or "removal" schemes involve areas of social and racial transition, and there is beginning to be some infiltration even in the suburbs, despite all the barriers.

Social readjustment and the educational system

Most cities and metropolitan areas are therefore confronted with widespread problems of social readjustment, perhaps one of the most vital adjustments that this country has to make in the visible future. And a large part of the responsibility will necessarily fall on the educational system—in the classroom, in the neighborhood, and at the broader civic level.

"CITIZEN PARTICIPATION": BUT HOW?

The final issue can only be suggested with a question mark. With home and

[13] "Although the school decisions in 1954 gave civil rights advocates cause for rejoicing, it may be expected that some local officials will now speed up slum clearance, public works, and urban redevelopment projects which will displace minorities from an area within a public school district and thereby sidestep the Supreme Court's mandate. Not only creation of new all-white sections will be encouraged in order to maintain white schools but abolition of presently mixed areas may be anticipated as well."—Charles Abrams, *Forbidden Neighbors* (New York, 1955), p. 305.

community shaped more and more by big-time decisions, does this inevitably mean another step in what C. Wright Mills calls "the transformation of a community of publics into a mass society"?

The net effect of the new housing system is a neighborhood environment created by forces over which the individual home seeker or resident has little direct control.[14] But if the consumer has little real influence via the traditional mechanics of market choice, what about his potential role as a citizen influencing policy? To what extent can he take part in the public decisions about housing, planning, and redevelopment that will determine how he lives?

Many efforts are being made to encourage democratic participation in the development process. Sometimes citizen groups form spontaneously to attack common problems, whether in unincorporated suburban communities or in blighted areas where redevelopment schemes bring the threat of mass eviction. Such groups may be weak or strong, ignorant or informed, narrow or enlightened. In Chicago, through such organizations as the Hyde Park–Kenwood Community Conference, citizen planning at the district level is being attempted, to deal with problems of social transition and race relations as well as physical improvement per se. But all these efforts are still highly experimental, and although federal policy requires "citizen participation" in renewal programs, there is no definite proven means of achieving it.

In the field of adult education, however, there seems to be a growing movement that may help to provide some of the answers. Although not focused specifically on housing and redevelopment issues, the views of three different leaders are directly pertinent in the most concrete sense.

The philosophy and social imperatives of the new adult education "movement" grow out of the recognition by many educators and sociologists of the declining importance of the primary face-to-face groups in American life, and the pervasive sense of uselessness or ineffectiveness of the individual confronted with the shift of power from the individual to larger and larger social units. . . . [The new role of adult education] is that of being "the handmaiden of community action programs" looking toward the improvement of living conditions of citizens.[15]

On the one hand, man as a human being and as a citizen is shaped by the industrialization and urbanization which have attended the developments of science and technology. On the other hand, as a citizen of democracy, man shapes his industrial and urban society when he understands it. His capacity to shape it will be in direct proportion to his understanding of it. It is not the knowledge itself but the art of using the knowledge that matters.[16]

Instruction for adults has until recently been thought of in terms of remedial education and traditional subject matter. . . . However it is recognized today that some of the most effective adult education takes place outside of the classroom when people come together to study and to do something about their common problems. Community improvement and development activities are in this category. . . . Three of the special activities in which adult education is an integral part of community development [are]: the community school; the community council; and the commu-

[14] "Consumers' choice is constrained by a limited market, by factors of financing and price, and by the fact that they are offered only packaged products with a largely predetermined neighborhood environment."—Maisel, *op. cit. supra* (note 1), p. 258.

[15] Paul A. McGhee, "Three Dimensions of Adult Education," *The Educational Record,* April 1954, p. 119.

[16] John Osman, "A Call for Statesmanship in Adult Education," speech for the Ohio Association for Adult Education, March 13, 1953.

nity development services of colleges and universities.[17]

[17] Herbert C. Hunsaker, "A Review of Community Projects," *School Executive,* May 1954, p. 72.

Knowledge and *effective organization:* these are the basic requirements for democratic participation in the complicated process that shapes modern cities and neighborhoods.

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Education and Recreation

By Jackson M. Anderson

SINCE the turn of the century, there has been a vast increase in the amount of leisure time for people of all ages in our society. Accompanying this expanding leisure has been a significant increase in crime and delinquency, a higher divorce rate, and an alarming growth in the number of mentally ill. Educators and other community leaders, realizing the value of recreation in contributing to personal happiness and thus helping to prevent and alleviate these conditions, are giving increasing support to programs of organized community-recreation activities. Thus recreation is now recognized as an essential community responsibility.

As early as 1917, the National Education Association listed "preparation for the worthy use of leisure time" as one of the seven basic objectives of education.[1] Thus the school has long been charged with a strong responsibility for recreation. This responsibility is twofold.

First, the school is responsible for encouraging its students to develop interests and basic skills in a variety of wholesome leisure-time activities which may be enjoyed throughout life. Many of these desirable interests and skills will come from the learning experiences provided in physical education and other organized classes in the school curriculum. Others will grow out of the play activities, interscholastic athletics, and other extraclass activities and experiences provided by the school. These learning experiences must be constantly examined to make sure that they are really contributing to the development of leisure-time interests and skills. Failure to do so may deny the students in our schools the right to enjoy many types of recreational activities in later life.

The other aspect of the school's responsibility is provision of the necessary leadership, facilities, and programs to meet the recreational needs and desires of the entire community. Awareness of this second responsibility came with the new concept of the "community school." Of course the school is not alone in responsibility for the recreation program of the community, for many agencies both public and private have contributions to make. There is, however, a growing realization of the fundamental importance of the school as a community center for recreation and adult education. Not only is the school strategically located but, in many of our smaller communities, it is the only agency capable of supplying the leadership, facilities, and funds necessary to meet the recreational needs of the community. Since a great majority of the communities in our nation *are* small, the role of the school in recreation is an exceedingly important one.

With the growing realization that recreation is a fundamental human need, essential to the well-being of all people, there is more and more public demand for use of school facilities for community recreation during after-school hours and throughout the summer months. To permit an expensive school plant to lie idle while facilities are needed for community recreation is an obvious waste. The consolidation of schools into larger

[1] National Education Association, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, 1917.

and more effective districts or administrative units and the construction of modern school plants with complete recreation facilities have greatly enhanced the school's ability to provide organized programs of community recreation. Thus it is not surprising that today the school is one of the primary agencies administering such programs.

One of the problems the secondary schools now face is the obvious necessity for half-day sessions because of the wave of young people now entering high school. This situation will surely have a tremendous effect on the school's responsibility for recreation.

ADMINISTRATION OF COMMUNITY RECREATION PROGRAMS

Besides avocational instruction in classroom and extraclass activities, what recreational services are the schools providing? Although these services take many forms, they may, in general, be classified into the following groups: (1) community recreation programs wholly under the administration of the schools; (2) community recreation programs administered jointly by the school and the municipality or some other agency; (3) community recreation programs using school facilities but under the administration of public agencies other than the schools, or under quasi-public agencies. Some typical examples of these types of services will be discussed briefly.

School-agencies administration

Perhaps the best-known example of a municipal recreation program administered by a school agency is that of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which has long been known as the "City of the Lighted Schoolhouses."

The major recreation program in this city is provided by the Department of Municipal Recreation and Adult Education of the Milwaukee Public Schools. The program is headed by an executive of extensive and varied school and recreation experience, who has the rank of assistant superintendent of schools. In many instances, playgrounds and other recreation areas are acquired by the city and constructed by the Department of Public Works. When completed, however, these areas are turned over to the Department of Municipal Recreation for maintenance and operation. A supervisor with the title of general field assistant has charge of property maintenance and supervision.

Activities in the "lighted schoolhouses" include classes in many applied arts, group athletic activities, literary activities, dramatics, music and dancing, and a variety of civic, social, and patriotic events. The indoor centers are open to school-age children after school hours up to 6:30 P.M., and to others during the evening hours. Scout troops and similar groups of children may use the facilities during the evening hours by special permit from the principal. Highly organized sports for youth and adults are conducted on outdoor play areas during the daytime and under lights in the evening.

A distinctive feature of the Milwaukee program is that, even though it draws its financial support from a special school fund, it is integrated closely with the regular schoolwork, many of the evening program directors being also employed in part during the day. Lighted school centers come under the general supervision of the day-school principal or vice-principal. This creates a strong tie with the general schoolwork and minimizes administrative conflicts between the two programs.

The rapid increase in the number of school-centered community recreation programs is perhaps of greater significance to rural districts than to the cities. The incorporated city is a governmental device employed for the specific purpose of organizing governmental

services of local importance. The rural areas have no such device, except for education, which is administered through a system of local school districts and school boards. These boards are the only governmental agency having immediate contact with local community needs. They also control the main publicly owned facilities which might be utilized in a rural recreation program. Thus the school district offers the only immediate hope for public-sponsored community recreation programs in rural areas.

An excellent example of a rural recreation program is that administered by the County Board of Education in Allen County, Indiana. This county program is headed by a qualified recreation executive who has the title of supervisor of recreation. He reports directly to the County Superintendent of Schools and spends his entire time in organizing and conducting recreation programs throughout the county. These programs are conducted co-operatively with 4-H Clubs, Rural Youth groups, and other agencies. School facilities throughout the county are utilized during after-school hours for recreation activities.

Joint administration by schools and other agencies

The co-ordinated recreation plan of Long Beach, California, has attracted the attention of recreation leaders and educators from all parts of the country. This plan provides an effective method of joint administration of community recreation by school and city authorities. The program is administered by a recreation commission. Four of the nine commission members are the City Manager, the Superintendent of Schools, a member of the City Council, and a member of the Board of Education. Five citizens are appointed by these four and approved by the City Council. The Supervisor of Health and Physical Education of the Long Beach public schools is also Director of Public Recreation.

This co-ordinated plan brings the recreation resources of the school system and the municipality under central direction, thereby avoiding duplication of costs, facilities, services, and personnel. The significance of the co-ordinated plan in enabling the city to meet its increasing needs for recreation has been dramatically demonstrated within the past few years. Modern gymnasiums, swimming pools, school playgrounds, tennis courts, auditoriums, and athletic fields are among the school facilities available, when not needed for school purposes, to supplement the city facilities for community recreation. Thirty-five municipal and sixty-eight school areas are now utilized for the varied program of recreational activities for people of all ages.

A noteworthy plan for joint administration of recreation in a rural area is found in Monongalia County, West Virginia. The Monongalia County Consolidated Recreation Commission was established as a result of the passage of a state recreation enabling act making possible joint action by city, county, and school units. The County School Board, the County Court, and the City Council of Morgantown each appoint three members to make up the nine-member commission. The commission employs a full-time, year-round executive to head up the county recreation program. A budget of over $50,000 is provided by the County School Board, the Morgantown City Council, the county Community Chest, and the County Court. The commission operates seventeen daily playgrounds in the urban and industrial areas, three city parks, and twenty-one weekly and volunteer rural playgrounds. Two community centers, one for youth only and

the other for all ages, are operated from five to seven days each week.

Administration by nonschool agencies

One of the finest examples of a community recreation program utilizing school facilities but administered by a nonschool agency is that of Oakland, California. This city was a pioneer in the field of public recreation, its first playground commission having been appointed in 1908. Since that time it has drawn wide attention for the quality and diversity of its program, which is administered by a five-member Board of Playground Directors. This board co-operates closely with the Board of Education and, under a provision of the city charter, is responsible for the operation of all recreation areas and facilities in the city parks and other municipal areas. The Recreation Department is headed by a qualified Superintendent of Recreation.

Because of the climate, the diversified program in Oakland, like that of many other California cities, consists for the most part of outdoor activities carried on throughout the year. Thus the core of Oakland's program is its playgrounds. The school playgrounds are operated after school hours, on Saturdays and holidays, and during vacation periods. Those playgrounds containing baseball diamonds are also open on Sundays. Although sports and games make up a major part of the program, especially during the school year, many school playgrounds also provide storytelling, dramatics, folk dancing, and simple crafts. At the end of each sport season for girls, district playdays are held in each neighborhood throughout the city. Scheduled athletic activities for girls include softball, tennis, batball, kickball, netball, bowl club ball, paddle handball, relays, and crew rowing. Sports days are also arranged for boys, and the more popular boys' activities include softball, basketball, touch football, track, crew rowing, and handball.

Recreation specialists are employed to assist the playground directors in conducting these activities. Organized clubs include hobby groups, junior leader groups, dramatics clubs, and swimming and tennis units. Special activities are held frequently to add variety to the program. These activities include doll shows, marble tournaments, soap-bubble contests, treasure hunts, pet shows, parades, kite-flying tournaments, and excursions away from the playground. In each district of the city, the children and playground directors join during the summer in observing a special day of social recreation, stunts, games, and refreshments.

In addition to its playground facilities, the Oakland Recreation Department operates a number of neighborhood centers. The recreation activities and facilities of the various districts in the city are co-ordinated and centralized around these centers. Several centers have gymnasiums, and each adjoins an outdoor playground, some of which are lighted. People of all ages are served at these centers through organized clubs. Interested groups take part in social activities, forums, hobbies, handcrafts, dramatics, social, creative, and folk dancing, music, sewing, cooking, and bridge.

An organized recreation program for employees of more than sixty business and industrial firms is carried on through the Industrial Athletic Association of Metropolitan Oakland. This association, which is sponsored by the city Recreation Department, was organized in 1919 and was one of the earliest industrial recreation associations organized in the United States.[2] Ac-

[2] Jackson M. Anderson, *Industrial Recreation—A Guide to Its Organization and Administration* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), p. 58.

tivities for both men and women include bowling, softball, basketball, tennis, golf, swimming, badminton, volleyball, bridge, and crew rowing. Intercompany leagues for men are also organized in golf, horseshoes, baseball, track, handball, and ice hockey. A spectacular spring sports carnival is the outstanding annual event of the association's program. Hundreds of men and women employees of the member firms take part in the colorful parade, with many floats depicting sports, stunts, contests, and demonstration games.

An interesting example of a rural recreation program utilizing school facilities but administered by a nonschool agency is found in Mason County, Kentucky. Here the central authority for the program is the Mason County Playground and Recreation Board, consisting of five members appointed by the county judge. The board employs a qualified full-time director and other necessary personnel, determines policies for conducting the county recreation program, controls all expenditures from the annual budget, operates and maintains playgrounds and community centers, and helps to interpret recreation to the general public.

Unless a community is willing to share the cost, it cannot obtain financial assistance from the county board to conduct a local recreation program. The board pays half the cost of the operation of a playground or community center; the particular community must pay the other half. The board discharges its financial responsibility by providing all paid leadership; the community by furnishing the areas, facilities, equipment, and supplies. If a community desires to expand its recreation program, it must be willing to match any increase allocated to it by the board. The key role which the schools have played in providing facilities is seen in the fact that twenty-seven of the thirty community centers now utilized in the county recreation program are school buildings.

PROBLEMS AND SUGGESTIONS

No one of the three types of administrative patterns for community recreation can be recommended as best for all communities. A pattern which works well in one community might fail miserably in another. The reason is obvious. Not only do communities differ widely as to type, size, and location, but the various agencies within the community differ in their ability to provide leadership, facilities, and funds for recreation. Thus a careful study should be made to determine the best type of community organization for the successful conduct of recreation in a particular community.[3]

Teamwork approach

In trying to determine what pattern of community organization will best meet the recreational needs of a particular community, a teamwork approach is essential. Experience has shown that the best way of achieving this approach is through the creation of a community interagency council or committee. In addition to a representative from the Board of Education, this council should include representatives of the various community agencies performing recreational functions or services. The primary purpose of the council should be to establish a co-operative relationship among the member agencies and to develop, through joint planning, a sound program based on the needs and desires of people of all ages in the community.

The schools and all other public and private agencies in the community

[3] Jackson M. Anderson, "Evaluating Community Recreation," *Journal of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation*, Vol. 24 (May 1953), p. 42.

should be encouraged to adopt the policy of planning jointly—preferably through the interagency council—any new construction of recreational facilities. Such a policy will reduce duplication and waste to a minimum. It will also ensure that new school plants or other community buildings be of maximum use for community recreation.

Desirable legislation

One of the most serious problems in some states is the need for recreation enabling acts which will permit local communities to develop adequate programs of recreation. However, there are at least thirty-five states in which the Board of Education and the school district have broad legal powers for the conduct of community recreation.

Some states have passed laws assigning funds to assist school districts in providing recreation programs and services. The state of Florida has passed legislation adopting an "Eleventh and Twelfth Months Educational Enrichment Program." This law provides financial assistance to local schools to furnish leadership and supplies for recreational, educational, cultural, and social activities during the summer months when the schools are not in session.

Determining community needs

Any program of community recreation which is to be successful must be built around the needs and desires of the citizens of the community. Thus one of the most essential preliminaries to organizing a community recreation program is to conduct a community survey. In smaller communities, the survey may be made by a local college or university which has the resources for conducting such research. Larger communities, however, have experienced greatest success by employing the services of a professional research expert to do this important job.

TRENDS

There is a definite trend toward wider use of schools for community recreation. There is also a trend toward joint planning by all local recreation agencies serving the community. With so many co-ordinated departments of municipal and school recreation jointly financed and administered by co-ordinating bodies from the city and school district, our school leaders need to stress continually strong leadership in recreation as well as multiple use of facilities.

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Education and Public Health

By Dorothy B. Nyswander

IT is difficult to analyze accurately what has taken place as education and public health, sometimes singly, often together, have worked toward developing the school health program. The program is young in years, and the task, filled with complexities, is far short of accomplishment.

The discussion to follow will be developed around these questions: What are the backgrounds of present interrelationships? What kinds of administrative patterns have evolved? Are there differences in administrative philosophy? What values for children and the community are inherent in differing programs? What nagging problems are sources of conflict? Are present trends toward a solution of problems or amelioration of symptoms?

Backgrounds

The "father" of public health, Lemuel Shattuck,[1] in 1850 indicated the interest in the health of the school child and the potentialities for teaching health in the classroom that have been urgent considerations of knowledgeable public health workers since that time. In public school education at about the same period, Horace Mann was creating a new curriculum in which health was to be included. In 1848 he urged:

> Let human physiology be introduced as an indispensable branch of study into our public schools; let no teacher be approved who is not master of its leading principles, and of their applications to the varying circumstances of life.[2]

Throughout this early period (1850–1900), the influence of Europe was reflected in the health programs of the schools and in public health practice. Medical examinations for school children, individual mental tests, attention for children with handicaps in vision and hearing through special classes and clinics, the teaching of physiology—these were imported together with the theories of Pestalozzi, Montessori, and Herbart. But their appearance on the American scene was spotty.

Beginnings—1900–1930

Programs for health supervision of all children were needed, not hit-and-miss sporadic health services for a few. The cities of Boston and New York took the leadership. The "school nurse" came into being; medical examinations became part of the larger picture of disease prevention; unofficial health agencies focused efforts on the school child; and new societies were organized to improve the health of children. Looking back, it is clear that when *a need to do something* became obvious a pattern not unusual in solving new problems was followed. Each community recognizing the need moved ahead under the leadership of the agency taking the initiative. Thus by 1925 three types of leadership were evident. In some localities school systems were employing staff for health services and health instruction. In others, the health

[1] Lemuel Shattuck, *Report of the Sanitary Commission of Massachusetts, 1850* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1850), pp. 178–79. Republished Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948.

[2] Twelfth Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts for 1848, *in* Mary Mann, *Life of Horace Mann* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1891), Vol. IV, p. 244.

department was providing health services. And in many areas the only help in health instruction stemmed from two unofficial agencies, the National Tuberculosis Association [3] and an association which later became part of the American Child Health Association.[4] The Women's Christian Temperance Union [5] had played its part a bit earlier.

Administrative principles

Dr. Thomas Wood [6] was the able interpreter of principles which today underlie administrative practice, with only minor changes introduced in implementing them.

1. The administrative responsibility for employing personnel to give health services to children in school may rest either in the school board or the Department of Health.

2. The administrative responsibility for health instruction of children rests with the schools.

3. The administrative responsibility for the control of communicable diseases and the sanitary environment of the schools belongs to the health department.

4. The unofficial health agencies and professional health associations may aid either official agency in promoting health services or health instruction but have no administrative authority.

5. Boards of Education do not have responsibility for providing treatment services.

6. Parents should be urged to seek advice from their family physician when they can afford to do so.

The myriad ways in which these principles have been developed into health programs have produced a patchwork quilt for the nation as a whole that confounds a foreign visitor seeking uniformity.

An active and productive period

The first three decades of this century were a period of intense activity. Programs were started. Research was conducted to improve techniques used in health appraisals of children. A powerful resource was found in the American Child Health Association,[7] which identified weaknesses in current practices and recommended changes. On some of the issues pinpointed twenty years ago there has been little progress. In the reorientation of health instruction, however, growth is evident. From an emphasis on knowledge of the human body (physiology and anatomy), the curriculum in health began to emphasize what students needed to know to live healthfully. From regarding health as an objective, apart and different from other educational goals, health teaching became part of the integrated approach to the teaching of "the whole child," a concept which at that time was new to many people.

School administrators also made basic contributions emphasizing the importance of the health of the school child. Health was first in the list of objectives offered in *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.*[8] Health services

[3] Louise Strachan, *Fifteen Years of Child Health Education.* New York: National Tuberculosis Association, 1932.

[4] Philip Van Ingen, *The Story of the American Child Health Association.* New York: American Child Health Association, 1935.

[5] Mary H. Hunt, *A History of the First Decade* (Boston: Crosby and Co., 1891), p. 114.

[6] T. D. Wood and H. G. Rowell, *Health Supervision and Medical Inspection of Schools.* Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1927.

[7] American Child Health Association, *Principles and Practices in School Health Education.* New York: The Association, 1935.

[8] Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education,* United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35, Washington, D. C., 1918.

rated as a thoughtful chapter in a publication by the Educational Policies Commission.[9]

Child health demonstrations were financed in rural counties by the Commonwealth Fund; other foundations supported experimental work in mental health and nutrition. The period culminated in 1930 in the third White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.[10]

This was the golden era in school health. It was marked by creativity in thinking about the problems; research, demonstrations, and pilot studies were fostered; the Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education[11] initiated its influential publications; health department personnel and educational leaders were concerned and did something about their concerns; voluntary agencies expanded their educational programs. It was an era of inquiry and productivity.

Growth and Conflicts—1930–50

In the next period, health departments began to take on new functions. Proper sewage disposal and insect control had checked malaria, typhus, yellow fever, cholera, and typhoid; immunizations were available and in wide use against smallpox, diphtheria, hydrophobia, and typhoid. Diseases which had been scourges for centuries had been all but conquered. Tuberculosis, however, was still a threat and death rates of mothers and infants had to be lowered.

Specialists in nutrition, mental health, and education were brought in to supplement medical and nursing skills. The education of the public regarding the nature and prevention of disease became a priority for all health personnel. As Winslow had written in 1923:

> Education then is the keynote of the modern campaign for public health. Tuberculosis and infant mortality are preeminent among all the causes of preventable disease and death. . . . In each case the fight must be won, not by the construction of public works, but by the conduct of the individual life.[12]

Thus with health goals which could only be attained through the educational process, it was inevitable that public health personnel should become concerned with what was being taught in the schools and with the health of school children. School children would be the adults of the future. At the same time health departments reached out into the community through citizens' committees, participated in health councils, and intensified efforts, with methods borrowed from social work and adult education, to teach adults.

What was happening to educational systems during this period? They, too, were enlarging their vision as to their responsibilities to children. The needs of children and of the community in which the children lived became pivots for curriculum development. As a result the importance of the child's environment in home and neighborhood came to the fore. Schoolmen began asking parents and citizens to help in the education of the "total child." With broader concepts of child growth and development, new types of workers were needed on school staffs. Physicians, nurses, and a few teachers, all with postgraduate training in school

[9] Educational Policies Commission, *Social Services and the Schools*. Washington: National Education Association, 1938.

[10] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, *The School Health Program*. New York: The Century Company, 1932.

[11] Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education of the National Education Association and the American Medical Association, *Health Education*. New York: National Education Association, 1925.

[12] C.-E. A. Winslow, *The Evolution and Significance of the Modern Public Health Campaign* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1923), p. 55.

health administration, were employed. The guidance personnel with its core of psychologists, psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, and visiting teachers became part of school programs. Dentists, dental hygienists, nutritionists, and medical social workers were added.

Thus it appears that schools and health departments were following parallel lines of development. Both had enlarged vistas of what their jobs should be and because of this, for very different reasons, they needed new kinds of staff and greater support from the community. It is little wonder that with the same kinds of health workers employed in the two agencies, and with the need often to work with the same segments of the adult population, the parallel lines sometimes crossed—to the confusion of everyone.

Impetus to better services in health departments came through national legislation which, in 1935, made funds available to state health departments in the form of grants-in-aid.[13] It became possible to provide services in areas where, heretofore, none were available and to train personnel. The effects of this support were felt immediately. One of the results was the employment in many places of personnel trained in maternal and child health and in school health. It was not uncommon to find state health departments employing health educators only to assign them to state departments of education so that they could participate in planning the health curriculum and in teacher training. This influx of funds to state health departments seemed threatening to some of the health service personnel employed by schools.[14]

[13] Social Security Act of August 14, 1935 (49 Stat. L. 620, Ch. 531).

[14] Fred Moore and J. W. Studebaker, *Organization and Administration of School Health Work,* U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin No. 12. Washington, D. C., 1939.

The conflict as to who should administer the school health service program reached a crisis during the years 1946–49. During these years several attempts were made to get bills through Congress to step up health services, health instruction, and physical education by providing funds to the states. The question was, Which agency in the state should administer the funds?

Opposite opinions were voiced by public health and school administrators. Naturally, the bills failed to pass, although the United States Office of Education, the federal Public Health Service, and one or two professional organizations did their best to get an acceptable compromise. On the local levels the conflict for power became intensified during and after this period. School personnel believed that health departments wanted to "take them over." And some health departments undoubtedly did.

PRESENT "COLD PEACE"

As usual, persons with level heads on both sides of the fence restored the peace, a peace of sorts. Two states, Indiana and Mississippi, worked out unique administrative patterns in which the state Departments of Health and Education have joint responsibility in financing and supervising the school health program. A résumé of the present status is given by Kilander.[15] Of 2,886 city school systems, administration of the school health service program is by the Board of Education in 60 per cent; by the Board of Health in 11 per cent; jointly by Boards of Education and Health in 23 per cent; and by other agencies in 6 per cent. Wil-

[15] H. F. Kilander, *Health Service in City Schools,* U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, Bulletin No. 20 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 11.

son[116] interprets these data as a trend toward joint administration and financing.

In 1951 a working basis was restored. This came about through a statement[117] of twenty-one principles for the conduct of school health service programs issued by the National Council of Chief State School Officers and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers. It was a statement long overdue but gratefully received.

Positive factors

In the school health program today, the following positive factors may be noted:

Interdepartmental relations are on a formal working basis as far as program responsibilities go.

Co-operative effort is evident in providing in-service training institutes for teachers.

Steady progress is being made in schools of education and departments of health and physical education to prepare teachers to include health emphases in their classroom work.

Health curricula and textbooks are improving rapidly, incorporating principles found currently in other fields of instruction.

Technicians to do routine vision and hearing testing and clerical workers to relieve nurses and teachers are gradually being introduced.

More study is being given to health services needed for handicapped children.

Public health nursing continues its efforts to educate schoolmen and parents to the professional use of nursing skills in schools.

Greater influence on health curricula and some changes in the health services are being introduced by those physicians, nurses, or directors of health and physical education who, with a public health point of view, are administering the health program in schools.

Needed improvements

There are also discomfiting features:

Although advances in health curricula are being made, there have been only a half dozen studies during the past fifteen years which have contributed to improving the conduct of the health service program. Many practices still in vogue are those advised by Wood and Rowell in the 1920's. There has been no testing of their validity. Studies are needed to validate the necessity or advisability of annual medical examinations, of annual dental examinations by school dentist or dental hygienist, of periodic medical examinations, and of the referral system of selecting children for medical attention and its effectiveness in different types of rural and urban areas. Dozens of routine practices by nurses and physicians need careful scrutiny.

Thoroughgoing investigations need to be made of the value of every health record and printed notice now in use.

No serious attempts have been made to evaluate the use made of health records by the staff. It is still possible to find schools with adequate nursing time where teachers, on being questioned about children with health problems in the classroom, have little or no knowledge about the health needs of a single child. "Oh, that is the nurse's job.

[116] Charles C. Wilson, *School Health Services* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association and American Medical Association, 1953), p. 377.

[117] National Council of Chief State School Officers and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, *Responsibilities of State Department of Education and Health for School Health Services* (Washington, D. C.: National Council of Chief State School Officers, 1951), pp. 9–10.

She can give you the information." Or, "The nurse must have that information. She keeps the records in her office." Such remarks by teachers are symptoms not only of a breakdown in the communication system but also of lack of acceptance by school administrators and health personnel alike of the idea that *the teacher is a fundamental member of the "team";* that without the teacher, health services to children by other staff members are a fifth wheel which rolls along quite independent of the basic goals of education.

In many areas, the personnel administering the school health services lack qualifications for the job. Health departments lack medical staff with keen interest in the potentialities of the school program. A good pediatrician may be oriented only to clinical services with infants and preschool children. His training has not made him comfortable with the educational program of the schools. He has little skill in program planning. City schools often employ physicians with few qualifications for their task. Not able to think creatively in the field, they carry on in traditional ways. Not administrators, they fail to use opportunities to co-ordinate health services with the health instruction, physical education, and guidance programs which are within their own administrative framework. Their relationships with the health department are formal, distant, and stereotyped.

The most serious handicap in towns and rural areas, however, is the employment of nurses by school districts without provision for their supervision or professional growth. Many of these nurses have had neither training nor experience in public health nursing. Their vision of the job is limited to their clinical experience in hospitals and the expressed needs of principals and teachers. Their work is oriented to the child and the employer, not to the family or the community. School administrators in such situations isolate nurses from their own profession, and the health program in the school reflects this fact. Indeed, a health program may not exist at all, for the mere presence in the school of a physician, nurse, or dentist is no guarantee that the specialist is able to develop a plan which provides health supervision to every child in the school, education to teachers and parents, utilization of community resources, and integration of the different activities within the school contributing to the development of healthy children.

Where qualified nursing or medical supervision is lacking in both the schools and the health department, little can be done to remedy this situation. But in many instances a qualified and interested director of maternal and child health and a qualified director of public health nursing are found in the health department. These people sit on the side lines biting their fingernails. The school requests their services neither in program planning nor for supervision. The community is the loser.

THE ISSUES

What are the issues today that block better co-ordination between schools and health departments, that keep them from joining forces? There are several, different in kind and intensity.

Differences in orientation

Basic to many of the issues is the different orientation of personnel in schools and personnel in health departments. The schoolman is interested in the child. All his forces are focused on helping the child to learn. When a new staff member is added, his task is to add something of value to the child's experience. The child is the unit with which he works. When he asks for aid

from the community, he seeks it to enrich the learning of the child.

For the health department the unit is the family. The problem may be one of prenatal care, tuberculosis, nutrition, geriatrics, or mental health. The fundamental concern is the education of all members of the family; the thinking of the staff encompasses the interdependencies and problems of family members. The child's health is part of the constellation of the family's health. The particular health problem of the school age child is seen in relation to the problems the mother is having with an infant or to the father who has been diagnosed as tuberculous. Priorities of health problems as seen by the family are recognized.

The public health worker is disturbed because he cannot communicate to the schoolman the values which he sees in the family approach to health promotion. The schoolman feels as though he were beating his head against granite when he insists that the needs of individual children for attention must be met. Neither professional group comprehends the other's philosophy, and the "social distance" between them seems to have no bridge. Each group is oriented according to the philosophy of its professional schools, which have failed to include training in understanding other points of view.

Administrative responsibility

Administrators in their training learn that responsibility and authority should be inseparable, and in their work they soon find out that having "control" of services makes life much simpler. But in both public health and education new objectives have been accepted for which skills not possessed by one agency are needed. The development of a complex program using resources outside the agency demands a new dimension in administration, namely, administration by a committee or commission. The classes for children with cerebral palsy are an example of this kind of administration. Schools, health departments, medical schools, and voluntary agencies interested in the crippled child share in providing specialized staff, funds for operation and maintenance, and supervision. The program works.

Differences in financing programs

What effect does the autonomy of the school district have on its relationships with the health department?

Although the federal grant-in-aid program to state health departments gave considerable impetus to the school health field the picture on the local level is different. The budget of a city or rural health department is only part of the budget for all local governmental services; accordingly, to obtain funds for additional nursing staff to give increased school service is often difficult. The budget of the school board is another matter. The decisions regarding budget items are made by the school board itself, whose sole responsibility it is to provide the best schools that the community can afford. At the local level, therefore, Boards of Education find it easier to finance additional nurses and other health service personnel than do health departments.

Health officers recognize the greater ease with which health personnel can be added to the school payroll, and some of them, knowing the need of services within the school and convinced of the futility of trying to employ additional staff, are encouraging school boards to go ahead. At present, in many cities and counties of California where nurses are employed by school boards, the schools have for school children alone approximately the same number of nurses that local health departments have to serve the needs of the entire population.

Different methods of financing school health personnel have brought about differences in employment standards. Health personnel employed by schools have a salary scale at variance with that of health department personnel. The hours of work and vacation periods of personnel employed by schools are similar to those of teachers. Health department personnel naturally view with a jaundiced eye these discrepancies in salaries and working conditions. The last straw is added when health department personnel are asked to take over special school cases or meet emergencies during the summer because school personnel are on vacation.

Separate financing presents other problems. It produces multiple programs within cities and counties. Different school districts within a county may each have a different school health program. Some may have contracts for nursing services with the county health department; others employ their own health staff. In cities, with but few exceptions, the health department gives health services to parochial schools. Thus within cities there are usually two different school health service programs. And within counties there may be three or more. These variations are confusing.

Research and appraisal

The lack of significant studies in the field of school health may stem from the difficulties just presented. Or it may have its origins in complacency or in the stability which a "cold peace" brings. Whatever the causes, there is at present little evidence of administrators' seeking an answer to the question, "How well are we doing in the school health program?" Opinion is substituted for data. Old ways are easy ways. Data will not be forthcoming until willingness is expressed by administrators to appraise any and all parts of the school health program.[18] Health departments and schools alike are evading the issue of appraisal.

It is from community leaders on the outside that questions are coming. They ask where the data are showing to what extent community facilities for meeting the diversity of local needs are available to parents of every school child. What analyses have been made of the professional skills needed in the school health program, to point the way toward new types of workers or different training for those we now have? Is the assumption valid that the health services are educational? Research in these areas takes courage; some of the answers may threaten the status quo.

CONCLUSION

In most of the country there is still a hodgepodge of health services in schools which cannot merit the term *program,* if by program is meant planned sequences of activities toward accepted objectives. Efforts to bring programs into being, however, are not lacking. State co-ordinating councils in many states have done yeoman's work to improve the situation.

The crux of the difficulties is at the local level. Here is where the professional people live who do the work. It is not always easy for them to be objective about what they are doing. Here differences in philosophy, administrative policies, and ease of financing programs create situations which are tolerable but uncomfortable. Tensions are controlled but near the surface. All this would not be serious were it not for the fact that these two agencies, the

[18] New York City is an outstanding exception. The Department of Health and the Board of Education have during the past thirty years periodically secured funds for investigations of the health service program.

school and the health department, are agencies of the people created by them to serve them.

New patterns of working together need to be experimented with at state and local levels. One such pattern on the state level might be that of administration through a commission made up of representatives of health, education, and individuals outside the two departments with a demonstrated interest in the welfare of children. The functions of this commission would be in line with the philosophy of state services to localities. Where state employees give no direct services to localities the commission would have one type of co-ordinating service to render. Where direct services are given by one or both of the departments, a different approach would be needed. In either case the approach to localities would be that of a "team."

Administrators' responsibility

The complexity of the problem on the local level, especially in rural counties, will only be resolved by administrators themselves. It is to be hoped they will do so before the public insists upon it. At present there is no one solution. Situations are too varied to hazard a suggestion. Solutions will be found only through initiating a plan and evaluating it.

The school superintendent and the health officer are key figures. They need to understand better than they now do each other's responsibilities. This personal relationship between the two administrators cannot be overemphasized. It permeates the attitudes of their staffs; it will be reflected in the kind of planning for health care children in schools receive. Better understanding has in some instances been brought about by making the local health officer a nonvoting member of the Board of Education. In other communities the school superintendent and the health officer each attends the board meeting of the other agency.[19]

Another effort toward understanding has been the employment of a medical director by funds from both agencies. In the health department this physician serves as the director of maternal and child health; in the school department he is the co-ordinator of health services. In this plan, the nursing staff, dental staff, technicians for testing hearing and vision, and physiotherapists may be employed by either the Board of Education or the Department of Health.

Many variations of this plan are possible. A medical director or a public health nursing supervisor employed by either the health department or the schools, or by both, is accepted as a member of both departments and gives leadership to the staff under him irrespective of who pays his salary.

Co-operation is an empty word unless there is an investment in the job by the "co-operating" parties. There is little that staff members can do to develop significant patterns of work unless the framework has been built for them by the top echelon. Where this has been done some interesting ventures have been undertaken. School nurses and public health nurses have divided up the total area, and each nurse gives generalized public health nursing service. In other places district superintendents of schools, when employing health staff, make it clear that professional leadership will come from the supervisor of public health nursing or other professional staff of the local or state health department.

At present sharing skilled services in order to meet the health needs of the community waits upon the vision of ad-

[19] American Association of School Administrators, *Health in Schools* (Washington, D. C., 1951), p. 415.

ministrators. It is no longer a question of who pays the salary for whom. It is a question of imagination in making full use of all personnel and facilities to improve life within the community.

How can administrative insights be heightened? Health officers in their training may learn little or nothing about school administration. The converse is also true. The conclusion should be obvious. Interdepartmental planning of common experiences for future administrators of schools and health departments should begin on the university level. Here is the place where divergent philosophies can be recognized if not reconciled; where respect for the contributions of each profession to society can be built; where practical problems can be debated without the heat which the job situation creates. Here, too, is the place for analysis of old procedures and the time for fertile invention of new.

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Education and Social Welfare

By Kermit T. Wiltse

OUR concern with achieving better co-ordination of the efforts of the educational and social welfare agencies of the community is grounded on the premise that these two types of agencies must work closely together if the children and youth of the community are to be well served. This would seem an obvious premise scarcely worth reiterating if it were not for the observable fact that such co-ordination of effort is nearly nonexistent in many of our American communities and approaches the ideal in none of them.

Co-ordination of the efforts of educational and social welfare agencies in meeting the needs of children and youth has two aspects. One is the relationship of the educational agencies of a community to the existing social welfare agencies as they collaborate in meeting the problems of individual children or groups of children and youth and work together toward improving the effectiveness of both the educational and social welfare services of the community. The second is the utilization of social-welfare-trained personnel within the schools themselves. This second aspect is commonly referred to as the development of school social work and results from an expanding concept of the purpose and function of the educational agency rather than a new concept of social welfare.

Definition of Terms

It is necessary first to state what is meant by the terms "educational agencies" and "social welfare agencies" of the community, as they are used here. For the purposes of this article, in speaking of the educational agencies of the American community, the focus is primarily upon the public elementary and secondary schools. Day schools located in the child's home community and supported by religious orders or private payments are included wherever they meet essentially the same educational need as the public schools. Social welfare agencies cannot be so precisely delineated. Again for the purposes of this article, in speaking of the social welfare agencies of the community, the focus is upon those agencies which are established by the community to help individuals and groups of individuals who are experiencing or evidencing problems in their social adjustment. Central to our consideration here are certain public agencies created by various combinations of federal and state laws and county and city ordinances. Of particular importance are the juvenile courts and the juvenile detention and probation services, the youth detention and parole services, state and local mental hospitals and mental health clinics, the child welfare services in the public welfare department, and that part of the public assistance program that provides financial aid to needy children and families.

Each community has its own constellation of services supported by local community chests and individual subscription, the number and type being generally larger and more varied in the urban communities than in the rural. Family and marital counseling agencies, institutions for the care and treatment of dependent and disturbed children, foster home placement agencies, mental health clinics, and a wide va-

riety of group-serving agencies that are more or less geared to helping children with identified or identifiable problems in their social adjustment should be particularly kept in mind. As we consider the variety of public and private agencies engaged in some type of service for the general good or improvement of the community, a line cannot be sharply drawn distinguishing agencies termed "social welfare agencies" from those that are not so designated. However, if we keep in mind the essential point that a social welfare agency is directed toward individuals who are experiencing a more or less identified or identifiable problem in their social adjustment, a line, albeit not a sharp one, can be drawn between such agencies and the innumerable institutions, agencies, and associations of every community that are aimed at meeting the normal needs experienced by everyone.

TYPES OF COMMUNITY

When we begin to talk about co-ordination and collaboration between the educational and social welfare agencies of the community in other than a vacuum, we have to visualize real people doing actual educational or social welfare tasks in various types of communities. We have to visualize the one-room school (of which there are quite a few still in existence) located, for example, on the plains of North Dakota. Let us take the example of a child coming to school poorly clothed and apparently neglected. What is the problem of co-ordination of the teacher's concern with the concern the public child welfare worker located in the county seat thirty miles away would have for any child in the county suffering emotional and physical deprivations? What similarity, if any, does the problem of co-ordinating their efforts bear to the problem of the principal of a junior high school in New York City who desires to relate the efforts of himself and his staff concerning individual problem children in his school to the multiplicity of community social welfare agencies and activities? As we attempt to visualize all the variations between these two selected extremes, each community presenting something of a unique pattern of both educational and social welfare activities, we may wonder what useful generalizations can be made that will apply in whole or in part to all situations.

OBSTACLES TO CO-ORDINATION

The most cogent generalization that can be made is that educators are by and large lacking in real knowledge of the purpose and nature of the welfare agencies of their communities and particularly lacking in understanding of the methods of the social workers that staff these agencies. By educators we mean real people—teachers, principals, and superintendents. Certainly there are many exceptions to this generalization, but proportionately their number is few. This assertion is based on a variety of observations—personal experiences of the writer and numerous written expressions of specialists in the educational field. It can also be asserted that social welfare agency personnel—by which is meant people primarily identified with the profession of social work—do not always appreciate the nature of the educational process and the nature of the tasks of the people who implement this process. Education, like social work, is a relatively new profession. Some who are identified with it have little preparation for their job. Perhaps many more, as is true also of social work, have little real sense of identification with their profession. All social welfare personnel, however, have themselves experienced the educational process and are in favor of the purposes of education if not always with a par-

ticular method, whereas very few educators have personally experienced a welfare service. They are likely to share the still prevalent misconception that grew out of the historical linking of welfare services with charity and relief giving and produced the stereotype of social workers as "uplifters" or "do-gooders." A more realistic conception of a social worker as a person with specific professional education implementing defined social welfare services, each of which is focused on certain types of problems in individual adjustment, is only beginning to emerge, and many social and psychological forces, plus the lack of sufficient professionally trained social workers to staff the welfare services of the nation, will retard the development of a new cultural concept for many decades to come.[1]

There is little that happens to the educator in the course of his professional training either to give him a real knowledge of the nature of modern welfare services in general and of the services likely to be available in a specific community or to change whatever stereotype he may have acquired about social workers. It is improbable that he took a single course devoted to a study of the resources likely to be available in the social welfare services of a typical community. As part of a social-problems course, perhaps in his sophomore year, he may have studied the community as a theoretical concept and briefly surveyed types of treatment for various classes of social problems. But this does not give him an adequate appreciation of how he himself as a teacher or administrator in a public school can more effectively utilize the social welfare resources of the community to meet the needs of children and youth. The specialized content of education, and similarly the specialized content of social work, have become so large that opportunities for a student of one to learn about the other in the course of his college work are minimal and often accidental.

PREREQUISITES TO CO-ORDINATION

True co-ordination and collaboration between two different professions identified with different agencies serving the community depend upon the existence of certain attributes in each, namely, ((1)) security of the members in their own profession, based on their having met specific educational requirements of a professional order;; ((2)) knowledge of the purposes of the other profession and some understanding of its methods;; and ((3)) an appreciation of how their respective roles complement and supplement each other.

Considering the total national picture, none of these three conditions is met to a substantial degree. Individuals, entering both teaching and social work without sufficient specialized training for the tasks they are to perform, are not professionalized. However, they are only a little less ready for teamwork with members of the other profession than those who have a sense of identity with their own profession but have had little opportunity to understand the purpose and nature of the other profession or to consider on what problems and in what ways members of the two professions must work together if their communities are to be well served.

Educators would be more likely to conceive of the schools as one of a number of agencies in the community engaged in serving the children and

[1] A study of the educational attainment of all personnel employed in positions classified as social work positions in 1950 showed that only one out of five had completed the master's degree in social work which is the standard requirement for full professional status.—*Social Workers in 1950* (New York: American Association of Social Workers, Inc.)), p. 8.

youth of the community if this perspective were consistently presented to them in the course of their professional preparation. It is a subtle point, but it often seems to persons from the outside that school people are prone to think of the school as the center of the community rather than as one of the many agencies serving the community, each of which must understand and relate itself to the others.

Most urban and semiurban American communities have some kind of community welfare council to co-ordinate, extend, and develop the various health, welfare, and recreational services of the community. The schools should always be represented on such co-ordinating and planning councils. In fact, educators should be in the forefront in leading toward more adequate social welfare services in their particular communities. A real concern for the total welfare of the children and youth they serve dictates nothing less. This is over and above their need for effective help with specific problems, such as the kind of service that can be given by a well-qualified juvenile court staff in dealing with the problems of the habitual truant.

It is difficult to discuss this whole matter of co-ordination between the educational and social welfare agencies without seeming either so general as to be meaningless or so specific that the ideas are not transferable. From the standpoint of social welfare, anyone who has worked in this field can cite numerous examples of fruitful collaboration with educational agencies and school people and, in the same breath, examples of inability to achieve communication and hence co-ordination, often with tragic consequences to children. The failures usually go back to a lack of bridges built during the professional preparation of educators and social workers across which communication could have been established. The successes can be attributed to individual educators and social workers who are able to make an imaginative analysis of the essential ingredients of the tasks before them, usually as related to specific problems obviously the concern of both the school and the social agency, and to go on from there to work out patterns of communication and collaboration.

TOWARD WORKING TOGETHER

A specific example of an imaginative effort to develop understanding and collaboration was the conference between educational and social welfare agencies conducted in Oakland, California, during the summer of 1954. This three-day, workshop conference was sponsored jointly by the Oakland Public Schools and the School of Social Welfare, University of California. The title of the conference was "Teamwork Between Teachers and Social Workers in Helping Parents, Children, and Youth with their Social Problems." The stated purpose was to bring teachers and social workers to consider their complementary roles in helping children in the public schools with their problems in social adjustment.[2] Some of the typical problems identified and possible solutions suggested are quoted here because they so well illustrate the basic problems of relationship between educational and social welfare agencies which have been the subject of this article.

Two basic problems were identified which were related to the organizational structure of communication between educational and social welfare services. One was the need for more specific information on the part of school people

[2] This material is drawn from the unpublished reports of the conference in the files of the School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley.

about the actual services of the social agencies of the community, including those provided within the school system. The other was the need to develop or to define channels of communication between schools and social agencies, and among social agencies when more than one is related to a particular social problem of children in school.

Various aspects of these two basic problems were explored, but essentially each came back to these two fundamental needs—more adequate information about each other and better channels of communication in order to work together. Whether we are thinking of the one-teacher school on the plains of North Dakota or the huge school system and the complicated network of social welfare agencies of a large urban area, the problems of co-ordination and collaboration come down to these two fundamental issues.

Many different suggestions looking toward solution of these two basic problems can be listed. The Oakland conference developed such possible mechanisms as (1) some type of social service index to help teachers know when a child's family is already receiving help; (2) organized case conferences between agencies and including the classroom teacher; (3) a network of neighborhood councils in which school and various agency personnel would play an active part, these councils in turn co-ordinated into a city-wide system; (4) a more dynamic use of materials giving information on the functions of the different social welfare agencies and how to use them, with the school libraries playing a more active role in obtaining and disseminating such information; (5) a continued and dynamic use of city-wide conferences such as this one, plus smaller institutes and workshops dealing with specific problem areas.

Different communities would inevitably utilize different variations on these mechanisms of collaboration. Quite different things will work in different communities, because of the different type of community (rural, urban, etc.), the different agencies, and even the different personalities involved. If both school and social welfare people think of themselves as representatives of institutions complementing each other in the service of children and youth there will be more imagination displayed in developing mechanisms for co-ordination and collaboration.

SOCIAL WORK IN THE SCHOOLS

A different approach to the solution of these basic problems of collaboration between the professions of social work and education has been the development of what is commonly termed school social work. School social work began almost simultaneously in New York City, Hartford, and Boston in 1906 and 1907.[3] At first the service was provided by certain social welfare agencies responding to the need for co-operation between the school and the community for the benefit of the child. In New York City, two settlement houses, Hartley House and Greenwich House, assigned two workers to visit schools and homes and to work closely with school and community groups to bring about greater understanding between home and school in the interests of the child. In Boston, the Women's Educational Association established a home and school visitor in one school in 1907. In Hartford, the beginnings were made by a "special" teacher who

[3] For a more thorough statement of the development of visiting teacher services see U. S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, *The Place of Visiting Teacher Services in the School Program*, Bulletin 1945, No. 6 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1944), pp. 7–15.

was assigned to assist the school psychologist in securing histories and to carry out recommendations of the psychological clinic. Rochester, New York, where a visiting teacher service was established in 1913, was the first city in the country where the service from its inception was financed by the Board of Education. During the 1920's a demonstration project in thirty widely distributed urban and rural areas was financed by the Commonwealth Fund.[4] At the end of the demonstration period, the local community, if it felt that the project had been valuable, was to share the expense and take over full responsibility for the service. As a result, twenty-one communities incorporated the service into their school systems.

In 1944, the last date for which accurate figures are available,[5] full-time school social work services were in operation in 266 communities; the number has increased considerably since then. In 1919, the American Association of Visiting Teachers was formed and in 1945 was reincorporated as the National Association of School Social Workers. The present membership is approximately 650.[6]

In this brief history of the development of school social work, some important facts are apparent. Beginning as a service provided by social welfare organizations outside the school, the visiting teacher idea was rather quickly taken over by school departments as part of their regular program, and the number of school departments providing this service has grown steadily if not phenomenally. In a visiting teacher service which was part of the school system, the initial emphasis was naturally upon the visitor as primarily a teacher, a member of the educational profession, but emphasis has now shifted to recognition that he must be a qualified social worker as well as an educator. The interprofessional requirements of the job of school social worker pose a problem for personnel training as well as for the individual worker.

Function of the school social worker

The question of function has occupied the attention, and been responsible for a major part of the published opinions, of school social workers[7] since their emergence as an identifiable group. A perusal of back issues of the *Bulletin of the National Association of School Social Workers* reveals that the largest proportion of the articles are devoted to exploring various aspects of social workers' functioning in school programs and to interpretation of the results of their activity. This is to be expected when one profession—especially a new and self-conscious one such as social work—is endeavoring to find its way in relation to an older, more established institution, and a new member—the social worker—is trying to play on a team in which the roles of the teacher and the principal are traditional and those of the school psychologist and the school nurse well established. That with school social workers actually functioning in only a small number of American school systems a similarly

[4] A detailed description of the development of this project may be found in the Annual Reports of the Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1921 through 1926.

[5] U. S. Office of Education, *op. cit. supra* (note 3), p. 18.

[6] Florence Poole, "School Social Services," *in* American Association of Social Workers, *Social Work Year Book, 1954* (New York: American Book–Stratford Press, Inc., 1954), p. 469.

[7] The term "school social workers" is used loosely here to cover all who identify themselves professionally with social work though in their particular school system they may have various titles such as school social worker, visiting teacher, school guidance worker, or home and school counselor.

small proportion of school people have even glimpsed what social work may have to contribute to the educational process is also to be expected.

What auxiliary services must participate in the educational program if the purpose of the school is to be effectively carried out is one of the most urgent and pervasive issues facing educators today. The roles of the school doctor, the school nurse, and the school psychologist have been increasingly defined and accepted as an integral part of a modern and forward-looking educational system. Is the role of school social worker destined likewise to be increasingly defined and accepted as an integral part of the educational system, auxiliary to the main function, but an essential aid to the educational process? The steady increase in the utilization within the school program of personnel trained in social work would certainly suggest an affirmative answer.[8]

Social work in the school is not an independent enterprise but an integral part of the educational system. Helen Witmer[9] reminds us of this fact in describing the responsibility of the social worker in the school as one of contributing his skill to the fulfillment of the school's purposes. He is not a family welfare, child welfare, or mental hygiene worker who has an office in a school building and whose salary comes from school funds. He brings the knowledge, the skill, and the accumulated experience of another profession—social work—to teamwork with the teacher and other specialized personnel, such as the school psychologist, for the solution of the educational problems of individual children and youth.

[8] For example, since 1944, seven states and Puerto Rico have passed and implemented legislation on a state-wide basis.

[9] Helen Leland Witmer, *Social Work: An Analysis of a Social Institution* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1942), pp. 357–67.

A co-ordinating mechanism

The focus of this article has been upon the co-ordination and collaboration between two types of personnel, educators and social workers, representing two major social institutions, educational and social welfare agencies. The social worker functioning as an integral part of the educational agency represents a most significant and promising mechanism for linking these two professions in joint efforts to solve problems of school adjustment of individual children and youth. The social worker in the schools must be seen neither as an early case-finding and referral agent only (although referral to community resources is a very important part of his function) nor as a social welfare agency transplanted to the school system. His duties include direct help to individual children and parents, consultation with teachers and with other school personnel, and conferences with representatives of other community agencies. But the concept to be kept clearly in mind to bring these diverse activities into perspective is that he is applying the knowledge and skills of social work to the solution of educational problems of individual children and youth. A child is seen as a *child in school* and parents are seen as *parents of a child in school*, not simply as a child or parents who might be experiencing any one of a variety of difficulties in their social adjustment.[10]

[10] For a more thorough discussion of the rationale of social workers functioning within school programs and the nature of their tasks see Florence Poole, "An Analysis of the Characteristics of School Social Work," *Social Service Review*, Vol. 23 (December 1949), pp. 454–59. Also Mildred Sikkema, *School Social Work Practice in Twelve Communities* (New York: American Association of Social Workers, 1953), p. 27, for a statistical breakdown of a distribution of interviews.

The social worker's special skills

Out of his educational experience in preparation for his profession, the social worker brings to bear upon a child's individual problem in school adjustment certain specific knowledge and skills. His focus is upon the relationship of the individual to his social environment, and therefore he has particular ability to understand the meaning of the school experience as social experience for the child. He has given much time and study to the meaning of parent-child relationships and, therefore, has special understanding of the effect of parental attitudes and behavior upon the child as it may relate to his difficulties in school. He has learned to use his relationship to the person being helped as the medium through which help is given —specifically, help to parents in changing attitudes and responses that adversely affect their child's adjustment in school, or help to a child in changing his response toward the school experience. Finally, and of great importance, he brings specific knowledge of the social welfare resources of the community and can enter into quick and effective communication with the agencies which supply them.

When we examine this whole problem of achieving better co-ordination between the educational and social welfare resources in the interests of children and youth, we see school social work as one of the most important linking mechanisms to develop in our century.

SUMMARY

This brief analysis of the problem of co-ordinating the efforts of educational and social welfare agencies in meeting the needs of children and youth has identified the basic obstacles to co-ordination as insufficient understanding and appreciation of each other on the part of educators and social welfare personnel; a specific lack of knowledge on the part of educators of the purpose and nature of the welfare services of their community; and inadequacy of the channels of communication necessary if people are to work together. Solutions to these problems lie in three directions: (1) additional cross-fertilization between educators and social workers during their educational preparation; (2) imaginative efforts on the part of educators and social welfare agency personnel in the community toward developing additional structures for communication and co-ordination; (3) employment of social-work-trained personnel by school systems to contribute their skill to the solution of individual student problems and to link the school more directly with the social welfare agencies of the community in dealing with problems that go beyond the purpose and resources of the school.

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The School and the Public Library

By Frances Henne and Frances Lander Spain

IN the history of public education for children and young people [1] in this country, probably no two social institutions have had a closer working relationship than the school and the public library. This relationship has had a variety of arrangements and practices—all emerging, in one way or another, from the belief that books form an essential element in the lives of youth and should be made easily accessible to them. From the start, making books easily accessible for all children and young people meant providing free public libraries and school libraries; not just because home libraries, church libraries, and bookstore facilities were relatively scarce and often meager in content, but primarily because the idea of a free society stood for free libraries as well as free schools. These concepts hold true today.

During the last seventy-five years, community library service for youth has consisted of three major types: (1) books and library services for youth in the public libraries; (2) books and library services for youth in both the public libraries and the schools, with the public library usually assuming the responsibility for partial or total library services in the schools; and (3) books and library services for youth in both the public libraries and the schools, with each of the two agencies assuming complete and independent administrative responsibility for its libraries. These three patterns may be considered as forming a sequence of developments in the history of library service for youth, in that the first type prevailed during the beginnings of library service for children and young people, the second type predominated during the intermediary or transitional stage, and the third type characterizes the existing situation.[2] Even though the third type represents accepted theory and approved practice, the first and second types are still frequently found today.

Types of School and Public Library Relationships

These patterns of library service brought into existence many relationships between the schools and the public libraries: some direct and involving formal agreements; others indirect or implied, and often resulting in informal co-operation between the two agencies. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate the kinds of existing relationships that schools have with public libraries and to note the types of co-operation and co-ordination that are desirable.[3]

[1] In this paper, the term *children* refers to children who are thirteen years of age or younger; the term *young people* refers to the high school age group; and the term *youth* refers to children and young people collectively.

[2] For details and bibliographic references, see Mildred Batchelder, "Public Library Influence on School Libraries," in Alice Lohrer (Editor), "Current Trends in School Libraries," *Library Trends*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (January 1953), pp. 271–85; Lucile F. Fargo, *The Library in the School*, Fourth edition (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947); H. L. Cecil and W. A. Heaps, *School Library Service in the United States* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1940); C. B. Joeckel, *The Government of the American Public Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935); and Effie L. Power, *Work with Children in Public Libraries* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1943).

[3] Although this paper is not concerned with library service for adults in general, it should be noted that there have been, and still are, numerous instances of public libraries sponsoring adult education programs.

The most important and significant relationship existing between the public libraries and the schools today is probably that of mutual approval and support. Those connected with the school recognize that in the public library there are materials of communication and advisory services that are available for and used by groups closely identified with the school—children, young people, teachers, school administrators, parents, and others. Similarly, the public library staff recognizes that a good school library and the services that accompany it form an essential and integral part of the school, without which the school cannot achieve its educational objectives and without which the public library objectives are distorted. Those responsible for the schools and those responsible for the public libraries, as citizens and educators, are desirous that their communities have good schools and good libraries, and lend support to each other in achieving that objective.

LIBRARY SERVICE TO CHILDREN

A variety of conditions and situations exists in the provision of library facilities for children of elementary school age. In terms of the accessibility of libraries, the following situations are those that are most commonly found today:

1. Communities that have good school and public library facilities. In these communities, the child has access to two complementary library services for children, with similar collections of books and other materials—one in his school and one in his public library. The child needs and uses both libraries, sometimes for books and other materials for academic work and at other times for books and other materials not related to school assignments.

2. Communities that have good public library services for children and either no libraries or some partial form of book service in the elementary schools. In communities of this type, libraries and library services are virtually nonexistent for the many children who do not use the public library.[4]

3. Communities that have good elementary school libraries and either poor or no public library service for children. In these communities, some children are deprived of very rich and rewarding experiences in their lives.

4. Communities that have neither good public library facilities for children nor libraries in the elementary schools.

Types of administration

The over-all pattern of library service for children becomes more complex when the number of arrangements employed for administering this service is considered.[5] In some communities, the school assumes full administrative responsibility for the school library, and the public library assumes full administrative responsibility for public library service to children. In other instances, the public library assumes full responsibility for library services in the schools as well as for children's library service in the public library. In still other

[4] Frances Henne, "The Basic Need in Library Service for Youth," *The Library Quarterly,* Vol. 25, No. 1 (January 1955), pp. 37–46.

[5] Mildred Batchelder, "Rural Schools and the Public Library," in Carleton B. Joeckel (Editor), *Library Extension* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), pp. 108–25; Joint Committee of the National Education Association and the American Library Association, *Schools and Public Libraries Working Together in School Library Service* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1941); Alice L. LeFevre, "Administrative Control," in Alice Lohrer (Editor), "Current Trends in School Libraries," *Library Trends,* Vol. 1, No. 3 (January 1953), pp. 286–97.

situations, a co-operative form of administering the school libraries is maintained by the schools and public libraries—one agency may furnish the books for the school library and the other agency may provide the library staff, or some other variation of this co-operative agreement may exist. The administrative arrangements just noted apply to communities with separate school boards and public library boards. In addition, there are some communities where the public library is under the general administration of the local school board. Further variations in these existing patterns may be noted in those cases where the units of administration, either public library or school, are county units rather than municipal district units; and where materials, and sometimes services, are provided by the state library or state education agency.

Standards and needs

Despite these many variations in the extent to which library services and facilities are provided for children and in the ways in which they are administered, some common elements and basic facts that have specific implications for school and public library relationships emerge.

Most children of elementary school age do not have easy access to good library service and materials. This condition should be of the gravest concern to all educators and librarians. Although the number of elementary schools having libraries grows at a relatively encouraging rate, the typical elementary school still remains without a library. The school may have funds for band and athletic equipment, but not for library services. In innumerable communities, public library facilities for children are meager, in sharp contrast to those many highly developed and excellent children's departments that we erroneously tend to think of as being typical of all public library service to children.[6] Frequently, a community may have no elementary school library service and no or limited public library service, and thus the children in that community are entirely or almost wholly without books and library services. Probably the greatest gap in the total library picture today is the lack of library facilities and services for children in rural areas. Size of community and economic ability do not always account for existing conditions, however. Many public library units in large cities do not have what can be termed a good library for children; and, with a few notable exceptions, the development of elementary school libraries in large cities has been shockingly slow.

Educational objectives, national standards for school libraries,[7] the desirability of acquainting all children with the uses and pleasures of reading, the influence of accessibility, and many other factors dictate that elementary schools with two hundred or more students should have a school library. It is the responsibility of the school board to provide such services and not that of the public library or some other group. When the school board shirks this responsibility, the public library performs a social, cultural, and educational service of a very high order by giving partial or complete library service to the elementary schools. But such measures should be considered transitional in nature. There still remain, however, numerous situations in which the public library provides the school library service.

Other expedient practices utilized by

[6] For statistics pertaining to public library facilities, see Robert D. Leigh, *The Public Library in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), pp. 53, 54–57.

[7] American Library Association, Committee on Postwar Planning, *School Libraries for Today and Tomorrow*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1945.

schools as a substitute for full school library services should also be considered transitional and temporary measures. Such practices include the administering of school library service by members of the parents' association; substituting classroom collections for a complete library service that includes a school library as well as changing classroom collections; regularly scheduling classes in an adjacent public library for all books and library services; or depending entirely on bookmobile service that consists only of scheduled stops at schools, with the children entering the bookmobile for all their books.

The community has a responsibility to provide also public library services for children.[8] Good public library service for children means an adequate collection of books and other materials, the services of a librarian interested in and trained for this type of library work, a program of services, and easy accessibility for children. The concept of a public library free for the people means free for children, too. The public library's program enriches the child's experiences with books and libraries. In addition, the public library is often the only resource that children have for books and libraries, since limited library facilities currently characterize the elementary school scene. Even in places where the schools have good libraries, the public library is usually the only library resource available for children during parts of the year and parts of the day. Size of community, geography, or economic inability to furnish good public library service for children may, on occasion, justify having the schools undertake all children's library service in the community. But such situations constitute exceptions, and the reasons for their existence must be clearly understood and interpreted in terms of the conditions that they represent.

LIBRARY SERVICE TO YOUNG PEOPLE

The secondary school student uses the school library and the public library for both academic and nonacademic purposes. Although the school library will have most materials required by school assignments, as well as a wide variety of other materials, the high school student using a main library or a well-developed library branch has access to a wider variety of reference resources and a more inclusive general collection of books and other materials than he will usually find in the high school library.

Although the various combinations of complete, partial, and no library service, already noted in the case of children, may also be found in school and public library services for young people, certain distinctions should be noted. In the secondary schools, beneficial pressures exerted by state and regional accrediting agencies have long been implementing the development and improvement of secondary school libraries. The status of secondary school library facilities and services is superior to that of elementary school libraries. Even so, optimum goals are far from being reached. Some secondary school libraries fail to meet even minimal standards. Practically all school libraries are notoriously understaffed, a prevailing condition that limits the over-all effectiveness of school library service.

In the public libraries, young people have long had access to the collections and services of the adult department. For many years, however, no specialized services were provided for this age group.[9] In recent years, the public li-

[8] American Library Association, Committee on Postwar Planning, *A National Plan for Public Library Service* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1948), pp. 10–11.

[9] For a historical and descriptive account of library work with young people in public libraries, see Margaret C. Scoggin, "The Library as a Center for Young People in the

brary's interest in and concern with young people and the special library programs for them that have emerged have constituted one of the major developments in library service. In many communities, particularly some metropolitan areas, public library service to young people has been extensively developed, with separate rooms or sections for them in addition to the total resources of the library, a wide program of varied activities, and the assistance of a young people's librarian.[10] The basic philosophy is that of making the young person feel welcome in his public library. Unfortunately, in some communities the high school student does not receive this welcome in the public library, and the typical public library does not have a staff member whose main interest and responsibility are concentrated on working with young people.

The same types of administrative relationships between school and public library agencies that may be found in library service for children occur also in the program of library service for young people, but to a far lesser extent. In all but a small fraction of instances, the Board of Education has assumed complete responsibility for administering and financing library services in the high school.

Library Services to Teachers and Parents

The school library is an indispensable resource for the teacher, not only as a means for the achievement of his teaching objectives but also in connection with the preparation of his teaching materials. Teachers use the public library, too, and in a variety of ways. Elementary school teachers, particularly those in schools having no library, withdraw children's books from the public library for use in their classrooms. In general, teachers will find more professional books and magazines in the public library than in the teachers' collections in the schools, and even in those localities where the Board of Education provides a central professional library, they will frequently find the public library more convenient and accessible. Nor is it unimportant that the public libraries provide teachers with most of the materials for their own personal reading—a service that contributes directly toward developing better teachers and good teaching in the school.

Although some schools have a special collection of books for parents, most parents depend upon the public library for books dealing with child and adolescent psychology and similar subjects. Many parents withdraw children's books from the public library for reading aloud in the home, for their children's own reading, and for other purposes. Some public libraries offer a series of discussion groups for parents, in which children's books are discussed and described; and in most children's departments, parents consult the children's librarians about the reading problems of their children.

Public Library Services to Other Groups

In addition to the services offered to school groups that have been described in the preceding sections of this paper, the public library provides services for other groups of special interest to the schools—preschool children and their parents, individuals associated in various ways with the field of children's books, and out-of-school youth.

Almost without exception, the public

Community" in Frances Henne, Alice Brooks, and Ruth Ersted (Editors), *Youth, Communication and Libraries* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1949), pp. 147–64.

[10] American Library Association, Committee on Postwar Planning, *The Public Library Plans for the Teen Age*. Chicago: American Library Association, 1948.

library provides the "reading" materials for preschool children. Not only does it make books available for parents to take home for reading aloud and for sharing with their children, but it also has picture-book hours and storytelling for children of preschool age. For the parents of these children, the public library has books and other materials on child care.

The children's department of public libraries are used by writers and illustrators of children's books, by individuals connected with radio and television programs, by staff members from social and welfare agencies, and by many others who are working in innumerable ways in the general field of children's books and reading.

The public library plays a unique and important role in the community as the library for those young people who drop out of high school before graduation and for those who graduate but do not go on to college. The public library does not offer a special program for these young people, but it is keenly aware of them and makes use of a variety of measures to encourage them to use the public library and its resources.

STANDARDS OF SCHOOL AND PUBLIC LIBRARY RELATIONSHIPS

Teachers and school administrators promote the cause of good public library service, and public librarians promote the cause of good schools. Generally, this type of mutual recognition, support, and promotion consists of no more than the behavior and attitude characteristic of responsible citizens interested in the welfare of their community. Some occasions or situations, however, require more direct action. In some locales, school officials should campaign actively for the development of good public library service in their communities; in like manner, public librarians should do everything possible to promote good school library services. Under any circumstances, school personnel and public librarians need to be familiar with the objectives, programs, and potentialities of good library service in both the school and public library.

Over and beyond mutual support and promotion, the school and the public library need close communication and co-operation. An exchange of information about what is going on in each agency is important. Since the public library provides services and materials for the school-related needs of children and young people, it should be kept posted on curricular requirements. In turn, the school should be interested in the extent and nature of the use made of the public library by students, and should receive some sort of report on the subject. The school librarian and the librarian working with children and young people in the neighborhood public library are the best channels of communication between the two institutions, but where there is no school librarian or no public librarian delegated to work with youth, other channels must be formed.

Another type of co-operative relationship existing between the school and the public library pertains to teaching children and young people how to use libraries and their resources effectively. Since the acquisition of this knowledge forms a significant part of the educational program, the school must assume responsibility for its inclusion in the curriculum. Most of the basic skills and types of knowledge needed to use a library and its resources can and should be acquired by students by the end of the eighth grade. The school library should contribute most to this learning process, but the public library plays no insubstantial part. Where there are no elementary school libraries, the public library is usually the only agency that gives library instruction to children.

From using school libraries, children and young people learn how to use and to evaluate books and other materials for many purposes. That they should also be aware of the nature and services of the public library as a vital social institution in their community cannot be emphasized enough. They should be introduced to the public library when they are young and encouraged to use it, and they should know what public libraries represent in the lives of adults. Information about and discussion of the public library should be systematically provided for in the social sciences or other parts of the school curriculum.

The relationships noted above represent co-operative arrangements that are informal in nature.[11] At the present time, these informal co-operative measures seem to be the best type of relationship between schools and public libraries in communities that have both agencies. Deviations from this pattern that have been described in this paper as being transitional or intermediary in nature should be considered only as temporary expediencies. Those variations that exist in situations where all public library and school services are administered by law under one board will probably continue. Some additional variations, as previously noted, may be justifiable in terms of existing conditions in particular situations. There is no current evidence, however, to support adopting as standard policy certain propositions that are raised from time to time: that schools and public libraries should be administered by a single board; that all public and school library services for youth should be administered by the public library; that all library service for youth in the community should be provided by the schools; or that all library service in the community, for adults as well as for youth, should be provided in the schools. The parallel development existing between public and school library service seems the best plan for the demonstrable needs of the youth in the community. Children and young people make use of both services.

Quite a different problem exists for sparsely settled and economically substandard areas, where there is apt to be little or no public library service in the real sense of the the term and where school libraries tend to be poorly developed. For these areas, a good overall library program can be developed only by the closest co-operation and planning between the local school unit and the regional or state public library officials.

Continued co-operation between schools and public libraries to provide the best possible library service to youth will strengthen and expand the services each can give—thus making books available to children and young people, wherever they are, and giving them intelligent direction in their use.

[11] For a detailed listing of "Specifics of Co-operation," see Joint Committee of the National Education Association and the American Library Association, *Schools and Public Libraries Working Together in School Library Service* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1941), pp. 45-57.

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The School and Delinquency Control

By Bertram M. Beck

A REVIEW of the rather extensive literature pertaining to the school's role in dealing with the problem of delinquency brings two problems sharply into focus. One concerns the growing tendency to expect the school to do something about everything; and the other the tendency to use the term "delinquency" as if it were a diagnostic entity like diptheria for which there is a specific course of prevention and treatment.

As knowledge in the social and human sciences develops, the interrelationship of one body of knowledge to the other becomes increasingly apparent. Thus, we know that cultural attributes are as important in understanding child behavior as are parent-child relations; that the psychic factors in the production of disease are intimately involved with the physical factors; that the biologically rooted response of the infant colors the psychologically rooted response of the mother to the infant—and essentially we begin to perceive the complexity of all professions having their conceptual roots in the social sciences.

Out of such perception has come an increasing similarity in the articulated goals of many professions. The public health worker is no longer interested merely in preventing or treating disease but in total health maintainance—which, in essence, involves all facets of human adjustment. The teacher is no longer merely instilling knowledge but is interested in the "whole child." The social worker is concerned with the totality of experience as it bears upon his client. Even the psychoanalyst comes to realize that patients have families and live in communities.

As professional goals become broader and boundaries more difficult to perceive, pressure is placed on the individual practitioner to assimilate more and more knowledge so as to discharge his broader responsibilities. The teacher not only must know how to teach reading but must understand the social and psychological obstacles to the development of reading skills, and be able to do something about overcoming them. The public health nurse not only must be able to provide prenatal care but must know the physical, cultural, social, and psychological factors which influence maternal capacity and be able to deal with such factors.

Desirable as such one man interdisciplinary efforts are, the general effort seems to ignore the fact that the expansion of each discipline which has made it possible to perceive interrelationships also makes it increasingly difficult for one person to gain command of any one discipline. Consequently, there is more and more for the prospective teacher to know about how reading skills are imparted without also being required to master the content of professions related to teaching; and more and more for the public health nurse to know about the physical aspects of prenatal care without also being a sociologist, psychologist, and anthropologist.

Need of a Diagnostic Base

Failure to grasp these realities of teacher training and practice has given rise in education to a rich vocabulary having to do with meeting individual or group needs without the conceptual base of psychosocial dynamic structure that makes it possible to discern what these needs are and precisely how they can be

met. This is manifest in the literature having to do with the school's role in preventing delinquency, where the characteristics of the good school are enumerated in terms of plant, staff, and curriculum in the pious assumption that, by creating such schools, delinquency will be prevented. One looks in vain for attention in such writings to the nature of delinquent behavior and how or why it might be suppressed or repressed by the programs advocated. Small classes, teachers who like children and understand them, varied curriculum, guidance services, and the like can and should be defended as necessary to the maintenance of educational processes in a democracy. The attempt to advance them under the banner of delinquency prevention may well boomerang when incidents of delinquent behavior which the school could not prevent catch the morning headlines, despite improvements in the school system.

The effort to define the school's role in the prevention and treatment of delinquency must have a diagnostic base. While research in delinquency has not yet yielded an exact topology of delinquent behavior, sufficient work has been done to discern several major categories of delinquent behavior and to relate our school efforts to such categories. In this paper several such categories of delinquent behavior are described, and the school programs most appropriate to their prevention and treatment enumerated.

TYPES OF DELINQUENTS

In 1944, Dr. Richard L. Jenkins reported in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*[1] on a study of five hundred boys at the Michigan Child Guidance Institute. Dr. Jenkins merely reported his own observations, and no effort has been made to compare his subject with equivalent nondelinquents. Nevertheless, he discerned three different groups—the social delinquent, the asocial delinquent, and the neurotic delinquent. Since 1944, several substantial pieces of research have been reported which tend to confirm Dr. Jenkins' observations.

THE SOCIAL DELINQUENT

The recent study by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*,[2] has shed much light on the characteristics of the social delinquent who comes to our schools from the urban slum areas. These youngsters are adventuresome, destructive, restless, aggressive, and rebellious. They have little capacity for relationship with adults and resent supervision and authority. They have a great deal of loyalty, however, to their own gangs and to their own form of social control. They evidence little guilt or anxiety about their delinquencies, and are relatively happy children until society interferes with their mode of behavior.

Beginning in the thirties, Clifford Shaw and his colleagues in Chicago began to discern this group of delinquents and attributed their conduct to the nature of the neighborhood in which they were reared.[3] Much more recently, Allison Davis has given new depth to Shaw's earlier study by pointing out that the concept of right and wrong is not the same on both sides of the tracks.[4] Children brought up on the wrong side of the tracks do not learn to

[1] R. L. Jenkins and Lester Heritt, "Types of Personality Structure Encountered in Child Guidance Clinics," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, January 1944.

[2] New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1950.

[3] Clifford R. Shaw and Maurice E. Moore, *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. Also later works by these writers.

[4] Allison Davis, *Social-Class Influence Upon Learning*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943.

suppress or repress aggression because the immediate environment in which they live is one in which aggressive acts are really not taboo. Children on the right side of the tracks tend to conform to the conventional behavior of their elders. Since society is stratified, the values of the larger community—the right side of the track—do not successfully permeate into the slum areas. The recent Glueck study to which reference has been made answered the question of why all children living in a slum are not delinquent. The Gluecks discerned, by comparing nondelinquents and delinquents in a slum area, that there was a measurable difference in the quality of family living between these two groups. The nature of the parent-child relationship made the difference, but once that relationship was impaired you did not usually get a neurotic child; instead you got a child who learned the lessons of the streets, and those lessons were there ready to be learned.

The school addressing itself to the problem of the social delinquent from slum areas is well advised to place emphasis on programs designed to enrich the neighborhood. The all-day neighborhood school, for example, can offer cultural and recreational opportunities of a constructive nature reducing the street-corner contagion of delinquency. The first years of operation of the all-day neighborhood school in such an area will undoubtedly be trying, since aggressive groups will disrupt the program, damage property, and tend to keep more passive youngsters out of the program. Expert supervision is required, making full use of male supervisors whose personal and social orientation is such that they can like the delinquent without liking the delinquency, can be firm without being hostile, and can be understanding without being sentimental. Where such supervision is not available, the all-day neighborhood school in the slum area would be well advised to operate for the first years serving adults and young children only, raising the age of youngsters admitted only as the preschool children and children of the early grade who come into the program at the beginning grow into their teens. Such a progression provides the operation with a core of youngsters having a long standing identification with it. Where the problem is social delinquency, the school's major preventative task is to extend its function so that it may meet certain of the legitimate needs of youngsters not met in depleted homes and communities.

The prevention of social delinquency in the slum area also necessitates a staff and curriculum appropriate to the particular problems presented by class and cultural differences. Teachers do, of course, have a responsibility for bringing their students toward the values of the larger society, but this responsibility cannot be discharged merely by superimposing the middle-class value system of the teacher on the students. The best teachers for the deteriorated area are often those who have come up out of the area themselves. To recruit such teachers special teacher-training scholarships might be offered to promising high school graduates in such areas. To hold good teachers in high delinquency areas there may need to be a premium paid over and above the regular salary scale.

Where teachers indigenous to the area cannot be found, special in-service training programs are needed to provide a realistic understanding of the particular ethnic groups within the area and their class and cultural values. In curriculum development, stress will be placed on motivating students, since there is often little value placed on academic learning in the homes from which they come. Opportunities for

work-study and vocational training must be provided to meet the real needs of these children and their families.

Early signs of social delinquency can readily be detected by attention to two groups of children—those who truant and those who are retarded in development of reading skills. A history of reading retardation or truancy or both is characteristic of most social delinquents. Schools in high delinquency areas require, therefore, an extra supply of teachers qualified to do remedial reading work. They also require access to fully qualified social workers, psychologists, and psychiatrists so that the underlying causes of persistent truancy can be understood. Where the truancy is school induced, remedy may be found in adaptation of the school program. Where the roots of the difficulty are in parent-child relations, responsibility rests with the school social worker or with the appropriate community agency. Unless such resources are available there is little the school can do. Unpleasant as this fact may be, facing it will conserve much time, energy, and money spent on the nonproductive efforts of unqualified persons to unravel the complexities of parent-child relations.

THE ASOCIAL DELINQUENT

The second group of delinquent children, asocial delinquents, are encountered much less frequently than the social delinquents. Jenkins, Lippman, Anna Freud,[5] and John Bowlby[6] have discerned this group, distinguished from that of the social delinquent in some of its characteristics only by their severity and in others by major differences. Like the social delinquent, these asocial children are extremely narcissistic, and their behavior has a primitive, instinctual quality to it. Unlike the social delinquent, they can neither give nor receive affection, with adults or with their peers. They know no loyalties, and there is often not a trace of guilt or anxiety about their conduct. In nature these children are very close to the classical definition of a psychopath.

These children come from the homes of both rich and poor. They have usually suffered some severe traumatic disturbance in the course of their growth. Frequently they are children born out of wedlock. John Bowlby in his early study, *Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves,* and more recently in *Maternal Care and Mental Health,*[7] has highlighted the frequency with which these children have been separated from their own parents during childhood. These are the children for whom we often get the truly pathological family case histories replete with alcoholism, crime, and other social evils.

When dealing with these children, teachers must give up clichés about keeping children out of court or freeing them from the stigma of a court record, for a delaying action with this type of delinquent is dangerous and socially improvident. Attempting to treat the child permissively makes the situation worse rather than better. He should be brought within the scope of the official agencies just as soon as the first real delinquency occurs. The prognosis for treatment is very poor. There is no problem here of resolving inner conflict because there is no inner conflict—that is the root of the difficulty. This type of child requires a basic personality reconstruction and is best treated in the controlled environment of an institution.

[5] "Psychopathic Behavior in Infants and Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* April 1951. A round-table discussion.

[6] John Bowlby, *Forty-Four Juvenile Thieves: Their Characters and Home-Life.* London: Bailliere, Tindall and Cox, 1946.

[7] World Health Organization, 1951.

Obviously the school's role cannot be enlarged to include the treatment of the asocial delinquent. In most instances, these youngsters are too damaged to remain in the school system. Despite the obvious, however, schools that operate on a benign platform of verbalization about "needs of children," without a solid diagnostic base, do indeed put these youngsters through a mill of paper work, special classes, and well-intentioned but inept "counseling" which cannot benefit the child but can only impair the morale of teachers and pupils alike.

The contributions which the schools can make to the prevention of asocial delinquency lie in the field of education in family life. Discussion groups and material integrated into the curriculum at appropriate points can prepare junior and senior high school students for their roles as parents and, consequently, strike at the source of asocial behavior—deprivation of maternal care.

THE NEUROTIC DELINQUENT

Programs of education in family life as well as parent education will also help to prevent the third type of delinquency —neurotic delinquency. These children do not occur in large numbers, but as a result of the influence of psychoanalytic theory on educational practice most of our techniques and methods are vaguely or specifically related to the needs of the neurotic child.

The true neurotic delinquent often comes from the middle or upper classes. Subjected to the same parental influences in underprivileged areas, he is likely to become a social delinquent. His parents are usually beset by their own personal problems, and there is a lack of warmth in family relationships. Often there is a rigid and domineering father. The possessive mother is less frequent, since the child of such a mother is rarely openly delinquent. The behavior of the child has a compulsive quality to it. It is not "healthy" delinquency. Some aggression is open and manifest in the delinquent act, but a great deal of the aggression is turned inward, so that the child suffers guilt and anxiety. His problems are inside himself; he often engages in delinquent acts alone. He is responsible for the more sensational delinquencies—compulsive fire setting, sex offenses, crimes of great violence, and the like.

While teachers probably cannot "cure" a neurosis, they can often offer a neurotic child a kind of relationship and certain opportunities for personal development that will enhance the child's chances of functioning in an acceptable fashion, despite the neurosis. To increase the potential for such child aid, teachers need to have a basic fund of knowledge regarding child development and, what is more important, need to have a skill in using themselves in a constructive relationship to the child. These attributes are not easily attained by means of didactic instruction in psychological subjects. Practice teaching must incorporate help to the teacher in understanding how the personal needs of the teacher obscure perception of children's needs. Teachers currently employed require opportunities to come together in small groups to discuss individual children and, under the guidance of trained and qualified group leaders, develop self-awareness and gain additional knowledge of child development. Basic human needs of teachers must be met before they can meet the needs of their pupils. Adequate salaries and working conditions, a good school plant, small classes, modern teaching materials, proper curriculum development, and understanding, supportive, progressive school administrators furnish the climate in which teachers can do their best for pupils.

The emphasis in the school program needs to be on developing teacher potential rather than on a proliferation of adjunctive services. When the teacher has done her best and deviant behavior persists then help outside the classroom is needed. Such help may be sought from fully qualified therapeutic personnel in the school system or from appropriate community agencies. Without these resources little can be done. To reiterate a point previously made, schools are ill advised to maintain substandard counseling and guidance services that are more form than substance and primarily serve as recipients of the buck to be passed. If the choice is between such substandard services and nothing, schools are well advised to choose nothing and invest their funds in better classroom personnel.

ORGANIC AND "ACCIDENTAL" DELINQUENTS

In addition to the categories of delinquent children already mentioned reference should be made to a small number of organic delinquents, children whose behavior is due to actual brain damage. The school, of course, can neither prevent nor treat this type of delinquency. Knowledge of its existence, however, underlines the importance of utilizing the school health program not only in respect to general health maintenance of school population, but for special health appraisal of children with problems.

A somewhat dissimilar category is that of "accidental" delinquency—children behaving in a fashion normal to their development but contrary to our all-inclusive state statutes defining delinquency. Teachers and others who are overzealous sometimes enmesh such children in the machinery designed for the genuine delinquent.

Such youngsters may actually receive a push toward delinquency as their self-concept comes to be that of a delinquent. Teachers and others who deal with the young need to have a good working knowledge of the flexible limits of normality at different stages of child development. This is particularly true in reference to sex behavior. Because of the emotional overtones surrounding sexual behavior, great harm can be done by teachers who because of their own standards, beliefs, or upbringing see pathology where none exists. School personnel need to understand and accept the fact that one does not have "to do something" about everything. Many incidents of apparent misbehavior are best overlooked and quickly forgotten.

THE SCHOOL AND OFFICIAL AGENCIES

Bovet in his World Health Organization pamphlet noted the evidence for the syndromes discussed and went on to point out what he terms "a secondary homogeneity" amongst delinquent children.[8] He pointed out that all delinquents coming to the attention of the official agency have experienced a common psychological impact engendered by two factors: (1) Society has called them on the carpet because of their own behavior, not because somebody did something to them. This alters the public attitude towards them and alters their own concept of self; with rebellious children it may well engender greater hostility and cause heightened delinquency. (2) The official agencies that treat them have an element of authority, and implicit in their treatment is the threat of more severe consequences if the child does not conform. This is almost always true regardless of the language of treatment that may overlay these more severe consequences.

[8] L. Bovet, *Psychiatric Aspects of Juvenile Delinquency*. Geneva, Switzerland: World Health Organization, 1951.

This, of course, does not mean that the official agencies have no role in treatment, for, as has been indicated, certain children need precisely the type of treatment offered by the official agency.

It does mean that schools must develop close working relations with police, juvenile courts, and institutions for delinquents. Special efforts need to be made to reincorporate into the school community youngsters who have had contact with these official agencies, lest they see themselves as segregated and rejected, and continue to strike out at that which rejects them.

DELINQUENCY IN SUBURBAN LIFE

One of the most recent and most significant studies of delinquency demonstrated that the essence of the failure of communities to induce social conformity arises from the prevalence of intergroup conflict which works against the development of the spirit of togetherness.[9] It has been demonstrated that those things commonly associated with delinquency, such as poor housing, poverty, and the like, do not necessarily cause delinquency if there is a collective strength among persons burdened by such problems, with that strength engendering positive group feeling.

Such studies make it possible to see how the so-called "better" communities constructed virtually overnight on yesterday's cornfields without community services or tradition may be limited in their capacity to promote acceptable social behavior. Because each family comes to such a new development separately, removed from contacts with kin or the sense of tradition that characterizes older communities, the lack of the spirit of togetherness may lead to delinquency bred of exclusion from the community of a kind comparable to that produced by the slums.

In such communities, these so-called better communities, teen-agers faced with problems of draft and military service find little support from adults, who are essentially uninterested in the basic cause for which the youngsters are asked to sacrifice. Lacking the reward of social advancement for good behavior and seeing the future as cloudy and problematical, such teen-agers may well band together in groups similar to the slum gang, with their own dress, their own language, and their own code of moral behavior quite different from the code to which the adults in the community give at least lip service.

With this type of suburban social delinquency schools cannot cope unless they are ready to act as centers of community mobilization.

Schools having contact with practically all children and their parents can bring citizens to an awareness of youth's needs and can stimulate the development of civic programs of study and action to meet those needs. To accomplish this task requires the leadership of a farseeing and courageous school administrator. The needs with which we are concerned include those which must be met through the schools as well as those which must be met through other community agencies, programs, and services. The school which attempts to give over-all vigorous community leadership, therefore, runs the risk of antagonizing many vested interests.

Nevertheless, the sum total of what we know about delinquency today makes it plain that it is a problem which cannot be solved short of a major effort to reintegrate the community around a positive concern of its members each for the other. While such an effort must have specific goals in terms of improved programs and services, its major import is in the process of adult

[9] Bernard Lander, *Toward an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

leadership rather than in the specific goals. Out of such a process comes the community which cares and, because it cares, does not isolate young people, inducing a reaction of hostility against authority. The state of our public school system in most communities is ample evidence of a community that does not care enough to support programs concerned with the conservation of human values. In a community thus marked by materialistic values, young people, lacking the nourishment of positive group identity, are prone to act against the group.

By giving all-out leadership to citizen study-action programs to meet the needs of young people, the school begins to provide the necessary base of support for necessary programs and services. More important, however, it makes a contribution toward the creation of a social, ethical, and moral climate within the community in which delinquency and kindred ills will not flourish.

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Occupational Education in the Schools

By William P. Loomis and Louise Moore

MOST of the activities covered in this report concerning placement and follow-up are based upon operations of the schools in the field of trade and industrial education, which includes training for employment in manufacturing, construction, technical, and service occupations. However, many of those persons in public school systems who have responsibility for youths entering industrial occupations also assist youths who wish to enter other types of occupations.

Choosing and Entering Employment—Current Difficulties

The experience of a young person in selecting and entering employment today is a far cry from that of a boy or girl fifty or even twenty-five years ago. The present greater variety of employing establishments and of types of work available, legal requirements for employment, and the need for some evidence of specific abilities to obtain most desirable jobs seem like a maze and a barrier to the average young person. Especially is this true when, as in many instances, immediate relatives or friends do not or cannot offer, or have sufficient information to recommend as desirable, specific kinds of work opportunities.

Other factors contributing to the problems that face young people of today in selecting and obtaining a suitable career in certain localities include the desire of many rural youths to go to the city where greater opportunity is thought to exist; rapid changes in employment requirements due to new methods of work and new machines and devices; dislocation of industry resulting in an oversupply of labor in some areas; and the fact that pre-employment or apprentice training and technical knowledge are required to qualify for many of the most desirable jobs in industry and the personal service field.

Public School Preparation for Placement

Youth employment problems have brought about several significant changes and additions to public school services. It is obviously difficult to provide placement services for young people if they leave school without information or experience upon which to base their choice of occupation and upon which the school can recommend them for employment. To provide this foundation, many schools conduct the following activities and services:

Practical arts courses are provided in junior and senior high schools covering general career areas, such as commercial, homemaking, and industrial. Among the purposes of these courses is the development of appreciation of the types and standards of work in these fields. They are not of great importance as a specific preparation for actual employment but are of considerable value from the standpoint of vocational guidance. For example, an industrial arts course may include elementary experiences in metalworking, electrical work, automobile work, and woodworking.

Guidance services for youth are also provided in junior and senior high schools and include attention to the selection of courses that provide a foundation for adult life, keeping in mind both cultural and economic needs.

In the junior high school, vocational

guidance may begin with the desire of the average youth of that age to engage in useful activities. Success at and consequent attraction to certain types of work during these experiences may have considerable influence upon future selection of an occupation, and on employment.

When the boy or girl is faced with the necessity of choosing a definite occupational aim, a course in occupations is often available. The characteristics and requirements of a variety of occupations are covered in these courses. Supplementing such courses are visits to industries and business establishments in the community. Informative talks by prominent local employers and by representatives of the local public employment service are often arranged. These talks deal with general and specific factors that have to do with work opportunities, obtaining employment, and ways to be successful and obtain advancement.

During this career-decision period, the school guidance counselor has responsibility for work with the individual youth. The counselor's success depends largely upon his ability to gain the confidence of the youth and to provide sound and realistic advice and information.

Vocational preparatory courses are offered in many senior high schools and special vocational high schools. These courses include commercial work, homemaking, and industrial work in skilled occupations; courses in agriculture are fairly common in high schools serving rural areas. The commercial and industrial courses are steppingstones to employment in wage-earning occupations. Ages of entrance into these courses vary from fourteen to sixteen years, and the length of full-time courses in school ranges from one to four years, with a considerable portion of the school time given over to occupational preparation through practical work in shops or laboratories that prepares for employment in occupations available in the locality. Determination of the types of occupations to be included in the program is usually made in co-operation with employers, labor organizations, and the local Employment Security Office.

STUDENT'S SELECTION OF AN OCCUPATION

Enrollment in a vocational course requires a decision on the part of the youth with respect to the choice of a specific occupation. Prior to final decision, considerable attention is given to the adaptability of the youth to the requirements of the job. In one school system it was recently noted that the selection of courses is preceded by testing for mechanical or clerical aptitudes, mental ability, and achievement levels in reading and arithmetic.

In connection with counseling that precedes selection of an occupation, considerable weight is given to the occupational interests, attitudes, and previous school record of the youth. It has been found that a youth who is not interested in occupational preparation while in school, or whose abilities are not adapted to the requirements of the work done in the occupation, seldom succeeds either in school or after employment.

As an additional safeguard to occupational adaptability, a youth who enrolls for preparatory training in a school and whose achievement is not satisfactory after a fair trial period, is encouraged to enroll in another course more suitable to his interests, abilities, and aptitudes. In this connection, it should be pointed out that the shop, laboratory, and classroom teachers are an important element in the adjustment of high school students to the types of work in which they will be most likely to succeed. When the solution to prob-

lems of adjustment is sought, teachers confer together as a group, and with the counselors and youth individually. The guidance counselor may initiate or stimulate consideration of youth problems and serve as a central figure in the adjustment process, but he must have the co-operation and assistance of the teachers who have daily contact with the youth.

PLACEMENT OF YOUTHS IN JOBS

Under this heading, the report will be based largely upon methods of placement of youths who have been enrolled in high school vocational courses relating to employment in trades and in technical and service occupations. It can be assumed, however, that there may be much common ground with vocational courses in other fields. Placement of students who have been enrolled in college preparatory courses, or in other courses having no particular occupational objective, presents problems and requires methods that will not be specifically discussed here.

There are two types of vocational programs in which placement of youths in jobs is essential:

1. *Part-time co-operative programs.* In these programs, youths are trained for full-time employment in specific jobs after leaving school through part-time employment in those jobs while still in school. The part-time employment is confined to occupations that offer a real opportunity for training in job skills and for advancement.

In these programs, the student worker alternates between school and planned work experiences under the direction of the employer. Alternation between school and work may be on a half-day, weekly, or other suitable equal time basis. The youths usually work in pairs for one employer, although this is not a requirement if the assignment of one youth is satisfactory to the employer.

These programs usually begin in the eleventh or twelfth grade when the student worker is at least sixteen years old. The youth is paid current minimum wages by the employer during his working time. During the school period, he receives some technical and other instruction related to his work while employed, as well as instruction in other subjects usually required for high school graduation.

The youths in co-operative programs are always under the supervision of a co-ordinator, who may also teach subjects related to the occupation or occupations in which they are employed. A most important and invariable responsibility of the co-ordinator of these programs is to visit the youth while at work, interview the employer and immediate supervisor, obtain information on the student worker's progress on the job, and determine what should be particularly emphasized in the related technical and other instruction in school. Much attention is also given to the youth's job adjustment in the initial period of the program.

There is always an agreement between the school and the employer as to alternation between school and work, on-the-job experiences to be covered during the program, and the compensation to be paid by the employer. The employer is also familiar with the youth's school program.

Part-time co-operative programs may be conducted following preliminary vocational preparatory courses. Some programs are planned to admit qualified youths from any course in the high school who have determined that they desire this type of specific training. It is preferable that all youths who enroll in these programs have had, through industrial arts courses, at least a rather good sampling of types of work.

Placement of youths enrolled in part-time co-operative courses is arranged by

the co-ordinator, with assistance from one or more of the following agencies or groups outside of the school organization:

Local public employment service. The youths register with the local office and are tested for job adaptability. The school is notified of employers who may be willing to co-operate and the types of work available.

Advisory committees for trades or occupations. Advisory committees are made up of employers and selected members of labor organizations representing specific occupations. They are a valuable adjunct in the placement of youths in these programs.

Individual employers. Since the school co-ordinator makes frequent contacts with employers, new opportunities for placing additional youths are discovered.

Labor organizations. Craft unions that maintain "hiring halls" are of considerable value in making placements in these occupations.

2. *Vocational trade preparatory courses.* The operation of vocational preparatory full-time school programs and the selection and adjustment of youths who are enrolled in such courses have been described previously.

In the trade and industrial preparatory program, the placement of youths after training is considered essential to the operation and success of the program. The reason for this is that if a youth spends a large part of his time in school preparing to enter a specific occupation, he should expect to obtain employment in this occupation or in an occupation very closely related to it.

If a large percentage of graduates go into other occupations, it may be concluded that one or more of the following conditions exist: provision for proper placement has been inadequate; there is not sufficient opportunity for employment in the occupations for which the youths are being trained; or employers have discovered that the school training is not of high quality. Under any of these conditions, expenditure of public education funds for a continuance of the training program cannot be justified.

Youths for whom placement assistance should be provided by the school fall into two categories: youths who leave school before completing the full course; youths who complete the full course and graduate, usually with a high school diploma.

Those who do not complete the full trade preparatory course, for one reason or another, may be able to obtain employment in a type of work to which their school training has a positive correlation. This is especially true if the student is assisted by the school in obtaining employment. Original placement of these youths, if in jobs related to the school training, is usually in semiskilled jobs that in themselves are not considered as desirable as all-around skilled occupations. However, the principal long-range limitations with respect to ultimate success depend largely upon the youth himself—his ambition and his inherent capacity.

Youths who graduate from preparatory courses usually obtain employment as advanced learners, and the school training is followed by full-time work that provides training or seasoning on the job. For the skilled trades, the training period after high school is usually recognized as apprenticeship, which is an organized training system that assures a rounding out of skills in the various operations and techniques under actual working conditions. Post high school training for graduates from preparatory courses for technical and service occupations is not always organized as apprenticeship. Some technical course graduates, such as engineering technicians and mechanical or

chemical laboratory assistants, enter the occupations at existing pay scales for beginners and advance as their skill and competence increase through their daily work experiences.

PLACEMENT TECHNIQUES

Methods of placement and assistance from agencies outside of the school organization vary with almost every local school program. The following is a composite of the various methods used:

Registration with the local public employment service, with an indication of the type of work desired and the approximate date when employment can be accepted, may be required of the youth some time before leaving school. Qualified youths are referred to openings as they come to the attention of the local office.

Teachers of the shop or laboratory subjects in the school keep in close touch with plants and establishments that employ workers in their special fields, and recommend those youths who will be available and competent for jobs that come to their attention.

Special school-industry co-ordinators, employed by the school, or in smaller school districts the supervisor of the program, through their constant contacts with employers, gain knowledge of job openings and, through proper channels, see that qualified youths apply.

The school guidance department maintains a file of eligibles by type of job for which qualified and serves as a clearinghouse for requests coming into the school. Such requests and recommendations are always cleared with interested teachers and co-ordinators.

Trade advisory committee members provide a means of general information to employers with respect to types of beginning workers available from the school, and they frequently assist directly in the placement of workers.

Employers who have had satisfactory service from former students in the school call upon the school when they need new employees with specific skills and knowledge.

Youths are encouraged to obtain work with prospective employers in the summer months during the course, thus making personal contacts with employers prior to graduation.

It is not to be assumed that all youths need assistance in obtaining employment, or that the placement of youths who complete trade preparatory programs is always a problem for the school. Many youths, on their own initiative, select the places where they wish to work and obtain assurance of employment long before they graduate. Likewise, many schools maintain such close relations with the employing industries and are known to have such high standards of preparation that most or all of those who will graduate have been interviewed and promised employment long before the end of their last school term. Frequently, the demand for these new workers is so persistent that youths are permitted to go to work for their employer, either on a part-time or full-time basis, in April or May immediately preceding graduation.

AFTER-EMPLOYMENT FOLLOW-UP

A carefully planned and well-organized follow-up program adds much to the effectiveness of a school's trade preparatory courses. Too many schools neglect this important service. The effectiveness of a program of this kind is indicated when the school management and teachers keep in touch with former students and maintain the interest and support of leaders and workers in the local industries who got their start through the school program.

Many schools and community-wide trade and industrial education programs do keep in touch with former students and with the industries that employ

them. The various methods used in follow-up include:

Apprenticeship after graduation fosters continued contact of the school with former students during the years they attend related instruction classes.

The birthday-card method of annual follow-up is used by some schools. This always includes an appropriate greeting, possibly an invitation to visit the school, and information is requested about place of employment, progress in the occupation, and so forth.

Periodical or occasional follow-up by the double postcard method contains a friendly greeting from the school and requests information on a form printed on the return card. The information requested will vary, but it nearly always covers employment status of the recipient, and in some cases asks for suggestions on improvement of the instruction offered by the school, and on types of adult extension training that might be beneficial to him or to others.

Surveys of graduates and employers of graduates through questionnaires are sometimes used for special purposes. These purposes always have to do with matters pertaining to the success of former students or the improvement of the school program. This method is rather involved both for the school and the respondent. The method is worth while only if returns are carefully analyzed and followed up with appropriate conclusions and actions.

A request for information from the school alumni association, especially where the school is strictly vocational in nature, usually brings good results. Alert school personnel take an interest in the activities and membership of these organizations.

Sending each former student of the school an announcement of the adult evening courses offered by the school is a follow-up device the value of which is frequently overlooked. When accompanied by a suitable communication, such personal interest is appreciated and will tend to keep and maintain continued interest in the school on the part of the former student. It may also increase the enrollment in extension courses.

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Towards Co-ordination in Great Britain: A Survey

By W. O. Lester Smith

"ADMINISTRATIVE chaos" was a phrase much used by reformers at the close of the nineteenth century to describe the educational landscape. Irrespective of their political sympathies, they recognized that constitutional reconstruction, both at the center and locally, was a prerequisite of advance. This reconstruction was accomplished by two Acts of Parliament, the Board of Education Act (1899) and the Education Act (1902); the former dealt with administration at the center, the latter provided the system of local administration that, with minor modifications, operates today.

The Board of Education Act established one central department for education in England and Wales, with functions and responsibilities previously discharged by three separate bodies. The Education Act abolished the 2,568 School Boards, and also the 788 School Attendance Committees which had functioned where there was no School Board, and it made the 62 County Councils and 69 County Borough Councils the local education authorities.

Both acts contained concessions and compromises which tended to make the new organization less orderly than it would have been without them. Many had hoped for a Ministry of Education and a Minister, but instead Parliament created a Board of Education. The effect, however, was much the same, for the Board, which was composed of the chief officers of state, never met throughout the forty-five years of its life. But the fiction of an active board was always retained in spite of the fact that presidents functioned without its advice. "Successive Presidents delighted to describe themselves as 'transient heads of a phantom Board,' and officials exercised their ingenuity in attributing to the Board anthropomorphic qualities. Thus the Board was 'pleased' or 'surprised'; it learned with 'satisfaction' or 'concern'; it is even alleged to have been 'unable to retain its composure' at some flagrant irregularity." [1]

No explanation of the government's preference for a "Board" was forthcoming at the time the act was passed; when asked later to account for it, the Duke of Devonshire, who steered the bill in the House of Lords, said that he had forgotten the why and wherefore. But it is reasonable to assume that in the laissez-faire mood of that time it was deemed better to have a board available to check any transient president with a tendency to interfere and intervene. And certainly that is the explanation of the provision in the act limiting the function of the Board to one of "superintendence" of matters relating to education in England and Wales. But this definition of its functions did not prevent the Board from usually getting local authorities to do what it wanted or from achieving some degree of co-ordination throughout the country.

Central Department and Local Authorities

The development of the relationship between the Board and local authorities makes an interesting story, in

[1] *Education, 1900–1950,* Report of Ministry of Education for 1950 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1951), p. 2.

which personal factors counted for much. There were two principal phases. The first can be attributed almost entirely to the first Permanent Secretary after the passing of the 1902 act, Sir Robert Morant, a co-ordinator by nature with a liking for power and a desire to dominate. A great administrator of the forceful kind, he stretched the limited authority of the Board to the utmost, and was largely responsible for the nationwide drive to provide new grammar schools which followed the passing of the Education Act of 1902. A recent Permanent Secretary, Sir Maurice Holmes, has described his methods:

> His attitude towards the newly constituted Local Education Authorities was far removed indeed from the spirit of friendly cooperation which characterises the present relationship between the Ministry and Local Authorities. He knew what he wanted done, and by a curious mixture of browbeating and persuasiveness he usually succeeded in getting it done.[2]

The second phase, which began when Morant left the Board of Education in 1911, has been described as a "progressive partnership between the Central Department, the local education authorities, and the teachers."[3] It has had its ups and downs, but it has grown into a relationship of genuine friendliness, the outstanding characteristic of the educational service in this country. These good relations have, more than any other factor, been the mainspring of co-ordination, making it a natural process based on good sense rather than on schemes and procedure. Reference will be made later in this article to the unevenness of the achievement, but considering the Board's limited powers, the degree of co-ordination accomplished has been remarkable.

[2] *The First Fifty Years* (University of London Press, 1947), p. 120.

[3] *Education, 1900–1950*, p. 1.

CHECKS TO CO-ORDINATION

There were, however, three features of the Education Act of 1902 which checked the progress of co-operation and co-ordination. Of these, one was an unfortunate compromise designed to allay the fierce opposition to the abolition of the School Boards. This opposition was strong in urban areas that were not county boroughs; their representatives objected vehemently to the proposal that their schools should be administered by the County Councils. So Parliament agreed that certain areas within the County Council area should be allowed to administer elementary education only; the areas accorded this concession were noncounty boroughs with a population of over 10,000 in 1901, and urban districts with a population of over 20,000 in 1901. Two consequences of this compromise were regrettable. In the first place, it was a mistake to make the census of one specified year the determinant of the concession. The second consequence was more serious; the existence of these separate authorities for elementary education blocked the road of advance towards a reorganization of education into primary and secondary stages and towards the goal of secondary education for all. It was not until Mr. Butler had the courage in 1944 to end this anomaly that the road to universal secondary education was opened.

Another aspect of the Education Act of 1902 which made a co-ordinated advance difficult was the permissive character of the clauses dealing with education other than elementary. Just as the laissez-faire temper of that day had led Parliament to limit the role of the central department to one of "superintendence," so it caused the legislature to leave the local authorities largely free to decide what provision they would make for secondary and technical edu-

cation. Such freedom encouraged progressive authorities to exercise initiative, undertake developments on a wide scale, and pioneer in particular directions. But it also led to wide discrepancies between one area and another, and children born in the territory of an authority making good use of its permissive powers had much better opportunities than had those born in areas that could with some justice be described as backward.

The third feature of the Education Act of 1902 that made co-ordination difficult was connected with the dual system. When the foundation of our national system were laid by the Education Act of 1870 it was agreed that there should be both school board schools and voluntary schools within the national system. Before 1902 the voluntary schools, mostly Church of England or Roman Catholic, received government maintenance grants and in the early days building grants. The 1902 act not only confirmed the dual system but fortified it by providing that the voluntary schools, like the council schools (as the board schools were now called), should be wholly maintained by local rates and national taxes, leaving the churches responsible only for expenditures on structure. This concession roused the bitter opposition of the Nonconformists, but it was soon found that this additional financial aid still left the churches unable to provide accommodation of a standard comparable to that in the council schools. Furthermore, the Hadow Report of 1926, which urged the division of elementary education into senior and primary stages, led to demands which the churches, unable to afford the cost of building and reconditioning schools, were unable to satisfy. Local authorities, when contemplating a co-ordinated educational advance, were always faced with the prospect that the managers of voluntary schools, even if willing to co-operate, might find themselves prohibited from doing so because they were unable to shoulder the capital expenditure involved. This greatly limited the programs for reorganization, especially in the rural areas where most of the voluntary schools were.

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

A major weakness of early administration was the absence of a coherent system of finance. The state made grants to the School Boards and, after 1902, to the new local authorities, and the first grants to voluntary societies were made as far back as 1833. The School Boards and, later, the local authorities levied local rates. But not until 1918 was an attempt made to establish an organic financial relationship between the central government and the local authorities. The Education Act of that year, for which H. A. L. Fisher was responsible, effected a complete reform of the system of grants to local authorities. For the fifty-seven separate grants payable by the Board of Education, there was substituted a system of annual substantive grant related to local expenditure and dependent upon the maintenance of an efficient system of education by the local authority. Unfortunately there had to be two substantive grants, one for elementary and one for education above the elementary level, because of the existence (already referred to) of separate authorities for elementary education. The grant for elementary education was calculated on a formula which took into account the number of children in the area, the expenditure on their elementary education, and the financial capacity of the area to meet that expenditure as measured by assessable value. The grant for education other than elementary was calculated at a flat rate of 50 per cent of the net local expenditure.

Today, except for certain special serv-

ices such as school meals, the grant payable by the Ministry of Education to local authorities for all their educational expenditure (within the province of that Ministry) is based on a formula similar to that adopted in 1918 for elementary education. The principle followed is that of relating the grant—to quote words used by Mr. Butler in 1944—"to the number of children in the area and the capacity of the area to pay for their education." But the point that should be stressed is that

> the finance of public education . . . has grown from a system of particular—and largely unrelated—subsidies to a system of joint finance based upon a real partnership between the central authority and local education authorities. It is, in fact, a story of progress from "contract" to "status" between the two in the pursuit of a common adventure.[4]

SCOTLAND AND WALES

In the gradual approach to a unified and co-ordinated system of education, traditions have been respected and diversity encouraged. Of this regard for distinctive tradition Scotland is the outstanding example, for although England and Scotland have shared one Parliament since the Union of 1707, the Scots have fully retained their separate educational system and traditions, the Secretary of State for Scotland being responsible for the central administration of Scottish education.

Wales, on the other hand, has conformed to the English administrative pattern, but since 1907 there has been within the Ministry (or, until 1944, the Board) a separate Welsh Department wholly sympathetic to the desire of the Welsh people to preserve and enrich their national culture and maintain their own language. In the nineteenth century it was the practice of English administrators—Matthew Arnold among them—to discourage the use of Welsh in schools, but during the present century there has been a complete reversal of this policy. The central government in its dealings with English counties and county boroughs has usually lent a sympathetic ear to local points of view, and recent experience suggests that co-ordination and diversity are not incompatible.

[4] *Education, 1900–1950*, p. 32.

EDUCATION ACT OF 1944

While the years before World War II saw the steady growth of an orderly system, two great obstacles stood in the way of effective co-ordination: one the restriction imposed by statute on the powers of the central authority—the Board of Education could still only "superintend"—and the other the inability of the voluntary schools to find money for school construction. The Education Act of 1944 removed both of these roadblocks. There is now a Minister with powers of direction and control, and by a substantial readjustment of the dual system voluntary school managers have been enabled and can be required to bring their buildings up to modern standards.

The spirit of partnership has survived the shift in the balance of power, but the Ministry is now indisputably the senior partner with a Minister able effectively to exercise a co-ordinating function. He can settle priorities, impose minimum requirements, ensure certain standards of staffing, and maintain a level in the scale of grants and awards to students and pupils; can also ensure that provision is made for particular needs, as, for example, the education of handicapped children. All this sounds dictatorial, but after more than ten years' experience of the working of the act one can say without hesitation that no Minister has shown any tendency to

use his immense powers unfairly or to excess. The largest local authority, the London County Council, has like others had its battles with the Minister, especially over secondary school organization, but as the following comment shows it shares the general view that the Minister has not encroached unduly:

> Each local education authority has a real measure of freedom and responsibility. The policies of different authorities vary considerably, for example, in the organization of secondary education, and the Ministry has not sought to discourage diversity.[5]

Especially notable is the fact that co-ordinating policy is never allowed to encroach on academic freedom. Universities are outside the province of the Ministry of Education and independent of the local authorities; government grants to universities, amounting to about two-thirds of their expenditure, are administered by a University Grants Committee operating on behalf of the Treasury, and although in the distribution of grants problems of co-ordination constantly arise, the respect for academic freedom is absolute. Grants made to universities by local authorities are unconditional, but the universities have the wisdom to see that authorities are represented on their courts and councils. A similar attitude prevails in regard to the curriculum of schools; this is recognized to be the responsibility of the teachers, and they in turn are careful not to abuse the freedom they enjoy in this respect. The Ministry never does more than "suggest," and although Ministry and local authorities determine the types of schools and sometimes argue fiercely in so doing, once the issue of type is settled they are careful to leave teachers free to develop the inner life of each school.

[5] *The London Education Service* (London County Council, 1954), p. 93.

CONSULTATIVE MACHINERY

Vital to the co-ordinating process is the consultative machinery set up by the Minister. Of this some existed before 1944. Under the Education Act of 1902 a Consultative Committee was established to advise the President of the Board of Education on questions which he referred to it, and it produced some of the most seminal reports in our educational history, notably the Hadow and Spens Reports. After World War I a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham was constituted to act as a negotiating body to settle teachers' salaries; it is composed of representatives of local education authorities and teachers' organizations. A Secondary Schools Examinations Council was also created to co-ordinate the work of approved university examining bodies, which are responsible for the secondary school certificate examinations. With the passing of the Education Act of 1944 the existing consultative machinery was strengthened, and some important additions were made. The former Consultative Committee was replaced by Central Advisory Councils for England and Wales respectively, and they were empowered by the act not only to advise on matters referred to them but also upon "such matters connected with educational theory and practice as they think fit." Scotland has a similar council, which has issued some valuable reports. The Burnham Committee was given statutory status, and the Minister now has legal authority to see that the remuneration paid by local authorities to teachers accords with scales agreed upon by this negotiating body and accepted by him. The Secondary Schools Examinations Council was enlarged to make it more representative of the various interests concerned.

Of the consultative bodies set up since 1944 the most important are two

National Advisory Councils, one on Education for Industry and Commerce, and the other on the Training and Supply of Teachers. The first, widely representative of industrial, commercial, and teaching interests, serves as apex of a system of regional consultative bodies for further education. The second keeps under continuous review the supply of and demand for teachers, and studies the problems of teacher education, acting also as a clearinghouse of opinions that have already found expression in area organizations. There are, too, a few independent co-ordinating bodies aided by the Ministry, which include on their executive councils representatives of the Ministry, local education authorities, and teachers. Among these are the National Foundation for Educational Research, the Educational Foundation for Visual Aids, and the Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges.

The problem of consultation is rendered much easier by the existence of well-established associations both of the local authorities and the teachers. The County Councils Association has an Education Committee, and so has the Association of Municipal Corporations, which speaks for the boroughs; and there is also an important Association of Education Committees which concerns itself entirely with the problems that confront local education authorities. Education Officers too have their association, which is able to offer expert advice on current problems of educational administration.

THE LOCAL AUTHORITY

It is important not to give the impression that co-ordination is more actively pursued at the national than at the local level. The Education Act requires every local authority to appoint a well-qualified Chief Education Officer, and upon his administrative ability and that of his staff the quality of local co-ordination largely depends. One of the most important functions of an education authority is to maintain close contact with school governors and managers, with the many voluntary bodies engaged in adult education, youth service, and social services affecting education, and by a system of advisory committees to ensure the interest of industrial and commercial experts in the promotion of technical education. In county areas, to counter the isolation that distance from headquarters may involve, the act requires a system of divisional executive committees. Another important requirement of the act is that every authority must have a detailed development plan or scheme for primary, secondary, and further education; approved by the Minister, the plan serves as a chart for every stage of advance. School governors know its contents and intelligent local citizens can by studying it acquaint themselves with the authority's intentions over a long term of years. This educational development plan is drawn up to harmonize with housing, road, and other projects as revealed in the city or county plan.

CO-ORDINATION WITH OTHER SERVICES

Every County and County Borough Council has a wide range of functions, of which education is but one, albeit a very important one and the one which involves the largest expenditure. These councils are, under the Education Act, required to appoint an Education Committee with a majority of aldermen and councillors and a minority of co-opted persons, selected because of their interest in or special knowledge of education. Thus in London, where the Council consists of 150 members, the Education Committee's membership is 50, of whom 12 are co-opted. Although an Education Committee has considerable dele-

gated power, it reports regularly to the Council, usually each month. Thus its policy is almost automatically co-ordinated with that of the other committees of the Council. Moreover, as one of a hierarchy, the Education Officer is in constant touch with other leading officials—the Clerk of the Council, the Treasurer, the Chief Constable, the Medical Officer of Health, the Surveyor, the Architect, the Librarian, the Parks Superintendent, the Children's Officer, and others. As Dr. Alexander observes,

> In the education service not only the Chief Education Officer but also other principal officers of the Authority have important contributions to make. It is, for example, usual for the County or County Borough Treasurer to be principal finance officer of the Education Committee, and for the County or County Borough Architect to be architect to the Education Committee.[6]

At one time in both central and local government there was a tendency for departments to work in isolation; today the tendency is the reverse. It has been found, however, that interdepartmentalism has defects no less serious than those of isolationism. It can cause delay, and lead to procedures and compromises not in the best interests of education.

CO-ORDINATION IS NOT ENOUGH

Our empiricism leads us often to disregard logic or pattern. For example, while youth employment is administered centrally by the Ministry of Labour with the help of a representative Advisory Council, its local administration is in some areas performed by the education authority and in others by regional officers of the Ministry of Labour. Of the 181 education authorities in England, Scotland, and Wales, 121 have opted to administer this service; the largest authority, the London County Council, operates through nineteen Youth Employment Committees. Again, when in 1948 the National Health Service was instituted, it was widely believed that as an inevitable sequitur the school health service, which had for nearly fifty years been a most valuable integral feature of the local education service, would be absorbed.

> Fortunately [to quote Dr. Alexander], greater wisdom prevailed. . . . The advent of the National Health Service therefore merely strengthened the school medical service, since it made available the whole range of medical treatment to the school medical service.[7]

At the close of his *History of the English People* Élie Halévy observes that it is difficult to understand us unless you remember that this is essentially a free country with a vigorous group life. Even today with the state so active in education, there is a strong element of voluntary enterprise, especially in adult education, youth work, and that educational borderland, community centers and village halls. In all these spheres the local authority cooperates, and with deliberate unobtrusiveness seeks to introduce some degree of co-ordination. During the last war an attempt was made to establish a youth service, which was to be a system of partnership between local authorities and voluntary bodies engaged in the provision of youth clubs and other projects for youth. It was successfully launched; local authorities constituted Youth Committees and appointed Youth Organizers, while the voluntary bodies themselves established at the national level a Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organizations, which fulfills a co-ordinating

[6] William P. Alexander, *Education in England* (London: Newnes Educational Publishing Company, Ltd., 1953), p. 19. (American edition, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954.)

[7] *Op. cit. supra* (note 6), p. 111.

function. But during these postwar years other urgent needs, particularly the building of new schools and the creation of a system of universal secondary education, have had to receive prior attention; and although there is no lack of co-ordinating machinery, feeling is growing that the time is ripe for another purposeful drive in the interests of youth. County colleges, included in the Education Act to supply continued education for young workers, have not yet been established, and it must be admitted that the youth service has in many areas lost some of its first ardor, while economic conditions and the claims of other services have limited the funds available for its development. When the wartime government introduced its scheme for the youth service, it was careful to say that "coordination is not enough." [8] That comment has now almost a prophetic ring as regards the youth service, and most will agree that in administering education it is a maxim of general significance.

[8] Board of Education Circular, No. 1486.

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Co-ordination in Great Britain: Trends and Issues

By William P. Alexander

IT was as recently as 1870 that provision was first made in Great Britain to create a national system of elementary education, under School Boards established at local government level for that purpose. By the turn of the century that task had been largely completed. A growing consciousness that for brighter pupils there should be some opportunity beyond elementary school and, perhaps more important, that a more effective instrument was needed at local government level led to the Education Act of 1902, the significant terms of which have been discussed at some length in the preceding article. The war of 1914–18 gave further impetus to the development of the education service, as indeed wars inevitably do, heightening our consciousness of the importance of young people. The Act of 1918, later consolidated with other relevant statutes in the Act of 1921, assigned to local education authorities the duty of making further provision for education beyond the elementary school, and also expanded the scope of their work to include aid for recreational and social activities of young people. So the pattern grew in scope until the war of 1939. This tragedy in world affairs created a new atmosphere, in which there was a deep consciousness that the war would be won not by rich nor poor, not by country nor town, but by all, each contributing according to his capacity. In that setting, the Education Act of 1944 was born. Here was a statute embracing education from the earliest age into adult life and giving local education authorities powers and duties of an extremely wide nature. Their task was, in fact, to secure the education of all the people in their areas, and for this purpose education was conceived as the development of the individual according to age, ability, and aptitude. This was, indeed, a new concept; of its translation into actuality the local education authority was to be the effective co-ordinating instrument, bringing together all those who were concerned with the welfare of children and young people.

According to the present organization of the education service in Britain, the central government, through the Ministry of Education (in Scotland, the Secretary of State for Scotland), is concerned with national policy; the local education authorities, comprising County Councils and County Borough Councils, are responsible for the implementation of that policy; and the teaching profession is very largely responsible for matters of curriculum and method in the school. The powers of the education service include provision for health, through the school medical service, and for the general welfare of children, including the provision of clothing, school meals, or other things necessary to ensure the children's benefiting fully from education. Also included is provision for youth in its recreational or leisure time.

Government Departments Concerned with Youth

At central government level there are several departments concerned with services affecting children and young people. The Ministry of Agriculture retains powers relating to agricultural education; the Ministry of Labour and National Service still has powers re-

lating to employment of young people; and the Home Secretary and Home Office have responsibility for children or young people who become delinquent. In this situation there has been a demand for closer co-ordination at central government level in order to secure effective operation at local government level. Let us look for a moment at what has so far been achieved.

Ministry of Agriculture

In agricultural education there is an ever growing tendency for the Ministry of Agriculture to act in consultation and co-operation with the Ministry of Education, in order that the local education authority, which covers agricultural education as part of its general duties, may act effectively. Thus we find officers of the Ministry of Education acting in an inspectorial capacity for agricultural education as well as for other forms of further education. But the effective co-ordinating instrument in this case is the local education authority, under whose care agricultural education is treated as a natural part of the pattern of education.

National Health Service

In the health service the problem has been dealt with more effectively. The creation of a National Health Service had full regard to the fact that under the Education Act it was the duty of local education authorities to provide or secure the provision of a full system of medical inspection and treatment, without charge, for all children and young people on the registers of educational establishments. The school medical service is therefore part of the education service and to a large extent carries the responsibility of looking after the health of children. The child is at home, of course, as well as at school and has a full right to the facilities of the National Health Service whenever these may be required. Co-ordination at the local authority level is secure in the fact that the local authority Medical Officer of Health is as a general rule also the Principal School Medical Officer and in collaboration with the Chief Education Officer secures the effective co-ordination of general medical practice with the school medical service.

Ministry of Labour

In the sphere of employment the Ministry of Labour joins with the Ministry of Education in a body called the Central Youth Employment Executive, which is charged with all matters pertaining to the employment of young people. The local education authority is given the opportunity to be responsible at local level for the youth employment service and in 90 per cent of the cases exercises that option. In the other cases the Ministry of Labour makes direct provision. The general pattern is one in which the local education authority is the responsible authority for youth employment and appoints an officer and staff charged with these duties. Government aid is secured through the Central Youth Employment Executive, in which both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour are represented.

Home Secretary

Finally, let us turn to the responsibilities of the Home Secretary relating to children and young people who are delinquent. Remand homes and approved schools were in many cases controlled by the local education authority acting for the local authority as such. Recently the government reviewed this problem of children and young people under need of care and protection or guilty of offenses before the courts. After considerable debate it was decided to retain the responsibility for these children in the hands of the Home Office in

its Children's Department, and to create at local authority level a children's welfare department deliberately designed to be independent of the education authority as such, in order to ensure its acting, so to speak, in a parental capacity and using the services of the education department as other parents did. In particular, however, the responsibility for remand homes and approved schools passed to the hands of the Children's Committees. It is only fair to add that many of those concerned with the education service took the view that it would have been better to entrust this responsibility to the local education authority as such and to the Ministry of Education at government level. The arrangements work well, but again it is to be noted that the effective co-ordinating instrument is the local authority, which is the authority both for education and for children's welfare as defined under the statutes of the Home Secretary.

THE LOCAL AUTHORITY

It will be recognized, therefore, that in this total pattern the local authority (the County Council and the County Borough Council) is the most important single instrument in the co-ordination of all services which affect children and young people. It exercises powers for education and for children's welfare and acts as a police authority, a library authority, and a health authority, bringing together on the one hand whatever government departments may be involved and on the other whatever voluntary agencies may be operative in the area.

For this reason it will perhaps be helpful to look more closely at the relation between the local authority and the central authority, particularly as regards the education services and their significance in the total local authority pattern. First it should be made clear that education is by far the most important service of the local authority, involving at least half of its total expenditure for all purposes and in many cases a substantially higher proportion. In the education service the local authority has responsibility for all executive action: it builds schools, technical colleges, colleges for training teachers, schools for handicapped children, youth centers, medical clinics, and so on; it employs teachers and all other staff members. (At present, in the employment of a local education authority for every teacher there is also at least one other person, engaged in work such as the school medical service or the serving of school meals.)

Financial responsibility

In the education service the local authority on the average accepts financial responsibility for 40 per cent of the expense and the central government, through the Ministry of Education, for 60 per cent. This financial relationship is of the highest importance. It may be argued that in any service only when one partner accepts a substantial financial responsibility can it properly be trusted to make decisions involving the other partner. At the present time in a total appropriation of the order of £400,000 per annum the local authorities accept about £150,000, which they raise from local resources by what is essentially a property tax.

National associations

It is clear that 146 local education authorities in England and Wales, if they are to be effective co-ordinating instruments, must be in a position not merely to act in their own areas but to negotiate and reach agreements at national level. To that end there are national associations of local authorities, which must be regarded as an important part of the co-ordinating pattern.

The Association of Education Committees is a body in which the membership includes the Education Committees of all local education authorities in England and Wales, with the exception of the London County Council, which acts directly with the government departments concerned in these as in all other matters. The County Councils Association represents the Councils of the county authorities and is concerned with all matters with which they are concerned. The Association of Municipal Corporations acts similarly for the county boroughs. These associations jointly and severally undertake negotiations with the central government or with bodies of employees on salaries and conditions of service and act as the co-ordinating instruments for local government. If, for example, there is any legislation or administrative action proposed by the government which will affect local authorities in their relations with children and young people, the associations will be brought into consultation and as a general rule government action will be taken not merely after consultation with the associations of local authorities but in agreement with them.

In similar manner, employees of local authorities organized at national level are in constant consultation and negotiation with the associations on matters affecting their membership. For example, the National Union of Teachers, representing the teaching profession, is in continuous consultation with the Association of Education Committees, and in certain matters, as for example the salaries of teachers, the national body responsible in this field—the Burnham Committee—represents on the one side the national associations of teachers and on the other the national associations of local authorities. The decisions of the Committee are submitted to the Minister of Education, who may accept or reject but may not amend them. Since the establishment of the Burnham Committee thirty-five years ago its reports have always been accepted by the government; after acceptance the Minister makes an Order under which the approved salaries of teachers must be paid by all local education authorities.

It is, therefore, not unreasonable to regard the associations of local authorities as an important instrument of co-ordination not only between education and other governmental services appertaining to children and young people but in all matters which affect children and young people, for they are in constant consultation with national bodies representing voluntary organizations, with national organizations of the churches, and with national organizations of employees, as well as with the government departments concerned.

PRESENT TREND IN CO-ORDINATION

In summarizing the present trend in co-ordination, therefore, it is perhaps fair to say that the main instrument of co-ordination, as far as legislation for these children and young people is concerned, is the local authority, and the essential instrument securing the closest co-operation of central and local government is effective associations of local authorities. It should be added that the tendency over the years has been to strengthen and broaden the concept of education so that at central government level the great bulk of work pertaining to the welfare of children and young people falls within the ambit of the Ministry of Education. It would be even truer to say that it has been brought almost wholly within the ambit of the local authority at local government level.

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

This statement must not be interpreted as neglecting the very important

part which voluntary organizations play in the welfare of children and young people. Britain is particularly happy in the very great contribution which voluntary organizations have made to the welfare of the young, and while it may be true that that contribution becomes less important as public authorities increasingly accept their responsibilities in these matters, the fact remains that voluntary organizations still play a significant role. It is the local authority's task not merely to provide but also to secure the provision of appropriate services, and in many matters, particularly in recreative and welfare facilities for young people, the local authority co-operates with a wide range of voluntary organizations, aiding them financially and acting as an effective co-ordinating instrument.

FIFTEEN-TO-EIGHTEEN-YEAR-OLDS

At this stage the reader may well ask whether the implication of what has been recorded is that all is well in these matters in Britain. The answer is in the negative. There are several outstanding problems yet to be resolved. Perhaps the most important of these affects young people. At the present time the school-leaving age is fifteen years, and the services as they affect children up to that age are well co-ordinated. But from fifteen to eighteen there is a serious gap. The Education Act of 1944 included a provision for the establishment of county colleges, at which part-time attendance will be compulsory for all young people up to the age of eighteen after they have left school. The importance of this provision lies in the fact that county college students would receive health service and all other welfare services at present tied in with the education service in schools.

Unfortunately, this part of the act has not yet been implemented, for reasons which are fairly obvious: the greatly increased number of children after the war involved a very heavy building program, and other educational reforms that took precedence over the establishment of county colleges together with the building program have created a situation which makes it impracticable to tackle this provision until about 1960. There is, however, high hope that in the early 1960's county colleges will be established. They would constitute without doubt a most effective co-ordinating instrument for services to young people, enabling all youngsters up to the age of eighteen to have not only the continued benefit of regular contact with the education services but also effective medical inspection and treatment. They would, furthermore, enable all the voluntary organizations concerned with young people to work in even closer collaboration with the local education authorities than they do at present. Until these colleges are provided there is probably no really effective solution to some of the problems of youth welfare.

AN INCLUSIVE AND FLEXIBLE SYSTEM

It is to be noted, too, that co-ordination at central government level would undoubtedly be strengthened if some of the powers vested in the Ministry of Agriculture and in the Home Office were vested instead in the Ministry of Education, and such a transfer would seem to be in accord with the trend of the last few decades. The concept of the education service has been consistently broadening in scope to include not merely the instruction of children and young people but all aspects of their welfare—physical, mental, moral, and spiritual. In this pattern Britain believes that it is essential to maintain the basic principle of distribution of power. National policy rests with the central government; executive responsi-

bility with the local authority, and both are concerned to secure within the education service freedom of action to the teaching profession in matters of content and curriculum. In this way the diverse needs of different areas can be effectively met, while at the same time, through national organizations of local authorities, teachers, and voluntary organizations, uniformity of action can be secured where it is necessary and desirable. It is perhaps not unfair to suggest that Britain has made a good deal of progress in achieving a system at once flexible enough to meet the diverse needs of individuals properly and at the same time closely enough co-ordinated to ensure corporate action by agreement at national level wherever such action is necessary.

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Liverpool: A Case Study in Co-ordination

By H. S. Magnay*

THE county borough system, according to which a single council is responsible for all services coming within the province of local government inside the boundary of the town in question, is highly conducive to proper co-ordination between the various local government services. Co-ordination is, of course, effective in the counties also, where there is a two-tier system of local government, but more elaborate arrangements to bring it about are usually necessary.

Co-ordination of services is, however, not the only virtue to be expected of a system of local government, and there have always been advocates of the system of *ad hoc* elected bodies responsible for education, which prevailed in England from 1870 to 1902 and in Scotland until considerably later. These advocates have argued that an elected body, responsible to an electorate for education alone, is more likely to develop the education service vigorously and with enthusiasm, and to find the time to acquire an intimate knowledge of the system of education for which it is responsible, than a County Borough Council to which education is one among many responsibilities. There is unquestionably much force in this view, and it may well be that in some areas the School Boards, had they been continued in existence, would have achieved more than did the County Borough and County Councils.

This view, however, is a sectional one, and it is difficult to deny the validity of the argument that in each local government area there should be one body capable of taking an over-all view of the comparative needs of all the local government services and attempting to allocate resources in accordance with these needs. The members of such a body must assume a heavier responsibility, but, if they and their advisers perform their task well, the town ought to be better governed than it would be by a group of *ad hoc* boards.

Composition of the Education Committee

A County Borough Council functions through standing committees. The mere presence of councillors on more than one committee is a factor making for co-ordination. In Liverpool, the Education Committee contains fifty-three members, of whom thirty-four are members of the Council, and nineteen are co-opted because of their knowledge and experience of education. This year, of the thirty-four elected members of the Education Committee, ten are also members of the Health Committee, nine are members of the Libraries, Museums and Arts Committee, five are members of the Housing Committee, five of the Children's Committee, five of the Establishment Committee, four of the Highways and Planning Committee, four of the Economy Committee, three of the Finance and General Purposes Committee, and one of the Parks and Gardens Committee. The presence of

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members of the Education Committee on other committees at which particular matters of interest to the education service are discussed does at least ensure that the point of view of the Education Committee is voiced by persons who will usually feel that they have some responsibility for it. Too much reliance must not be placed on this factor, but it has unquestionably proved of value.

CO-OPERATION AMONG CHIEF OFFICERS

Similarly, the fact that all the chief and subordinate officers are officers of a single council is an important factor making for co-ordination. The chief officers are constantly thrown together. In Liverpool, they are required to attend the monthly meetings of the City Council and of some of what may be described as its supervisory or regulatory committees. It is natural that a spirit of comradeship and partnership should develop among them and that they should make use of the opportunities for meeting thrown in their way to discuss and co-ordinate policies. When the chief officers set the tone their example is followed at all levels of the hierarchy, so that most fruitful co-operation in detail follows. Of course there have been examples of departments of a council which function as if they were separate organizations. Such anarchy is unusual in County Borough Councils and County Councils, but would almost certainly be more common if there were no single co-ordinating authority.

CO-ORDINATION THROUGH REGULATORY BODIES

It is not enough, however, that an organization's general arrangements should be conducive to co-ordination. If the organization is to function as a streamlined unity, there must be actual arrangements for co-ordination, and it must be the business of some committee to bring them about. The need for such planned co-ordination is accepted in greater or lesser degree by nearly all Councils, but in Liverpool the detailed arrangements for it are exceptionally well-developed.

Finance and General Purposes Committee

The Finance and General Purposes Committee of the City Council, which includes among its members the chairmen of the other major committees, is recognized as the senior committee and has certain defined supervisory or regulatory powers over the other committees. It has, however, no general power of supervision over the other committees, which report directly to the City Council except on matters requiring the consent of the Finance and General Purposes Committee under the Council's standing orders. Thus any proposal to incur, for a particular project, capital expenditure to be financed by loan, or to make a grant to an outside organization, requires the approval of the Finance and General Purposes Committee. Disputes between committees are bound to occur occasionally, and in such cases the Finance and General Purposes Committee is authorized to arbitrate. But its main instrument of control is its power to advise the City Council about the sum of money to be voted for the purposes of each committee in the annual estimates. Policy and finance are inseparable, and each committee can develop a policy just in so far as the City Council votes it the necessary funds.

In advising the Council on estimates, the Finance and General Purposes Committee is co-ordinating the annual programs of the spending committees and

is relating them to the total sum of money which it thinks it reasonable to call on the ratepayers to pay during the year. Co-ordination inevitably amounts to an assessment of the relative priorities of the programs, which must compete to some extent with each other, unless no limit is set to the call on the rate. This is the point where acute differences of opinion will arise, and study of the local press all over the country at estimate time always reveals examples of tension between the co-ordinating Finance Committee and operational committees wishing to press on with their programs at a pace faster than the local community, in the opinion of the Finance Committee, can afford.

As education is now by far the largest spending service left to local government, the Education Committees of County and County Borough Councils are particularly apt to be involved in such tensions. In some places machinery has been set up to anticipate and avoid possible conflict. In Birmingham, for example, a subcommittee, composed of representatives of the Education and Finance Committees, is called annually with the object of reaching agreement about reasonable proposals before draft estimates are submitted to the Education Committee.[1]

Establishment Committees

Most County and County Borough Councils have felt the need for co-ordinating the actions of their various committees over the employment of staff, and have set up Establishment Committees for this purpose. In Liverpool, the Education Committee employs, in addition to teachers, a staff of administrative officers, clerks, caretakers, cleaners, groundsmen, and staff for the preparation and service of school meals. Obviously, similar servants of the same employer should have similar conditions of service. Any proposal of the Education Committee relating to the salaries, wages, or conditions of service of the categories of administrative and general staff just outlined requires the consent of the Establishment Committee.

It has become the almost universal practice in England and Wales to have salaries, wages, and conditions of service of most kinds of staff determined by national or regional joint negotiating machinery, representative of both employers and employed. Questions to be decided at local level have then tended to become those of interpretation of national and regional awards and of grading within these awards. Experience shows that the views of employing committees on such questions can differ so widely that it is essential to have an Establishment Committee to attempt the difficult task of ensuring fair treatment for all the Council's employees. In Liverpool, the Education Committee alone is responsible to the City Council for matters relating to the establishment of teachers and to the application and interpretation of the nationally negotiated Burnham scales of salaries for teachers. The Establishment Committee has no jurisdiction in such matters, as the question of co-ordination with the activities of the Council's other committees does not arise.

Liverpool Economy Committee

The Liverpool City Council has set up a third standing committee with supervisory powers—and in this its practice differs from that of most Councils—known as the Economy Committee. The function of the Economy Committee is to scrutinize all projects estimated to cost more than £1,000. It also has the task of examining the capital estimates of all spending commit-

[1] *Education*, Vol. 105, No. 2719, p. 417.

tees, and has a general duty to promote economy throughout the City Council's service. The Economy Committee, like the Finance and General Purposes Committee, is therefore in a position to review the major proposals of all committees in relation to each other and to the capacity of the city to pay for them, and can curb anything it may choose to regard as a flight of extravagance on the part of a spending committee.

CO-ORDINATING FUNCTIONS OF TOWN CLERK

The achievement of co-ordination at officer level throughout the City Council's service is one of the most important functions of the Town Clerk (or in a county area, the Clerk of the County Council), who is the senior chief officer of the Council. In Liverpool, the Town Clerk is secretary as well as legal adviser to all committees of the Council. This is now the usual practice in English local government, though there remain a few areas where the Chief Education Officer is secretary to the Education Committee. The Town Clerk, as secretary, is responsible for minuting the proceedings of all committees, and in that capacity he will obviously see that each committee is informed of any relevant decision of another committee or of any relevant argument which is taking place or is about to take place in another committee. He will also take the initiative in calling together chief officers on any matter requiring consultation between them. A number of Town Clerks and Clerks of County Councils have set up within their departments organization-and-methods branches for the purpose of advising the committees of the City Council or their chief officers about the organization of the departments for which they are responsible. In this way the Town Clerk is able to bring about much co-ordination in matters of administrative detail between departments.

CITY PLANNING

The greater part of Liverpool grew up unplanned long before Parliament was convinced of the need for town and country planning, so that the city carries a population far denser in relation to its area than would be tolerated in any new town today. It follows that there is an acute land shortage. All the local government services find that they need land in order to comply with higher standards, now defined nationally, and they tend to enter into competition with each other, since there is not enough land for all needs.

Education and Housing Committees compete for land

The education and housing services are the fiercest competitors. The Education Act of 1944 required all County and County Borough Councils to formulate their future programs in the form of development plans for primary and secondary education and schemes for further education. Regulations, having the force of law, defined the land requirements of the existing and proposed new schools and of establishments of further education described in these schemes and development plans. It is not difficult to observe these regulations in rural areas or in small towns, but in Liverpool and other big towns their effect is revolutionary. The sites of most schools in the congested inner areas are of microscopic size compared with the new standards, and few of those schools have any playing fields. Given Liverpool's conditions, it will not be practicable to provide more than about two-fifths of the land prescribed by national regulations, and provision of even

that amount has involved a demand for land for educational purposes on a scale to which the city has not been accustomed and which has not escaped some criticism.

At the same time the Housing Committee of the City Council needs even larger areas of land. The Housing Committee has a long waiting list of families in need of a house, and has a duty to rehouse tenants of condemned slum houses in central areas. Some limit must be placed to the spread of the town over the adjacent countryside, both to conserve good agricultural land and for other planning reasons, so that there is a strong and legitimate pressure to house as many persons as possible within the city boundary.

The development plan

The Education and Housing Committees search for land with all the eagerness of the nineteenth-century prospectors for gold and diamonds, while the much smaller claims of the other committees cannot be neglected. Some machinery for co-ordination was therefore essential; otherwise jungle law would have prevailed and the land would have gone to the earliest and most vigorous searcher. The Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 set up the necessary machinery by constituting the County and County Borough Councils as planning authorities and by requiring them to prepare within five years a development plan, showing in detail how they proposed that the whole of the land within their areas should be used. Thereafter, the development plans are to be reviewed at intervals of five years, since new needs are constantly arising and old ones altering, so that no determination of land use can be frozen for an indefinite number of years ahead.

The Liverpool City Council set up a committee, known as the Post-War Redevelopment Committee, to be responsible for the preparation of the development plan under the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947, and for its amendments, and generally to act as an arbitrator between Council committees on matters of land use. The development plan is its judgment of Solomon, which cannot please every committee but is recognized to be equitable. It is worth noting, as an illustration of the subtle interplay of the central and the local authority, that the City Council had not a completely free hand in determining the future use of land. The City Council as planning authority could not have decided that land which it owned as education authority, for use as a school playing field, should be turned over to the Housing Committee as a site for houses, without obtaining the consent of the Ministry of Education.

The administrative organization of the City Council is designed to ensure co-ordination between departments in planning as in other matters. The City Engineer and Surveyor, in addition to his engineering functions, is the City Council's planning officer, and also the officer responsible for land acquisition. The City Engineer and Surveyor's Department contains separate sections dealing with planning and with estates and valuation, each under a senior subordinate officer. These sections co-operate closely with each other and with all departments of the City Council's service which require the use of land.

Redevelopment projects

Town and country planning in most rural parts of Britain and in the outer districts of the larger cities is mainly the determination of the future use of undeveloped land. The inner districts of cities such as Liverpool present an

entirely different problem. Population grew so rapidly during the nineteenth century and the concept of town planning was so utterly remote from the ideas of the time that towns were allowed to grow up in a way that would now be regarded as intolerable. Houses and industrial premises are so jumbled up, and the people are so tightly packed together, that the only possibility is to scrap nearly all the standing buildings and begin again, working by better standards.

In Liverpool, redevelopment of this nature is taking place in the districts behind the north and south docks. Since operations on such a scale cannot be undertaken by a large number of individual developers, the City Council has to take responsibility for sponsoring the schemes. It has to have prepared complete plans for new "neighborhood units," similar to plans for entirely new towns on undeveloped sites. The City Engineer and Surveyor, as planning officer, remains responsible for advising the City Council on fundamental planning principles governing the schemes, such as the density of the population and the proportion of the total area to be reserved as public open spaces or for community buildings. The City Council has, however, entrusted the preparation of the plans for the redevelopment areas to another officer, the City Architect and Director of Housing, whose department contains a section specially for that work. Most of the development in these inner areas will consist of houses, and practically all the houses will be built by, and will come under the control of, the Housing Committee of the City Council. The Education Committee has, therefore, to state to the Housing Committee its land requirements for the educational needs of the population to be rehoused in the redevelopment area, any difference of opinion being settled by direct discussion, with the possibility of appeal to the Post-War Redevelopment Committee.

Housing estates

In making land available for educational needs on new City Council housing estates co-ordination between the committees responsible for education, planning, and housing has proved easier than on redevelopment areas. As a housing estate is an entirely new entity and there is no existing population on the spot, the Education Committee expects sufficient land to be made available to enable it to comply with statutory requirements, unless there are special reasons to the contrary. It is a comparatively simple matter on the basis of past experience to deduce from the number of houses to be built the number of school places required and the amount of land needed for them.

Thus the Liverpool City Council has obtained co-ordination between the education service and city planning through the Post-War Redevelopment Committee and by means of direct discussion between the Education and Housing Committees and between their officers.

Community centers

In one specialized territory, that of community centers, the Council has set up formal machinery to co-ordinate the activities of the Education and Housing Committees. The principle has been accepted that each large housing estate and redevelopment area should have a center which will serve as a focus for the cultural and recreational activities of the local neighborhood. The centers must have sites reserved for them, and in due course the City Council will have to build them or assist voluntary organizations to build them. The Education Committee has a legal power to

erect and maintain community centers, while the Housing Committee has concurrent powers under the Housing Acts relating to new housing areas. The Education Committee receives a grant from central government funds at the rate of 60 per cent of its approved expenditure, whereas no such grant is available to the Housing Committee. Not unnaturally, the City Council has assigned the responsibility for community centers to the Education Committee. To ensure agreement on the main lines of policy, the Council has constituted a joint subcommittee consisting of an equal number of members of the Education and of the Housing Committee. This joint subcommittee considers all matters of importance in connection with community centers before they are submitted separately to either the Education Committee or the Housing Committee.

SOCIAL WELFARE

In Liverpool, the Education Committee of the City Council gradually attained status as a major social welfare organization, as the Children and Young Persons Acts assigned social welfare functions to the local education authorities. The Act of 1933 placed on the local education authorities important duties in connection with the prevention of cruelty to, or neglect of, children and young persons and the regulation of their employment. It made the local education authorities responsible for taking into their care children committed by the juvenile courts as in need of care and protection, and for the establishment and maintenance of remand homes and of "approved schools," that is, boarding schools approved by the Home Secretary for the benefit of young people committed to them by the juvenile courts because of offenses or because they were in need of care and protection. In 1903 the Education Committee in Liverpool had taken over from the School Board a staff of attendance officers whose job was to visit the homes of absent pupils in order to insist on regular school attendance. It may seem a far cry from the semi-police function of the "School Board men" who had to enforce school attendance for the first time to the School Welfare Officer of today who is looked upon in many homes as a friend and adviser. The transition, however, has been easy and natural, since the officers soon found that social difficulties were at the root of the more persistent cases of irregular attendance and that to counteract these difficulties they had to co-operate with other social agencies. The organization of School Welfare Officers soon built up a rich experience which proved of great value to the new staff of special officers employed to carry out the Education Committee's duties under the Children and Young Persons Acts.

The Children's Committee

The Children's Act of 1948 required local authorities to set up a new committee, the Children's Committee, and to appoint a new officer, the Children's Officer, to be, with his staff, at the service of the Children's Committee. The act transferred from the Education Committee to the Children's Committee responsibility for children in need of care and protection and also for the management of remand homes and approved schools. Prima facie the act might seem to be a step away from unified conduct of the city's social welfare services. Two committees now function in what was the province of one, thus creating a new need for co-ordination. It was argued, however, that the Education Committee of a County Council or County Borough

Council already had a very big job on its hands in its responsibility for the education service, and that it could not be expected in addition to lavish as much time and attention on the care of children as would be given by an independent committee specially formed for the purpose. Similarly, it was argued that there should be a separate officer, the Children's Officer, who should be in a position to give his whole time to the intimate human problems of deprived children.

Given the decision to set up Children's Committees, the question of co-ordination with the work of the Education Committee had to be faced at once. The need for co-ordination would have been less had the Children's Act of 1948 gone further and transferred more functions to the Children's Committees, for while the Children's Committee was given responsibility for children in need of care and protection, the Education Committee remained responsible for preventing neglect of, and cruelty to, children. It is not easy to draw the line between the two functions, and it is necessary for both committees to employ social welfare officers, with equivalent qualifications, for home visiting. The Liverpool City Council has not thought it necessary to set up special co-ordinating machinery, leaving co-ordination, instead, to the good sense of the two committees and their officers. Co-operation has been easier because the Liverpool children's department took over from the education department practically the whole staff which had done the work previously, and that staff remains a high proportion of the total staff of the children's department.

Variety of agencies in social welfare

Co-ordination in the social welfare field is particularly desirable and particularly difficult because so many agencies, both statutory and voluntary, are involved. The Health, Housing, and Watch (responsible for the police) Committees of the City Council are involved in addition to the Education Committee and the Children's Committee. Also in the field are governmental organizations, such as the National Assistance Board (which performs the work carried out before 1948 by the Public Assistance Committee of the City Council) and the Probation Service, and an exceptionally large number of voluntary organizations. Frequently, the statutory authority has the power and the duty to perform a function which is also performed by a voluntary organization. The voluntary organization will usually have done the pioneer work in the field, and in accordance with the English tradition every encouragement is given it to continue. Thus while the Education Committee is legally responsible for preventing the neglect of children and maintains an organization for the purpose, the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children also operates in this field. In some areas the local education authority has handed over the whole job to the National Society. In Liverpool, there is an agreement precisely defining the spheres of action of the two bodies and providing for systematic consultation on casework. One object of the agreement is to ensure that under no circumstances is one home visited separately by officers of both organizations, since such unco-ordinated visits would be harmful to the interests of the children and young persons.

National government circular on co-ordination

The danger of lack of co-ordination in the social welfare field is so great that in 1950 three government departments, the Home Office, the Ministry of Health, and the Ministry of Education, issued a

joint circular [2] urging co-ordinated use of the statutory and voluntary services to mitigate by social action the causes of neglect and so to avoid the need of removing neglected children from their parents. The circular asked County and County Borough Councils to designate an officer to be responsible under them for devising arrangements to secure full co-operation among all the local services, statutory and voluntary, concerned with the welfare of children in their homes; to arrange for the designated officer's holding regular meetings of officers of the local authority and other statutory services and of local representatives of the voluntary organizations; and to see that significant cases of child neglect and all cases of ill-treatment coming to the notice of any statutory or voluntary service in the area are reported to the designated officer and brought before these meetings.

Some councils have designated the Children's Officer as the co-ordinating officer requested in the circular. So far, Liverpool has not found it necessary to set up the recommended machinery. In my opinion there is real danger that meetings attended by representatives of a very large number of organizations may consume an inordinate quantity of staff time without achieving fruitful results. In a large city such as Liverpool, many cases cannot await submission to a regular meeting; action has to be taken immediately. It has, therefore, seemed better to continue to rely on organized bilateral agreements for co-operation. Faithfully carried out by both sides, these seem to work successfully and to avoid the obvious pitfalls.

SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICE

Co-ordination of the education and public health services has presented few difficulties. The Education Acts have placed on the Education Committees of County and County Borough Councils, not on the Health Committees, the responsibility for organizing and conducting a school health service for the medical inspection and treatment of school children. The school health service is, therefore, organized as an integral part of the education service. Many advantages flow from this integration. The cordial support of the teachers vital to the success of the service can be more easily obtained when teachers and school health service staff regard themselves as colleagues working together under the same committee. The influence of teachers on parents is often important, for example when a new technique is proposed, such as the use of the BCG (bacillus Calmette-Guérin) vaccine against tuberculosis. Medical inspections can be arranged with the least disturbance to schoolwork, and the medical staff is available for consultation on health matters, including the plans of new school buildings.

Questions of co-ordination in the work of the Education and Health Committees do not often arise. In Liverpool, some clinic buildings are used both by the school health service and by the maternity and child welfare service, which is the responsibility of the Health Committee; and the staffs of both services have the advantage of facilities organized by the health department for training and refresher courses.

The administrative arrangements are conducive to co-ordination. In Liverpool, as in most other areas, the Medical Officer of Health for the city is also Principal School Medical Officer. The Medical Officer of Health is assisted on the school medical side by a Deputy Principal School Medical Officer, whose staff of doctors, dentists, and so forth is distinct from the other staffs under the control of the Medical Officer. The

[2] Circular 157/50 Home Office.

headquarters of this staff of the school health service is in the education office, and the administrative and clerical staff is for all practical purposes regarded as part of the establishment of the education department. The Education Committee is advised on medical matters by the Medical Officer of Health and has set up a School Health Services Sub-Committee which considers all matters relating to the school health service. The Medical Officer of Health (or his representative) and the Director of Education (or his representative) attend meetings of the School Health Services Sub-Committee, so that it can hear the views of both officials in the event of a difference of opinion between them. The recommendations of the School Health Services Sub-Committee, before presentation to the Education Committee, are considered by the Special Services Sub-Committee, which is one of the five major subcommittees of the Education Committee and which has a general responsibility for co-ordinating the work of the school health service, the school meals service, the school attendance and welfare service, and the special schools for handicapped children.

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

The youth employment service, like the school health service, is administered in Liverpool as an integral part of the education service. The central government department responsible for youth employment matters is the Ministry of Labour and National Service. The Employment and Training Act (1948) authorized but did not compel local education authorities to administer the youth employment service in their area: 115 out of 146 local education authorities, including Liverpool, exercised that option. In the areas of the other thirty-one local education authorities, the Ministry of Labour and National Service administers the service directly, and co-ordination between its activities and those of the local education authorities has to be worked out in detail. Where the local education authority is responsible for the service, the Ministry of Labour and National Service has to approve a scheme for the constitution of a Youth Employment Committee. In Liverpool, the Youth Employment Committee contains members of the Education Committee, who are in the minority, and representatives of teachers, employers, employees, and voluntary organizations. The Youth Employment Committee reports to the Education Committee through the Further Education Sub-Committee.

Functions

The primary function of the youth employment service is to give vocational guidance in schools. Such guidance includes both talks in the schools on careers by officers of the Youth Employment Committee and individual interviews with those leaving school. Guidance of this sort would have little effect unless backed up by the wholehearted co-operation of the teachers, particularly of those who have special responsibility for advising on careers, in schools where one member of the staff is assigned to this work.

Achievements in Liverpool

In Liverpool, the co-operation between teachers and the youth employment service is particularly close. One feature of the service is a group of officers who specialize in advising those who are leaving secondary grammar schools. They have acquired a knowledge and experience both of industry and of secondary grammar schools which enable them to be of the greatest possible assistance to school leavers, and their help is greatly valued by the heads and staffs of those schools.

Other specialist officers in the Liver-

pool youth employment service devote themselves to serving the needs of those leaving special schools for handicapped children. A sympathetic, individual approach is needed to these boys and girls, many of whom tend to lack self-confidence. It has been found that careful placing in suitable jobs, with close follow-up during the early years of employment, often makes a decisive contribution to the success of these boys and girls in their jobs, enabling them to earn their living as happy members of the community.

The Youth Employment Committee is in day-to-day touch with local industry and commerce, and is in a position to organize visits of school children and young persons to local industrial and commercial undertakings. It also maintains close liaison with the establishments of further education. The officers, when giving vocational guidance and doing follow-up work after employment, lose no opportunity of urging young people to qualify themselves further; in fact, the youth employment service is a leading recruiting agent for further education.

It cannot be doubted that the outstanding success of the youth employment service owes much to its organization as part of the education service. The teachers accept its officers as colleagues, and all necessary arrangements for vocational guidance are made on the authority of the Director of Education in the same manner as are other arrangements relating to school life.

YOUTH SERVICE

The Education Committees of County and County Borough Councils are also responsible for what is usually known as "youth service," the object of which is to provide opportunities for young people who have left school to spend their leisure in worth-while activities. The pattern of organization in this sphere is as infinitely varied as in that of social welfare. Voluntary organizations were everywhere first in the field and remain lively and vigorous in a sphere in which voluntary effort is peculiarly appropriate. In Birmingham, the Youth Employment Officer is also responsible for the youth service, but this combination is unusual. Many Education Committees have constituted Youth Committees which bring together representatives of the statutory and voluntary organizations working for the welfare of youth.

In Liverpool, the Liverpool Council of Social Service, a strong voluntary organization employing a full-time staff, has set up a committee known as the Liverpool Youth Organizations Committee; it contains representatives from the Education Committee and from all the interested voluntary and statutory organizations. The Youth Organizations Committee meets monthly and is an open forum for discussion on all youth matters. The Liverpool Education Committee does not itself organize youth clubs, but it sets aside annually a substantial sum of money to assist voluntary clubs which are doing the job. These grants are made on the advice of a joint subcommittee composed of members of the Education Committee and of the Youth Organizations Committee. It is generally agreed in Liverpool that this pattern of co-operation has been exceptionally successful.

UNDERLYING CO-ORDINATION

We have seen that though the county borough system of single-tiered local government in large towns is itself conducive to co-ordination of services, the actual forms assumed in co-ordination of the education service with other local services are many. They differ according to the services involved—their nature and their earlier history; they vary with variations in the local framework

into which they fit. Often, too, strong-willed individuals, whether officers or members of committees, have molded patterns lasting after the reasons for them have been forgotten.

It is abundantly clear, in any case, that co-ordination does not come of itself, that it is likely to be conspicuously absent unless active steps are taken to promote it. And in the end, after the best possible machinery has been set up, co-ordination will be achieved only by the will to co-operate of the individuals who use the machinery.

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Education and Other Public Services in France*

PUBLIC opinion and government in France have for the last few years given particular attention to the general problems of the younger generation. Indeed, various signs have made people realize that youth was undergoing a serious crisis.

Among the manifestations of this malaise, some might be considered normal in that they are to be found in all times and places: a taste for radical philosophical and political theories, systematic criticism of the older generation, a concern for having more voice in state councils, and so forth. But this disease of the ages is today particularly manifest in France, where time-honored institutions are little adapted to the needs of modern living.

Within its own jurisdiction, which includes most of the child's activities, the Ministry of Education has been able to maintain a certain cohesion. At the level of the transition from school to the working world, however, as well as on the social and judicial levels, government responsibilities need to be better co-ordinated.

The School World

Educational services do not escape the centralization which has long characterized French administrative life.

Metropolitan France and Algeria are divided into seventeen "academies," each of which embraces, on the average, five or six departments. Attempts are being made to give these districts a certain autonomy in the choice of their educational specialties, so that instruction may correspond more closely to the vocational needs of the area. Budgetary matters are left to the departments and communes, especially for primary education (six to fourteen years). It is known, however, that, contrary to the practice of numerous other countries, and in particular the Anglo-Saxon nations, the various academies are only a method of territorial division convenient for carrying out national provisions. Curricula, examinations, teacher training, and the regulations and methods in force are the same for the entire country.

All the services in the administrative offices of each academy and in the department depend more or less immediately on the central administration in Paris, which gives them all necessary directives. To know the structure and the objectives of educational public service in France, it will therefore suffice to examine the operation of this central administration.

At the head is the Minister, sometimes assisted by a secretary of state, who prepares the budget (almost 400 billion francs [1] last year), initiates all undertakings legally within the scope of administrative authority, requests parliamentary decisions, and regulates, in detail, the work of the service at the national level. He does this by decrees, orders, and circulars distributed to the rectors.[2]

The prerogatives of the Minister are not limited to the organization of instruction only: in addition to his school

* Information furnished by the Centre national de documentation pédagogique, Paris; Director, M. Louis Cros. The translation is by Theresa G. Munson.

[1] About 1,160 million dollars.—Editorial note.

[2] Each of the seventeen academies is headed by a rector, who resides in the university town of the area and has in his general charge all public education—primary, secondary, and higher—in the district.—Editorial note.

duties he is responsible for libraries, archives, arts and letters, museums, architecture, sports, and, under some governments, scientific research.

School and university questions come under the jurisdiction of four general departments: Education of the First Degree, Education of the Second Degree, Technical Education, and Higher Education. Preparation of the budget devolves upon the Department of General Administration. The Department of Youth and Sports unites all the services concerned with sport and with youth in the widest sense: popular education, recreation, youth movements, and so forth. Finally, for more than a year, all the services in the academies and the departments which relate, within the school system, to the health of youth have been under a Department of School and University Hygiene.

To these departments, there must be added, among the bodies directly dependent upon the Minister's Cabinet, the University Service for Relations with Foreign Countries and Overseas France, which is in charge of education outside the borders and in the French Union; the National Service Center for Students, which manages the numerous social institutions created since the war for students in the universities and professional and technical schools (student hostels, restaurants, and so forth), and, finally, the National Center of Pedagogical Documentation, which exercises the triple function of information center, pedagogical research center, and distribution center for educational material used in the schools, such as books, records, films, and scientific collections.[3]

The operation of this collection of departments and services is inspired by various advisory bodies where the opinion of school personnel is freely expressed. The most important is the Higher Council of National Education, a widely representative academic group whose advice the Minister requests whenever he deems it useful, especially in regard to bills and decrees which he has prepared.

This assembly, the interdepartmental commissions, and the numerous groups of specialists, assisted by the undeniable *esprit de corps* uniting all ranks of the state school system, give great cohesiveness to the public service of national education. Concern for the interest of the child has priority in the administration as well as among school personnel. And in the last analysis all are closely united in the secular ideal, that constitutional principle by which the state school, strictly neutral, must admit all the ideological families of the country, with no distinction as to doctrine or opinion.

It is in the name of this ideal, incidentally, that members of the state school system contest the right of private educational institutions to receive public aid. Defenders of the "free" (that is, independent, or private) school, on the other hand, and particularly of the "confessional" (i.e., Catholic) school, have at their disposal, in the present Assembly, a majority determined to vote subsidies for them. The old argument between the "two schools" is therefore not yet nearing its conclusion.

THE CHILD OUTSIDE THE SCHOOL

In spite of certain imperfections and maladjustments to the necessities of modern times, which will be discussed further on, the institutions providing school and university life to French youth are relatively homogeneous and well co-ordinated on all levels. The same could not be said for the child when he is considered aside from his purely intellectual activities. As a student, the French youth is taken over by

[3] For a further account of the Center, see the description at the end of the article.

a vast administrative machine; as a future worker, his "extra-scholastic" destiny is regulated by a great number of public services, all competent and attentive, but scattered among several ministries.

The rural youth who, upon leaving primary school, wants to pursue specialized studies, is dependent upon two different ministries: that of National Education, which organizes, as an extension of the public primary schools, after-school agricultural training, and that of Agriculture, whose producers' unions consider themselves capable of recruiting their own labor with the help of private organizations, often Catholic. This double jurisdiction, and the conflict in doctrine which accompanies it, have up to the present time seriously checked agricultural school development. Public opinion and political and educational circles are at the moment greatly exercised over this problem.

In the industrial and commercial field co-ordination of the school with employment is satisfactorily ensured. National vocational advisory commissions inform the Department of Technical Education of the needs of different branches of the country's industrial and commercial activities. Moreover, the union of these commissions into a higher council of vocational development is being contemplated. Liaison between the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Labor is likewise well ensured by specialized committees. Finally, there is an organic connection between the service of family allotments and the academic authorities, aid to families being dependent on school attendance from six to fourteen years of age. But the absence of labor inspection specialized in the control of working conditions for child labor still leads, in certain areas, to abuses which need to be corrected.

Centers of apprenticeship and vocational courses, established by state or municipalities, by business concerns or vocational organizations, enable children who have left the primary schools to serve their apprenticeships while receiving a complementary general training. Adults who wish to perfect themselves and to improve their vocational status can take evening courses, particularly in Paris those of the National Conservatory of Arts and Trades. This institution has also just established provincial centers for workmen and employees who, directed too soon toward the world of production, can by taking the courses planned for them improve their vocational qualifications and attain positions corresponding to their actual abilities.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

In spite of this organization and the progress which it has made since the war, too many children enter active life without other intellectual baggage than what they have acquired in primary school between the ages of six and fourteen. Adults who have not had secondary or higher education seldom have access to the better positions in industry. Though one can point out such-and-such a philosopher who was a mailman before becoming a professor at the Sorbonne, and so-and-so, the well-known aeronautical engineer who, at the age of twenty, was still working in his father's pastry shop, these cases remain rare. Secondary and higher education, moreover, is developing only in too small a proportion the scientific and technical cadres necessary to a modern nation. Because of their concern for preserving a certain disinterested culture, these levels of education have not sufficiently adapted their organization and methods to economic and social developments.

Families and children, too, often disregard these needs. In spite of infor-

mation distributed everywhere by school guidance services and the justly widespread belief that the scientific and technical fields are much less crowded than the literary or legal fields, careers in the latter are still chosen by an excessive number of young people. The infatuation with the nonspecialized "education of the second degree" produces an overabundance of more or less gifted students with no well-defined vocation heading for the overpopulated schools of law and letters while the country clamors for more average workers and qualified technicians.

Official services regularly warn the people against this serious lack of balance between supply and demand, which is dangerous for the country as well as the young people themselves. But prejudice against early specialization and technical instruction continues in France, and the structure of the present pedagogical organization, even amended, could not fully meet the needs of a country industrially inclined.

Therefore the governments which have succeeded each other since the war have considered fundamental reforms in the educational system. The latest project is to be submitted to Parliament before the legislature ends. Elaborated by important individuals belonging to various branches of the nation's activity, this project gives priority to vocational training and prolongs required schooling from fourteen to sixteen years of age. It foresees that the *baccalauréat* will no longer be indispensable for entrance to the advanced technical and professional schools and the traditional university faculties. Such a measure would make admission practices in these institutions more democratic and would permit young French people who have not attended the lycée to solicit, if they show themselves worthy, the highest public and private positions.

What fate awaits this project in the councils of the ministry and the deputies? Opinions as to the best way of renovating the state school system diverge too widely to make prediction possible.

HOUSING

A great problem in France today, which affects its youth in particular, is that of housing. Recent statistics have shown that, because of the lack of new buildings near developing industrial centers, one-third of the young workers have to live away from their families in solitary, uncomfortable rooms. Twenty per cent of them, for reasons already indicated, have been obliged to take employment other than that for which they had prepared in school; 8 per cent are unemployed and will remain so unless they consent to a cruel separation from their homes and families.

JUSTICE

Certain stirring news items from no less startling films have given cause to believe that there has been a growth of juvenile delinquency during the year 1954. Fortunately, however, actual figures give no foundation for this fear.

Great progress has been made in France by way of confirming the preventive and re-educational role of the law for children. A special tribunal functions in each judiciary district. Under the responsibility of a Department of Supervised Education in the Ministry of Justice, minors are placed in one of a dozen state institutions charged with their betterment or in similar private institutions. The coercive and rigorous methods of former times have entirely given way to educational and treatment methods with excellent results.

Preventive action is less effective, as in most countries. Official bodies safeguard the moral quality of publications destined for the young, and give advice

to the national commission for film control. These precautions, however, do not prevent the distribution of a very large number of films and newspapers of dubious moral value. At the request of parents' associations in the lycées, various campaigns have been launched to strengthen the control of publications and the criteria already in force prohibiting certain films to children under sixteen. It has likewise been recommended that lectures be given in the upper classes to permit students of the lycée who are at least seventeen or eighteen years old to attack sexual problems in a healthy way. In France as in other countries, however, these efforts are opposed by certain groups.

THE ARMY

From the age of twenty, and until the age of twenty-seven if a postponement has been granted for the completion of his studies, every Frenchman in good physical condition must spend eighteen months in the service. Efforts have been made by the military administration to utilize the skills of recruits in the best possible way. Within the means at its disposal, the army is at present opening psychological centers to determine, on induction, the aptitudes of the young men in the contingent and to give them corresponding assignments. Nevertheless, for each radio engineer sent into the signal corps there are many agrégés who become drivers and many mechanics who become office workers. Inversely, for each army driver who has become a truck driver in civilian life, there can be found a good number of cooks doing clerical work when they discard their uniforms. This poor utilization of resources is a waste not only for the army but also for the recruits themselves. As a general rule the qualifications obtained in the service do not continue to be used in civilian life. Many young men who served in the navy or air force succeed, it is true, in finding a place for themselves in the merchant marine or in civilian aviation after a period of adaptation. For the majority in the infantry, however, the eighteen months of military service still too often represent a kind of long enforced vacation. The government has recently expressed its intention of undertaking extensive reform of the present system, so that the term of military service may better serve the development of youth and the needs of the country.

THE SUPERIOR YOUTH COMMITTEE

In order to make the necessary coordination, to synchronize the efforts of the various ministries, and to arrange the activities of those under thirty in their and the country's best interest the Mendès-France government set up during the few months it was in power a "State Secretariat in Charge of Youth." Even though it was short-lived and commanded no budget, this State Secretariat did a valuable job. Under its leadership, commissions in each ministerial department studied the questions which interest the younger generation. Measures were recommended: educational reform; centralization of the councils of school and vocational guidance; development of the re-education of juvenile delinquents; elaboration of a child labor code; particular effort in the matter of housing; arrangements for military service; and so on. Last May, M. Edgar Faure, the successor of M. Mendès-France as President of the Council, announced the creation of a "superior youth committee" made up of representatives of the administration, of various educational institutions, and of youth groups and charged with coordinating governmental action in all "extra-scholastic fields"—housing, the

army, labor, juvenile delinquency, and so forth—where the situation of young people is particularly disturbing.

A PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATION

To summarize, the fate of young people in France today depends on the one hand upon an educational system which is highly structured and sometimes progressive, and on the other upon a multitude of services which are without organic interconnection or whose recommendations are disregarded on the executive level.

There will be proposed to Parliament before summer a reform of education to adapt the state school system to current economic and social changes; and we may hope that the Superior Youth Committee, for its part, will soon present to the government a coherent program of measures designed to achieve in the interest of young people the coordination which is now lacking.

It is therefore indisputable that on these various levels France is entering a period of reform and rejuvenation. The general effects will of course not make themselves felt for a long time: the adaptation will be the slower, the more restrained, even, because the country intends to conserve in its new structure the spirit of the time-honored institutions. But the enterprise of some and the energy of all continue, as in the past, to mitigate structural defects and anticipate tardy reforms.

Le Centre national de documentation pédagogique, Paris, directed by Mr. Louis Cros, is a state institution which is part of the Central Administration of the Ministry of National Education. It contains the Pedagogical Museum, the Central Library of Public Education, the Central Repositories of Recordings and Films for Public Education, the services of study and pedagogical research, the audio-visual instruction services, the publication service of the Ministry of National Education, the International School Correspondence, and the Bureau of School Co-operatives.

The work of the Center has three aspects: (1) informational—to assemble and make available documentary material on education in France and abroad—organization, administration, methods, and results—and also documentary and illustrative material useful for teaching; (2) distributive—to supply the public schools with needed educational material such as books, artistic and scientific collections, films, and records; and (3) developmental—to test and appraise the effectiveness of instructional methods and materials, and in every possible way to encourage pedagogical improvement and utilization of the best educational techniques available.

Education and Other Governmental Agencies in the Netherlands

By F. Th. van der Maden

EDUCATION in the Netherlands cannot be understood without knowledge of its background—political, social, cultural, economic—and of the tasks that lie ahead. Some of the elements in the picture are as follows: (1) the loss of the colonies, immense war damage, and a catastrophic flood; (2) the unique demographic position of the Netherlands in Western Europe, with the highest national birth rate and the lowest death rate; (3) the high-speed industrialization necessary to create employment, especially in the agrarian districts which have a shortage of land and the largest population growth; (4) the need of stimulating emigration as a partial solution to the employment problem; (5) the general aim of giving youth a better education for life in a democratic society and in a fast-developing technological world, by promoting family life, school life, education outside school, and improved conditions of labor and leisure.

Educational Policy

In the "Republic of the Seven Provinces" (1581–1795), a federalized commonwealth, education was the task exclusively of the local municipal and religious authorities, and Calvinism was its base. The more centralized Kingdom of the Netherlands, which arose as a new state after the Napoleonic wars, favored national public education. The political struggle over these conflicting policies lasted till 1917, when the "pacification principle" was introduced into the national constitution. The educational issue was for more than half a century a basic principle in party and cabinet formation. The left wing in Parliament claimed a monopolistic position for public (state and municipal) education, but permitted others the right to establish schools on religious principles; the right wing (Calvinists and Roman Catholics) claimed not only the right to establish private schools but also complete government support of them.

In 1917 government and Parliament agreed on a constitutional paragraph in which freedom of education is guaranteed, with total financial aid for both public and private primary education. The government has the obligation of securing adequate public primary education in each municipality. Private organizations when claiming a private primary school for a sufficient number of pupils—this number depending on the total population of the municipality—have a right to establish such a school. The state is to pay the total salaries and pensions of all teachers and other staff members according to nation-wide salary and pension scales, the municipalities being responsible for the total cost of building and other materials.

This arrangement, which is the basis of education in the Netherlands, guarantees education by means of a national policy, yet at the same time offers possibilities of freedom, of decentralization, and of self-government.

This is also the guiding principle in other work for the benefit of Netherland youth. It is in actual fact an adaptation of the general principles of subsidization, functional decentralization, and sovereignty in each peculiar sphere, according to which the responsibility for the executive work must be taken where possible by the authority

most closely connected with the interest in question. In this way the various government agencies are entrusted with a task which is more leading and co-ordinating than executive. Only in the case of a lack of private initiative have the government agencies an executive task.

This social philosophy has been shown to be necessary in obtaining essential co-operation, because of the deep cleavage in the Netherlands population caused by different ways of life. There is however an awareness of the danger for community life of too far-reaching a cleavage in social and cultural activities along lines of religious ideology.

Alongside unanimity with regard to the principle, there have arisen differences of opinion with regard to its practical application.[1]

NETWORK OF SCHOOL AGENCIES

In the Netherlands the further elaboration of these principles has led to state laws in which school organization, programs, financing, and supervision are laid down.

The Ministry of Education, Arts, and Sciences is the national organization which has been given the responsibility of applying the legal decisions, thereby acquiring a strong co-ordinating position. As the Minister is responsible to Parliament, he has continual opportunities to consult it, especially in the thorough yearly discussion of the budget. The National Education Council is the highest permanent advisory organ; the members, being experts, play their part in forming the Education Acts. A large body of school inspectors attached to the Minister and controlling the application of legal rulings has intensive contact with the schools and is in a position to advise both Minister and school.

The majority of pupils attend government-financed private schools. State schools are the exception in the Netherlands, most of them belonging to secondary and higher education. All public elementary schools are organized by the municipality. The municipalities, in addition to this organization of their public schools, have legal and financial responsibilities to the private schools, and they usually possess a special administrative education department. The larger towns have their own experts, inspectors, and advisers.

RECENT SCHOOL PROBLEMS

Following the crystallization of the pacification principle for education in the national constitution and the guarantee of freedom and financial support given to private schools, public interest in education lapsed for a few decades. A renewed interest followed World War II.

Some of the main problems and criticisms were: (1) growing shortage of teachers as result of lessening supply and a greater demand for them, coupled with rapid population growth and a general desire for more education; (2) a resulting shortage of buildings; (3) stagnation of the educational system and insufficient adaptation to the changing needs of society—its greater complexity, and the necessity of a swift industrialization process; (4) insufficient attention to individual differences between children as a result of differences in home life and in natural ability and the difficulties of adequate differentiation of educational offerings under the legally required uniformity of school programs and examinations; (5) insufficient freedom for the centrally controlled public schools; (6) insufficient

[1] Recent discussions of the draft of a law on social work were concerned particularly with delegation questions. Preparation for emigration is also delegated for the most part to private associations. See "The Organization of Emigration from The Netherlands," *International Labour Review*, Vol. 81, No. 4 (April 1955), p. 413.

co-operation with parents; (7) insufficient integration into general national policy.

During recent years, there has been much discussion of these problems with considerable governmental activity. Investigations have been carried on by state, private, provincial, and local authorities. A number of Education Acts are in process of development, and some steps have been taken concerning such matters as a national plan for teacher education; temporary deferment of military service for teachers; reserving more land, money, and manpower for school buildings; more differentiated educational opportunities for industrial workers; more scholarships; greater freedom of management for public schools; stimulating parent-teacher co-operation; further co-operation among the universities; relating education more closely to developing economic and social needs; expanded further education; more extended co-operation between the Ministers of Education and of Social and Economic Affairs.

GOVERNMENT AND YOUTH WORK

Intensive governmental interest in youth work as an important educational agency dates only from recent years. Before World War II no direct contacts existed between the state and youth work. The more active role of the Ministry of Education led in 1945 to the formation within it of a well-equipped "Department for Education Outside School." Close contact and co-operation was formed with "The Netherlands' Youth Community," a private over-all organization in which the numerous confessional organizations, as well as youth organizations of a nonsectarian character, have united for joint activities. This co-operation led among other things to considerable state subsidies for youth work, the amounts being divided along lines set up by common consent. For all this financial, material, and moral aid given by the state to youth work, it retains a complete freedom.

Special attention is paid to the work of the associations active on behalf of unorganized youth (clubhouses, and so forth). This work is being supervised by an Interdepartmental Committee for Youth Aid in which several ministries and other state agencies are represented. Extension of this work for unorganized youth, those most vulnerable to the dangers of nihilism and criminality, has been facilitated by state grants, special grants being given for scientific research into "unorganized youth."

With one exception the work for unorganized youth is done by private associations. A number of state-owned camps and boardinghouses used during the crisis years of the thirties for social-cultural work among the thousands of young unemployed are at present used as reception centers for youths who appear, from police and school reports and other indications, to be heading toward crime. The stay is voluntary and lasts three to twelve months. The work is carried on in close co-operation with private organizations and it is intended ultimately to place this form of youth work entirely in their hands.

Most provincial authorities take an active interest in youth work outside school. This work is stimulated in various ways by semiprovincial "organizations." Youth work is also supported by the municipal authorities in many towns and villages, for example, by financial aid and by putting buildings and grounds at their disposal. In Amsterdam and The Hague well-equipped local Youth Action Committees have been set up with financial aid and office facilities from the municipalities.

EDUCATION, LAND USE, AND CITY PLANNING

A serious shortage of land for the farming population and a rapidly growing population demanding expansion of

town and village, of industrial sites, and of grounds for recreational and educational purposes have led to the establishment of a "State Service for Town and Country Planning." This permanent body for research and advice, at the highest level, on national land use is assisted by a permanent commission on which the different ministries and other state agencies interested in land use are represented. Special attention is paid to the possibilities of preserving existing recreation areas and creating new ones.

Provinces have their own "Provincial Planning Services," while the large towns also have well-equipped institutes at their disposal for city planning. These local planning institutes, which have excellent information services, are able to pay special attention to educational aspects in their town planning. A well-known example is the Dudok plan, a most harmonious long-term development plan for The Hague.

As the Municipal Councils are in a position to give effective leadership in town development, the possibility of a satisfactory educational development through good co-ordination of the municipal services arises. There is the impression that this is generally successful as far as supplying school buildings is concerned, but that sufficient attention is not always paid to the needs of youth work, adult education, sports, and other necessary outside school activities. Local authorities must provide for school buildings but not for the needs of education outside the school.

EDUCATION AND HOUSING

A growing awareness of the role of housing in education has made the Netherlands conscious of serious shortcomings in this respect. Although slum districts are not as numerous as in many other countries, in a great number of cases dwellings must be termed insufficient. Too little space, light, and fresh air, inadequate plumbing, overcrowding and the necessary sharing of houses, are sources of spiritual and physical damage. The situation grew considerably worse during and after World War II. Thousands of houses were wrecked by acts of war; others were demolished by German occupants.

The immensity of the housing need led immediately after the liberation (1945) to the setting up of a Ministry of Reconstruction and Building, equipped with wide powers to combat the difficulties. Shortages of manpower and materials, however, caused serious delays, and even now necessitate reconstruction and new buildings in strict adherence to a balanced building plan which fixes the volume of building permitted to each type—housing, industry, education, churches, and so forth. The details of the building plan, which is determined each year, are worked out by the ministries concerned with building activities.

Because of the general shortage of houses and other buildings the granting of priorities causes great difficulty. A housing shortage is expected until 1965. Each year the extent of the total building plan and the share accorded the various types of building give rise to widespread public discussion. The criticisms are increasingly directed toward the volume, the equipment, and the finishing of the houses. In view of the serious need, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Building has laid down strict rules for the building industry, whereby building is to be largely concentrated on small, unpretentious dwellings intended to bring help as quickly as possible to those in need of homes.

Control of housing standards, building and upkeep, is in the hands of the municipal authorities, who may condemn dwellings as uninhabitable when they do not conform to minimum standards.

Scientific research in the housing field

deserves special attention. The Ministry of Reconstruction and Building recently published reports containing people's appraisals of different kinds of dwellings. The Building Center (private), the Netherlands Household Council, and other organizations are working together in the same field, endeavoring to fit floor plans and equipment of houses to the needs of modern family life. Educational aspects of housing should thus be given more attention than in the past.

EDUCATION AND RECREATION

We have already indicated the serious shortages of open-air recreation space in the Netherlands. The social scientists and social workers have for years been stressing the important educational role of good recreation. Provisions for recreation become more urgent in the Netherlands as forced industrialization shifts people into a sociocultural climate which might prove unconducive to the development of a sound leisure pattern. Therefore in the new schools planned for young male and female workers special attention is paid to leisure and recreational possibilities.

It is somewhat surprising that in spite of the importance of problems of leisure and recreation no general line of governmental policy could be traced. The fear continually recurring in the Netherlands of government intervention in matters where the hierarchy of values is immediately at stake has prevented foundation of recreational research centers. Meanwhile need for a central advisory body and for a more positive governmental policy becomes increasingly obvious. Recent discussions concerning the expected general five-day working week have stressed the urgency of the situation.

Governmental services do not of course altogether ignore recreation and leisure. The Ministry of Education pays active attention to camping, hiking, community singing, folk music and dancing, sports, and so forth. Considerable state subsidies have been afforded in recent years to these and other activities. Since World War II the fields of radio, television, films, and the press have also been given attention by the Ministry of Education.

During the last few years, much thought has been given to vacations as recreation periods, stimulated by the fact that they are now generally longer and that greater prosperity offers more opportunity to use them. Because of the limited availability of vacation facilities, spreading of summer vacations has been attempted, by agreement among governmental agencies, railways, hotels, schools, industry, and so forth.

The activities of the municipalities in the field of recreation are varied. Besides financial aid to private organizations, technical and material help is generally offered by making buildings and grounds available. Many municipalities are active in organizing vacation activities for youth and adults. Some provinces and municipalities have created, in close collaboration with private initiative, "Culturele raden" (cultural councils) or "Gemeenschappen" (communities) for their areas.

EDUCATION AND PUBLIC HEALTH

Close co-operation has developed in the Netherlands between education and public health services. The Ministry of Education, which pays strict regard to hygienic standards, must approve all school buildings. All teachers of primary education must have a periodic examination for tuberculosis.[2]

The vast majority of pupils of private and public primary schools are under regular medical control. The doc-

[2] The Amsterdam municipal university requires of all students a yearly TB examination.

tors are for the most part officers of the Municipal Health Service, with whom a good relationship exists. According to the advice given, children are directed to specialists, or they may be sent to sanatoria, open-air schools, and other health institutions. Weak city children in large numbers are sent to agrarian areas for a period of a few months. School dental organizations are fully developed, though complete service is regrettably hampered by the shortage of dentists.

Special care is given to mentally and physically handicapped children. A large network of special schools—also along religious lines—has been developed. The decision to place a child in a school for handicapped children is agreed upon by the parents and the medical and pedagogical specialists.

The relationship between the educational institutes for children, such as orphanages, and the public health service is extensive and varied. Here special attention is paid to mental health as well as to physical well-being. Based on scientific research in this field a great attempt is nowadays made at family (or pseudofamily) education.

It is impossible to give a complete survey of all the health work done for youth in the Netherlands, but the highly important work in mental health done by the Child Guidance Clinics and Pedological Institutes should be mentioned. Organizations for scientific research are the National Federation for Mental Health and the Institute for Preventive Medicine.[3]

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

Some aspects of the relationships between education and social welfare have already been discussed. A few of the many others will be noted briefly.

Vocational guidance services

These services are occupying an increasingly important position. The work is being carried out to an important degree by state-subsidized, private institutes with a religious background, in the belief that an individual's religious alignment is of such importance that it must also play a part in the choice of further education and of a career. The private institutes which are responsible for about two-thirds of the advice given are affiliated with a National Institute which supplies the necessary documentation. State guidance services come under the Ministry of Social Affairs and Public Health; there are also a few municipal services.

The visiting teacher

In recent years a number of visiting teachers have been appointed by municipal education authorities to work on difficulties arising from social causes.

Children of migratory workers

Arrangements have been made for the education of children of bargemen and caravan families and other children always on the move, through special schools in harbors and other strategic areas, with uniform programs, individual teaching, and a record book for each child which follows him from school to school.[4]

Re-education of problem families

Re-education of antisocial families, usually mentally subnormal, became a spectacular form of social welfare work during wartime, when large-scale evacuation from the western cities was necessary. Special camps proved to be the

[3] A pamphlet by Dr. A. Querido, *Mental Health in the Netherlands* (The Hague: Government Information Service, 1954), gives a brief, clear summary of its field.

[4] Elisabeth B. Schlesinger, "Education on Dutch Canals," *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Winter 1950).

only solution, as the families were unwelcome in decent homes. The good results of these camps led to their being continued after the cessation of hostilities. A team of social workers, homemakers, youth leaders, psychiatrists, and sociologists are working on a plan for readaptation of these problem families to community life. The work is financed and directed by the Ministry of Social Work.

In recent years some of the large municipalities have begun the re-education of problem families in their own areas. Special housing projects have been set up for this purpose, where social workers and group workers are carrying out a program of comprehensive re-education. One project is in an overcrowded area of Rotterdam. Amsterdam and The Hague began projects before World War II, The Hague making use of "control dwellings" where families start life afresh under fairly strict supervision.

EDUCATION AND DELINQUENCY

The growth of delinquency as a symptom of individual and social tension and maladjustment has attracted much attention in recent years. Delinquency is increasingly assuming the character of big-town criminality. The occupation of 1940–45, when moral and economic pressures caused a lowering of moral standards, is partly to blame. But we are beginning gradually to realize that this tendency has a deeper basis and demands special treatment, not only penal measures, but more preventive, pedagogical, and cultural activities.

Of the various governmental authorities that have a share in the struggle against juvenile crime, we shall mention a few.

Justice

Under the Child Laws of 1901 a somewhat pedagogical basis for judicial activities has been developed. Youth Judges are appointed to deal with youthful crimes. One of the "Family Tutors" is assigned to the family of the offender at the family's request or by judge's orders, and educational measures in the family are taken in conjunction with his advice. At his request the Youth Judge may take such radical measures as removal of the young person from the family circle for pedagogical and psychological examination and treatment. The Family Tutors are unpaid and work on a voluntary basis.

Houses of correction, prisons, and other institutions for youthful criminals have been thoroughly revamped over the years. There is a progressive Youth Prison in Zutphen, where young criminals are given a considerable amount of freedom, with the possibility of uncontrolled outside activities, and other far-reaching pedagogical measures.

Police

This institution also has modernized and humanized its fight against criminality among the young, with the accent on preventive work. The large towns have their own Youth Police, a force with high standards to meet various educational tasks.

Other agencies

We have already described the work of the Ministry of Education for pre-criminal youth in camps and boardinghouses. Some municipal authorities have also entered this field, by subsidizing analogous work of private organizations, by nominating officers for youth work, and by creating school gardens and other local spare-time activities. We have already indicated the consideration given in and around the large towns to making vacation periods as advantageous as possible.

People are growing more and more conscious of the close connection between crime and unhappy surroundings

and of the fact that some of the proposed countermeasures are superficial and inadequate for any real attack on juvenile delinquency. More and more notice is being taken of the backgrounds which seem to produce young criminals. We have already mentioned work with the problem family. Slum clearance and other measures for improvement in housing are also attracting attention. The stimulation of education, in and outside the school (more and better education and training), youth movements and clubhouses, and improvement of human relations in industrial and other occupations are also gaining interest with a view to combating crime. With no attempt to make an all-inclusive listing, we still must mention the activities of the State Labor Inspection and of various governmental housing and health services. The present longer term of military service also offers educational opportunities: psychological tests and psychological services are good points of contact.

RÉSUMÉ

It has naturally been impossible in the foregoing paragraphs to give a complete picture of the educational situation in the Netherlands and the coordination of the various governmental agencies in meeting the needs of children and youth. Only a rough sketch could be presented, to suggest important activities and their mutual relationships. We hope, however, that these outlines show up clearly:

Educational activities in the Netherlands were largely brought into existence by private initiative. Government agencies are expected (1) to give leadership in the educational policy; (2) to carry out educational activities where private initiative is impossible or remains fragmentary; and (3) to give financial and other material support to the educational activities of private organizations.

Following a short period of rigidity between the world wars, a dynamic educational activity came into being, wherein the state and other governmental agencies play an important role. The submission of long-term plans, the Education Acts under consideration, and the many state commissions testify to educational vitality.

With the manner in which activities on behalf of young people are at present spread over various ministries, we cannot claim a completely successful coordination and integration. It is clear, however, that generally speaking we are on the right road and moving in the right direction.

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Education and Related Services in Sweden*

By Åke W. Edfeldt

LEGISLATIVE measures for public aid and protection of children are of rather recent origin in Sweden. Up to the beginning of this century, children were treated in the same manner as adults in need of help, and poor law relief was the only public aid available. The first legislation for child welfare was passed in 1902; it provided for the care of foster children and the education and upbringing of delinquent and morally neglected children. Then came the so-called Children's Laws of 1917, with provisions for children born out of wedlock, adoption, and so forth.

For the most part, public care of children remained under the Public Assistance Administration up to 1926, when the Child Welfare Act of 1924 came into force. By this act, the responsibility for the care and protection of children was separated from public assistance and lodged with a new local authority, created by the act and known as the Child Welfare Committee. The Act of 1924 has been subsequently revised and extended, particularly by amendments in 1934 dealing with young persons between eighteen and twenty-one years of age, and in 1945 and 1946 in respect to child welfare institutions, foster care, and child and youth welfare schools. A Child Welfare Commission, appointed in 1950 by the government, is now reviewing the Child Welfare Act as well as public child welfare legislation.

Local Child Welfare Committees

The statutory members of the local Child Welfare Committee include a member of the local Public Assistance Committee, a clergyman, a man or woman teacher, at least two other persons known to be actively interested in the welfare of children, and, frequently, a medical officer. At least one of the members is to be a woman. The committee is empowered to delegate authority to voluntary or professional welfare officers.

The committee is charged with responsibility for promoting the welfare of children and young persons and to that end takes such measures as may seem desirable in the interest of children and young people, including the establishment of adequate child welfare facilities. It has the duty of providing for needy, sick, and unprotected children, who are given what is called "public care." The committee also deals with maltreated and neglected children, those exposed to dangers to life or health, vicious children or children in danger of becoming vicious, and juveniles leading a disorderly, idle, or immoral life or showing other signs of vice. This second group of children and young persons may be taken care of by "protective upbringing," if preventive measures are considered useless or have proved to be so.

Any private citizen or public authority may request the intervention of the Child Welfare Committee. Certain categories of public servants, such as medical officers and district nurses, are required to report to the committee any case which in their opinion requires its intervention.

The Child Welfare Committee is also charged with a number of other duties such as administering the general chil-

* Many parts of this article are taken from papers prepared and published by The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, Sweden.

dren's allowance scheme, supervision of children born out of wedlock, the approval and payment of maintenance advances, the administration of maternity assistance, and the recreational schemes for children and housewives.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

The state-subsidized services which, under the supervision of the Child Welfare Committee, provide for the part-time care of preschool and older children operate along three lines: kindergartens, day nurseries, and afternoon homes.

Kindergartens

The kindergartens are intended for children between three and seven years of age; these children are taken care of a few hours a day and get an opportunity to take part in various social and educational activities under the guidance of trained personnel. Kindergartens must be located in hygienic premises, be sufficiently roomy to permit ample freedom of movement, and be suitably equipped with play material. Great attention is paid to the social development of the child. In communes where they have been established by local authorities, with low fees, the demand from all sections of society exceeds the accommodations.

Day nurseries

The day nurseries, which are increasing in numbers, provide all-day care for the children of working mothers. They receive children mainly between the ages and two and seven years. A small number of day nurseries also have departments for children between six months and two years of age. The children are usually left at the nurseries for eight to ten hours a day. In rural areas, day nurseries for farm children have been established to relieve parents engaged in seasonal farmwork. The service is still in the trial stage, and the nurseries are open only for brief periods in summer and autumn.

Afternoon homes

Afternoon homes receive school children of employed mothers after school hours and give them an opportunity for play and homework. The children are usually served one hot meal while there.

"Family day homes"

Owing to the shortage of day nurseries, a substitute service of "family day homes" has been tried in Stockholm and some other towns. These are private homes, providing part-time care for one or two children, subject to the same supervision by the local Child Welfare Committee as regular foster homes. Parents pay the same fee that they would in the regular day nurseries.

Special government committee

A special government committee has recently been studying a scheme for extended state support of these services. Its inquiries embrace the psychological, pedagogical, medical, social, and labor-market aspects of the services. Consideration is being given to the possibility of incorporating the kindergartens into the elementary school system.

GENERAL CHILDREN'S ALLOWANCES

Since 1948, general children's allowances payable at the rate of 260 kronor per year have been granted all children under sixteen years of age (since 1952 the allowance has been increased to 290 kronor), regardless of the economic status of their parents or legal providers.

The children's allowance scheme succeeds the former deductions granted for children in the state income tax, and since 1952 also those in the communal income tax. Owing to the system of progressive taxation in force, the value

of these deductions varied considerably. Therefore it was felt that a scheme employing a uniform cash benefit would be more equitable, since the low-income families, which constitute the majority of the taxpayers, failed to profit from these deductions. The present rate of children's allowances far exceeds the average value of the former deductions, but above a certain income it becomes less than the tax deductions previously granted.

SCHOOL LUNCHES

School meals were known in Sweden as early as 1845, but not until the end of the century did they take on a wider scope. They were as a rule provided on the private initiative of such bodies as the Red Cross and housewives' organizations, or by local authorities. Beginning with the fiscal year 1937–38 state subsidies have been granted for this service, which now is administered by the local school authorities.

In the beginning, the meals served in school possessed the character of charity or public relief, but in many school districts, particularly in the northern sections of the country, the long distances to school created a common need for them. Another reason for public interest in this matter is the opportunity they present to counteract undesirable dietary habits, whether due to poor economic circumstances or simply to ignorance. A properly balanced school meal a day represents a substantial improvement in the diet of many children.

Since July 1, 1946, children in the schools are entitled to free, state-subsidized school lunches if so desired by their parents. However, owing to the lack of technical facilities prevailing at present, the local school authorities may reserve the available meals to children who live far from school, to ill and delicate children, or to children in poor circumstances.

SCHOOL MEDICAL SERVICE [1]

The management of school health work is in the hands of the State Board of Education; or, more specifically, it is under the direction of the Chief Medical Officer for Schools employed by this authority. It is to be noted that he is thus not in the employ of the highest medical authority, the Medical Board (*medicinalstyrelsen*), but on important questions he consults with this board.

Duties of the Chief Medical Officer for Schools

Among the duties of the Chief Medical Officer for Schools are the following:

To arrange, guide, and superintend the work of school hygiene in the schools.

To promote the development of school hygiene work among youth, and in doing so to further the holding of medical examinations of young people in the schools, in order to discover pupils in need of medical care or other measures related to school hygiene.

To secure the establishment of open-air schools, and classes or schools for pupils with weak sight or hearing.

To further measures concerning the education and teaching of pupils who diverge from the normal mentally.

To act as adviser concerning the teaching of gymnastics, the arrangements for school baths, school children's meals, and school holiday camps, and to further the development of dental attention in schools.

To advise the Board of Education on plans for new school buildings, or major rebuilding or additions.

Health cards

In every school where there is a school health service run or supported

[1] This section of the article is taken from a paper prepared by Gösta Lindquist, Secretary, State Board of Education.

by the state, a health card, established by the Board of Education, is kept for every child. The health card is "valid" throughout the country. Begun when the child starts going to school at about seven it accompanies him from school to school and from one type of school to another, until school attendance ceases.

The school doctor and the school nurse

In the medical work of the schools close contact is maintained with the parents and guardians. This contact is established in different ways: (1) Parents are called to the school, when needed, for a conference with the school nurse or school doctor; (2) the school nurses visit the homes of pupils when such contact is considered desirable; and (3) at parents' association meetings information is given on matters of school health. The visits of the school nurse are made for the purpose of securing information needed by the school (such as the nature of a pupil's illness) and of giving advice on health matters, not with the intention of giving medical care.

An important principle in the operation of the school hygiene work is that teachers as well as medical personnel should participate in it.

In all the schools in the country at certain intervals so-called "general form examinations" must be made, that is, examinations which include all the pupils in a class. Such examinations are made at the beginning of the school year, about once every second year during the time the child spends at school, and in any case in the first class and the graduating class in both elementary and higher schools. In certain school districts with large schools, the general form examinations are held once a year. In all schools each child is examined by a dentist once a year.

Furthermore, there has been introduced into Swedish schools the provision that preliminary medical advice on choice of occupation shall be given by the schools.

Of course, the school doctors and school nurses visit the schools for other purposes than the general form examinations. During the rest of the school year they examine the so-called "control-children," that is, children who are ill, weak, or unusually subject to illness, and also children who are sent for an examination by doctor, nurse, parents, or guardians.

Mentally retarded children are gathered into special classes; abnormal pupils are sent to special institutions.

The school doctors are also called upon when school children for one reason or another want to obtain work during their leisure time. The law states that juveniles (that is, children under eighteen) may not be employed before they are fourteen. Except for work during the vacation period, the child must have completed the program for the elementary school. Exceptions may, in certain circumstances, be made, but only for light work which cannot be thought to have ill effects on his health or bodily development or on his schoolwork. The juvenile attending school must have the school's permission to take on work, and the school medical officer must give his opinion. All young people under eighteen in Sweden who take on jobs must have a juvenile work book, in which the school medical officer makes his remarks on the child's health and the employer notes the juvenile's work, hours, breaks, and so forth.

Dental work

The dental hygiene which every child enjoys as long as it goes to school may also be considered as a part of the general health program. It consists of a thorough examination each term, followed by the treatment which the den-

tist considers necessary. This treatment includes not only ordinary repairs but even such things as straightening the teeth.

HOLIDAY ARRANGEMENTS

During recent years the Swedish authorities have, through different measures, tried to give almost every child the chance to have a summer holiday. This was deemed especially desirable during the war.

First, a state subsidy was given for study and holiday travel for elementary school children from city families of small means. In the summer of 1940, when an evacuation of the larger communities was discussed, a public grant was made for the evacuation of children. From 1940 to 1946 considerable experimentation was carried on regarding the holiday program, and regulations as to the length of stay, the organization of camps, free travel of mothers who accompanied their children, and so forth, were developed.

In the winter of 1945–46 it was thought that this project had been tried out long enough to become a permanent institution. The committee of 1941 on population policies proposed in 1945 extensive measures by the state for the purpose of providing housewives and children with rest and recreation. The proposal was passed, with small alterations, by the Parliament, and since June 1946 the activity has been regulated through three royal proclamations. Certain alterations were made by Parliament in the period 1949–54.

The state now subsidizes: (1) travel for children and accompanying persons to a privately arranged holiday spot and for children, staff, and accompanying persons to summer camps; (2) travel for housewives to a privately arranged holiday spot, and for guests and staff to holiday centers for housewives approved by the Royal Social Welfare Board; (3) grants to housewives to facilitate their holiday arrangements; (4) operating grants to summer camps for children and to holiday centers for housewives and grants to special organizations who place children with private country families.

Holiday travel grants

Children are entitled to holiday travel grants who during the year when the travel is undertaken are at most fourteen years of age. There is no stipulation as to minimum age. The Child Welfare Committees who are responsible for the local administration of the activity, however, are requested to warn the parents of the risk of infection which railway travel involves for a very young child and of the fact that a change in the environment may prove harmful.

A person who accompanies a child younger than eleven years is also entitled to holiday travel. When there are special reasons, for example, if the child is mentally retarded or delicate or if the travel is especially complicated with many changes of trains, an accompanying person may get a holiday travel grant even if the child is older than ten years. The accompanying person may get two travel authorizations, in order to take the child to the vacation place and then to return to get him, or only one if he is to remain with the child at the holiday place. Only one travel grant is made to a child or housewife in a year.

As these travel grants also aim at giving housewives an opportunity to get recreation, the mother should, as a rule, accompany her child. If because of illness, employment, or other reasons, the mother cannot go, another person may take her place.

Since the purpose of the travel scheme

is to give children and housewives a strengthening and stimulating stay in a new and healthy environment, the absence from home should not be too short. A minimum absence from home of four weeks for children and of ten days for housewives is stipulated, and exceptions are admitted only for very strong reasons. Absence shorter than fourteen days for children and seven days for housewives is never permitted.

As a rule the travel grant may be given to any place the applicant chooses, whether city or country, including even the frontier stations for Denmark, Finland, and Norway. When the travel cost is less than five crowns, no holiday travel grant is given.

The grants apply only to the cheapest means of travel. They may be used any time during the year except certain days around the more important festivals.

Summer camps

Summer camps for children are run by communities and by voluntary organizations. There is at present accommodation for about 38,000 children at the camps each year. In most cases the child's stay in the camp is provided without cost to the parents. Each child undergoes a medical examination before leaving for camp, and every camp must have an agreement with a doctor who is responsible for hygienic conditions in the camp and for care in case of illness.

The state subsidizes the children's camp activity partly by giving free transportation (regardless of income, though it is understood that only children from families of small means should be chosen for the camps) to children and staff going to camps, partly by giving a grant, varying from twenty-five öre to one crown per child per day, towards the running cost. The camps are subjected to the same inspection as other child welfare institutions.

Families take a "summer child"

Complementary to the summer camps activity is a scheme to procure private summer homes for children whose parents cannot arrange this themselves. The activity is undertaken by communities or by voluntary organizations, some communities and organizations having on their program both summer camps and placement in private families. The child's stay generally costs the parents nothing, though the family which takes care of a "summer child" is paid by the responsible organization.

This arrangement has proved to be a very valuable one, for children often get a more individual care in private families and come into a more intimate contact with the countryside than if they stay in a camp.

The activity is subsidized by the state, partly through cheap transportation of children and accompanying persons under the conditions prevailing for holiday travel grants for a privately arranged vacation, and partly by a small contribution—from fifty öre to one crown per child per day—to the organizations that undertake this activity. About 17,000 children get summer recreation in this way each year.

The teacher's role

In addition to what has been said about the administration of these services, it should be noted that the Swedish school system is very much involved in this work. Since the teachers all over the country have fairly good contacts with the parents, they are able to tell which children need help and which do not. The administration of holiday travel grants, summer camps, and so on is the business of the elementary school teachers, the local school administration, and the State Board of Education, in co-operation with the local welfare committee. Even if there are specially

trained social workers in most of the welfare institutions, the teacher is always applied to when there is a question about a child. The school administers the "summer child" activity. The teachers select the children to go to the country and also handle the financial aspects, they arrange for travel expenses, the payment of travel grants to accompanying persons, and the payment of the "summer parents." Before "summer children" are placed in summer camps and private families, the teacher has to do inspector's work. For all these duties teachers receive compensation.

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Education and Other Governmental Services in Switzerland

By Robert Dottrens *

SWITZERLAND is a Confederation of twenty-five sovereign states, which, within the limits set by the Constitution and federal laws, freely organize the life of the people.

If the cantons—the states—have no prerogatives in certain areas, such as national defense, the postal service, telegraph, telephone, customs, and foreign relations, there are others in which they enjoy great freedom of action. This is especially the case in the field of education and child welfare.

There could be no question in this short study of describing twenty-five different systems which, in the matter of public instruction, range from the most complete centralization (Geneva) to the greatest possible decentralization, in the cantons where school authority is divided between the communes and the cantonal administration.

Role of the Confederation

This article will therefore only explain the situation as it exists in Geneva at present, and will show one of the ways in which the government of a Swiss canton has applied the laws that are valid in all of Switzerland. The Confederation, in fact, establishes the principles and leaves to the cantons the task of putting them into practice. These general principles have been established:

1. By the federal Constitution in its article 34/5 which states that, in the exercise of the powers which are conferred upon it, and within the limits of the Constitution, the Confederation takes into account the needs of the family, and that the laws enacted by virtue of this article will be executed with the help of the cantons and the collaboration of public or private legal organizations.

2. In the Swiss Civil Code (1912), whose second book establishes family law: marriage, divorce, legitimate and illegitimate descent, guardianship, and inheritance.

3. In the Swiss Penal Code (1942), sixth section, whose provisions do not apply to children who have not reached the age of six.

4. Finally, in the federal laws which complement constitutional provisions when the need is felt to take for the whole territory of the Confederation measures to ensure defense of general interests; for example, the federal law concerning the fight against tuberculosis, and the federal law on vocational training.

As far as public instruction is concerned, the work of the Confederation is decidedly restricted: it sees first of all to the enforcement of the provisions of Article 27 in the Constitution, which states that in Switzerland elementary education is required, and that, in the public schools—freedom of education is guaranteed—every child must be able to attend classes without injury to his conscience or his beliefs. The management of the schools must be under the civil authority.

There is no federal department of education in Switzerland, and the other fields of public instruction in which the Confederation acts or can act are under the jurisdiction of various departments: the federal Department of the

* Translated by Theresa G. Munson.

Interior, which controls medical and veterinary studies, public and social hygiene, family and child welfare, and so forth; the federal Department of Finance, which controls subsidies to professional schools of engineering and domestic science, vocational training, social security, and so forth; and the federal War Department, which controls gymnastic instruction, physical education, and sports. The principal characteristic of all these measures lies in the decentralization of the organs charged with their supervision, application, and improvement.

This decentralization has also made it possible to adapt the necessary actions to limited areas and to take into account their historical evolution, traditions and customs, and questions of a religious, linguistic, or social nature.

GENEVA

The canton of Geneva, because it is a small urban state, has undoubtedly been able to establish more easily than others a co-ordinated extensive system of diverse organs working together on behalf of its children. The description of this system will permit the reader to gain a sufficient idea of the vigilance and perseverance with which the rights of the child are safeguarded in the city of Calvin and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

The cantonal Department of Public Instruction has the general management of and responsibility for the measures suitable to the various activities which will be discussed in this article.

THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

On July 2, 1937, a law was promulgated creating a Children's Bureau, with the aim of ensuring the protection of the physical and moral health of children and youth, and, in a general way, of promoting their development. This bureau, connected with the Department of Public Instruction, co-ordinates and encourages the efforts of families and of public and private institutions, and assists judicial, educational, and administrative authorities in the execution of their mandate.

The Children's Bureau includes the following: the School Medical Service, the School Observation Service, the School Social Service, the Service for Vocational and Apprenticeship Guidance, the Service for the Protection of Minors, the General Guardianship Service. These last two services, moreover, in their activity springing from the Swiss Civil Code, are subject to the guardianship authorities, just as the juvenile court is subject to judicial authority. Parents or children are obliged to appear when summoned by these various agencies. If they refuse, small penalties can be imposed upon them, and if need be, force can be used.

The School Medical Service

This service has authority in all questions concerning school hygiene and the health of school children. Its duties are entirely practical, to the exclusion of all purely scientific research. It controls the hygienic conditions of public and private school buildings. It organizes the fight against diseases which can be contracted in school; it provides for individual health examinations and recommends measures with a view to improving the health of children. It proposes measures of disease prevention and necessary disinfection, and supervises the execution of these measures. It watches over the health of teachers and organizes the medical examination of prospective teachers.

From the time of admission to school, a health record is kept for each student, and from year to year, all comments made by the medical examiners are noted: the general physical examination and examinations by specialists (nose, throat, ear, nervous system).

A school dental clinic is specifically in charge of the improvement of oral hygiene and the preventive treatment of dental caries.

The federal law for the fight against tuberculosis has already been mentioned. At the present time, the School Medical Service is engaged in the application of measures ordered by a decree of the State Council of January 11, 1952, which made a medical examination obligatory for students, teachers, and school employees. This examination is repeated every three years. It includes a lung X ray and the Mantoux test (an injection of 0.1 cc. of tuberculin).

In conjunction with the Social Service and the school inspectors, it is the Medical Service which periodically designates those children who are admitted to a "Preventorium" or to one of the two permanent high-altitude schools which the canton of Geneva has established in the Alps in Valais and Vaud. It must be added that every teacher, and with greater reason every school principal, can, at any time of emergency or doubt, request by a mere telephone call the services of a nurse or a physician.

There remains one special institution: the Sick Benefit Fund which, in collaboration with private funds, supervises the application of the law concerning the required health insurance for school children in return for a small fee paid by their parents.

The School Observation Service

This service attends to those children who, because of problems of personality, intelligence, or family environment, are hindered in their development, cannot fully profit by instruction, and are a potential source of physical and moral danger to their schoolmates.

The Observation Service studies all the cases which are entrusted to it by official agencies or by the parents themselves. The director personally examines all reported children and takes appropriate measures, which may be any of the following:

1. A change of school or class for the child. The school system of Geneva includes: (*a*) regular classes for children of normal mentality and behavior; (*b*) classes for children presenting minor adjustment problems (intelligence and personality); (*c*) special classes for the mentally retarded; (*d*) observation classes for problem children; (*e*) outdoor classes (semiboarding) for sickly or nervous children; (*f*) high-altitude outdoor classes (boarding schools).

2. Admission to one of the "observation classes." These classes are organized for either boarding or semiboarding students. The teachers and the physician connected with the institution have the task of discovering the causes of personality problems and of ensuring their treatment on the pedagogical and medical level, so that the child may be permitted to return to normal school life, or, if it is deemed necessary, of providing for his placement in a training school. In the latter case the Social Service and very often the Service for the Protection of Minors intervene.

3. Admission to the special classes. These classes of special instruction are placed under the pedagogical management of the Service Director.

4. Admission to the home for children who are deaf or hard of hearing.

An orthophonic or voice-training service is also a part of the Observation Service.

Usually, social workers handle all cases which have warranted the intervention of the service, taking action concerning the family and making contacts with the other services of the Children's Bureau and the school authorities.

Lastly, the service may be charged with maintaining contact with those young people from fifteen to eighteen years of age who have been the object of repeated interventions while they were in school, or who have been students in training schools or special classes for backward or problem children.

The School Social Service

The School Social Service intervenes on behalf of needy school children. It gives sickly children the benefit of rest homes and cures necessary to their health. It manages the school clothing service. It co-ordinates the work of public and private social agencies such as day nurseries, school kitchens, open-air schools, or vacation camps. It also makes any investigations requested of it by the various other services of the Department of Public Instruction.

This service supervises the application of the law concerning the employment of school-age children (that is, under fifteen). This law (January 14, 1942) forbids the employment in a regular job of a minor less than fifteen years of age. Except for farm labor and other cases subject to special authorization, it is unlawful to employ outside the family, in any capacity, children less than thirteen years old. Between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, children can be hired for running errands or for other light work for a maximum of two hours per school day and five hours during vacations. This work cannot be in a theater or in an unsanitary place, nor between the hours of 12:00 M. and 2:00 P.M., or after 7:00 P.M.

The employment of these children is subject to the written consent of the School Medical Service, which can be withdrawn at any time. If the authorization has been refused on grounds of health, an allocation can be awarded to needy families thus deprived of financial assistance.

Service for Vocational and Apprenticeship Guidance

This service advises public school students and their parents on the sensible choice of a trade or vocation; it aids in the placement of young workers. It supervises the application of federal and cantonal legislation on vocational training and in the matter of the protection of nonapprenticed minors. It provides, in particular, the control of the vocational instruction, theoretical and practical, of apprentices.

As far as vocational guidance is concerned, the service has adopted two primary aims.

The first is to inform students and parents of the necessity of learning a trade, and of choosing it carefully. It utilizes all suitable means to this end: talks in the schools, films, visits to factories, visual material supplied to students and teachers, and so forth. For students who do not plan to continue their studies after the age of fifteen there are organized so-called "after-schooldays classes" which between the ages of thirteen and fifteen guide the school activities of students toward practical problems—manual labor in the shop, acquaintance with trades and skills, and ethical standards of work.

The second activity in vocational guidance is the examination of individual cases which the service conducts in strict liaison and in collaboration with private agencies (the Private Apprenticeship Bureau and the Private Bureau of Vocational Guidance) or with institutions under the jurisdiction of the Department of Public Instruction (the Bureau of Vocational Guidance of the University Institute of Educational Sciences and the Laboratory of Experi-

mental Pedagogy of the same institute, which has in its charge the study of questions related to educational guidance).

Service for the Protection of Minors

Subject to the jurisdiction of the other agencies of the Department of Public Instruction, the Service for the Protection of Minors maintains a general surveillance over minors and takes every measure to protect children and young people.

Its work is above all of a preventive nature. It has the task of identifying children whose parents do not fulfill their obligations. Complaints, notifications, and accusations are directed to this service; the judicial, school, and administrative authorities of the canton and the commune are required to bring to its attention the cases of any children in moral or material danger.

When preventive action fails, the service then asks the authorities to apply the protective measures provided by law (removal from custody and the termination of parental rights). In this case, the Service for the Protection of Minors studies the child's situation and sends the accumulated information to the guardianship authority, whose duty it is to advise the court.

It also carries out the investigations requested by the juvenile court and the guardianship authority, according to their instructions. It watches over those minors whom the juvenile court has released on probation. All this work is accomplished in close co-operation with the schools, the Observation Service serving as an intermediary, since it generally handles most of the cases at the beginning.

The investigators and social workers of the Protection of Minors are more and more devoting their efforts to a humane understanding of their task: the destiny of the child, his emotional problems, and the conditions of his development are their dominant concerns.

The General Guardianship Service

This service facilitates the work of the guardianship authorities in the application of the laws concerning the appointment of guardians and trustees. It assumes the guardianship of those children who have been taken away from their parents by court decision.

OFFICIAL YOUTH FOUNDATION

Along with the Children's Bureau, there is good reason for mentioning the Official Youth Foundation and the juvenile court. The Official Youth Foundation has grown out of an old protective organization called "The Forsaken Youth," from which the present Service for the Protection of Minors also developed. This foundation manages the properties and administration of two schools for orphaned boys and girls and children whose parents have been deprived of their parental authority or their right of custody.

JUVENILE COURT

The juvenile court, composed of a career judge presiding and a doctor and a teacher acting as associate judges, handles criminal cases in which adolescents of fourteen to eighteen years of age are implicated.

In regard to children of six to fourteen years of age, the Penal Code primarily prescribes educational measures, application of which is entrusted to the Service for the Protection of Minors. Adolescents from the ages of fourteen to eighteen can be sentenced to imprisonment. If it is apparent that educational measures would be preferable, the Code allows the child to be sent to a correctional school or placed in a trustworthy family. The General Guardianship Service is then put in charge of his supervision.

CO-ORDINATION OF SERVICES

The work of the different services mentioned above is co-ordinated by the Advisory Committee of the Children's Bureau, which meets periodically under the chairmanship of the chief of the Department of Public Instruction. It is composed of the chiefs of services of the Children's Bureau, the presiding judge of the orphans' court, the presiding judge of the juvenile court, the Director of Elementary Education, a representative of the municipal authorities of the City of Geneva, and two representatives of private agencies interested in child welfare. This committee studies general questions related to various youth problems and ensures co-ordination of the various services of the Bureau.

ADMINISTRATIVE IDEALS

As can be seen from the description of this network, the administration of child welfare is particularly well organized in Geneva. As far as is possible, all precautions have been taken to defend the right of each child to live and develop normally in a community which seeks its own development in that of each of its members; to have action taken with a maximum of speed and efficiency while respecting as fully as possible the rights of the parents, whose sense of responsibility the authorities are trying to restore and develop; and finally to reduce to a minimum duplication and conflicts of jurisdiction.

PRIVATE INITIATIVE

This article would be incomplete if nothing were said about the role and the importance of private initiative in the field of child welfare, a role and an importance so well recognized by the authorities that they do their utmost to facilitate the work of these private agencies by aiding them financially and by resorting frequently to their good offices.

It is a Swiss policy, not confined to Geneva alone, to have citizen participation in the solution of all the problems of education and child welfare. This accounts for the flourishing development, in Switzerland, of private institutions and agencies devoted to public service, both Catholic and non-Catholic, working with generosity and devotion in the most varied fields such as day nurseries and kindergartens; school canteens; vacation colonies, youth hostels, outdoor camps, ski camps; leisure-time recreation and sports; libraries for children and adolescents (in particular the Swiss Reading Society for Young People); and temperance societies.

PRO INFIRMIS AND PRO JUVENTUTE

Two great foundations must be mentioned in particular, in view of their importance and their national character, Pro Infirmis and Pro Juventute.

Pro Infirmis, as its name indicates, is concerned with physically handicapped children and adults. It assists and cares for sick children placed in establishments of re-education and treatment. The foundation is composed of ten associations, each of which takes care of a particular type of illness. Its fifteen cantonal offices work in close collaboration with similar institutions, lending each other mutual aid on behalf of the children in their care. On the educational level, the Swiss Society for Difficult Children (a section of Pro Infirmis) seeks to combat the causes of educational and personality problems which certain children present, by improving educational conditions in the institutions though training specialized teachers, by contributing to a better organization of leisure activities, or by arousing public opinion and the authorities in favor of this category of children.

Pro Juventute, founded in 1912 by the Swiss Society for Public Service, which was from 1810 the first social service organization in Switzerland, has as its aim to arouse and cultivate a feeling of responsibility in regard to youth; to develop a taste for social work in young people; and to encourage private help for youth. Its practical work is carried on in most of the areas of child and youth welfare. The financial resources which the foundation needs are derived from the annual sale of "Pro Juventute" postage stamps; the profit on these stamps, which cost a little more than the regular stamps, goes to the foundation. The importance which these stamps have gained for collectors is well known. Their sale is principally promoted by Swiss school children. The foundation has regional secretaries in all the cantons. There are two hundred secretaries at the present time: clergymen, teachers, and people from all social and economic ranks, all working without remuneration and independently for the goals of the foundation.[1]

The foundations Pro Infirmis and Pro Juventute have each a journal which gives information on the activities of the organization. These publications bear the same titles as the foundations.

[1] In the following two works can be found useful complementary information on the institutions and activities to which this article has been devoted: Emma Steiger, *Manuel du Service Social Suisse*, fourth trilingual edition (German, French, Italian) prepared on behalf of the Swiss Society for Public Service (Zurich, 1948), and H. Kleinert and others, *Lexikon der Pädagogik* (3 vols.; Berne: Verlag A. Francke, 1950–53).

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A Sociologist on School-Community Relationships

By Gordon W. Blackwell

PRACTICAL proposals for more effective co-ordination of public education services with other state and local governmental services concerned with children and youth should be based on two bodies of knowledge: (1) sociological characteristics of the local community, and (2) experiences in the community organization movement in American society. This paper will explore these two topics and point up implications for school-community relationships.

Dimensions of Community [1]

Sociological analysis of the nature of the local community reveals at least seven factors operative in the dynamics of community structure and function. These we call sociological dimensions of a community.

Population characteristics

To illustrate the nature of these different dimensions, let us take as the first example a situation with which many public school officials are confronted in southern cities. They often find among the Negro population a high illiteracy rate, a loose type of family organization, and departure from middle class mores of sex behavior. Often the husband-father is not in the home. Such a situation has implications for teachers. Many reasons are given for it, but if the matter is studied carefully, one may find that a basic reason lies in the sex ratio of the Negro population, which in southern cities as a whole is about 90, meaning only 90 males for every 100 females. In some southern cities it is as low as 80 or a little less. Of course, such behavior may be expected in a population with a sex ratio as askew as that. This, then, illustrates the first dimension of community, namely, the population characteristics. Age, racial and ethnic composition, population trends, the various vital statistics, come into this first dimension of community.

Institutional structure

Let us take another example, a community of ten thousand people. A study will reveal that there are eighty-five to a hundred organized groups and formally established agencies operating in that community. We find among those agencies and organized groups twenty which are particularly concerned with children and youth, and we may find them getting into each other's hair a bit: some bickering and jealousies, a lot of misunderstanding as to what each is doing. The need, of course, is for some type of co-ordination and planning.

Perhaps the analogy is not too far-fetched to say that a community of that size is not unlike the River Rouge plant that Ford has in Detroit. Thousands of workers are there. The plant has a particular objective, the finished Ford car. It is organized into many departments, and the proper relationship between those departments in operation is vital if the industry is to be successful.

[1] This section draws upon the author's previous article, "The Social Scientist Looks at the Health Council Movement," *Public Health Nursing*, Vol. 42, No. 6 (June 1950), pp. 316–21.

Any part of the plant that does not do its job well, or gets behind, upsets the whole schedule of production. The efficiency we have achieved in large-scale mass production has been due to careful planning and co-ordination—in a dictatorial fashion, very largely, it is true, but it has worked. In contrast, most American communities have had little or no planning or co-ordination, often no machinery for it, and the result is that each is functioning as a community at perhaps 25 to 50 per cent efficiency. If we were competing as businessmen in the meeting of human needs, many of our communities would go bankrupt. The problem we face in this aspect of community life is how we can democratically work out procedures and machinery for planning and co-ordination.

This point illustrates the second dimension of community, which sociologists call the institutional structure.

Many organized groups touch only a few of the people in a community. Studies in cities reveal that 40 to 50 per cent of the people are members of these organized groups. In rural communities the percentage may be even smaller. So when we bring in representatives from these organized groups, we should not pretend that we are getting a complete representation of the community.

Value systems

For the next dimension of community, let us take the illustration of two communities side by side in Tennessee. They are both rural communities with the same climate and the same natural resources. But in one we find the typical picture of a southern sharecropping, cotton community—soil erosion, poor housing, low standards of living, poor school attendance, illiteracy, poor health—and in the other, right next door, we find well-kept homes, green fields, stable and healthy families, bright-eyed children.

What is the explanation of these differences? Inquiry would reveal that the second community was settled years ago by an immigrant group from Switzerland who brought with them values very different from those the southern plantation economy has developed. Thrift, love of the soil, careful farming practices, are a part of the value systems of the people in one community. There is all the difference in the world between the two communities.

The third dimension, then, is the value systems of a community, which involve the folkways, the mores—things that people hold dear. Here we find many of the motivating forces for what happens in a community. We should ask, "How highly is education rated in the community? Where does it really rank among the values of the people?"

Social stratification

If we look for another illustration, we might come upon a school superintendent who finds that the schools are not successfully meeting the needs of some segments of the population—perhaps the group from across the railroad tracks or a particular racial group—and inquiry reveals that what we call the social stratification of the community is functioning to the detriment of a community-wide program of public education. Numerous studies have shown that American communities are stratified into social classes—the rigidity of these classes may actually be increasing—and into minority groups, racial and ethnic. This social stratification dimension must be understood if we are to work effectively in the community setting. It presents a problem, too, as we attempt to co-ordinate the schools with other community agencies.

Interpersonal relationships

A newly formed council on youth services starts off with a bang. Americans are the easiest people in the world to organize if you just go out and talk something up a bit! In the beginning there is a great deal of enthusiasm, and the leaders are sure that a great deal can be done for the community's young people. If you look in on the community in a year or so you may find that the council has died. Nothing has happened, and you wonder why. It may possibly be because those developing the council failed to bring into the program many of the real leaders in the community. They have co-opted some of the nominal leaders and the office-holders but have failed to understand that the real leaders are those who have prestige and enjoy the confidence of the community whether or not they hold official positions. The relationships involved are not identical with social stratification along class or racial lines, although they influence each other and may coincide at some points. Techniques exist for locating the real leaders in the community, and failure to use them may be why this council did not succeed. Another dimension of community, then, which has to be considered is the pattern of interpersonal relationships.

In a small southern community we recently analyzed patterns of local leadership. Since the community is biracial in social organization, we asked the white people who they thought the Negro leaders were, and then we asked the Negroes who they thought were the leaders in their group. We got very different responses from the two sources. Often the majority group decides who will take part in the planning, who will make the decisions, and they fail to get the real leaders from a minority group.

This pattern, then, of interpersonal relationships and leadership constitutes still another dimension of community.

Power structure

In another situation we perhaps find the community aroused about a problem. It may be smoke control or rat control or narcotics control, or it may be enforcement of a housing code. Many of the groups in town go on record as opposing the undesirable situation and urging community action. The newspapers and radio support the movement, and there is a great hullabaloo. Yet nothing happens. We wonder why. If we look beneath the surface we may find that certain people of power in the community, whose vested interests are threatened, have, under cover, worked out a way to keep anything from happening.

A very important dimension of American communities, then, is the power structure. The locus of power may be found in the political organization of a community—but not always. Often it is in the economic organization of the community. Perhaps a labor union has become so powerful that it determines what happens in the community. More frequently it has been management of big business or industry that has pulled the strings behind the scenes and has determined what really happens in a community. In a company town we can see that situation clearly.

In other communities the locus of power may be the church. In a community near Milwaukee, the minister even decides to whom a family can sell its land. Here a single institution exercises almost all the effective means of controlling the actions of individuals in the community.

The man who owns both newspaper and radio station, as happens in some small communities, by controlling these

media of mass communication may be of great importance in the power structure.

Ecological patterning

Finally, the seventh dimension of community is revealed when we look at something that can be seen in many communities—a fine old residential section gradually invaded by business or small industry. The old homes turn into boardinghouses. Prostitution, poverty, poor health, delinquency, and crime flourish—the combination we all know so well in many cities. What is happening is a change in the land-use patterns of the community, in what we call the ecological patterning of the community—a term designating the division of a community into many different kinds of land use, with different kinds of neighborhoods as a result. These neighborhoods or zones gradually invade each other, and sometimes social problems come in the wake of such changes. The implications for location of schools and other agencies dealing with children and youth are evident.

One answer to this situation is adequate physical planning, usually by an official city planning board, which can greatly alleviate the results of these changes in the land-use patterns. The question of the outer boundaries of the community—the real sociological community—is also involved.

Importance of dimensions of community

These, then, are seven dimensions of community. We do not understand the true nature of a community, we cannot work effectively in it, without considering all seven of these dimensions. We may not examine them as the sociologist does, with theoretical concepts and elaborate research techniques, although often that approach is needed. Through common sense, however, and through living in the community, we can arrive at a reasonably good understanding of these matters.

Communities differ tremendously in these seven variables, and that is one reason why local school-community relationships also differ so much. They should; they have to. There is no one blueprint of community co-ordination which can fit the American community in general. The community setting is the social medium in which services to children and youth function and in which local efforts at co-ordination are attempted.

The Community Organization Movement

The distinction between "social organization" and "community organization" [2] may be explained as follows: The first term is generally used in an inclusive sense to embrace the totality of continuing social relationships which develop in a society in a manner for the most part spontaneous rather than rationally designed. Using the term in this broad sense, one can speak of the social organization ("social systems" in the terminology of Parsons) [3] of a large society, of a region, or of a community. For our purposes we may view the community as a locus for a set of basic, interacting institutions through the functioning of which a majority of the residents find it possible to meet their needs and have developed something of a sense of togetherness, with a consequent potential ability to act together as an

[2] Gordon W. Blackwell, "A Theoretical Framework for Sociological Research in Community Organization," *Social Forces,* Vol. 33, No. 1 (October 1954), pp. 57–64. The discussion here draws upon this earlier article.

[3] Talcott Parsons, "The Position of Sociological Theory," *American Sociological Review,* Vol. 13 (April 1948), p. 159; see also his *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951); and Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (Editors), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

entity.[4] We think of community in its more restricted, local sense as compared with MacIver's more generalized concept.[5] Any community, then, has a social organization, or a set of social systems, which has grown up in large part spontaneously over a given time span.

But this is not what we mean by community organization. The two terms should not be confused if we are to think clearly about local co-ordination between the school and other youth-serving agencies. Clarification is needed at several points.

Whereas the social organization of a community is a product, albeit in constant, dynamic flux, community organization should be viewed as a *process*. Social organization has resulted largely from uncontrolled evolutionary processes, at least until recently in certain societies where the idea of planning has taken hold. Community organization, on the other hand, is itself a rationally directed effort to modify the social organization of a particular locality to achieve rationally designed co-ordination. It is utilitarian, purposive. While social organization embraces all of the complex structure of institutions and social relationships in their dynamic functioning and interplay, the process of community organization may be initiated within a selected segment of the social organization of a locality, such as education, or it may be comprehensive in its coverage.[6]

[4] Local areas inhabited by people in relatively close physical proximity do not always clearly exhibit the characteristics of community—particularly large urban agglomerations. Rather than classification of the local area as "a community" or "not a community," it may be designated as conforming "more" or "less" closely to the concept of community.

[5] Cf. R. M. MacIver, *Community: A Sociological Study* (London: Macmillan, 1920), pp. 22–23: ". . . any area of common life. . . ."

[6] Accordingly, in this article, the term "a community organization" is not used to indicate a local association or agency.

Further describing the process as it has developed in American society, we find that community organization is generally voluntary and advisory in nature. It usually involves a number of steps, although the order in which they are taken may vary and the distinction between each step may be more intellectual than real: (1) decision as to goals or wants of the community; (2) identification of needs (comparison of goals and present conditions); (3) analysis of resources (natural, human, institutional) for meeting these needs; (4) development of alternate proposals often involving co-ordination; (5) decision, or choice of a "solution"; (6) social action to put the "solution" into effect; (7) evaluation of degree of success or failure in meeting the identified needs.

Ideological bases

To a greater or lesser degree in various localities, community organization in American society may be found to rest upon the following culturally determined ideological beliefs or assumptions:

A belief in the values of local autonomy within limits consistent with the optimum development of the larger society—a sort of antidote for extreme centralization.

A belief in the folk—in folk wisdom guided by the expert, in contrast to belief in the infallibility of the expert.

A recognition of the important role of the specialist or expert in modern society.

A belief in the value of group processes—group decisions rather than one-man, dictatorial action.

A concern for the entire community—the development and co-ordination of natural, human, and social organizational resources to meet all the needs of all the people, rather than the vested-interest approach of one segment of the

population, a particular agency, or a particular organized group.

An emphasis upon the long view of developing community resources, as contrasted with short-run objectives of meeting immediate community needs.

A willingness to make progress slowly on a firm basis as opposed to flash achievement which is not lasting.

A concern for means as well as ends—the opposite of the totalitarian philosophy.

Since the community organization process must take place within a given social organization, its ideological basis will be largely determined by the social organization and culture it seeks to modify and will vary accordingly. Community organization in a fascist state must rest upon a quite different ideological doctrine.

Summary definition

To summarize, then, by community organization we mean a rationally directed process seeking to modify the social organization of a locality so that the needs of individuals may be more satisfactorily met. Co-ordination is crucial in this process. For the next larger societal grouping—that is, region—the term regional planning is somewhat analogous.

Tentative Principles

We may now suggest certain tentative principles which may be helpful in guiding efforts to co-ordinate education with other community services. These principles grow out of analysis of the sociological dimensions of community and what has been learned from the community organization movement in American society; in a way they are sample hypotheses which need to be tested.

1. The more simple the institutional organization, social differentiation, and social stratification of a community, the more simple can be the administrative mechanism designed to facilitate the community organization process (for example, the community forum) and the more informal can the process be at all steps; correspondingly, the more complex the social structure, the more formal and complex must be the mechanism (for example, the council of youth agencies). By way of commentary on this hypothesis, it is perhaps significant that the Ogdens in their grass-roots community organization efforts in small Virginia localities have emphasized the importance of keeping social mechanisms simple and as informal as possible.[7]

2. To the extent that the areal base for community organization (for example, the area served by a school system) coincides with the real, sociological boundaries of the community, the chances for successful accomplishment of the objectives of the co-ordination process will be increased. Demonstration of the failure of various agency programs to operate over areas conterminous with real communities has been made by Lee Coleman for a Georgia county.[8]

3. Those aspects of social structure which are most closely related to the value systems of the people are of most functional significance in the community organization process, serving to facilitate or hinder the process depending upon whether their aims and methods are in accord or conflict with the value systems.

[7] Jean and Jess Ogden, *Small Communities in Action* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1946); also *These Things We Tried* (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Extension, 1947).

[8] *Communities and Administrative Areas of Greene County, Georgia* (U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1941).

4. When the recommended patterns of social action in community organization require participation by a large proportion of the population, those aspects of social structure which are characterized by informal, primary, face-to-face relationships such as kinship, neighborhood association, and informal clique association will be more effective in securing the desired social action than will be the media of mass communication.

5. The *real* leadership of a community varies considerably from the *nominal* leadership (those holding public and private offices). Leaders of the two types have different functions in the community organization process.

6. When the mechanism for facilitating community organization (for example, youth services council) is used for operating a special program (for example, a teen-age center) or for providing special services to individuals (for example, education for handicapped children in their homes), it loses much of its effectiveness in the achievement of the original purposes of the process. Co-ordination should be kept separate from program operation.

7. Factors making for difficulty in community organization may include: (*a*) heterogeneity and complexity in the social structure of the community; (*b*) failure to enlist the participation and support of the real leaders of the community; (*c*) differences in value systems of various social groups or strata in the community; (*d*) lack of administrative know-how in the operation of a formal mechanism for community organization; (*e*) discrepancies between agreed-upon objectives for community organization and functional needs fulfilled by the existing social systems; (*f*) obstruction of the community organization process by elements in the power structure of the community; (*g*) discrepancies between, on the one hand, the objectives and methods of the community organization effort and, on the other, the value systems inherent in the social structure; (*h*) efforts to hurry the process faster than the understanding of the people can be developed and faster than modifications in a complex social structure can be attained on a lasting basis.

These are suggested, then, as tentative principles or hypotheses which should be tried out in community co-ordination efforts and subjected to research.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION

Finally, we turn to the possible implications of the foregoing remarks for those responsible for the public schools: teachers, administrators, school board members, parents.

The public schools in American society are among our most locally centered, indigenous social institutions. In spite of increasing state and federal financial support, the schools generally remain locally controlled and extremely sensitive to local public opinion. This has never been more evident than in the current consideration of racial integration in the public schools. The schools are part of and are affected by the social warp and woof of the community. It follows that the nature of the schools and their co-ordination with other services to children and youth will be directly affected by the several sociological dimensions of the community. Those responsible for the schools need to understand this in some detail.

In an abortive effort some years ago to develop a symposium on community organization, the hopeful editor designated the chapter on education by the title "Shall the Schools Take Over?" His bias against the public schools was revealed—he was in social work! It

also reflected the fact that sometimes the public schools seem to be forever taking on new functions and on occasion are not so co-operative as one might hope they would be in efforts to achieve community co-ordination. This expansiveness may arise partly from the fact that the schools constitute a financial operation of considerable size, and take a large cut from the tax dollar. It may also be caused partly by a lack of understanding by school people of the essential nature of community organization—its co-ordinating functions—and its importance as a growing, vital movement in American society.

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Co-ordination: The Viewpoint of a Political Scientist

By Eldon L. Johnson

THE favorite educational dream of many political scientists—the complete integration of school administration and local government—will certainly not be realized in the foreseeable future, if ever. Public opinion, although perhaps indifferent at the outset, would be against it when aroused by fear of "politics," depressed standards, and impoverishment. Professional educators would be vociferously against it. Public officials could not prove clean hands if they were to take the initiative. But apart from all this, the average citizen has a special affection for education, a special conviction that it is a professional matter, and therefore a special resistance to tampering with accustomed methods of governing education. It may be accurate to say some of this is folklore and mythology, but that does not change the situation. It only helps to explain.

We are left, therefore, with the difficult problem of seeing that schools and other governmental services communicate, co-operate, and collaborate in more subtle ways, less officially and less formally. The task is to see that the schools and other governmental services, while maintaining their "territorial integrity," harmonize their related efforts on all public programs concerned with the development of children and youth.

In education literature, one gets the impression that the Constitution perhaps provided for the separation of school and government, just as of church and state. There can be no doubt that a good thing has been carried too far, just as the "merit system" has thrived negatively on the fear of spoils politics so long that the lingering psychology blocks much positive personnel administration. At present, in a similar way, we suffer from the negative fear of contaminating education and educators by having them rub elbows with other public officials, whereas the times clearly call for positive approaches of the mutual-aid variety. No evil flows from the separation of school and government when they have no, or few, problems in common. But that time is past. The barricades will have to come down, somehow. The trouble arises when problems are common but the attack is separate, if not indeed rival or competitive or possessively exclusive. Common problems call for common solutions, although the co-operators need not in any sense lose their identity. The evil of separation is the propensity to build rival power structures and to thwart the emergence, recognition, and service of the community of interest.

Citizen Opinion

No one has to demonstrate to the average citizen that schools and government need closer co-operation and co-ordination. The people who apparently do not understand this are, strangely enough, the school officials and the government officials—to a considerable extent, the professional educators and the professional political scientists. Textbooks in school administration often avoid civil government, while talking much about "the community"; textbooks in political science often ignore education, while talking much about public services. Educational books commonly do not mention

city government and municipal departments, even under the heading of "public relations," although there may be elaborate treatments of parent-teacher associations, clubs, teachers, and citizens at large. One author says public relations deal with "teachers, parents, general public, school children, and the individuals and groups of the larger communities of the state and nation."[1] He omits the whole parallel structure of local nonschool government.

However myopic the professional point of view may be, the average citizen wants public services efficiently performed, economically administered, and democratically controlled. He does not make nice distinctions between schools and government. He knows he pays for *all* public functions and that one function cannot expand except at the expense of the others. He is at least not surprised that "city rates" may apply to utility, sewage, and other public services when extended to the schools. He expects the city to hold school elections. And as a final testimony to his unconcern for the separatism which professionals so dearly prize, he blames local government officials for all public ills, including those school ills over which no jurisdiction is exercised. For example, the mayor of Minneapolis was blamed in 1948 for strike conditions among the teachers when he was actually trying hard, in an unofficial manner, to keep the school board and teachers' representatives negotiating.

PRECONCEPTIONS AND MISCONCEPTIONS

The best hope for maximizing coordination of school and government, without complete integration, undoubtedly lies in the training of future school personnel, particularly school administrators. Hope lies in the direction away from the philosophy of extreme separatism: in the training of school superintendents to be more community centered and less school centered, more aware of the role of the schools as *a part of* the public rather than *apart from* the public, and more cognizant of the *problem* than of the doctrine or of the tradition. What can be done in this respect?

First, there needs to be a more realistic appreciation of the schools as a related part of the public enterprises of the community, not as a unique whole existing apart. There needs to be an appreciation that education as a public need and satisfaction is not fundamentally different from other public needs and satisfactions—welfare, recreation, health, protection, sanitation, and so forth. All call for knowledge, skill, integrity, efficiency, and responsibility in their administration. None lends itself to a Republican or Democratic way of doing the job. There is need, in other words, for the public schools to be regarded as genuinely public in the most comprehensive sense.

One basic misconception has been so often repeated, and the gloss so compounded over the years, that it will take herculean effort to end the damage—and damage it really does. The misconception is that the school boards and districts, being creatures of the state government, are somehow unique and somehow fundamentally different from all other civil government at the local level. Yet the fact is that *all* local government stems from the state—all city, county, or other local government. If there is "home rule," it was conferred by the state. The schools enjoy no uniqueness in this regard so far as legal theory is concerned. This is not at all to deny that states, for various reasons, including this distorted philosophy itself, have given schools special status in many cases; but it was

[1] Harlan L. Hagman, *The Administration of American Public Schools* (New York, 1951), p. 333.

not done because education had any prior rights or supragovernmental mandate. Neither is this to deny that the separate administration of the public schools, historically, has had its great merits. The point is that the independence of school boards is a matter of public policy, not a matter of fundamental or immutable law, and certainly not a matter of *requiring* operation at arm's length from all other government. There has been in this area, or so it seems to a political scientist, a great deal of strained logic and illogical catechizing.

This separation reaches its climax in the phrase "keep the schools out of politics." Exactly what this means is difficult to say. If it means to keep the schools out of the main stream of public policy, to divorce them from all other public affairs, to keep them unrelated to alternative uses of the tax dollar, or to reduce knowledge of and debate about what they are doing, then we have avoided one danger by embracing another—the danger of professionals responsible only to their profession, the danger of professional *control* and professional *policy making* as well as professional administration, the danger of making public schools less public. When an educational writer says that the schools are "the most responsive, most sensitive, and most locally activated system of government," [2] yet that they are governmentally unique and politically uncontaminated, he is using a vocabulary which makes no sense to a political scientist. There can be no question about what the described process is: it is political. The question, rather, is whether it really exists. Every school constituent should hope it does. When a commission of educators says the school must be independently governed and "set apart from the executive and legislative branches" to avoid changes "in personnel *and in policy* by the voters," although "the suggestion is not that the schools be removed from the control of the people, but rather that the people be enabled to act directly in this most important area of government," [3] the confusion is compounded.

It would help, therefore, if the training of future school administrators could include some more realistic treatment of political processes and the nature of "the public" and its controls. A *public* as well as a professional philosophy is needed. These are public schools run by public officials. Public processes need, therefore, to be understood and appreciated—not merely depreciated, or ignored, or denied to exist. Training along these lines would dispel from the minds of both administrators and the public the common impression that education is peculiarly and possessively the business of professionals. This impression has been well stated by the author of a careful state survey of intergovernmental relations, who said: "Despite the argument that independence permits among other things greater public scrutiny and control, the real desire apparently is to restrict control in so far as possible to professional educators." [4] To this impression the professional educators themselves unwittingly add by such well-intended pronouncements as, "Educational leaders should not only heed the expressed will of the people; they should also help the people to find their will and to express it." [5] Educators also give that impression by wanting maxi-

[2] Hagman, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[3] Educational Policies Commission, *The Structure and Administration of Public Education in the United States* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1937), p. 7.

[4] Robert L. Morlan, *Intergovernmental Relations in Education*, Research Monograph No. 3, Intergovernmental Relations in the United States (Minneapolis, 1950), p. 204.

[5] Educational Policies Commission, *Citizens and Educational Policies* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1951), p. 10.

mum integration in education while resisting much of it with other civil government; by wanting to make the United States Office of Education "independent"; by removing state superintendents and state boards of education from the jurisdiction of the governors; and by seeking earmarked taxes. Something more seems to be at stake, the critics are thus permitted to say, than merely "escaping politics." In any case, says one student of this problem, "It seems fairly clear that organizational structure is not the determining factor in the existence of politics in the schools." [6]

CO-ORDINATION OF YOUTH SERVICES UNDER THE SCHOOLS

Since it is clear that co-operation and co-ordination, rather than integration, between schools and governmental agencies are the best we can hope for, and indeed sufficient if we can get it, the training of school personnel should also approach proposed organizational solutions with an open mind, keep attention fixed on the problem rather than on some general theory, and thus enable the fluid boundaries of government and schools to merge, fit together, and supplement in whatever ways the law of the situation will permit. This kind of training will respect the integrity of the governmental agencies and try to fit them into the co-ordinated whole, as it will also respect the integrity of the schools. Not all the adjustment can come from the nonschool side, nor can the schools expect merely to "take over," building a new entity at the expense of existing organizations. Some possible danger of this is implied in the Educational Policies Commission's proposal for "the ultimate unification" of all public education activities under a "public education authority" for the co-ordination of all social services and education pertaining to children and youth.[7] This is to replace the old, limited "school board" concept. It is "to co-ordinate public services on behalf of the child" and to give the needs of children one integrated treatment regardless of the number of agencies involved. Any other approach, this line of reasoning assumes, "leads to confusion, authoritarian policies, and lack of a unified approach to the educational needs of the individual." [8]

Such proposals for organization on the basis of persons—"youth" in this case—need to be examined carefully. They have their advantages for the persons involved but also their disadvantages for other persons, as do organizations for veterans, for labor, or for farmers. Also, while such a unitary organization might do better all things for all youth, it might also cease to do so well what had previously been at the center of attention: education in the more restricted sense. Care might have to be exercised to keep education from becoming increasingly custodial, for the relief of the homes and the labor market. Assuming that the custodial functions—looking after youth's health, welfare, delinquency, recreation, and so forth—are desirable, the question remains whether they can best be combined under the domination of the formal institutions of education. Organization according to persons always cuts athwart organization according to purpose; therefore, a "youth authority" conception, centered around the schools, really proposes the partial dismantling of existing local government, taking

[6] Morlan, *op. cit. supra* (note 4), p. 52.

[7] Educational Policies Commission, *Educational Policies for Community Recreation* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1940), p. 31.

[8] Educational Policies Commission, *Social Services and the Schools* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1939), pp. 20, 21, 24.

away certain of its health, welfare, recreation, and other social service functions. This is a new kind of integration, working toward the schools rather than toward the local government. Before this is done, careful attention should be given to whether this is the direction in which we ought to move, what the price to be paid will be, and whether this is the proper and best use of professional school personnel. Local government is not likely to take much more kindly to this kind of merger than education takes to merger with other local government. So we are likely again to be brought back to co-operation and co-ordination, rather than mergers and integrations.

EXPERIMENT IN TRAINING SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

One of the most promising ways of training school superintendents who will be resourceful toward the achievement of these ends is a dual approach combining graduate education in the relevant social sciences and research experience in community studies. An experiment of this kind is now in progress under Kellogg Foundation auspices, through the Co-operative Program in Educational Administration, in several universities. One institution[9] has experimented with two interdisciplinary seminars for candidates for advanced degrees in education: one on the nature and problems of administrative behavior and the other on the scope and method of the social sciences. The professor in charge, normally a social scientist, is assisted by staff members representing other areas, including at different times political science, anthropology, business administration, psychology, sociology, economics, and education. All participate as required to bring into play the points of view of the different disciplines as focused on central problems. The case-study method has been used in part, with each student also required to prepare a case report from his own administrative experience. The scope and methods seminar deals with basic concepts and materials jointly explored by staff and students "in order to relate the problems of education and school administration to the social context" of the community. Student reports are subjected to reactions from the representatives of the several social sciences. Reading likewise extends into the several disciplines, drawing upon as much relevant diversity as possible. The prospective superintendent is thus expected to extend himself, to indulge in useful self-analysis, to get new insights and techniques, to feel at home with problems as well as with abstractions, and to develop understanding of social organization and social processes.

As a result, observers at doctoral examinations are struck by the fact that the candidates have new vocabularies and new interests. They introduce authors, titles, and materials from fields traditionally unknown to "education majors"—a point from a sociologist here, a concept from an anthropology reference there, an illustration from a study in political behavior somewhere else. This acquaintance and those habits, it is hoped, will enable the superintendent to see the problems of youth and schools as they spin in their specialized orbits, held in place by all the forces of the community; in other words, to see the schools in the context of the community.

In addition, doctoral candidates hoping to be superintendents serve a kind of research apprenticeship en route to

[9] University of Oregon. The author gratefully acknowledges the helpful reactions from Donald E. Tope, Director of the Co-operative Project in Educational Administration there; Vincent Ostrom, Associate Director; John M. Foskett, Professor of Sociology; and their several doctoral candidates.

their dissertations, concentrating again on studies of the community—for example, on leadership, on political behavior, on decision making, on social organization, on attitudes toward school administration, on growth factors, on school-community planning. While candidates may choose particular aspects of a major problem, attention has been focused on co-operative research on a community-wide study, with all participants sharing in the research design, the formulation of techniques, and the discussion and criticism as the project moves toward completion, with particular facets of the project becoming individual dissertations. This experience is shared with the supervising professors from the relevant social sciences. The purpose, again, is to develop the habit of seeing youth and schools in the community setting, in the midst of forces which inevitably play upon them, and in perspective with other governmental and social agencies and functions.

Experiments of this kind, while uncommon as yet, do give hope that the goals sought will somehow become more consciously held, and therefore that means to such ends will more likely be devised. These and other schemes and strivings may eventually make their permanent impact on school administration by becoming embedded in the curriculum and training plan for school administrators. Some such new plan would go a long way toward bringing about one of the most fruitful and solidly meshed types of co-ordination—co-ordination by ideas, rather than by pressure or by expediency; co-ordination by inner desire rather than by outer compulsion.

OTHER STEPS TOWARD CO-ORDINATION

But looking at the problem from the here and now, rather than from the ideal future, experience already suggests many worth-while ways of relating education and other governmental services more advantageously both for children and for community. Any discussion of hopes and desirable developments must look to the maximization of these promising trends.

The co-operation of health officers, county agricultural extension agents, social welfare personnel, and federal representatives on school lunch programs shows that frictions, particularly interlevel frictions, disappear as programs mature and routine patterns of relations develop. Schools and local governments have demonstrated the advantages and techniques of joining together for library services, as in Minnesota, where some co-operative county-city-school arrangements have successfully combined under a representative board named by the mayor.[10] More variations on this theme would be desirable. Something similar is possible, as often demonstrated, in recreation commissions representing schools and all other interested governmental units. The National Education Association has criticized the overlapping of library, recreation, and school functions, as represented by three circles lined up tandem with slight overlaps at the edges, and has proposed a unified and shared "authority" with library, recreation, and schools fitted as pie-shaped pieces into a single circle.[11]

Another of the crying needs which always appeal to the political scientist is the rationalization and reordering of the unbelievable hodgepodge of units of government, often specialized and unifunctional, possessing unique boundaries and resembling each other only in ability to tax, stacked one on another like a child's blocks in impossible-appearing stages of imbalance. Unless specialized districts are reordered in many areas, there can be little hope of co-ordina-

[10] Morlan, *op. cit. supra* (note 4), p. 133.

[11] Educational Policies Commission, *Social Services and the Schools* (note 8 *supra*), p. 26.

tion. There are too many vested interests, vested in too many different places, in too many different offices, and in too many different personalities. Districts without roughly similar boundaries face almost insuperable obstacles in significant co-operation. Here is an abundant field for reform and progress for schools and community together.

It would help also if schools and government could interrelate their activities through joint meetings and overlapping memberships on governing boards of social agencies, junior placement services, city and school planning, and libraries, and for health, recreation, and adult education. Community councils, broadly representative of community agencies, also offer insufficiently explored possibilities for co-ordination.

Another device found especially useful is a joint planning office and planning consultant, serving school district, city, county, and special districts together, focusing attention on community-wide problems. This is a means of making sure that the specialized interests are not exploited without at least having attention called both to the dangers of unilateral action and to the advantages of consultation and co-operation. The planning office, for example, can see that recreation and playground planning is co-ordinated, by telling each party what the other is aspiring to and getting all together when any unit is about to move on a common but many-faceted problem. Joint use of expert advice of this kind has the advantages of economy and freedom of operation, in addition both to an authorized ear and to an authorized voice for every party in the councils of every other party. No party is bound, yet every party is informed. The need for co-ordination is perceived before premature action is taken.

IN THE COMMON INTEREST

When the doctrinaire is removed from both sides—from the school's insistence that nothing less than complete and jealously guarded autonomy is tolerable and from the government's insistence that nothing less than complete integration can suffice—perhaps the common aspects and the common interests of the community can be recognized and re-established. When city and local government becomes more professionalized, as it inevitably will, just as the schools have become more professionalized, co-ordination will be much simpler. The old fear of having the schools "in politics" will be assuaged, a more positive approach will be assured, and a combined effort of schools and government toward problems they face separately but must solve co-operatively will be, at last, both possible and politic.

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Some Paths to Co-ordination

By Theodore L. Reller

THE growing complexity of society; the increase in population of metropolitan areas, combined with too little planning; the difficulty experienced by youth in finding opportunities for action comparable to its maturity; the chaos of local government units, representing as they too frequently do the needs of the past rather than the present; the confusion in values held by the people; the preoccupation of the nation with the world struggle and its failure to see the true significance of the home front in the conflict; inadequate financing and staffing; and attacks on education make even the formulation of an outline of realistic, desirable developments exceedingly difficult and hazardous. The base moves rapidly while upon it some structuring must be done.

The points of view offered in this concluding article are broad generalizations outlining directions which appear desirable. Important advances in co-ordination are not likely to be made unless these issues are widely understood, debated, and accepted or modified. It is not intended that the items constitute a complete list or that together they represent a "program." Rather, they should be regarded as suggesting desirable directions. To seek a "pattern" in this vast area would be most unfortunate—for a pattern has little likelihood of being effective in a problem both so immense and so intimate as this one, bearing as it does upon children and youth in their infinite activities. It should also be noted that the items offered are not new or original. They are drawn largely from experiences—satisfying and otherwise—which run through this issue of The Annals. It is in light of the work which has been done in co-ordination, in some communities and in some countries, that the fuller realization of the goal may be conceived and more effectively sought.

Improved Community Living

Improved community living must become a more important, consciously sought end. Nondescript, ugly towns and cities are unnecessary. Blighted areas in cities and on the fringes of cities are avoidable. New cities do not have to be crowded—without public recreation areas and that touch of nature which might be considered reasonably adequate for children and adults. The achievement of assets such as attractive and satisfying communities in which to live is as worthy of planning and effort as the achievement of great industrial enterprises. The returns from investments in libraries, schools, public health centers, recreation areas, and well-planned communities while perhaps less tangible are no less real than those from any known investment.

How long can we recognize the conditions associated with delinquency and yet continue to permit the development of those conditions? How large a return is the prevention of one case of delinquency? the development of satisfying homes? the use of land in the interest of the people? the creation of a community which stimulates the development of children, youth, and men? Shall education prepare men only to earn a living, or also to live satisfying and creative lives? Those concerned with education have often spoken of education for improved community living—thinking of community in various

contexts—and of living in broad terms. Too often, however, they have not been able to help young people sufficiently in developing the essential knowledge of their own community, the ideals which they may strive for, or the know-how for achieving them. Perhaps all of us in our various roles need to look more carefully at the gap between our professed goals and our achievements.

CLARIFIED GOALS

The purposes or goals of the various public services must be clarified and their interrelationships (in goals) better understood. Each public service tends to see the achievement of goals sought by various services too largely in terms of its own structure and life. There is too little appreciation of the extent to which goals such as health, democratic citizenship, effective family and home life, creative individual and group living, are common to many of the public service agencies. Each agency sees too largely itself and its contribution to the job and fails to recognize the tremendous unrealized strength which might be unleashed were they all to stand together. Too frequently one service sees itself as a competitor of others rather than as a member of a team through which the strength of each could be greatly enhanced—for fuller realization of the purposes of the society and the dignity and worth of man.

SIZE OF PLANNING AND ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

Local planning and administrative authorities or units must be large enough to be able to meet needs effectively and small enough to maintain and increase local interest and participation. Such authorities are not easily attained. Land use, fringe areas, traffic and transportation, research and planning, special education and other matters, demand larger units than are generally found. However, the larger units—which are generally cities—too frequently appear to be remote from the people. They have not stimulated local interest. The local administrative units for education and other purposes are too often to be explained by history, vested interests, compromise, and accretion rather than by any relation to the needs for which they are expected to make provision. Thus a metropolitan area not only has many different units of widely varying size, wealth, and community characteristics but also has many governmental units superimposed one on the other, though not necessarily covering the same area. This complex structure—chaos sometimes—makes it difficult for the citizen to be informed or to act. It also results in the need for extensive co-ordination of efforts and co-operation among the various governmental units.

A new development on the fringe of the city involves land use, housing, public health, transportation, water and sewage, education, recreation, and other services. How they are met is of concern inevitably to the people of the metropolitan area as well as to those of the small governmental district or even unincorporated area where the development is occurring. We are citizens of metropolitan or other large areas as well as of established governmental units—general purpose or *ad hoc*—even though this is generally not recognized in governmental structure. There would thus appear to be need for metropolitan area districts for certain over-all purposes such as planning and co-ordination. Within these districts a relatively simple, highly decentralized structure for administration and co-ordination of various services should be developed. The unit which does the planning need not carry through the administration of the services. Thus a local structure could be designed which would be competent to cope with the problems of the

area, to ensure co-ordination, and to increase citizen understanding and participation. Those in education as well as in other fields must recognize that the problem of local district structure is a significant one for other public services as well as for their own—and that they have a measure of responsibility for it in all fields.

EDUCATION IS MORE THAN SCHOOLS

Education must be recognized as a service considerably broader than the school. Laymen and professionals interested in education must be interested in more than the school. How can they avoid a compelling interest in housing, in land use, in public health, in recreation, in youth services? Perhaps they need to ponder the view of those educators in England who held that during the twenties the greatest single educational advance was the development which had occurred in housing. Children who grew up in the new estates were not only taller and heavier than they would have been had they remained in their blighted slum areas; they also had a very different attitude toward life, a different understanding. The dependence of education upon public services other than the school speaks of the interdependence of other services in achieving their ends. Public health is not advanced only through the public health service. The library service and public adult education are inseparable. Improved community living can only result from a large co-operative effort. Participating in the improvement of community living is itself education of the highest order.

MANY AGENCIES ARE EDUCATIONAL

As a corollary, it must be understood that many public services are engaged at least in part in education and should therefore be contributing significantly to it. Although education of children and youth may not be the major responsibility of such agencies as juvenile courts, placement agencies concerned with the conditions of employment of youth and with the growth which occurs in such employment, city planning agencies, recreation departments, and public libraries, it remains nevertheless an important one, and they should be willing to co-operate in the development and provision of the educational service. The attainment of the goals of many public services is thus related to the quality of the co-operation among them.

FIXED RESPONSIBILITY FOR CO-ORDINATION

If educational ends are to be successfully achieved, responsibility for the provision of many related activities and the co-ordination of others must be fixed upon some one agent or agency—both when school districts and other *ad hoc* agencies exist and also when all local government services, including education, are the responsibility of a single local governmental authority. The responsible agent should be that charged with the provision of public education, the Board of Education or the Education Committee and its executive officers. Not all services, of course, will be rendered directly by the schools. But with many agencies involved someone must be responsible for co-ordination, lest agencies overlap or compete in one area while another problem equally important goes unregarded. This does not mean that the agent responsible for education dominates the other services which have a contribution to make to it. In this as in all administration, there are modes of behavior which facilitate co-operative action.

It should, of course, be recognized that equal responsibility for co-ordination will fall upon other agencies in

other spheres of activity. In many of these, public education will be one of the co-operating services. In cases in which the agency responsible for co-ordination fails to act or acts in an arbitrary manner, the others sharing responsiblity for the service should stimulate action. Provision for this contingency should be made in the planning and co-ordinating authority of the large area, considered above.

PERIODIC REVIEW

Provision should be made for periodic review of the necessity for and the adequacy of the various services provided and for determination of the need for further co-ordination or additional provisions. Such review and planning should be provided for both in the larger planning authorities and in the smaller units through which the services are actually administered. All interested services should be involved in this review and indeed should, in considerable measure, carry it through. Many unmet needs remain, many goals are inadequately achieved. Competition among agencies and unnecessary overlapping of services are therefore indefensible. The job to be done is far bigger than the combined resources of all parties.

STRUCTURE OR PROCEDURE

Although administrative structure is important, it is perhaps not as important as the actions of those who set policy and administer the services. Desirable co-ordination can be attained (or can be lacking) with fiscal dependence or independence. A satisfactory answer to the problem is not to be found in organization charts and definitions of responsibility. These are important, but the degree of their importance can only be determined when they are in use—in actual process of utilization. Attention must therefore be centered upon the parties involved and the manner in which they operate. This is true in all administration—but especially as regards co-ordination, for which a wholly satisfactory plan of organization never has been set up and remains unlikely unless a way of describing high-level co-operative effort in relation to fixing of responsibility can be found. It is not easy to assign effectively the responsibility of being co-operative—and of spelling out its true meaning under varying circumstances. For this reason a considerable part of the solution to our problem is probably to be found in informal organization—in the purposes, the tact, the mutual understanding and respect, the "know-how" of co-operation, on the part of those involved.

The difficulty of achievement through planned changes in structure has been well expressed by Leighton:

> No matter how good a plan or an idea hatched by an administration may be, it is of little value until it becomes part of the consciousness and activity of the people. The history of government and industry is littered with schemes that have been labelled failure, but which in reality were never tried because they were never understood by those who had to grasp them before they could become action.[1]

Perhaps we have attached too much importance to the dependence or independence of authorities responsible for various services and too little to the procedures for the co-ordination of effort which every community has a right to expect from its public bodies and officials.

Instead of seeking a "solution" to the problem of co-ordination through simple, straight-line administrative structuring which the complexity of the situation does not admit, we need to

[1] Alexander H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 364.

attack it from a wider base. Certain facts should be recognized: the various services are expressions of the same community; "independence," if it results in isolation of any service, in the long run may weaken rather than strengthen it and reduce achievement of its goals; "independence" is frequently not as real as it appears; struggle and competition among services can go on even within the same structure or organization; public knowledge of all services and informed action regarding them is imperative if the problems are to be met. Some points of approach then seem to be: to clarify our goals; to secure local units large enough to cope with the problems; to seek more effective co-ordination through legal structure or voluntary effort; to fix responsibility and ensure freedom to act on the part of various services; to seek to raise the level of citizen concern and action; and to stimulate professional co-operation and leadership. Simple solutions are not likely to be solutions.

BREAKING DOWN SEPARATISM

Those interested in and involved in the different public services must be brought closer together—at the administrative, staff, and lay levels. Interdisciplinary understanding and co-operative action is essential. Pre- and in-service professional programs could contribute much here. It is difficult to justify the degree of "separateness" which in most of our universities characterizes the programs for the preparation of leaders for the various public service fields. Surely there are areas of study and experience which should be shared, provisions which could be made beyond suggesting a few courses in other fields. If as students public servants of various disciplines have had opportunity to work together, there is promise that in the field they may be more interested in co-operating—better able to co-ordinate activities, to lead the attack on problems, to seek together the achievement of common goals.

Teachers and the personnel of other services also need more common learning and experience than are generally afforded in their preservice education. The development of more in-service programs cutting across established lines are likewise essential—programs through which knowledge and understanding are developed and plans of attack co-operatively created.

In regard to lay citizen groups much can also be done by those who serve as policy makers in the various governmental bodies or agencies and also those who are active in the voluntary groups interested in one or another service. Much of this citizen co-ordination of effort should be effected at a rather decentralized unit or area level. In the metropolitan area broad lines of advance, of policy and planning, can be developed for the area as a whole—but much of the co-operative effort and understanding can be effected only at the level of the community or some even smaller unit. The area served by a secondary school might be a desirable unit in which thinking could be developed and action taken.

INVESTMENT IN LIFE

Co-ordination must be accompanied by a considerably larger and more realistic investment in children and youth of personnel and material resources. We have come to recognize the significance of large investments in our industrial enterprises. Through them we seek the advancement of the whole society. Is there any reason to believe that large investments in the interest of children and youth will not yield at least equivalent returns? Or that through them the whole society may not benefit? If the final evaluation of the worth of the industrial enterprise is

what it does for man, is there any reason to believe that investments of time, energy, and money directly or consciously in his interest are unwarranted or less defensible economically? What is gained through building homes and communities from which everyone wishes to escape?

Why do many children and youth grow up without adequate library facilities? minimum health services? attention to their social adjustment problems until it is "too late"? homes and communities which assure them that they have a place to win in this democracy? What is gained through crowded schools unable to offer the kinds of opportunities essential to the effective development of youth? When we build new factories we tend to build them as well as we can. It pays. But too frequently we still build "austerity" schools and unplanned communities—communities which are not the best we know how to build, communities which do not promise to yield the satisfactions and opportunities which men need and which can be provided. And as if we had not been seeking educational goals through "austerity" for years, there are those who suggest the "fuller" use of school buildings through a twelve-month school year—not for the ends of those already crowded in them, a purpose which could be justified, but to accommodate more.

No Lesser Goal

Effective co-ordination will result from clarification of aims through relating them to the central objective of ensuring reasonable opportunity for development to all children and youth; from the reorganization of governmental structure and the improved capacity of those responsible for it to work toward that objective; and from the investment of a larger proportion of our human and material resources toward that end. Our society cannot afford a lesser goal —nor long delay in its fuller attainment.

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD GOVERNMENT

WILLIAM Y. ELLIOTT, H. VAN B. CLEVELAND, THEODORE GEIGER, and others. *The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy: Its Concepts, Strategy, and Limits: Report of a Study Group Sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the National Planning Association.* Pp. xv, 414. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955. $6.00.

For the international specialist or the layman who is not an economist, but who feels the need of an authoritative handbook on foreign economic policy, this work is a welcome aid. It will prove especially valuable if the reader is one who, like the reviewer, has difficulty finding his way in the bulk of government reports or in the neomarginalist apparatus of so many academic studies in the field.

Most of the nine authorities who constituted the joint-study group are men who have served in executive agencies, government commissions, or Congressional committee staffs, dealing both with foreign policy in general and with economic policy. They thus bring to their survey a wealth of practical economic engineering experience as well as technical expertness. The group was chaired by Mr. Elliott and the draft report prepared by Messrs. Cleveland and Geiger.

Chosen deliberately to indicate the focus of the study, the title aptly shows that the group has aimed at relating general foreign policy to the economic problems of the free world. The major premise of the work is that economic policy must serve our national security and our diplomatic and strategic objectives. The basic viewpoint is one of a hardheaded liberal internationalism, leavened with a healthy skepticism of any supposedly universally valid economic theory.

The study divides logically into two main parts—diagnosis and prescription. The first surveys the genesis of the contemporary international economy, the external economic problems and prospects for economic growth of the industrial sector of the free world outside the United States (that is, Western Europe and Japan), as well as problems of the underdeveloped countries. The second part deals with policy under such topics as criteria of a sound world economic order, economic organization of the western community, economic development policy, foreign economic policy administration, and the relationship of economic to general foreign policy.

If a minor criticism is in order, it would be that there is a little too much emphasis

on noneconomic factors, welcome as that emphasis is. At times familiar political points are covered so fully—even repetitively—that the central economic topics are obscured. The contrast with the usual economic study is so great however that this can hardly be deemed a fault.

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FRANK TANNENBAUM. *The American Tradition in Foreign Policy.* Pp. xiv, 178. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. $3.50.

In this compact volume, in which he pulls no punches, Professor Tannenbaum, best known for his books on Latin America and the labor movement, undertakes a task which had long been needed in our study of world affairs. He enters the lists to challenge the champions of *realpolitik,* notably Hans J. Morgenthau and George F. Kennan, contending that their philosophy goes against the grain of the American tradition in foreign policy. This tradition he defines as the association of co-ordinate states, illustrated by the development of federalism in the United States, by the experience of the Organization of American States, and by the structure of Switzerland and the Commonwealth of Nations.

The debate between the "realists" and the "idealists," Professor Tannenbaum rightly points out, "is of greater import to the future of the United States than the old argument between the 'interventionists' and the 'isolationists,'" and in his opinion is just beginning. The American people, he argues, cannot act on the advice of the *realpolitik* school "without ceasing to be either a Christian or a democratic people."

This is strong stuff, and those who, like the reviewer, agree with Professor Tannenbaum's general approach will welcome his cogent analysis, richly documented, of the way in which the concept of the co-ordinate state started and matured in this country. It is regrettable, however, that by concentrating almost exclusively upon American tradition, and by disregarding the traditions of other major components of the universe—Europe, Asia, the Middle East, the USSR—he plays right into the hands of those he challenges, and who can properly criticize him for presenting this crucial issue in too abstract terms. Other nations than the United States have sought, over the ages, a formula which would bring about a viable association of states, but their geographic position, their strategic vulnerability, their economic resources, and other factors, have placed them in a position far less favorable than ours, both internally and externally.

By extolling the American concept of an association of equal sovereign states Professor Tannenbaum begs a number of questions. Is the United States prepared today to subordinate its sovereignty to a federal international administration? The Bricker amendment, the reluctance of this country to consider supranational controls over armaments and economic policy, create legitimate doubts on this score. Or is the United States prepared to welcome all nations, large and small, on equal terms into such an association, irrespective of their ideologies? Washington's attitude toward the recognition of Peiping and its admission to the United Nations indicates a negative answer. And is it realistic to say that the United States does not seek to intervene in the affairs of small nations when this seems desirable in its national interest? How, then, can one explain our decision to check Communism in Guatemala, or to support and finance the government of South Vietnam? To say that the intervention of the United States is benevolent, and that its tradition precludes imperialism, is not to say that intervention does not occur and not in the dim past, but in our own times.

Professor Tannenbaum rejects the balance of power, and offers the co-ordinate state concept as an alternative consistent with the American tradition. He opposes any attempt to divide the world between the United States and Russia. But is this the issue today? The issue, if current events are any guide, is that the influence of the two superpowers is waning in a world where we see not one balance, but many, and that both Washington and Moscow now compete in proposing the principles of equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and independence within a

larger community of nations which Professor Tannenbaum attributes primarily to Americans. In this new era of the "cold peace" the United States will have a notable contribution to make out of its past experience, but this contribution will have to be meshed with that of other nations in ways which the *realpolitikers* have explored with a much greater attention to the actualities of international relations than is apparent in this book.

In any case, must it be a question of *either/or?*—either *realpolitik* disconnected from ideals, or ideals disconnected from realities? For many years the study of foreign policy in the United States went on in a stratosphere, where it was assumed that Americans functioned uncontaminated by the considerations of survival which shape the lives of other peoples. When this was discovered, during World War II, to be remote from actual experience, the swing of the pendulum brought some of our commentators to accept uncritically the "tough" approach exemplified particularly by German geopoliticians. It is high time that we should seek a middle course, consonant, as Professor Tannenbaum suggests, with the American tradition, for surely life among nations, as among human beings in general, is compounded, in varying measure at various times, of both ideals and realities.

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Foreign Policy Association

BOYD C. SHAFER. *Nationalism: Myth and Reality.* Pp. xi, 319. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. $5.00.

It is now just thirty years since Carlton J. H. Hayes published his *Essays on Nationalism.* At the time of the appearance of this epoch-making work of American historical writing the official custodians of American historiography did not see fit to include a review of the book in the *American Historical Review.* They considered it to be current "journalism" or "sociology" and not "real" history. As Dr. Hayes aptly observed, for many of our historians of the time, nationalism was part of the atmosphere they breathed and not the object of serious historical study. How much the climate of historical studies has changed since that time may be gathered from the fact that the latest historical study of the problem of nationalism comes from the pen of Boyd C. Shafer, newly designated editor of the *American Historical Review.* Largely as a result of the pioneering work by Hayes, and since 1932, by the presence in this country of that other great student of nationalism, Hans Kohn, even the most traditionally-minded of our historians have come to recognize the reality as well as the crucial significance of nationalism for the understanding of modern history and politics. Stimulated by the example and by the personal influence of Hayes and Kohn, a considerable body of literature on nationalism has been produced by younger American scholars to take its place with the continuing volume of studies by European scholars. Boyd Shafer conceived the worthwhile idea of providing a synthesis of this large and ramified literature in order to bring once again to our attention the meaning and significance of nationalism and problems created by it for our present society. As he indicates in his Preface, Dr. Shafer does not offer the volume as a "definitive work on nationalism" and his materials refer chiefly to France, Great Britain, and the United States. But he has read widely and discriminatingly, he has reflected on his reading wisely and critically, and he has set down his mature and meaningful reflections with an elegance of style and clarity of presentation that make the volume a pleasure for both scholar and layman.

Dr. Shafer's volume is divided into five sections. The first section deals with the elusive and tricky problem of definitions. Dr. Shafer quite properly takes the view that nationalism as such did not appear before the eighteenth century. He recognizes the fact that it is "a complex and dynamic" phenomenon which defies short and logical definition, and he wisely observes that "simple explanations of human institutions and actions are nearly always wrong, revealing only the naiveté or the interest of their authors." In the second section, dealing with what the author calls metaphysical, physical, and cultural "Illusions Concerning Nationalism," he brings

to bear healthy, rationalist, and illuminating dissection to expose the inflated unrealities of the various myths developed by historians, social scientists, journalists and, above all, political pamphleteers regarding the grandeur of their own nationalism and the viciousness or inferiority of the nationalisms of other people. The third and fourth sections are devoted to a description of the historical process of the development of nationalism from 1715 to the present. Here the materials on social and economic factors are particularly searching. The final section on "Delusions about Man and His Groupings" represents the author's own credo as developed from his historical investigations. His chief point is that the similarities of men are much greater than their differences, and that since nationalism is the product of historical conditions, "it could evolve in the future into some other kind of loyalty or dissolve into something quite new and unexpected" (p. 212). His final peroration is one that sane citizens of all nations might well take to heart: "If men are not brothers, it is not because they inherently differ. That sentiment of unity and exclusiveness which we have defined as nationalism now keeps them apart. This nationalism, however, does not mean that men could not be brothers, could not live in peace. For there is no basis, historical, biological, psychological, for believing this nationalism must be or will be permanent. Below the surface of their national peculiarities, men remain, so far as we know, more alike than different" (p. 237).

KOPPEL S. PINSON
Queens College

GERHARD L. WEINBERG. *Germany and the Soviet Union, 1939–1941.* Pp. 218. Leiden, Holland: E. J. Brill, 1954. Guilders 19.00.

Soviet propagandists have been remarkably successful in diverting attention from the years 1939–41, the period of Nazi-Soviet collaboration. They have done this partly by avoiding all reference to the Soviet-Nazi agreements with their secret protocols and partly by continuously denouncing Western policies. The few documents published under Soviet auspices have not been selected to help scholars like Mr. Weinberg to complete the story told in German documents about the 1939–41 period, but for other purposes that have nothing to do with scholarship.

Mr. Weinberg has scraped the bottom of the barrel of German sources. He has added to previous accounts of the period and has reached some new and significant conclusions.

He believes that the Nazis made their decision to make a political as well as an economic agreement with the USSR between July 10 and July 21. The agreements signed August 23 did not immediately produce cordial relations. The two totalitarian dictatorships began to adopt more friendly postures only after September 28, when they agreed on how to divide Poland and other territories. These settlements and improved relations were followed by Soviet economic aid that in Mr. Weinberg's opinion was much more important to Germany than the volume and monetary value seemed to indicate. The Nazis reciprocated by giving direct aid to the Soviet Union in the blockade of Finland during the winter war.

Mr. Weinberg gives convincing evidence that the Nazi decision to attack Russia was not the result of differences over Finland and the Balkans in the fall of 1940. The decision was made in July, three months before Molotov's historic November visit to Berlin. The decision was "Hitler's answer to the challenge of England—as it had been Napoleon's—and was elaborated into a blueprint for ruthless aggrandizement." As the German policy stiffened in the following months, the Russians became more conciliatory in the futile hope of averting the break they pretended not to expect.

Mr. Weinberg closes this thorough, well-organized, well-written study with an excellent chapter of "Conclusions." He does not believe that Germany had carefully plotted to destroy the Soviet Union and Communism or that the USSR had carefully plotted either to deliver Europe to Germany or destroy the Nazis. Instead, he sees ". . . two great powers plodding fitfully along the path of expediency; one

motivated by vast schemes of conquest; the other by the hope of protecting what it has and adding what can safely be picked up."

H. H. FISHER

Stanford University

HARRY CRANBROOK ALLEN. *Great Britain and the United States: A History of Anglo-American Relations* (1783–1952). Pp. 1,024. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955. $10.00.

Not for some time has anyone written of the relations of Great Britain and these United States since 1783. There has been a growing need for revision of earlier expressed views and for bringing the relations of the two English-speaking people up to date. Admittedly Professor Allen has a bias. To his love of the English he has added an affection for the Americans. His obvious sympathetic treatment of the subject is easily explained.

Although this London professor did much reading before he began to write this long book, he studied only published sources. Thus it is not a definitive study, nor does the author claim such distinction for his efforts. On the contrary, he states that he wrote for the general reader. Possibly true in England, but very few general readers in America will have the sustained interest to read 1,000 pages on Anglo-American history.

This book is divided into four parts with a total of nineteen chapters. Seven of the chapters are grouped under Part I, The Relationship. Here the author analyzes the colonial background and develops the many sidedness of Great Britain's relations with her American cousins. Not until page 253 does Mr. Allen treat the period following the War of American Independence in a topographical or chronological way. If these more than 250 pages of analyses of the Anglo-American relations had been condensed into about fifty pages, the book would have been improved greatly.

Ample discussion is given to the period of adjustment, 1783–94, to the rise of tensions to the War of 1812, and to the restoration of peace following the Treaty of Ghent. Many Americans will be interested to learn that the responsibility for our second war with England rested on Jefferson primarily, Madison next and, finally, upon the War Hawks.

In Part III, Isolation, there are four chapters which begin with the background of the Monroe Doctrine and end with a quarter century of calm following the Alabama claims award. America's isolationism is attributed to her "absorption in opening up the West." The author concludes that it was "no coincidence that the closing of the frontier was followed almost immediately by the Spanish-American War." This is emphasizing the Turner frontier theory too much to the exclusion of such significant factors as absorption in developing the Industrial Revolution.

Finally Part IV, World Power, contains five chapters of 450 pages, the longest part of the book. This is probably the author's best contribution to his subject. But even here there are conclusions with which many Americans will disagree. For example, Wilson is blamed for all disputes between the American and the British delegations at the Paris Peace Conference. This, in spite of the vascillating opinions of Lloyd George.

In a very real sense World War II was the culmination of this narrative for never have two allied nations achieved such military union nor such political co-ordination as did Great Britain and the United States from 1940 to 1945. As the author points out, the fact that these two long-time friendly nations so intertwined during the recent crisis was due to the sincere efforts of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill.

In their relations to other powers Great Britain and the United States since 1783 have, in many ways, exchanged places. Then England ruled the seas, now America; the financial capital has shifted from London to New York; and the political leadership has moved from Westminster to Capitol Hill and Pennsylvania Avenue. Whatever the future holds in store, concludes this writer, the continued friendly relations of these two powers will be decisive.

Seven maps in the text serve well their purposes. The bibliography is selective, the index accurate. On the whole, the au-

thor has achieved his objective and has written an interesting narrative.

G. C. OSBORN

University of Florida

CLARK M. EICHELBERGER. *UN: The First Ten Years.* Pp. xii, 108. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. $1.75.

Clark Eichelberger's intimate connection with the League of Nations and the United Nations should assure this little book a careful and sympathetic reading. Scholars expecting to find a thorough and searching analysis of the problems of the United Nations will undoubtedly be disappointed. This study is not intended for them. It is a popular summary of UN achievements and failures in certain fields, and its purpose is obviously to stimulate popular support for the organization as the central instrument for the preservation of peace in the face of the difficult international problems of our times. Nevertheless, despite its brevity and simplicity, this is an important and rewarding survey. Eichelberger examines the promise and the performance of the UN over the last ten years—on issues of collective security, on the question of peaceful adjustment and settlement of disputes, in the field of technical assistance, and in a number of other areas. In so doing, he illuminates what all of us have known, whatever our points of view. Despite the failures of disarmament, the fiascos over the admission of new members, and the self-righteous verbiage which somehow squeezes every national action of every power into the framework of consistency with the UN Charter, the members of the UN have made that Charter work. It has worked not perfectly, often not even satisfactorily, and yet with more success than one might have anticipated since the start of the cold war in 1947 or thereabouts.

Basically, Eichelberger's hopes for the United Nations are those of a temperate and clear-headed idealism. For the most part, he does not blink reality. He recognizes the utopianism of the schools which plead for an immediate and drastic revision of the Charter in whatever way. He hopes for some change in the admission procedures for new members, but on the whole he recognizes that most difficulties are not structural but political; that an easing of world tensions, because it may lead to more loyal performance by all members of the UN, is the most realistic formula for the development of international organization, at least in the immediate future. And he emphasizes, quite rightly I think, that the chances for a peaceful world will be much brighter if governments increasingly regard the UN as the foundation of their foreign policy rather than as an instrument of policy to be used or bypassed as convenience dictates. It may be, indeed, that Eichelberger underrates the merits of "traditional" diplomacy. After all, the "open" diplomacy of our twentieth-century international conferences, whose purpose has as often been domestic propaganda as negotiation, can hardly be said to have had striking and remarkable success. But this is perhaps to worry a minor point. For it is clear, and Eichelberger understands, that if there is a reasonable amount of good will on all sides, governments, no matter how wedded they may be to more conventional techniques and attitudes, can and will use the UN with growing effectiveness for the purposes for which it was designed. This is, then, an excellent work of propaganda in the best sense, and deserves the attention of all of us who have not as yet given up hope in the face of man's new powers of destruction.

HENRY R. WINKLER

Rutgers University

HARRY BAYARD PRICE. *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning.* Pp. xvi, 424. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press under the Auspices of the Governmental Affairs Institute, Washington, D. C., 1955. $5.00.

It is still too early, as the Preface warns the reader, to attempt a "comprehensive historical appraisal" of the Marshall Plan. Only at a greater distance in time can we get a proper perspective on such a massive undertaking. The author, therefore, should not be blamed if he has failed to give the thoughtful student of world affairs a deeper understanding of the "meaning" of the Plan. (Perhaps that word should have been omitted from the book's title.)

Within his limited terms of reference,

Mr. Price has done a capable job. His "evaluation" of the Plan, which occupies the latter half of the book, will be of interest particularly to students of administrative principles and techniques. As respects the significance of the Plan as an historical phenomenon, it adds little if anything to what others have already said and written.

Prepared under the auspices of the Governmental Affairs Institute of Washington at the request of the Economic Cooperation Administration, this book has all the merits but few of the defects of an official history. The author had access to a wealth of material in the ECA files, but at the same time his manuscript was not subject to official approval. Aside from ECA documents and memoranda, Mr. Price has relied heavily on interviews with "knowledgeable persons," some 300 in all, in this country and in thirteen European countries, who had either participated in, or closely observed, the Marshall Plan in action. His talks with leaders of the great enterprise: men like Secretary Marshall, Paul Hoffman, and Averell Harriman and Europeans of comparable stature, besides adding local color give fresh insights. But interviews with minor personalities unknown to the general reader—some of them quoted anonymously—are of questionable value. Moreover, the author's liberal use of verbatim quotation of the opinions of persons interviewed is dubious procedure. Unlike statements in printed documents, such interviews are not subject to verification by other workers in this field.

PERCY W. BIDWELL
Council on Foreign Relations

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND HISTORY

ANDRÉ SIEGFRIED. *America at Mid-Century.* Translated by Margaret Ledésert. Pp. ix, 357. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1955. $5.75.

In 1927, André Siegfried, professor of economic geography at the Collège de France, applied his Gallic insight to the problem of American civilization in a book which his translator called *America Comes of Age.* His idea then was that the United States had reached the end of European domination and was entering into an era of mass culture which was genuinely her own. In *America at Mid-Century,* he has provided a sequel which attempts an analysis of that mass culture in its manifestations during the interval.

Once more in this book he proves himself a critic, by his own definition, in the Latin tradition, a dealer in sharp generalizations, and a destroyer of shams rather than a student for whom evidence is the essential of a sound conclusion. A sensitive observer and a frequent visitor to the United States, he is amazingly accurate in most of his statements and highly provocative in his conclusions and predictions. He is a journalist rather than a researcher, a maker rather than a prover of hypotheses.

His central thesis here is worthy of a book. It is that the United States has not lost its Anglo-Saxon, Protestant, idealistic, and isolationist character even though, since 1914, it has fundamentally changed in political, economic, social, and demographic respects. Now a world power with world responsibilities, inheritor and reshaper of the Industrial Revolution, inventor of mass culture and benevolent capitalism, creator of men of action rather than of contemplation, America shares the future with Russia; and Europe must discover a new balance in a world in which she has no real power. M. Siegfried is unhappy for himself, for France, and for Mediterranean and classical culture in general, but he is not unduly bitter. He merely exposes, as his countryman Tocqueville did before him, the problem of self-knowledge that America must face if she is to assume the place in the world that is obviously cut out for her. Although he speaks for the great destiny that is ending, he can also welcome a great destiny that is beginning.

A man of critical summaries, his last chapter is his best and should be read by every student of American civilization. By the same token, his first chapter is his worst. In it he stumbles into the pitfall of prejudice and misunderstanding which has caught so many European critics: the prob-

lem of minorities in the United States, specifically the Negro, the Jew, and the Catholic; and he succeeds in producing a result which is only laughable. But his book is redeemed by his chapters on the American economy, where he is most at home, and by those on the American social background and political life, where he reveals himself as an astute and open-minded commentator on the passing scene. Taken as a whole, his analysis of American civilization is as good a general summary as we have recently had, and it is written with the wit and charm that only a Frenchman could muster.

ROBERT E. SPILLER
University of Pennsylvania

MARVER H. BERNSTEIN. *Regulating Business by Independent Commission.* Pp. xi, 306. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1955. $5.00.

The author of this comparatively brief volume states that it is his purpose "to evaluate critically the role of the independent regulatory commission, to develop a more realistic concept of the process of governmental regulation, and to appraise the independent commission as an agent of governmental regulation."

He adopts as criteria of judgment primarily four factors: (1) the commission's ability to develop political responsibility, involving the Congress and the President; (2) its capacity to operate in the public interest; (3) its competency administratively, especially in terms of expertness and continuity of policy; and (4) its strength to be independent of the interests to be regulated.

He classifies seven regulatory bodies as truly independent: for the transport field, the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Civil Aeronautics Board; for other utilities, the Federal Power Commission and the Federal Communications Commission; and for specific economic practices, the Federal Trade Commission, the Labor Relations Board, and the Security Exchange Commission.

Following an historical evaluation, he suggests a number of conclusions which run quite counter to popular conceptions of the regulatory commission. It is far from the ideal mode of control. It is not "out of politics," but simply out of the spotlight. It has not been expert and quasi-judicial so much as it has been slow in keeping up with technological change, and rather less than impartial in dealing with the industries and enterprises affected. It is no longer the most important actor in the drama of regulation but is outstarred by the executive branch, as the result not so much of the recognition of its own inadequacies, but the alternating pressures of military emergency and economic depression.

Professor Bernstein, as a former consultant to the Bureau of the Budget on regulatory administration is intimately acquainted with the workings of the commissions he is analyzing. He diagnoses the "life cycle of regulatory commissions," pointing up four phases, *gestation, youth, maturity* which he identifies as devitalization, and *old age* which he characterizes as debility and decline. He conducts "a search for the public interest" in a review of the independence, on the one hand, and the responsibility, on the other, which commissions have shown in actual practice. He finds great need for the development of a coherent program of national regulation of economic affairs. As a result, he calls for more and better central planning and supervision of such regulation by the executive branch of the government.

The enforcement activities of the regulatory commissions he appraised as weak, poorly staffed, and inadequately supported; with little, if any, experimentation with new techniques and incentives of compliance or recognition of the need to plan compliance programs or to recognize the interdependency of the various controls which are and might be used. After an incisive analysis of the setting, scope and character of the regulatory process, in which he points out, among other things, that regulation is a two-way process in which the interests regulated work just as hard, if not harder, to influence the behavior of the commission and its staff as these work to carry out the regulatory program, the author reaches his concluding chapter in which he summarizes his findings and recommendations in the form of a baker's

dozen of requirements of effective regulation. Particularly the author insists that regulation will be successful only as it has strong political leadership, popular support, and clear legislative mandate; will be effective only as it is integrated in policy and adept in administration.

This is an important book. Its brevity is a tribute to the author's ability to cleave to his objective while hewing through a jungle of both detail and preconception. Its clarity is unusual, especially in academic volumes. Its advent is a recognition of the new scholar who is practitioner as well. Such a book could not have been written without the intimate acquaintance which day to day contact with the problems gives. Yet the author avoids the pitfalls of the "expert" and keeps both his courage and his point of view as broad as the problem he is discussing.

HENRY REINING, JR.
University of Southern California

CHARLES VEVIER. *The United States and China, 1906–1913: A Study of Finance and Diplomacy*. Pp. ix, 229. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955. $5.50.

This is a competent narrative and critique of the American "dollar diplomacy" which centered around Willard Straight and Manchuria in the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty. The story was long ago outlined by Herbert Croly and has since been dissected by John G. Reid and others, in various aspects and from various points of view. But Mr. Vevier has been able to go to the Straight Papers, to the numerous collections of papers of Huntington Wilson, George Marvin and others in the Library of Congress and elsewhere, and to the National Archives; accordingly he is able to document and point up his analytic summary more cogently and definitively than earlier writers. The result is well-fashioned and readable, on the whole, although the reader may find that even an able summary of such a matter as the Chinchow-Algun agreement of 1909 becomes a bit tedious. The ineptitude of Philander C. Knox is once again confirmed, and Mr. Vevier concludes that the Taft administration was unable clearly "to draw the line between private and national interest."

Since this is as close to an inside account, based on the records of the Americans concerned, as we are likely to get, it may perhaps serve as the last word on Willard Straight's efforts and the American aspect of this phase of American diplomacy; at the same time it may stimulate future researchers to pursue further the context in which American Far Eastern diplomacy occurred. Mr. Vevier has made no independent study of this context. He refers to a total of five Chinese individuals by name, over the period 1906–13, and they all remain shadowy figures seen entirely through American sources. It is true that the diplomatic record among the powers gives short shrift to Chinese diplomacy, such as it was; but the fact remains that the railroads and banks contemplated by the negotiators would have functioned in China, and the negotiators were eventually in large part frustrated by revolutionary events there. More than that, one key figure in Mr. Vevier's account was Straight's chief point of contact in the imperial bureaucracy, the American-educated T'ang Shao-yi. The Chinese side of T'ang's negotiations and his mission to Washington in 1908 can be studied in Chinese sources accessible in the American libraries used by the author. The same is true of the entire Chinese approach to railroad financing. Dr. E-tu Zen Sun has recently demonstrated the value of a two-sided as opposed to a purely foreign based study of railroad diplomacy in her volume *Chinese Railways and British Interests, 1898–1911* (King's Crown Press, 1954). Let us hope that Mr. Vevier's able study is the last word in that school of diplomatic history which traces American policy formation from the inside but never gets outside.

J. K. FAIRBANK
Harvard University

WILLIAM STANDLEY and ARTHUR AGETON. *Admiral Ambassador to Russia*. Pp. 533. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1955. $6.00.

For some twenty months Admiral Standley served as United States Ambassador to

Moscow. How this difficult post happened to be assigned to him is not clear. His acquaintance with Russians, according to the author, dates back to his childhood days in Sonoma County, California. The schooling on the banks of the Russian River was hardly adequate. Small wonder when the Admiral had met Americans who were equipped with better knowledge, the Admiral-Ambassador was jealous and even exasperated when these, for reasons of their own, refused to co-operate with him. About some of these recalcitrant persons Admiral Standley writes with annoyance and regret that he had not met them in the navy; there he would have presented them with the choice of "damn it all . . . , do what you're told or else." And he sadly adds that unfortunately at the embassy "there just wasn't any 'or else.'"

As an autobiography the memoirs offer some interesting bits of reading; as a source of historical data the reader should be cautioned: much of the presented information calls for serious verification. Occasionally Admiral Standley demonstrated levelheaded judgment. Unfortunately, his Peglerian philosophy of history caused by his military background seriously handicapped him from being consistently successful. Steeped in his naval tradition the Admiral lacked diplomatic finesse, political sagacity, and economic vision badly called for at his post. He knew full well that Allied victory was the goal, but he knew less how to deal with an ally during these trying months.

The author's peppery remarks about Roosevelt reveal his dislike of the President whom he regarded as a man who always (!) preferred "appeasement or compromise in a political disagreement to an out-and-out fight"; who always engaged in the "venal trade of votes." Admiral Standley had other scores to settle such as that with the former head of the Lend Lease mission in Moscow, General Phillip Faymonville. Since the latter was directly responsible to the President he refused on occasions to divulge certain data sought by the Ambassador. This antagonized Standley further and deepened his resentment to a point that bordered on frustration. Other personages added little humor to the situation and explain his caustic references to them. Visits of former ambassador Joseph E. Davies and Wendell Willkie, who came with personal messages from the White House and therefore enjoyed special favors in the Soviet capital, taxed the Ambassador's patience beyond his endurance. After some twenty months of such experience he resigned from his post with some dour reminiscences.

Throughout the book there are a number of inaccuracies which call for correction in a later edition. Thus it is incorrect to refer to the "falling of Stalingrad to the Germans." Nor is it correct to state that the city of Ashkhabad is "on the Chinese Eastern Railway." One is equally puzzled by the reference to Peter I as the unifier of Russia and liberator of the serfs. There are a number of incidents such as the case of the wrist watch being requested by some Soviet engineer. The episode has been carefully verified and the version found badly garbled. Such carelessness might unwittingly cause grave unpleasantness to people who deserve more kindly mention.

In the end Admiral Standley recommends a military as well as an economic and moral "posture of strength." He is rather uneasy about our present prosperity which is based upon an "artificial foundation of war economy and a reckless and ruinous policy of deficit spending." The author senses keenly that the present critical era is more than a clash of military nature; it represents a conflict between two standards of morality. If our cherished ethical principles fail to stand up against those of our opponents, the military and economic "postures" alone will prove of little comfort. These are gratifying conclusions which we hope more men with "military posture" will come to realize before it is too late.

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR
Stanford University

ARTHUR S. LINK. *American Epoch: A History of the United States Since the 1890's.* Pp. xxii, 724, xxvii. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. $6.00.

This book is one more addition to a long and growing list of single volume works on American history in the twentieth cen-

tury. As such it inevitably conforms to a standardized pattern: beginning with an analysis of American problems of the late nineteenth century, it proceeds with a comprehensive survey of recent American politics, social change, economic activities, and foreign policy. And yet the book differs from its competitors in providing illuminating chapters on demographic developments at various stages during the period under consideration. These make up what is perhaps the most significant contribution of the book. The author has brought together and organized an amazing mass of information.

To this reviewer it seems that Professor Link has a marked antipathy to American business enterprise and, at first, an equally marked sympathy for union labor. He might be described as an unreconstructed Rooseveltian New Dealer.

Professor Link provides an illuminating description of the American people before World War I, which he follows with a section on economic development from 1897 to 1914; and yet he does not supply the logical connection between these two sections: that had it not been for the business men the rapidly growing American population would have had no means of support. Admittedly business leaders in the United States fell far short of perfection, but they did provide a living for millions of people. And in the long run Professor Link somewhat grudgingly admits that big business men were no more of a menace to the general welfare than the irresponsible heads of some labor unions.

In line with his antipathy to business enterprise Link finds considerable fault with the economic views of conservative justices of the Supreme Court. About the Court in the years 1921–30, he writes, "So retrogressive, in fact, was the new Court that on occasion it tended to be blindly reactionary in cases involving economic and social policies."

In the account of Woodrow Wilson, the author is adversely critical. He makes it clear that in his domestic policy, Wilson wavered uncertainly from conservatism to progressivism. In foreign affairs Wilson does not seem to have been endowed with even a moderate degree of statesmanship. In fact those who believe that Wilson was primarily a phrasemaker will not be disturbed in their view by Professor Link's treatment.

This book makes no notable contributions to the accounts of the Harding, Coolidge or Hoover administration. But, as might be expected, Professor Link finds the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt particularly praiseworthy in its pursuance of progressive ideals. He even finds justification for Roosevelt's proposal to pack the Supreme Court.

In general, Professor Link's analysis of the diplomatic problems preceding World War II is objective and reliable. But in describing the Atlantic Conference of 1941, he asserts that Roosevelt "refused to make any commitments of a military or naval character." Winston Churchill states flatly, in *The Grand Alliance*, pp. 439–46, that in case the Japanese should make any further aggressive moves in the South Pacific, Roosevelt promised to send them a stiff warning or practically an ultimatum.

For the Truman administration Link finds that Truman "extended the frontiers of progressivism." He also records that Truman "had a capacity for descending to the lower level of political warfare," and that he "contributed to the deterioration of public morality."

Link's survey of the Korean War and the MacArthur episode is noncontroversial in tone.

This book has an excellent critical bibliography.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW

Westbrook, Conn.

ALAN P. GRIMES. *American Political Thought*. Pp. xi, 500. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1955. $6.00.

Increasing interest in the thinking of Americans on matters political has brought a concomitant interest in publication in this field that is especially welcome and encouraging from the standpoint of scholarship and literate exposition and criticism. To this sequence of literature on American political theory, Professor Alan P. Grimes of Michigan State University has presently contributed a useful and effective treatment in his volume, *American Political Thought*.

At first glance Grimes' treatment and organizational pattern do not display singularity of concept nor foreshadow novelty in approach. Chapter headings are: "Rise of Protestantism"; "Puritan Political Thought"; "English Revolutionary Thought"; "American Revolution"; "American Constitutionalism"; "The Federalists"; "Jeffersonian Democracy"; "The Concept of the Common Man"; "The New Society (individualists and utopians)"; "Slavery and the Rights of Man from both the Anti- and Pro-Slavery Sides"; "The National Concept of Sovereignty"; "Manchester Liberalism in America"; "American Utopian Reformers"; "Progressive Movement"; "Modern Anti-Democratic Thought"; "Pragmatic Liberalism."

In many ways these sound traditional enough in the main, and are normally sufficient in description and character to indicate who may be treated as illustrative of these various movements in American political thought. While it may be perceived that most of the older favorites in the sense of their necessary inclusion are covered within this volume of Professor Grimes', it is true that he has not merely parroted any previous list of accepted American thinkers nor has he aped all of his predecessors. Traditionally conceived the work in review may be, but it has not delivered only the timeworn and historic figures and treatments. Less familiar by far to students of political theory are some of those whose analysis by the author constitutes an achievement of considerable magnitude.

Examples of this aspect of *American Political Thought* are the portions allotted to Orestes Brownson, Hinton R. Helper, William Harper, George Fitzhugh, E. L. Godkin, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Laurence Gronlund, Lawrence Dennis, William James, and John Dewey. The sections on Henry George are an outstanding part of the volume, and represent a good presentation of George in relation to his own times and to American political philosophy as a body of knowledge. Likewise, the treatment of Laurence Gronlund and of Lawrence Dennis is a core summary in a field almost bereft of systematic and comparative analysis.

As a whole the volume is well written; it may not sparkle with a brilliant or scintillating style, but meaning can be extracted from the author's words without the expenditure of labor in an effort to mine sense from obfuscation. Grimes displays a fine sense of organization and of continuity in the historical perspective of his work and his acquaintance with American literature and with the development of ideas therein which lends strength to his work when that strength is needed. All in all, this is a serviceable volume for practical use in courses in American political thought, and as a general handbook.

CHARLES W. SHULL
Wayne University

WILLIAM M. BEANEY. *The Right to Counsel in American Courts.* Pp. xi, 268. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955. $4.50.

This book, dealing with that vital right upon which the other constitutional rights may often depend, has obviously been preceded by an extraordinary amount of very thorough, careful, and discriminating study, orderly thought, and systematic arrangement. The subject has been less treated by scholars than other civil rights. The author has not merely sat in the law library reading and digesting the many cases (fifty-four United States Supreme Court, one hundred seventy-two Federal and 344 state) and the scores of articles in the law reviews (many not referred to in the tables at the end) which he cites and comments on. In the important cases he has obtained and studied the briefs of counsel and the records. More than this, he has himself gone into the courts, personally observed the procedure, and interviewed many judges, prosecutors and lawyers in order to ascertain at first hand how the offer, appointment and assistance of counsel to those accused of crime actually works.

The book shows throughout the result of this practical approach. I venture the confident suggestion that any United States or state judge who reads it with an open mind will agree that his time was thus eminently well spent.

Mr. Beaney's analysis of the leading cases discussed (such as *Powell v. Alabama,*

Johnson v. Zerbst and *Betts v. Brady*), although concise, is thorough and informative. His briefer references to other cases give just the fact or facts which we must know.

To me the most unusually satisfactory feature throughout the book is the summary at the end of each topic, section and chapter, sometimes so labeled and sometimes not. The classification from time of the decisions on different points is also very welcome and helpful.

I strongly protest against the practice (found also in many other text books) of referring to books and articles already cited as "*op. cit.*" without the prior page where the full citation may be found. This annoying practice is never indulged in citing court decisions, which are always given in full, including S. Ct., L. Ed., N.W., etc. Mr. Beaney's notes are at the bottom of the pages and not inconveniently at the end of the book.

It is believed that the author has not given deserved attention to the practical difficulty of obtaining competent counsel by persons accused of politically unpopular causes.

I am disappointed in the absence of more definite suggestions and recommendations in the otherwise excellent "Summary and Conclusions" at the end. With Justices Murphy and Rutledge gone from the four "incorporators," the "fair trial doctrine" is no more vague and difficult than the "arbitrary and capricious" test which may ultimately be applied to state infringements of the four basic freedoms.

HENRY S. DRINKER

Philadelphia, Pa.

HANS B. THORELLI. *The Federal Antitrust Policy: Origination of an American Tradition.* Pp. xvi, 658. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins Press, 1955. $8.00.

The curiosity in the United States about economic solutions in Sweden makes it appropriate that this Swedish scholar (like his countryman Myrdal in another area) should review a significant sector of our economy and culture. The title of this book, unless the subtitle is carefully noted, is more inclusive than the contents. This chronicle and estimate, except for necessary background and some reflections at the end, really deals with the years 1890 (when the Sherman Act was passed) to 1903, which, for reasons given, the author regards as having institutionalized our antitrust policy. Within this short span, the treatment of the phases which Dr. Thorelli investigated at first hand and in the original sources (such as relations of attorneys general with their subordinates in the field) is most illuminating. What he has taken from commentators, except as they represent public opinion at the time, is less valuable and, it may be, less valid. Incidentally, in the bibliography he lists as "primary sources" much that another would call distinctly secondary.

The book would have profited had the author's scaffolding been torn down so that his building could appear. Instead, he is constantly clambering about ladders, platforms, and ramps, telling the reader how and why he did this and that. The work that he did himself is good and does not need the explanations of method. The full footnotes would be easier to follow had the publisher put the numbering in larger type; as it is, what goes with what is difficult to know if you are past your sharpest eyesight.

On the whole, Dr. Thorelli feels the "ideological impact upon the economic environment" offers "the principal and lasting significance of the Sherman Act. Antitrust's is a mission of morale. Half a century after the policy became institutionalized it is still a living symbol of economic egalitarianism. . . . In an age when increasing emphasis seems to be placed on security and stability, on co-operation and organization in all fields, antitrust serves as a reminder that life is also dynamic, . . . that those who would rather compete than congregate are at least worthy of toleration. In a century prone to look to the advantages of centralization, antitrust boldly proclaims the advantages of decentralization. . . . "

That is to make it an article of national faith, accepted rather than acted upon, as vague as democracy itself. This is the truth, for the tides of technology, the concentrations in business due to wars and de-

pressions, and the magnified role of central government have flowed over the manes of Senator Sherman and his collaborators. This victory of consolidation and (quite within the law) economical large-scale production was foretold in the very effort to bolster competition. "Antitrust," used by Dr. Thorelli as a noun (meaning fulmination? or prosecution? or complacent rule of reason?), was, in theory, a confession from the first that an era of laissez faire was ending. What place is there in "antitrust" for the use of atomic power? If the federal government, or perhaps an international control agency, farms it out to "private enterprise," can the result be other than an illusion of free initiative?

BROADUS MITCHELL
Rutgers University

RICHARD N. CURRENT. *Daniel Webster and the Rise of National Conservatism.* (The Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin.) Pp. xi, 215. Boston; Toronto: Little, Brown, and Company, 1955. $3.00.

Daniel Webster attained a near apotheosis in popular imagination during the first fifty years after his death. In 1900, when a presumably knowledgeable group of electors first balloted on candidates for New York University's new Hall of Fame, Washington ranked at the top with ninety-seven votes, and Webster tied Lincoln for second place with ninety-six. After another fifty years Webster's memory was threatened with oblivion. School children learned less and less about him until at last a generation of Americans grew up that did not know him, except as a fictional character in Stephen Vincent Benét's story of "The Devil and Daniel Webster." In this delightful yarn Benét has Webster arguing against the sanctity of a contract. It is possible that Webster might have outargued the Devil, but in real life he would never have argued against the sanctity of contracts.

Mr. Current provides an incisive analysis of Webster's career. In 200 readable pages both the personality of the man and his contributions to the development of the nation are set forth. Twelve pages are devoted to Webster's boyhood, education, and the early years of his law practice. Perhaps another ten pages throughout the book deal with his marriages, family life, and farming activities. Webster's great strength in debate (the explanation of his contemporary fame) is best seen in the 20 per cent of this volume which deals with slavery and the other sectional problems of the period. Most enduring are his contributions as a diplomat while Secretary of State, to which Mr. Current devotes some twenty pages. The coverage of party battles and campaigns requires about twenty-five pages, an analysis of Webster's reputation and a note on sources, twenty pages. The remaining third of the author's emphasis, properly distributed through every chapter, is upon Webster's faithful representation of the merchants and industrial leaders who sent the Great Advocate to Washington in 1813 and kept him there almost without interruption until his death in 1852.

Perhaps the honorable and necessary bases of national conservatism are the same today as they were when Webster was sent to Congress. Methods have changed. In his day it was not considered improper for a statesman to be steadily and openly subsidized by his constituents and clients for an amount equal to ten times his official salary. There is little new for a biography of Webster, but there is merit in a clearly written interpretation for a generation that should understand the changing political mores of the nation.

CHARLES M. THOMAS
Air University

F. O. MIKSCHE. *Atomic Weapons and Armies.* Pp. 222. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. $5.00.

GEORGE C. REINHARDT. *American Strategy in the Atomic Age.* Pp. ix, 236. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. $3.75.

Truly global-legged in range and "city-busters" in potential destructive effects, atomic weapons cast mushroomlike shadows over the daily decisions of responsible statesmen and military leaders. Willing or not, the Western democratic nations face the

threat of utter devastation should a third world war begin without the restraint of possible punishment in kind upon the aggressor. The two volumes, briefly examined here, generate productive thinking on the basic problem of survival. They serve primarily, however, to pose a host of related thorny questions.

Armies today are challenged by a wholesale revolution in their traditional *raison d'être*. Lieutenant Colonel Miksche, former Czech officer and a well-informed student of European military history, argues that the mere existence of atomic weapons and the horrors implicit in them will probably neither avert a major war in the future nor prevent the use of atomic weapons. Reciprocal use of atomic weapons on a massive scale, he submits, may ordain a future war in which perhaps no atomic weapons or only tactical atomic weapons may be employed in its initial stages. Thus, Colonel Miksche states the dilemma facing the strategists and tacticians of armies: are atomic weapons "army-busters"? Have atomic weapons rendered ground forces ineffective as a combat force defeating decisively enemy forces in the field? After winning victories on battlefields (which may even exclude cities as such), must armies then occupy the enemy homeland before a war decision can be obtained?

Colonel Miksche on historical grounds sets forth a case for armies which can yet engage in concentrations, break-throughs and envelopments under atomic fire. But in his very last paragraph, he reverses his field by concluding: "Perhaps A-weapons will 'atomize' tactics to such an extent that the forms of ground combat will take on a completely guerrilla-like character." Here is the self-stated germ for a rebuttal of Colonel Miksche's present volume, one might hope the thesis for his next engaging book.

Concerning the achievement of the military decision in a future war by means of an army occupation, Colonel Miksche steps well forward from the ranks with the conclusion: "The question of whether it would be possible to decide a war without physical occupation can, at best, only be answered with a very weak affirmative." The late surrender of Japan, based upon a willingness evidenced long before Hiroshima and Nagasaki, seems unnecessarily slighted. Likewise, Colonel Miksche seems unsure of the effects of what he calls "strategic air warfare" upon the position of troops engaged in the so-called "battle area proper." He appears to share the common fallacious belief that decisive elements of air warfare are synonymous with the bombing of cities in unlimited warfare. Colonel Miksche does indicate bravely and usefully that the role of ground forces in war has been drastically, very drastically, modified by the advent of atomic weapons.

Colonel George C. Reinhardt, U. S. Army retired, has written a sequel to the informative volume, *Atomic Weapons in Land Combat*, which he coauthored with Lt. Colonel William R. Kintner. *American Strategy in the Atomic Age* is a plea for the determination of a "cold war strategy." Rejecting the extremes of exterminating or appeasing Communist imperialism, Reinhardt sets forth his blueprint for the stabilization of international conflict short of an all out third world war.

He substantiates our need for massive and ready military power so that enlightened American policies and actions can proceed with minimum risk. Colonel Reinhardt then examines at length the additional requirements for a strategy for peace, namely: (1) the political art of combat with the Communist ideology; (2) world leadership by the United States in creating effective collective security of the free world; (3) the beating of "atoms into ploughshares" with its potential economic and political benefits; and lastly, (4) the organization for and the implementation of an American "cold-war strategy." Colonel Reinhardt's ambitious plan was not fully attained. His volume may not become a classic. But it documents in timely fashion realities of the present world conflict which academic scholars may be too late in doing. That a professional military man can be a skilled literary craftsman broadly concerned with political and social aspects of military affairs is likewise self-evident.

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ECONOMICS AND INDUSTRY

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH. *Business Concentration and Price Policy*. Pp. xxii, 514. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1955. $9.00.

This is the report of a conference on business concentration and price policy, held in June 1952, under the auspices of the Universities—National Bureau Committee for Economic Research. At the time of publication, it was the fifth of seven numbers in the Special Conference Series of the National Bureau of Economic Research, the other conference subjects being: problems in the study of economic growth and stabilization (not published); business cycles; research in business finance; regularization of business investment; capital formation and economic growth (in press); and policies to combat depression (in press).

In this report, twelve topical papers are treated, each being discussed by one or more commentators. Papers and comments were highlighted for publication by the chairman's introduction.

Space limits prevent review in detail and make it unwise to distinguish among the thirty-six participants; but we should scan the general scope. An examination of the principles of classification in the census of manufactures helps to clarify usefulness and weakness of such data as bases for measuring concentration. Measures used in empirical studies of concentration are considered statistically and theoretically in four chapters, including one especially concerned with vertical integration. Some presumable reasons for the reach for business bigness are considered in studies of mergers, economies of scale, adjustments to taxes, maneuvers of conglomerate bigness, and types of price discrimination. There is a section on "full-cost" pricing policy, with divergence of views regarding what deliberate use of designated mark-up might suggest about extent or lack of competition. A section on the nature of price flexibility and the determination of relative price changes leaves one aware of the need for more knowledge of the linkage between business concentration and price determination.

Among the numerous questions likely to come to the many economists who will study this much-needed book, a few might be pitched in for a starter. If it is as nearly impossible as it often seems to be for an academic or a government agent to measure concentration in significant relation to behavior of quantities and prices, how can the oligopolist evaluate his own potential and hazard with the success implied in much of the prevalent discussion? If bigness as a result of merger or common control of separate corporations is important, why is not equal bigness similarly important even if it arise in a corporation grown wholly from stock subscription and retained earnings? If economies of scale be viewed as technological potential in relation to some given set of market conditions, what must be added to explain diversity of shops, plants, and firms, not only nationally and regionally, but even in the same industry in the same (freightwise) location? And how except by the conference method can we compel each other to face elemental questions? More such conferences!

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BENJAMIN HAGGOTT BECKHART (Ed.). *Banking Systems*. Pp. xviii, 934. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. $13.50.

W. T. NEWLYN and D. C. ROWAN. *Money and Banking in British Colonial Africa*. Pp. xiv, 301. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. $4.80.

Simply put, the first of the aforementioned books is a collection of chapters describing the financial systems and practices in sixteen countries with different industrial structures and types of economic organization: Australia, Brazil, Canada, Cuba, France, Western Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, and the United States. This "diversified group" of countries has been selected with the view of showing "the way in which the credit

systems have adapted themselves to the economic organizations of the respective nations."

Evidently following a fairly rigid and standardized plan, each chapter sets the functioning of the banking and credit system against a survey of the social and economic background and describes the way in which it has assisted the economic growth of the country. It then discusses the role of the various financial institutions: commercial banks, savings banks, urban and rural mortgage banks, and others in financing the credit needs of the nation. This is followed by a review of the place of the central bank and its credit policies and objectives. A concluding section evaluates the banking and credit structure.

Most of the articles were written by experts in banking from the countries concerned. But as is to be expected, the contributions vary in quality. In this reviewer's opinion, the best chapters from the point of view of organization, treatment, and presentation of subject are those dealing with banking and credit in Australia (Torleiv Hytten), Canada (Donald Bailey Marsh), Western Germany (H. Irmler), Japan (Edna E. Ehrlich and Frank M. Tamagna), Mexico (Margaret G. Myers), and Switzerland (Eugen Grossmann). Least adequate is the description of the banking system of the United States.

As the editor, Dr. Benjamin Haggett Beckhart, Professor of Banking in Columbia University, states in the Preface, the book is "a successor volume to *Foreign Banking Systems*" which he and the late H. Parker Willis published in 1929. Apart from the selection of some countries (especially the inclusion of Cuba) with which one might disagree, a major defect of the volume is the absence of a general introduction surveying the changes that have taken place in banking and credit structures in the quarter century since 1929 as a result of the great depression, war, and political revolutions, and the failure in showing how these transformations have altered banking and credit theory. The editor indeed alludes to some of these changes in two brief paragraphs in the Preface; but it is a pity that he has not discussed the subject in sufficient detail to suggest the main lines of development which the individual chapters serve to expose. Such introduction would have bound together and given proper perspective to the sixteen disconnected contributions, and thereby enhanced the usefulness of the book. The work lacks balance as regards the allocation of space to individual contributions to a far greater extent than the earlier edition.

Perhaps the most notable deficiencies are in the treatment or in the omission of specific topics in various articles. For example: the discussion of the evolution of credit control in the Netherlands since World War II is inadequate; and while "open market operations" are mentioned among the principal functions of the Swedish *Riksbank*, the factors that led to the adoption and the method that facilitated the inauguration of open market operations in 1937 are nowhere elucidated. More, although the French capital market is mentioned in a number of places in the survey of the country's banking system, there is nowhere a discussion of it. Surprisingly, also, there is no mention of the United States money and capital markets. And the Amsterdam market is given three and one-half pages. In contrast, about three pages are devoted to the capital market in Cuba, and six and one-half pages to that in Mexico. Finally, it should be noted that the statement in the chapter on the USSR that "the banking reforms in the satellite countries have almost invariably reproduced the Soviet banking structure" oversimplifies the facts.

While the Beckhart volume provides descriptions of banking systems of relatively well known countries in Europe, Asia and the Americas, *Money and Banking in British Colonial Africa* brings to light the working of financial institutions in an area but little known here. Specifically, the book is the first comprehensive, comparative study of the monetary and banking structures of the eight major territories in the British colonies in Africa: Nigeria and the Gold Coast in the west; Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda in the east, and Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Central Africa. As such, it fills a gap in the

literature on colonial money and banking and constitutes an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

The book is the result of a highly successful integration of research projects independently carried out by the authors, Dr. W. T. Newlyn (Lecturer in Economics, University of Leeds) and Dr. D. C. Rowan (Lecturer in Economics, University of Melbourne), through first-hand investigations in the African colonies.

Against the background of the economic and social changes in the areas over the past 40 or 50 years, (1) the book gives an admirable description and analysis of the advances in, but particularly the present functioning of the monetary and banking systems there; (2) it assesses the capacity of the institutions "to promote certain ends of policy which appears to command general approval and support"; and (3) it sets out "broad proposals designed to promote adaptation of the existing monetary and financial 'systems' of the several territories in order that they may more effectively contribute towards the attainment of the desired ends of policy." In all, the work is a superior scholarly achievement.

The two volumes make available a considerable body of interesting materials for a university course in comparative banking systems.

ARTHUR LEON HORNIKER
Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM H. NEWMAN and JAMES P. LOGAN. *Management of Expanding Enterprises.* Pp. viii, 134. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. $2.75.

What Makes an Executive? Report of a Round Table on Executive Potential and Performance. Pp. xii, 179. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. $3.50.

Both of these books are reports of round table discussions by groups of leading business and professional men on the topics indicated by their titles. Both projects were carried out under a grant from the McKinsey Foundation for Management Research. Twenty-one men participated in the discussions which served as the basis for the first book, and nineteen formed the second group. With the exception of two representatives of McKinsey and Company, the personnel of the two groups included no common members. The authors served as chairmen of the meetings and compiled the summaries of the conclusions reached from handwritten minutes or tape recordings made during the session.

Management of Expanding Enterprises is concerned with the problems which begin to develop in the period of a company's growth in which it is no longer possible for a single executive or a small group of top executives to run it as a closely integrated operation. Typical of the issues discussed are: how are the processes of planning affected by size? How does growth affect the standards used to measure executive performance? What patterns of departmental organization are best adapted to different stages of growth and size? What are the opportunities and limitations of "decentralization"? How does size affect employee morale? What is the place of staff functions in an expanding organization? What steps can be taken to insure clear channels of internal communication? How does size affect personal initiative in middle and top management? How can flexibility be achieved in large scale operations? To what extent can control be secured through the selection, indoctrination, and training of subordinates? How much autonomy should be given decentralized operating units? How does size affect the kind of executive required at different organization levels?

The conclusions which are presented in this book represent the pooled judgments of the participants in the round table as summarized and interpreted by the authors. Since the majority of the members of the group are or were top executives of businesses which have reached this stage of their growth, they discussed these problems on the basis of their own personal experience. This lends their conclusions a practical, down-to-earth quality which inspires confidence in their soundness. (This whole field is so new that relatively little has been written on these questions, so that much of what they conclude constitutes pioneering thinking.) The authors have done an outstanding job of organizing the subject matter and presenting a systematic

series of conclusions and recommendations which will be of value both to the working executive and to the student of business organization. An Appendix is included which summarizes in a clear and challenging fashion the more important of the questions raised in the discussions since one of the principal aims of the project was to identify areas of management needing further research. These questions are posed with the thought that they represent a challenge and opportunity for men who believe that an improvement in a knowledge of management is a worthwhile endeavor.

What Makes an Executive? is a similar report presenting a distillation of the thoughts and opinions of a group of mature executives, university professors, clergymen, and a psychiatrist relative to the factors involved in the emergence of top leadership in business and other sectors of society. The paramount objective of this project was to develop key questions which, when answered, will lead to new knowledge. Typical of the questions raised are: how to pick young men who have the potential for eventual leadership, how to aid them in developing their potential to the fullest and how to use them to best advantage in key management positions. To provide some material which will be helpful in these areas, the participants discussed both their own experience as executives and the selection and training programs with which they were familiar. Specifically, the topics covered included: the origins of executive potential, the value of a college education, the recognition of potential executives, the development of future executives, the evaluation of executive performance, and the handling of the executive in the organization. There is also a summary which includes suggestions for future policy and research activities.

While this book also reflects the broad, practical backgrounds of the men participating in the discussions, the treatment of the material itself is not as satisfying as in *Management of Expanding Enterprises*. It appears more loosely organized. It sounds more like a typical round table discussion where many points of view are presented but no clear-cut conclusions are reached. (It was taken directly from tape recordings.) It is as though a moderator was needed to integrate the thinking of the group. The material is interesting, many of the questions are challenging, and there are many valuable comments and suggestions. Nevertheless, this treatment seems rather less conclusive than does the report of the other round table. In spite of this weakness, however, the book contains much that will be of value to the executive, to the personnel man, and to the student of executive development.

ROBERT N. MCMURRY
McMurry, Hamstra, and Company

A. J. BROWN. *The Great Inflation 1939–1951*. Pp. xiv, 321. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. $4.80.

Professor Brown's *The Great Inflation* presents a broad panorama of the world-wide inflationary movement associated with World War II and its aftermath. It is not intended to be a detailed analysis of inflation in individual countries, except to the extent necessary for the broad picture, but it provides an excellent background for studies of individual countries.

Inflation is defined as an inordinate rise of prices. The author's general approach is to provide a certain amount of exposition of theory as a framework for the discussion of the factual situations. The exposition of theory is generally elegant and a great effort is made to bring in "realistic" considerations to which more traditional theory had given less emphasis. Nevertheless, the tie between economic theory and the analysis of an actual situation is frequently not very close; this is not the author's fault, but an indication of the underdeveloped state of economic tools even in the hands of a sophisticated expert.

Besides a detailed description of the inflationary movement from 1939 to 1951, the book gives special attention to the effects of war expenditures, the price-wage spiral problem, policies of controlling inflation—monetary, price control and rationing—hyper-inflation, and the international spread of inflation. In many of these areas the author's clear analysis represents an important step forward in our understanding of inflation. However, his description of the effects of sharply increasing Govern-

ment expenditures fails to take into account adequately the fact that the major effect of increased Government operations on the economy is not when expenditures increase, but much earlier, when commitments are increased. For example, military expenditures of the United States in 1951 were about 22 billion dollars; commitments, however, amounted to 50 billion dollars. The inflationary impact of much higher Government commitments is not very closely related to Government expenditures; their more immediate effect is to increase private expenditures. An analysis via commitments or obligations rather than expenditures would have been more relevant, and would probably have afforded even greater support for the author's basic conclusion that "the expenditure approach to the phenomena of inflation, so enlightening in most circumstances, turns out to be sadly inadequate during the period under review."

Professor Brown finds a bias towards inflation in most economies in times of fairly full employment, and he regards this as "the most persistent and troublesome inflationary threat facing the western world." While the relationship between full employment and rising prices is made quite clear, it is not at all obvious why the price rise must be so "inordinate" as to amount to an inflation. The author's sketchy but challenging remarks on this matter deserve to be expanded into a separate book.

HANS A. ADLER

McLean, Va.

PIERRE MENDÈS-FRANCE and GABRIEL ARDANT. *Economics and Action.* Pp. 222. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. (A UNESCO Publication.) $3.50.

In this slim volume Pierre Mendès-France and Gabriel Ardant undertake to present, to those who have received a good general education but no specific economic or financial training, the insight given by economics regarding action in practical affairs. Three-quarters of the book is devoted to "The Problem of Equilibrium" in the sense of the maintenance of full employment. There are chapters on the beginnings of economics, the classical theory of equilibrium and its shortcomings, the Keynesian general theory of employment, and the full employment policy to which it leads. This largely theoretical discussion is followed by examples of the application of classical theory to the problem of unemployment (including the policy pursued by the gold-bloc countries in the thirties and by Bruning in Germany and Laval in France), which are contrasted with the more Keynesian policies followed by Great Britain after 1931, by Germany under Hitler, and by the New Deal. A final group of chapters covers the advances in our understanding of what is required to fight inflation, forecasting and co-ordination, the problem of equilibrium under a collectivist regime, and the future of full employment policy.

There is little of interest to the specialist in this section. The extent to which it will be of interest to the general reader for whom it is designed is harder for a specialist to say. It is my impression that the theoretical material has been better covered elsewhere, but what is presented appears generally correct and the two chapters on practical experience demonstrate rather impressively that deflation by government is a poor means of eliminating deflation in the economy as a whole.

The remainder of the volume is harder to summarize. Entitled "The Problem of Choice," it deals with the economic allocation of resources. Although it suggests that there is much to be said for the "natural mechanism" of laissez-faire, it also concludes that Joan Robinson and Chamberlin between them have provided "one of the strongest arguments for either anti-trust legislation or a policy of nationalization or state control of large sectors of the economy" (p. 182). The emergence of monopoly or imperfect competition, the existence of unearned rents, the divorce between ownership and management, irrational behavior, and differences between social and private costs are among the factors making for state intervention in economic affairs. "[Once liberalism's intellectual framework] had been undermined by economic analysis, a kind of guilty conscience made it increasingly difficult to resist the 'encroachments' of the state" (p. 199). But where the government does in-

tervene, the book goes on to argue that "considered mechanisms" should be established in place of "natural mechanisms" to enable the state to economize in a rational fashion.

The final section of the volume I can highly recommend to economists, but not to laymen, as a fascinating example of the confusion prevailing in our profession. What particularly bothers me is that, by and large, the authors have summarized what economics has to offer rather fairly. I happen personally to be quite convinced that the shortcomings of free enterprise, including the impact of monopoly on resource allocation, can be shown to be quantitatively rather trivial; but there is no body of literature on the practical performance of free enterprise economies to which I can refer Mendès-France and Ardant. Most basic of all, neither maintenance of full employment nor proper resource allocation is the solution for France's fundamental economic problem; what she needs most is a more rapid increase in productivity over time. Yet, despite the fact that Ardant was General Commissioner for Productivity, this whole matter is omitted—and quite properly so, as economics has as yet practically nothing to say on the subject!

HENRY H. VILLARD
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JAMES DAHIR. *Region Building: Community Development Lessons from the Tennessee Valley*. Pp. xiv, 208. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. $3.75.

Mr. Dahir believes that the present development of urban life is "unholy," and that the accompanying rural decline is "unhealthy." He suggests, at least as a partial solution, the development of regions together with the development of subregions and communities. Community and subregion development is now largely missing; he undertakes to discuss, in this popularly written volume, what goes on in the Tennessee Valley looking toward this development. He outlines the TVA's structure and activities and provides chapters on various community movements: the push towards industrial development, the relation of electric power to community development, and the successes and failures of regional planning in the area. Mr. Dahir is pro-TVA, and he puts his finger on one great intangible merit of TVA which is obscured by all the attacks on the Authority from the Roosevelt to the Eisenhower administration. The Authority represents a greatly conceived and imaginative approach to community living; it has struck foreigners in this way, whereas, all too frequently Americans have fallen for the vague and ill defined stamp of "creeping socialism." Mr. Dahir is also not unaware that the planning powers of TVA are limited, and he uses Knoxville as a sample to show what happens when planning is absent. The example is a good one, but it ought to be said that most of the examples of good planning induced by TVA are very meager indeed. TVA is not a city or community planning agency. It has been able to help some, but in Tennessee, at least, the big cities are making all the major mistakes previously made by cities in the Northeast and elsewhere. Such community planning as exists doesn't have much impact, for the governmental design is inadequate. Voluntary community action is no substitute for governmental authority.

LEE S. GREENE
University of Tennessee

BURNHAM PUTNAM BECKWITH. *Marginal-Cost Price-Output Control*. Pp. viii, 283. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. $5.75.

The book, which fundamentally has an ideological thesis, illustrates a great thought cleavage. It stands for no "differentials," and therefore for equality in the sense of uniformity. Different incomes according to different location, availability in time, and individual ability, can and should be eliminated, is the argument. This goes with socialism and an attempt to generalize "monopolistic competition" (society becoming "the firm"). The main affiliation is with Lange, Lerner, and Sweezy, and some British socialists.

The "theory" is frankly "prescriptive." It states what prices ought to be. The author says it is the only valid theory for so-

cialism and is a significant new argument for socialism.

A disregard for the individual appears in that the harm done to some individuals by proposed policies is considered unimportant (p. 29).

The lack of scholarship and of interest in history as evolution is notable. After a dogmatic statement of the author's ideas about the nature of the economic problem, comes an account, largely secondhand, of early mentions and subsequent discussion of "marginal cost" as related mostly to railway and public utility rates. (Launhardt's *volkswirtschaftlich* is translated as "social"!)

The main logical characteristic is abstraction and assumption, marked by arbitrary, question-begging definition. We are told that either the price or the output of each reproducible good should be directly raised or lowered until the price becomes equal to the marginal money costs of production, defined as "current costs at the intensive margin of production" (pp. 173–74). This marginal cost, or outlay, is to include only (1) continuously variable and (2) directly measurable items with no allowance for depreciation, research, or advertising.

The author omits all nondirect or nonspecific costs, consumer surplus, economic rents, long-term fixed charges, and profits. No place is allowed for time preference or uncertainty.

He doesn't understand that a margin is the difference between two totals. His theoretical margins are illogically separate from totals and therefore from averages.

Finally, the fallacy of the dosing-method surplus appears in his notion of "only a single marginal unit" (p. 13). The interrelation between extensive and intensive margins seems not to be understood by him.

The main good in the book is its emphasis of the idea of allocating "joint costs" according to demand (but without adequate reference to other work done in the field.) Also good are the criticisms of the Marshallian separation of long- and short-run costs, and of price stabilization policies.

The publication of such works, however, emphasizes the need for greater scholarship and for more study of the history of economic thought, lest the time come when the science of economics will have to be learned all over again.

LEWIS H. HANEY
New York Unverisity

NEIL W. CHAMBERLAIN. *A General Theory of Economic Process.* Pp. viii, 370. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. $5.00.

Mr. Chamberlain has turned his back on industrial relations, for the time being, and busied himself with ordering the economic world at large. He accepts most of the traditional economic analysis, viewing the economic process as one which is concerned with maximizing the yields and conserving scarce resources. Chapter I is devoted to showing that the economic process is part of a greater cultural process. However, the impingement of noneconomic activity on the economic process is not the great burden of the book, nor is there any analysis integrating the economic process into a general culture process or any other partial social process.

The underlying philosophy of the *General Theory of Economic Process* is the notion that alternative costs are very significant in determining the direction and nature of economic activity. Indeed one might say that the doctrine of alternative costs becomes almost a psychological and socio-psychological theory in Mr. Chamberlain's hands. The result is a refinement in traditional doctrine in the light of Mr. Chamberlain's own vocabulary and interests.

This adherence to custom is especially noticeable in Mr. Chamberlain's use of static analysis. The role of time, historical change or adjustments of economic activity, including techniques and aspirations to noneconomic activity, are not considered at any great length.

A *General Theory of Economic Process* is a statement or restatement of traditional economic analysis by one who brings an expertise from one of the specialized, applied fields of social analysis. The book has many interesting and unusual insights, and so is provocative and stimulating.

SIDNEY C. SUFRIN
Syracuse University

SOCIOLOGY AND EDUCATION

GORDON W. ALLPORT. *Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality.* Pp. ix, 106. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 1955. $2.75.

In this slender and delightfully written volume, Gordon Allport, professor of psychology at Harvard University, eloquently calls for the more adequate study of the whole personality, its growth, and development. Based on the Terry Lectures which Dr. Allport delivered at Yale University in March 1954, the book is a testament of his psychological faith. Modern psychology, he feels, working mainly in the philosophical tradition stemming from Lockean empiricism and using predominantly mechanical, animal, and pathological models, has scaled down the image of man and drawn but half his figure. It has largely ignored, or denied, the autonomous, creative, rational, and individualistic components of personality that give man his full stature as a human being. Oversimplification may succeed only in caricaturing human nature, Professor Allport says, and asks that conceptual openmindedness and a reasoned eclecticism be brought to the psychological task.

The central problem for a psychology of becoming, the author states, is to account for the process of growth whereby an unsocialized infant is transformed into a fully socialized adult. In his view, this process is governed not only by the impact of the environment upon a modest endowment of drives common to the species, but also by the unfolding of inherent capacities and dispositions to structure experience and give it meaning in a manner that is self-aware, self-critical and self-enhancing.

Thus, Dr. Allport would admit as essential data in the scientific study of personality those psychological functions commonly ascribed to a self or ego. Taking off from William James's early notions, he distinguishes eight aspects of the self which together comprise what he calls the *proprium*—the person's own sense of what is intimately and peculiarly his. Included in the *proprium* are bodily sense, self-identity, ego-enhancement (the self-seeking and narcissistic component), ego-extension (identification with objects, persons, values), a rational agent (including the Freudian defense mechanisms), self-image (both assessment and aspirations), propriate striving (compelling and persistent motives as distinguished from peripheral and transitory drives), and emerging as a final and inescapable postulate, the self as knower. These propriate functions, developing over time and fusing in their operation, according to Dr. Allport, are what give personality its peculiar unity and distinctiveness.

The conception of human nature that emerges from these pages—in its rationality, self-objectivity, orientation to the future, in its very perfectibility—is strongly colored by Western Christian and democratic values. In so far as this is a conception of what man *can become* in a free society rather than of what human nature *everywhere is*, few would probably be disposed to quarrel with it. Psychology is a young science itself in the process of becoming. Perhaps it will gain the maturity Professor Allport asks of it however formidable the scientific task.

JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE
Social Science Research Council

RUSSELL KIRK. *Academic Freedom: An Essay in Definition.* Pp. 210. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1955. $3.75.

Russell Kirk, author of *The Conservative Mind* and *A Program for Conservatives*, has taken a look at academic freedom that is refreshing whether one agrees with him or not. The theme of his essay is essentially in harmony with that of his other works. If academic freedom is to be preserved through this dark time, he says, the work must be done by men of a conservative bent.

The author does not mince words nor is he reluctant to name names. John Dewey is said to reflect a collectivism "which outdoes Marx." Sidney Hook "has done his share in pouring out sloppy rhetoric about democracy." Robert M. Hutchins, despite his many contributions to the cause of academic freedom, in one instance "aban-

doned his own championship of academic freedom, forgot the honor of his own university, [and] violated his own tenure-policies, . . . all for the sake of gratifying a wounded ego." The names of Robert Oppenheimer and Edward U. Condon suggest the type of "scholar in the physical sciences bent upon transferring (through a naïve analogy) power to manipulate nature into power to manipulate men."

Academic freedom, the author maintains, is the natural right of certain persons, usually few in number, to teach truthfully, to employ their reason to the full extent of their intellectual powers, to conserve truth, and to extend it. Academic freedom has never meant complete autonomy for teachers, or "the licentious toleration of a bewildering congeries of private fancies." Like other prescriptive rights, it has its boundaries and its corresponding duties.

An all-out attack is launched against the intolerance of doctrinaire levellers, doctrinaire secularists, and certain professed guardians of tolerance and liberal opinions. The levellers want to lower the academic standards of the colleges and universities so that the masses can charge in. Private institutions provide the sturdiest bulwark against such intrusions. Secularists fail to recognize that the fear of God is the beginning of wisdom, that educational institutions strongly influenced by religious dogmas are the greatest respecters of the dignity of the scholar, and that religious conviction remains an indispensable support to academic freedom.

Certain professed guardians of tolerance and liberal opinion are taken to task, by name, for speaking well of academic freedom but practicing it poorly.

A professor ought to be free to speculate aloud about politics so long as he does not indoctrinate his students. But professors are not alone among those who must restrain their indoctrinating tendencies. Trustees, alumni, and others should not try rashly to impose "loyalty oaths" on faculty members without careful consideration of the implications of the particular oath to be employed. Likewise the professor whose past associations are questioned should anticipate the probable adverse effects of any blanket use he may be impelled to make of protection under the Fifth Amendment.

It is in the nature of essays not to be comprehensive surveys, hence to leave many questions about their subject unanswered. This one is no exception. Yet it is well worth reading—and pondering.

CLAUDE E. HAWLEY

Washington, D. C.

MARTIN MEYERSON and EDWARD C. BANFIELD. *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest: The Case of Public Housing in Chicago.* Pp. 353. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. $5.00.

This volume is a noteworthy advance in the case study technique of analyzing public decision processes. It is characterized by disciplined analysis of its data, by perceptual sensitivity, by self-awareness regarding the validity of its evaluations, by skillful handling of analytical concepts, and by familiarity with social action theory. It is an advance over the prevailing case study technique in the field of public administration because it liberates that technique from the confines of historicism. The authors move on to relate the events they describe so effectively to social action theory and to a stimulating conceptual analysis of certain key processes involved in the making of the public decisions with which they are concerned.

The decisions governing the choice of sites for the location of public housing projects in the city of Chicago provide the subject matter for this volume. These decisions are the focal point for community-wide controversy because the location of public housing projects contains a potential threat to the existing, socially-maintained pattern of negro-white residential segregation. Thus the authors have written a case study of the characteristics of the decision processes in a modern, polyglot urban community which has to face diverse and variant social goals of an inchoate nature that are thrust upon it by diverse institutions with vaguely defined social roles and self-images of function and power.

In the development of their case study, the authors give special attention to "politics," "planning," and "the public interest,"

both as analytical ideas and as social processes. They do not devote a separate chapter to "strategy," although in their own story inter-organization strategy emerges as a process of decisive importance in decision making. Their treatment of the Chicago public housing controversy necessarily moves them into a discussion of politicians, bureaucrats, and reformers as social types and as personalities. They are hard on reformers, who symbolize rational social action (planning) on the basis of intelligence applied to social problems. Reformers emerge an impotent second best to politicians, and the ideology of reform cannot stand up to the nonideological realism of politics. Realistic machine politics is defended in terms of its social utility, and reform strategy proves no match for the strategy of machine politics when the chips are down. The public interest remains unidentifiable and unresolvable within a milieu of organized interest groups.

NATHAN D. GRUNDSTEIN
Wayne University

WILLIAM A. ROBSON (Ed.). *Great Cities of the World: Their Government, Politics and Planning.* Pp. 693. London; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955. $10.00.

This is a monumental work, the first to deal consistently and systematically with the large cities of the world in their governmental, political, and planning aspects. First conceived by Professor Robson in 1939 while he was writing *The Government and Misgovernment of London*, but interrupted by World War II, the volume now presented is intended by the editor to accomplish a twofold purpose: "First, that it should describe the local government of a representative group of great cities. Second, that it should show whether, and if so how far, these communities are confronting common problems; and what steps, if any, they are taking to overcome them."

The first purpose is the more successfully accomplished. Twenty of the great cities of the world are each the subject of an essay by an author who knows the city at first hand, and who is interested not merely in its legal aspects but also in its political forces and its governmental realities. Eight of these cities (Amsterdam, Copenhagen, London, Manchester, Paris, Rome, Stockholm, Zurich) may be classed as Western European; five of them (Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Montreal, Toronto) are North American; four (Bombay, Calcutta, Sydney, Wellington) are in the Far East; two (Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro) are in South America; and Moscow represents the Soviet type. Another method of classification might note that eight of the cities are within the British Commonwealth system and tradition; and that, except for only two, or possibly three, cases, all the great cities discussed are within the democratic tradition. This is a sufficiently representative group of great cities to give us a comprehensive view of their basic governmental characteristics as a world-wide phenomenon; and, in addition, to serve as a testimonial to the editor's vision, ingenuity, and patience amid all the vicissitudes of a multinational research project.

The second purpose turns out to be more difficult of accomplishment. The identification of common problems among great cities is complicated by their marked variations in size, age, constitutional status, economic character, geographical factors, resources, and other important variables. It is further complicated by the differing values and preoccupations of the authors of the chapters on individual cities, despite the efforts of the editor to insure consistency of exposition and analysis. An additional difficulty flows from the necessity of appraising a great city within the limits of a single chapter (for example, London, 40 pages; New York, 38 pages).

The editor's second purpose is most fully realized in his own introductory essay, "The Great City of Today," which in eighty pages presents an admirable and perceptive synthesis not only of the whole volume, but of his own reflections on the great city as "a very modern phenomenon." He is convinced that "great cities all over the world are facing common problems which are mainly due to similar causes." These common problems he summarizes as five in number: (1) organization of areas and authorities, (2) popular interest and demo-

cratic participation, (3) efficiency of the municipal services, (4) finance, and (5) planning the metropolitan region.

This pioneering work should stimulate students of urban government and politics in many countries to move forward to full-length studies of individual cities and to comparative studies of various kinds, all useful to the improvement of the great city as a center of modern life.

WALLACE S. SAYRE
Columbia University

ARTHUR EVANS WOOD. *Hamtramck Then and Now: A Sociological Study of a Polish-American Community.* Pp. 253. New York: Bookman Associates, 1955. $4.00.

Hamtramck is a city within Detroit, Michigan, with a 1950 population of 43,355, 75 per cent Polish-American. The elected officials are all Polish. The major industry is the Dodge-Chrysler auto plant.

This study is a colorful historical journalistic-style account of the city government and school issues centered around the Polish leaders. The data on the geographical and population aspects, Polish cultural background, crime and delinquency, organizations, and family life are meager.

The author, a retired professor of sociology at the University of Michigan, obtained the data from Detroit newspaper accounts, informants, some official governmental sources, and by "questionnaires" on some minor issues. There is no systematic citation of sources nor a bibliography, but there is an index.

There is no theoretical framework, unless it be the loose twin notion that Hamtramck "is a 'cultural island'" in process of "disorganization" (pp. 13, 10). One theme is that Hamtramck is not as "bad" as Detroit newspapers (recent exception, the *Detroit Times*) depict it to be (pp. 27, 69, 148, 165–66).

The political corruption described is attributed to the Polish cultural heritage and to American conditions (pp. 28, 232–45). The former attribution is not convincing, and in some cases comic, as when the author connects "coal-stealing" to "the predatory exploits in the manor forests of the old world" (p. 233).

The author's concern that "disorganized behavior" may be due to the Poles' "innate qualities as a people" (pp. 232–3) indicates some of the superficial thinking present. The solution indicated—"indigenous leadership, supported by sound community organization"—(p. 245) is not explained and is mystifying because Hamtramck has had "indigenous leadership," and because the most "constructive" leaders in the past —a school superintendent and a Board of Commerce official—were neither indigenous nor Polish (pp. 69, 72, 87, 88).

Sociologists interested in the theory of immigrant adjustment or assimilation will find no contribution here.

The author has the evaluative, not descriptive, notions of culture (pp. 173, 189), and of assimilation, as when he states that "there has never been any question but that the Poles have been exemplary Americans. They have helped to produce the wealth of our mines and factories and fought in our wars. What more could one ask?" (p. 10). Yet the author does ask "more" when he implies that there may not be "an 'adaptation' to the more wholesome features of American life" (p. 14), or when he deplores the activities of Polish organizations which are such as to "keep the people Polish rather than to make them Americans" (pp. 183, 178, 36).

In general, the author throws encomiums in the direction of the Poles and, at the same time, heaps jargonistic blame on them.

STEPHEN W. MAMCHUR
Wayne University

SARKIS ATAMIAN. *The Armenian Community: The Historical Development of a Social and Ideological Conflict.* Pp. 479. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. $4.75.

There are fairly large Armenian communities in a number of metropolitan areas in at least three of which (New York, Boston and Detroit) citizens of Armenian origin number close to 40,000 each. There are others wherein their number varies from 10,000 to 25,000. The total number of

such citizens in the country is close to 250,000, and probably half of that number belongs to the second generation, born and brought up in this country and whose ways of living and outlook on life differ considerably from those of their immigrant parents. Here we have a distinct case of conflict between the old and the new. And the study of such a conflict would be not only interesting but extremely valuable, especially for the sociologist. One would have assumed that the author of this ponderous work, a sociologist by training and at one time a member of the Sociology Department at the University of Rhode Island, has done just that. Actually and unfortunately, however, this is not so. Notwithstanding his explanatory subtitle the author has not made an adequate study of "the historical development of a sociological and ideological conflict." Instead of limiting himself to his specialized but proper field, he has wandered far into other areas, such as the organization of Armenian communal life in Turkey and in Czarist Russia, the relations of Armenians with Kurds and Turks, the Armenian Question, the rise of political parties among the Armenians, the birth and death of the short-lived Armenian Republic in 1918–20, the diplomacy of the Powers in the Near East, and so forth; and in all these he seems to be no more than a mere dabbler, a wayward amateur.

The book opens with a ten-page breezy Introduction by James H. Tashjian in which one finds a fairly adequate sketch of Armenian history. The next 175 odd pages deal with the Armenian community in Turkey where the clergy necessarily played the leading part. Since the early 1860's Armenian communal affairs there were governed under an "Armenian Constitution." The author claims that under this constitution the clergy usurped its authority and always favored the urban rich against the rural poor, and thus was instrumental in the birth of a sharp class conflict. But this is a broad, baseless assertion. The ill-treatment and the recurrent massacres of the Armenians, the rise of Armenian nationalism, and other events up to and including World War I are narrated in a somewhat desultory and repetitious manner. The next 150 pages (pp. 204–352) deal with the rise of the Armenian Republic in the Caucasus, the spread of Bolshevism there, the loss of Armenian independence, and "Communism, the nationalities problem, and the Armenian ideologies." Thus better than two thirds of the book precedes the chapter on "The Armenian Community in America" (pp. 353–74), followed by the two remaining lengthy chapters, one on the author's exaggerated "Pro-Communist Armenian Campaign," and the other on the Armenian Apostolic Church. The most this reviewer can say of Atamian's first book is that it is of uneven value: it offers some information, but there is a good percentage of misinformation throughout the book. Even allowing for the one-sided and the narrow viewpoint of its author, it does not live up to its claim as a study of "The Historical Development of a Sociological and Ideological Conflict."

A. O. SARKISSIAN
Library of Congress

STANLEY HUGH SMITH. *Freedom to Work.* Pp. x, 217. New York: Vantage Press, 1955. $4.00.

Case studies of the background, legislative development, and administration of specific statutes have long been subjects of doctoral dissertations in political science. The book under review is such a dissertation in sociology, and its topic, the Fair Employment Practices Law in the state of Washington, is of special interest to sociologists. The author does a passable job of defining his problem, surveying the literature, reporting on comparable laws in other areas, detailing the legislative history of Washington's FEP law, recording the types of cases that have been dealt with under the law, and suggesting further research. There is little that is unique in this story, except possibly for the early Communist association with the bill.

While the author performs a service in bringing together the varied relevant facts about FEP in *Washington,* he makes a claim to distinction which is scarcely justified. Numerous reports of the "inside"

legislative history of FEP laws in other states, of their applications and their effects on diminishing discrimination, of local patterns of employment discrimination, and so on, are available in published pamphlets or mimeographed memoranda. The author seems to have limited his search of the literature to books and general periodicals. Other defects are a limited conception of "evaluation" of a law, an identification of discrimination with concentration in lower occupational groups, the absence of an index, and a naive attitude toward scientific methodology (p. 23).

The campaign for an FEP law in Washington began in 1945. The "mass agitation" approach, especially when led by leftists, antagonized the legislators, and the bill was defeated after a promising start. A more representative group led the 1947 campaign but was poorly organized and failed to get many supporters outside of Seattle. Careful organization, an approach directed at the legislature itself, the information given to the legislature by the legal counsel of New York's State Commission Against Discrimination, won the day in 1949. The bill was passed by a Democratic House and a Republican Senate. The law has helped somewhat, but many minority persons do not know about it or are disinclined to use it. There are loopholes which permit employers to evade the law, at least temporarily. But Washington is participating in the gradual national trend toward decreasing discrimination, and Smith is to be commended for recording the facts.

ARNOLD M. ROSE
University of Minnesota

SAMUEL R. SPENCER, JR. *Booker T. Washington and the Negro's Place in American Life.* Pp. ix, 212. Boston; Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1955. $3.00.

It is appropriate that The Library of American Biography, edited by Oscar Handlin, should devote a volume to Booker T. Washington (1856–1915). Following his famous Atlanta address and the death of Frederick Douglass, both in 1895, Washington was the foremost American Negro and his people's most influential spokesman. Despite sharp criticism from William E. B. DuBois and other prominent Negroes, Washington was the leader in American Negro affairs until his death.

An account of Washington's slave childhood, his education at Hampton Institute, and the founding and development of Tuskegee Institute into a living monument to his educational philosophy provide a background for the balanced and factual appraisal of Washington's larger role as a Negro leader. This readable little book covers the available material including Washington's own best selling autobiography, *Up From Slavery.* A Note on the Sources directs the more interested reader.

Washington, the educator, stressed a practical education in agricultural and industrial skills to prepare the Negro for economic advancement and independence. At the opening of the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition, he proposed that the Negro postpone social and political integration until his economic improvement made him worthy of the rights and privileges of full citizenship.

Washington was convinced that Southern whites and Negroes had a common destiny. In return for the co-operation of Southern whites in providing economic opportunities for the Negro, he was prepared to compromise on other issues until the Negro had achieved his sound economic foundation. The Atlanta address was misinterpreted as an endorsement of the separate, but equal principle and an acceptance of existing conditions and prejudices.

Any evaluation of Washington's gradual, evolutionary approach to the problem of the Negro's successful integration into American life and of the bolder approach of his critics must recognize that his primary responsibility was to Alabama's Tuskegee Institute. Much of his time was spent cultivating Northern philanthropists and foundations and maintaining good public relations. Expediency usually demanded his circumspect conduct although on occasion he worked undercover for the Negro.

Washington expected the Negroes to remain permanently in the South as members of rural communities. He did not reckon on Negro migration and urbanization, and he thought of industrial prepa-

ration in terms of the independent farmer, craftsman, or businessman. Nonetheless, the biographer may properly conclude that he "did what was possible, given the time and place in which he lived, and did it to the utmost."

FRANK J. KLINGBERG
University of California
Los Angeles

RONALD HARE. *Pomp and Pestilence: Infectious Disease, Its Origins and Conquest.* Pp. 224. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. $5.75.

We may safely assume that disease is as old as life itself because disease is nothing else but life, life under changed circumstances, as Virchow defined it. It is obvious that man at all times suffered accidents that caused wounds and fractures of bones, and man reacted very much through the same disease mechanisms. Bacteria have been found in Algonkian rocks. We do not know whether these bacteria were pathogenic or not. In this fascinating book Professor Hare differentiates between symbiosis, when host and parasite operate to mutual advantage; commensalism, the eating at the same table; and a third form of parasitism which may be called pathogenesis, or ability to produce disease. Chapter II is devoted to what bacteriologists call endemic infection, that is infections which occur in the community more or less all the time. Epidemics occur when a parasite is imported into a population previously unacquainted with it and therefore without immunity. Some occur when a large number of susceptibles are brought into an area in which a parasite is found, that causes endemic infections among the native population. Some epidemics are due to a sudden change in the facilities of transmission of a parasite when a carrier of the parasite has a chance to infect water and milk supplies. Others are due to a sudden change in the virulence of the parasite, and some are due to a reduced resistance of the population.

The discovery of the bacteria makes a fascinating story. Anton van Leeuwenhoek was the first to describe bacteria, which he found in the scrapings of his tongue. Since he was perfectly healthy the idea did not occur to him that these microbes may cause disease. A Jesuit Father, Athanasius Kircher, also in the 17th century examined under the microscope pus and blood from plague patients and found tiny worms which made him believe that the contagium of the plague was an animated one. The German anatomist and pathologist Jakob Henle reasoned in a classical study *Of Miasmata and Contagia and of the Miasmatic-Contagious Diseases* that Miasmata and Contagia must be identical and must be animated, but his work remained without repercussion until Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch discovered the true nature of bacteria.

Professor Hare discusses in a brilliant chapter the reaction of the community. On July 20, 1377 the City Council of Ragusa ordered all incoming ships from plague ridden localities to be held on the island Mercana for one month *ad purgandum*. Six years later Marseilles ordered a quarantine on the island of Pornique. The great public health movement started in England because the country was industrialized first and health conditions were appalling. Professor Hare has a chapter on reaction of the individual and ends with a chapter on parasites and population.

Dr. Hare is Professor of Bacteriology at St. Thomas' Hospital in the University of London. He has produced a fascinating book full of most significant facts.

HENRY E. SIGERIST
Pura, Ticino
Switzerland

MARTA FRAENKEL and CARL L. ERHARDT. *Morbidity in the Municipal Hospitals of the City of New York: Report of an Exploratory Study in Hospital Morbidity Reporting.* Pp. 229. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955. $4.50.

In the last chapter, the authors evaluate the results of their findings in this exploratory study and recommend that a continuing morbidity reporting system be established in New York City, at first in the municipal hospitals only but gradually expanded to include all hospitals in the community. Problems are anticipated, but de-

tailed instructions are submitted as to how, by whom, and at what cost this may be accomplished.

In the Foreword, Leona Baumgartner, M.D., Commissioner of Health of New York City, and Basil C. MacLean, M.D., Commissioner of Hospitals, give due praise to the wealth of valuable information condensed in this distinguished work and state that steps have already been set in motion to start at the earliest possible date a program of morbidity reporting in the municipal hospitals of that city.

The Appendices describe other experience in hospital morbidity reporting and discuss methodology for processing diagnostic data. No small part of this pilot study was the work involved in the translation of the clinically detailed terms and codes of the *Standard Nomenclature of Diseases and Operations*, in which the hospital discharge diagnoses are originally recorded, into the more mechanically practical groupings of the *International Statistical Classification of Diseases, Injuries, and Causes of Death*. Appendix D, Table 54, lists 451 International Classification diagnoses accounting for 25 or more discharged patients—a useful presentation for persons studying the less frequent causes of illness requiring hospitalization. Appendix D, Table 53, gives the authors' abridgment of the International Classification into their summary list of 196 categories meaningful in relation to causes for hospitalization.

Tables 1–52 array the 121,952 inpatients discharged during the six-month study period, May–October 1952, according to age, sex, color, diagnosis, length of stay, condition on discharge, and in various other significant ways. Of special interest to students of chronic disease and aging are the chapters and tables concerning cancer, tuberculosis, circulatory, and other chronic diseases; psychiatric conditions with special reference to alcoholism; and the hospitalization of patients 65 years and over.

The authors ask and answer a question that may come to the minds of public health administrators: "To what extent will hospital reporting furnish data on specific illnesses for the entire population or for significant age and sex groups? By their very nature, the aggregate of the records from all hospitals in a community will provide a complete picture of certain serious diseases among the population concerned and a partial picture of other serious diseases. Most minor illnesses, however, are omitted."

LOUISE E. BOLLO
U. S. Department of Health,
Education, and Welfare

ALBERT SALOMON. *The Tyranny of Progress: Reflections on the History of French Sociology*. Pp. 115. New York: Noonday Press, 1955. $3.00.

Perhaps the foremost symptom of the degradation of the history of social thought in the last quarter of a century has been the exaggerated concentration on the social significance of totalitarianism and the even more fantastic search for its origins in past social thought, as though it were primarily an ideological rather than ăn operational product.

This has led to such absurdities as the discovery that Socrates, usually regarded as a martyr to intellectual freedom, was in reality the "first Fascist." French social thinkers have been lined up as putative "fathers" of bureaucratic tryanny: a respectable historian has finally decided that poor old Proudhon, whom historians of social thought had previously been unable to list decisively as a socialist or an anarchist, was actually the founder of fascism. Professor Salomon takes French social thought to task along this line of indictment far more comprehensively.

In his small book, he discusses the effective origins of the law of social progress in the *Discourses* of Turgot, and then seeks to demonstrate that this idea, when adopted by Saint Simon and Comte and both echoed and distorted by Hegel and Marx, led straight to the bureaucratic totalitarianism of Lenin, Stalin, Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco. This development naturally and obviously blasted the optimistic dream of orthogenic, cumulative, and unlimited social progress.

Sociologists are surely entitled to their own opinions, and Professor Salomon has expressed his in this book frankly and with virtually no qualifications. The reviewer can be equally candid. He believes it to

be utterly absurd to regard Saint Simon and Comte as, in any direct and effective sense, forerunners of contemporary totalitarianism. It seems even more preposterous to assign to their mild personal "bohemianism" causal significance along this line. The programs of these men, if they had been literally put into operation, would have led to utopias in which benign sociologists and industrial engineers would have dominated the public scene rather than commissars or gauleiters.

But the main error lies in regarding contemporary totalitarianism as an ideological rather than an operational product. It is obvious that there have been plenty of totalitarian strains in social thought from Plato onward, and even the right-wing totalitarians have developed *ex post facto* ideologies to embellish their bureaucratic systems, but these systems have been the product of contemporary social conditions —chiefly global and total war—rather than of social thought. Russian Communism, which did have a strong ideological background, was a child of World War I and gained its dominant position as a result of the second.

Modern total war is chiefly the outcome of the rise of mass communications and emotional engineering (systematic propaganda), and such books as Sisley Huddleston's *Popular Diplomacy and War* and Oron J. Hale's *Publicity and Diplomacy* throw more light on the rise, nature, and frequency of total war in our day than the whole body of social thinkers from Plato to Talcott Parsons. If one seeks two responsible Frenchmen, then Poincaré and Clemenceau were tenfold more influential than Comte and Saint Simon. And the same factors that led to total war and totalitarianism were the lethal forces that dealt the death blow to the dream of social progress.

The reviewer may be misguided in this view, but it is his opinion that, if one seeks an operational guide to the origin of the twin evils of our age: totalitarianism and "perpetual war for perpetual peace," it is more likely to be found in the writings of Lawrence Dennis (*Dynamics of War and Revolution*), James Burnham (*The Managerial Revolution*), John T. Flynn (*As We Go Marching*), and, above all, George Orwell (*Nineteen Eighty-four*), than in books like those by Professor Salomon. There is little point in blaming Turgot, Saint Simon and Comte for trends and developments they could not possibly have foreseen—indeed, were actually not anticipated by some of the most astute social thinkers at the end of the first decade of the present century.

HARRY ELMER BARNES
Malibu, California

HUSTON SMITH. *The Purpose of Higher Education.* Pp. xix, 218. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. $3.50.

It may be questioned that this book is a "pioneering study" (as stated on its jacket), yet, the author has most certainly done more than to put old wine into new bottles. The volume is the work of a faculty committee of Washington University appointed "to crystallize a statement on the objectives of liberal education to be used as a basis for curriculum review." The author has, however, very successfully converted a committee report into a lucid and most readable exposition.

The book gains in clarity of presentation by its organization into two parts. Education Beyond Six Opposites is the novel title of Part I; The Aims of Liberal Education is the orthodox label for Part II. The greater portion of the book (137 pages) is a discussion of the value dichotomies listed under the six opposites as absolutism versus relativism; objectivity versus commitment; freedom versus authority; egoism versus altruism; the individual versus the state; and sacred versus secular.

It was Livingston, I think, who said that true education is impossible without the vision of greatness. Perhaps Professor Smith and his colleagues are asserting that there can be no vision of greatness in education without value judgments. In any event they affirm that it is possible and reasonable for educated people to agree, or to greatly minimize the areas of disagreement, with regard to basic values. Professor Smith's arguments against the cult of aloofness and indecisions with respect to value judgments are vigorous. "Suffice it to say that value judgments are as ines-

capable as judgments of fact. . . . Life requires direction, and in human beings no longer maneuvered by instinct this direction can be supplied only by a stable . . . nucleus of values and beliefs" (p. 36). There will be few educators or laymen who will question such statements. For the classroom teacher, however, the problem is how to recognize and label his own prejudices or predilections and eliminate their influence on his analyses and conclusions.

Fortunately the six chapters in this section of the book are in themselves worthy examples of how to be persuasive without resort to dogma or prejudice. They give evidence in thought and phrasing that disciplined thinking can resolve most of the difficulties that confront the teacher who strives for "objectivity" and yet has a distaste for "neutralism."

For faculty members and administrators constantly concerned with teaching in a liberal arts college, Part II of *The Purposes of Higher Education* is no more than a restatement, of, I assume, universally agreed upon aims and objectives of a liberal education. These aims include instruction in those areas of knowledge pertinent to the study of man and mankind; the acquisition of skills which mark the literate person; the development of discriminating appreciation to the end that cheapness, sham, and shoddiness can be readily detected. To this list of orthodox aims the author adds a chapter on "motivations" which summarizes all the hopes for the liberal education. "The chief task for education is . . . to sink the roots of aspiration deep enough to withstand the months and years of spiritual drouth when they come."

In general, it might be said that this book is a counsel of perfection with no blueprint for attaining the purposes of higher education. But it is inherent in liberal education that it is a counsel of perfection and perhaps it is well that there is no single path to be followed by all of the faculties dedicated to its propositions.

The Faculty Committee and Professor Smith have achieved the almost impossible. They have written another book on higher education sufficiently different and sufficiently stimulating to merit thoughtful reading. Particularly one would wish that it might be read by parents of college students and by the Ph.D. candidates now preparing to teach these students.

SAMUEL S. STRATTON
Middlebury College

JAMES E. RUSSELL (Ed.). *National Policies for Education, Health and Social Services.* (Columbia University Bicentennial Conference Series.) Pp. 550. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1955. $7.50.

This formidable book passes in review the policies recently and currently in force in the several fields specified in the lengthy title (plus "Religion in Education"), together with discussions from the floor of some of the issues thus brought to light at the several conferences. By its very nature, or rather because of the fashion in which the material has been prepared for publication, this is not a book to be read (least of all straight through), but rather one to be consulted as whim or occasion require. Specialists will undoubtedly look here for what was said at Columbia, but the nonspecialists will, I am afraid, pick up the book reluctantly and lay it down hastily. The editor has made no visible concessions to the undedicated reader, and they in their turn will pass his volume by.

This is sad, for buried in the book are eminently readable papers which, in a less austere setting, would snare almost any serious reader. One may instance, in order of appearance: "Freedom, Security, and the University Tradition" by A. Whitney Griswold; "The Function and Opportunities of Higher Education in the United States" by Henry M. Wriston; "Financing Higher Education" by Robert D. Calkins (an especially provocative paper); "The Limits of Social Service" by Gordon W. Allport; "The Impact of Income Security Upon Individual Freedom" by Barbara Wootton; and the "Report" of the discussion of academic freedom.

From such a wide-ranging miscellany it is difficult, if not impossible, to draw any very useful conclusions. One general notion implanted in the mind of this reviewer was that, in spite of all discouragements, the "professionals" are still quite optimistic.

Really, what is urgently needed is a conference on how to make conference reports readable. *The Economist* lately remarked that as matters now stand, it is obviously more fun to attend conferences than to read about them. But a report like that on the Corning Glass conference shows that this need not necessarily be so.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

Katonah, N. Y.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

WALTER LIPPMANN. *The Public Philosophy*. Pp. xiii, 189. Boston; Toronto: Little Brown and Company, 1955. $3.50.

Mr. Lippmann has written one of the few important books to appear in the United States since World War II. Its strength lies partly in the fact that the author does not speak from a limited American point of view. His outlook is that of a citizen of the West—a West that has fallen in the nineteenth and particularly in the twentieth century dangerously into decline. The totalitarian mass movements that wrecked parliamentary government in Europe after World War I are only one type of phenomenon that illustrates and demonstrates the falling off. The decline of prestige of the West in the non-Western world is another. The United States is an extension of the culture area of Western Europe and the malady that affects Europe brings illness also to America. Mr. Lippmann in probing what he considers the crisis of our times finds no moral superiority in America. Western civilization is a single entity.

Mr. Lippmann finds the infection that has produced the present *malaise* to lie in the Jacobin philosophy that emerged as one of the products of the French Revolution. Determined to obliterate the authority of the hereditary rulers of the *ancien régime*, the Jacobins proclaimed the doctrine that the will of the sovereign people is right and must prevail. Its justification came from Rousseau who fathered the idea that human nature in its primal state is good and that its basic impulses may be relied upon to work for good.

The Lippmann interpretation of the history of Western democracy in terms of Rousseau is reminiscent of Irving Babbitt in the first quarter of the twentieth century who saw in Rousseau the archvillain of democracy in America. Babbitt's philosophy came to focus on the individual; Mr. Lippmann deals with society. The essential evil of Jacobinism lies in its implicit denial of the existence of principles, a law not made by men, that undergirds society and without obedience to which the good society is impossible. A belief in the existence of such a law is as old in Western tradition, as the ancient Greeks who formulated the idea of a natural law, and as the early prophets who taught the existence of a moral law of God. Mr. Lippmann has coined the phrase, "the public philosophy," to describe this ancient belief—public philosophy dealing with the needs and welfare of society as opposed to the private philosophies that emphasize the needs and welfare of individuals. The core of the public philosophy is the teaching that a fundamental law exists above the will of the sovereign people which they may deny, but only at the risk of such disaster as that which found expression in the totalitarian dictatorships of twentieth-century Europe. The decline of the West has been due to the ignoring of the public philosophy and the assertion of the primacy of the uncontrolled will of the sovereign people.

Mr. Lippmann not only traces the history of the public philosophy. Like the neo-Thomists, who are engaged in a similar enterprise within the framework of Catholic thought, Mr. Lippmann attempts by the use of reason to discover the characteristics of the public philosophy as applied to the theory of property and to the principle of the freedom of speech. These are among the best and most important chapters of the book.

In comment on Mr. Lippmann's interpretation of Western history it should be noted that the doctrine of the fundamental law or public philosophy has existed in American democratic thought since the beginning of the national period. Around the turn of the twentieth century the concept of natural law was frequently perverted to the support of antisocial practices in American industrialism. In the first third of the

present century the prevailing intellectual tendency was to deny altogether the existence of a fundamental law. In that period a philosophy of relativism had high prestige. The conditions of life since World War II have brought a reaction and a new search for the basic principles of a public philosophy. Mr. Lippmann's book is only one among many evidences of a mid-twentieth century renascence of the old doctrine of the fundamental law. Its wide popular sale is another. Paradoxically the phenomenon of the book and its reception is a strong argument, at least so far as America is concerned, against the pessimism with which Mr. Lippmann views the present Western world.

RALPH H. GABRIEL
Yale University

WINFRIED MARTINI. *Das Ende aller Sicherheit: Eine Kritik des Westens.* Pp. 376. Stuttgart, Germany: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1954. DM 12.80.

This book is a German counterpart to the writings of our modern American conservatives. The title is derived from a pessimistic dictum of the conservative Swiss historian, Jacob Burckhardt: "Since politics has become founded on the internal ferments of the peoples, all security has ended." The major part of Martini's book is a provocative repudiation of democracy from the viewpoint of a liberal conservatism. It is not directed against "material democracy," but rather against the idea of the sovereignty of the people, and it is the thesis of the author that government for the people is jeopardized by government by the people.

Martini starts out with the historical fact that democracy was the unwanted child of Christian humanitarianism and Enlightened liberalism; this unwanted child now has become master in the house and endangers its parents. Montesquieu was defeated by Rousseau and the result was Robespierre. Nineteenth-century liberal democracy, according to the author, was still compatible with good government, since the sovereignty of the people was severely curbed by an effective division of powers, by constitutional monarchy, by a heavily restricted suffrage, and so forth. Modern mass democracy and totalitarian dictatorship, however, are not enemies but twin brothers, as the rise of Hitler in particular demonstrated. Martini advises the Germans to admit—"at least when we are among outselves"—that an impressive majority backed Hitler and that, long before 1933, leftist and rightist antirepublican parties had been working for the abolition of the *Rechtsstaat*. Postwar France and Italy provide similar examples of democracies on the verge of abolishing themselves exactly by democratic means. Since the coming of real democracy—in England, for instance, with the Second Reform Bill of 1867—the liberal element has been in continuous retreat.

Chapters IV and V form the core of the book's antidemocratic argumentation. The author tries to show that voters in a mass democracy are incompetent (samplings of voters' information from both sides of the Atlantic are quoted), that democratic organizations such as labor unions are automatically captured by dictatorial bureaucracies, that "education for democracy" must necessarily fall short of success, that the notion of politically mature and immature peoples is absurd (unless one assumes that maturity and immaturity of a nation can alternate every few years), and finally, that the democratization of foreign politics has led to the dislodgment of professional diplomacy, to nationalistic emotionalism, to a disastrous lack of military preparedness, but also to eschatological concepts of wars as crusades to make the world safe for impossible perfection. Democracy, conceived as the majority principle in modern mass society, is neither conducive to individual freedom within the state nor to the preservation of the freedom of the Western world in the face of totalitarian aggression.

Martini's book is persuasively written in its negative aspects, but is strikingly weak in its positve suggestions. To clinch the antidemocratic argument, a preferable and workable alternative would have to be offered. The author rightly asserts that the alternative between democracy and totalitarianism is not complete. But he himself has nothing better to recommend than a modernized Metternichism, that is, an authoritarian government which respects individual freedom in the nonpolitical sphere. Since in complex modern society

the nonpolitical sphere has shrunk almost to nothingness, the author's conservative recipe is inapplicable. In the end he recommends Salazar's Portugal as a model state,—an underdeveloped country off the highroad of Western civilization which the author, after all, desires to preserve.

If the author does not seem to have analyzed his own fascination with authority figures, the merit of the book—beyond an able contribution to conservative ideology—consists in its realistic criticism of the mystique of democracy.

HERBERT MOLLER
Boston University

J. A. O. LARSEN. *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History.* Pp. vi, 249. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. $4.00.

This volume of Sather Classical Lectures is an esoteric work for accomplished students of classical antiquity. Its importance lies not in the presentation of new material, but in a cogent array of evidence that the institutions of representative government are of Hellenic origin.

The theory that the collective judgment of the masses was superior to that of representatives ultimately led to the transfer of decisive governmental functions to primary assemblies. Nevertheless the Achaean League, after c. 217 B.C., revived representative government, with referenda to the popular assembly on matters of great importance. By the period of the Macedonian Empire (167 B.C.), the term *synedriake politeia* had evolved to connote representative government.

The author reserves usage of the term "sympolity" to the federal state, wherein "citizens are under the jurisdiction of both a federal government and the government of a member state." The best example of this type of organization was the Boeotian League with its eleven units of representation, four of which were assigned to Thebes. Each unit had sixty councilors, and the *boule* of 660 members was divided into four groups of 165 each in an arrangement similar to the Athenian prytanies of an earlier era.

Alliances primarily of a military nature were "symmachies," and of these, the Peloponnesian, Delian, Second Athenian, and Hellenic leagues are discussed. The author points out that it was the principle of hegemony that was the primary distinction between the symmachies and the sympolities. Representative institutions were present in both types, however, and in the Hellenic League the apportionment of representation was fixed according to the size of the member state.

Although the fragmentary nature of much of the evidence precludes the definitiveness that characterizes the chapter on Greek institutions, the author persuasively argues for the survival of assemblies in the Roman imperial period, whose chief functions were the conduct of the imperial cult and the annual review of the administrations of provincial governors.

Besides the theory of the collective wisdom of the masses, the natural tendency of the capital to dominate a federation, the strengthening of democratic tendencies by common resistance to oligarchic Sparta, and the King's Peace of 387 B.C. which theoretically restored the freedom of all Greek states helped supplant representative government by primary assemblies.

In its broad outlines this volume is indispensable to the serious student of political theory. It is a notable contribution to classical learning and to the splendid Sather Lectures.

CHARLES EDWARD SMITH
Louisiana State University

G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM. *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition.* (Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations, No. 4. *The American Anthropologist,* Vol. LVII, No. 2, Part 2, Memoir No. 81, April, 1955.) Pp. xv, 260. Menasha, Wis.: American Anthropological Association. 1955. No price.

Mr. von Grunebaum has brought together in this volume twelve essays dealing with various aspects of Muslim civilization. The first essay traces in broad lines the religious and cultural history of Muslim civilization. The eleven succeeding studies are grouped under three general headings: Growth, Expressions, and Encounters.

Under "Growth," the essay entitled "The

Beginnings of Culture Consciousness in Islam" treats the early identification of Muslim with Arab and the later substitution of Islam as the unifying element in cultural diversity. Next, the author discusses the question of whether Arab culture should be defined on a basis of a common religion, language or historical experience.

The "Expressions" of Islam are found in the Koran, Arabic literature, science, and government, and in the Muslim town, to each of which an essay is devoted. The essential structure of Islamic government is set forth in a series of propositions; the Muslim town is contrasted with the classical concept of the city, and its physical structure and administration are described.

The "Encounters" of Islam are with Hellenism, Iranian culture, and Western influences. The Iranian reaction to Islam is expressed in "Firdawsī's Concept of History," and the author uses Westernization in Islam to support his disagreement with Arnold Toynbee's theory of cultural borrowing. In this section there is an excellent study of "Attempts at Self-Interpretation in Contemporary Islam," classified here because such attempts often reflect Muslim attitudes towards Western influences.

These essays cover a wide range of subjects, and students of history, literature, sociology, anthropology, and political science will find much to interest them here. This reviewer liked best the essays on "The Spirit of Islam as Shown in its Literature" and "Attempts at Self-Interpretation. . . ." The former treats the specifically Islamic elements in Arabic literature from the following points of view: content, outward form, inner form, and the attitude toward and expectations from literature. These are then illustrated by an analysis of the eleventh Assembly of Hariri. In the latter essay, Mr. von Grunebaum discusses with great insight the ideas of several modern Muslim reformers and apologists, among whom are Iqbal, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī, Taha Husayn, and 'Abdallāh 'Alī al-Qaṣīmī.

These studies bear witness to the author's extensive knowledge of Arabic literature and his remarkable powers of interpretation. Mr. von Grunebaum states that they may be considered as prolegomena to a larger study on the rise of a Muslim culture consciousness on which he is engaged. This promised work will be eagerly awaited by all students of Islam.

JAMES A. BELLAMY

Philadelphia, Pa.

CONRAD WRIGHT. *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America.* Pp. 305. Boston, Mass.: The Beacon Press, 1955. $4.00.

The book is an expansion of a Ph.D. thesis at Harvard under the direction of Perry Miller which won the Carnegie Award of the American Historical Association.

It does for the story of American Unitarianism what Whitley and Shakespeare did for the beginnings of the Baptists in England, namely, demythologizes it, thus providing a dependable basis for its true historical origins.

The terminal dates are the Great Awakening in 1735 and the election of Henry Ware to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity at Harvard in 1805. During these seventy years consistent Calvinism in Puritan New England slowly disintegrated under the persistent attack of a minority group of religious liberals known as Arminians who defended "supernatural rationalism" and anti-Trinitarianism. They were not Deists since they supplemented natural religion with special revelation which they found in the Bible. Trinitarian views were abandoned because unscriptural, but Christ was given far higher rank in creation than mere man. The simple humanity of Jesus was then rejected because they were men who did not lack the courage of their convictions. This American Arminianism with such leaders as Chauncy and Mayhew can be adequately understood only within the social structure of New England and the logical pattern of their theology.

Hence, the history of Unitarianism does not begin in Transylvania or Poland. Socinianism is not the geneological ancestor of Unitarianism. American Unitarianism is autochthonous and derives the Arminian name from its similar reaction to the Puritanism of New England.

Charles Chauncy at the first church, Boston, 1727–87, for sixty years, and Jonathan Mayhew at the west church, Boston, 1747–66, for nineteen years, with Ebenezer Gay,

Hingham, 1717–87, for seventy years, all Harvard graduates, accomplished the transition from a rigid Calvinism to an Arminian interpretation and paved the way for the great explosion of the early nineteenth century.

Some special features are the maps, showing the separated and overlapping areas of Harvard and Yale men, and the biographical appendix listing the Arminians and the New Divinity Men—sixty of the former, Harvard men with the exception of one from Princeton and Yale and Brown; twenty-one of the latter, mostly Yale graduates with Princeton represented by three, Dartmouth by three, and Brown by one graduate.

The study rightly rebukes the confusion which has prevailed in identifying American Arminians with the Deists but discounts too much the widespread and undermining influence Deism had here before the Revolutionary War. Ezra Stiles was nearer right.

CONRAD HENRY MOEHLMAN

Rochester, N. Y.

JULIAN N. HARTT. *Toward a Theology of Evangelism.* Pp. 123. New York; Nashville, Tenn.: Abingdon Press, 1955. $2.00.

Here is Evangelism in a new key. Stripped of a litter of methodologies, it means a proclamation of the good news of God and his Kingdom. After confronting men in respect and in love, the Christian community leaves results with human response and divine prerogatives. In a race with time the Kingdom comes as an eternal NOW, as a summons rather than a cause, an imperative invitation given out of inexhaustible patience and involving divine revolution for the world and personal transformation for participants in the divine community. The subject is therefore with theological foundations. Dr. Hartt writes with precision of thought and singularly expressive language. His medium of communication is so potent that convincement is not far behind.

A novelty of form now conveys a familiar content. The Christian community to which these ten compact chapters are devoted is a divine creation. In most respects it looks like a compensatory adventure on God's part. The first created edition had doubtful value. God, "the Almighty Father," is a kind of absolute authoritarian. He is "the formidable unbroken silence enshrouding the noises of ephemeral creatures." Either He commanded poorly, or something mussed things up. So now He is a Creator-Judge.

The human situation shows serious miscalculations. Ego and other ego, like Hobbes's presocial-contact creatures, are rock-bottom fact. Society trusses up its members rather tightly, but in the love community each knows himself as a loving personality. History spells fate, and also what man has done to himself. "Guilt pertains to the human situation as such. Sin is the individual person's appropriation and acknowledgment of this guilt." Somehow personal dignity survives all this. Cultures are false masks worn by differentiated units of society, because these units are bloated with pride. Jesus Christ, the "Incarnate Lord," as an act of God is the supreme witness to the Kingdom. He can only repudiate human ideals of good and evil, as a ten-ton truck crushes a childish toy. It is not a question of standards of "good" people, but that the crown prince of a feudal power replaces altogether Jesus who appears in the Gospels.

All this and more savors of another thrust of a current orthodoxy, one born in fear and nurtured in this worldly anxiety. Believing faith steals the spotlight, much as a rustic resents worldly power apparent in a large city. In times of crises believing faith swallows the believer and banishes the object of belief. Then, in order to reassure itself, faith clings to unshakable convictions, seconded by a highly select and socially approved tradition.

IRL WHITCHURCH

Kingfield, Me.

ROSS W. SANDERSON. *The Church Serves the Changing City.* Pp. 252. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955. $3.50.

Dr. Saunderson has brought a uniquely wide and varied experience in socio-religious research and rare gifts of analysis and characterization to the task of reporting case studies of churches and church agencies that are currently grappling with the "inner

city" problem in a number of urban communities. Attention is focused on eight parishes, but data are presented on more than a score of parish situations and, in all, thirteen Protestant denominations are involved.

The term "inner city" denotes the underprivileged residential areas—though they often have nonresidential features—which have been stranded, so to speak, as the centers of city life have shifted. Their "common denominator" is low income. The tendency of "downtown" churches to flee these areas and relocate in a "favorable" social climate has long been deplored by socially-minded church leaders. Dr. Sanderson's "cases" are examples of strategic, often heroic, and sometimes ingenious adjustment on the part of churches which chose the alternative of accommodation in preference to withdrawal.

The reader is struck by the close correspondence between this movement of accommodation to social need and the social settlement movement which a few decades ago created a new type of social effort among underprivileged city populations. Indeed the "group ministry" so strikingly typified by New York's East Harlem Parish is an embodiment of the settlement idea, with this distinctive element added: all activities are conceived as channels for a definite evangelical "outreach." Says Dr. Sanderson, "Whatever the denomination, whatever the pattern of churchmanship, here in these varied ministries to the changing city is a new ripple of the settlement tide, less secular, more theological, but in its motivation, attitudes, and dreams strikingly similar to those of the great founders of a vast social work movement now less conspicuous because so widely accepted."

Size is not a measure of the viability of one of these socially adapted parishes. Some very small churches are decidedly effective. The Puerto Rican small church in New York City is "indigenous, dynamic, self-starting, and self-supporting." But cultural and ethnic inclusiveness is an obligatory goal. Bilingualism should be regarded as "temporary and on the way out." Moreover, Protestantism will now "have to begin more seriously to mend its ways" in relation to segregation.

The problem of financial support is crucial. Membership giving is basic; endowment is a legitimate safeguard as "reserve" for specific needs; public contributions, by way of community chests, for example, may be "legitimately sought for social services rendered on a nonsectarian basis, but not at the price of unfair policy control."

F. ERNEST JOHNSON
National Council of the
Churches of Christ in
the United States of America

COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

HERBERT A. DEANE. *The Political Ideas of Harold J. Laski.* Pp. xii, 370. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. $5.75.

Mr. Deane has done a very interesting and useful study of Harold Laski, who boxed the compass of political ideas about as completely as anyone on the stage of modern political theory has ever done.

It is a painstaking book and quite well worked out in details. It avoids the egregious flattery that some previous works like those of Kingsley Martin have reflected and comes as close as anything we are likely to have to a just appraisal of Mr. Laski's shortcomings and his manifest stimulation to his students as a teacher.

After tracing Mr. Laski's earlier period in which inadequate attention, it may be suggested, is paid to the influence on Laski of his New College training, particularly with Ernest Barker, the book takes up the earlier pluralist period of Laski and his attempt to reconcile it with what he felt was a basic loyalty to John Stuart Mill's liberalism. It became apparent, as Mr. Deane shows, that this was very difficult to reconcile with his rooted belief in socialism which Laski himself attributed to "the outcome of a Jewish upbringing, the sense it conferred of being treated differently from other people, and for no obviously assignable cause." Laski's rebellion against his father and family is noted, but his extraordinary admiration of his brother, who had made good as a king's counselor, is never quite understood as an offset.

The Oxford manner, his ability as a partisan speaker, and his own self-fulfillment, which one might unkindly call the gratification of a natural vanity, drove Mr. Laski into putting himself in the middle of the stage at every opportunity.

As a political theorist this somewhat mixed up his roles. His inherent leanings towards socialism, and in spite of his earlier critical writings towards Marxism, more and more pushed his earlier concern with individual liberty and with pluralism into the limbo of forgotten causes.

If there is an essential weakness in the treatment of Mr. Deane, it reflects the same weakness that he brings out in Laski's own boxing of the compass. There is no really genuine appreciation of the lack of a basic philosophy from which Laski could derive any coherence and systematic strength in attempting to build a body of theory that had more unity than the writings of a columnist.

Mr. Deane himself does not bring to this task much more background and philosophy apparently than Laski did later in his more polemic articles in *The Nation* and in *The American Democracy* in dismissing his earlier adherence to pragmatism as merely an "effort to persuade business men to cooperate in the accomplishment of social changes that would destroy their supremacy." The quotation is from Mr. Deane's paraphrase. Even pragmatism was too much of a philosophy to hold Mr. Laski, who preferred in the end the dogmatic premises of Marxism to the test either of experience or of logic.

There is only one serious omission in the development of Mr. Laski so far as the emphasis of this book is concerned. This was the period in which he followed the popular front line of Moscow by building up the League of Nations into a super state and demanding that it have all the powers of coercive sovereignty which he had denied to the nation state.

On the whole, however, this is a very useful book and it is likely to be enough said on the subject of Mr. Laski for some time to come. The puzzle of Laski was his influence in the United States which far outran his influence in England. Mr. Deane understands his lack of basic influence in the Labor party. One may suggest that the key to his success as a teacher was his enthusiasm and his willingness to praise all his students and stimulate them to further efforts. He was a first-class debater. The impact on political theory of people who have stated extreme and even contradictory positions has long been remarked by students of political philosophy and theory. It is likely to be quite disproportionate if the writer is prolific and has an ear to the currents of popular opinion and a great capacity for self-dramatization, always connecting it where possible with some crusading cause. It generally, of course, results as it did in the case of Mr. Laski in mistaking wishful thinking for facts and treating them as such; a point that on the whole is adequately made by Mr. Deane's book with elaborate documentation, for what it is worth, from the writings of a most prolific partisan.

WILLIAM YANDELL ELLIOTT
Harvard University

S. MACCOBY. *English Radicalism, 1762–1785: The Origins.* Pp. 535. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1955. (Distributed by The Macmillan Company, New York.) $10.25.

Students of nineteenth-century England have long relied on S. Maccoby's studies in Victorian radicalism. They will welcome this volume on "The Origins." And with the promise of still another to fill the gap between Tom Paine and Cobbett, we may look forward to a consecutive story of the British Left from 1762 to 1914.

Opening paragraphs make it clear that the author does not conceive the "Oppositionism" which he proposes to trace in narrow terms. He is fully aware that unruly mobs, "left wing" newsmen, pamphleteers, and juries who refuse to convict them, county associations of disgruntled "Freeholders," City "Interests," and personal cliques of friends and kinsmen over whose dinner tables is debated the strategy later used in Parliament, all play their part. And he does well by them all.

He does less well, it seems to me, at least in his arrangement of the social and economic "indications" which he admits are indispensable "if the basic factors condi-

tioning politics are to be better understood." True, the poltical effects of taxes for the American War and East India Company affairs are well noted. But they have been well recounted by others. Had the author earlier placed at his readers' disposal the excellent material on labor and industry, landlords and rents, prices of food and its distribution, and "important currents of thought making," instead of packing it into four admirable, but brief and entirely separate chapters at the end of the book, he would have gone farther towards realizing his own expressed aim. These matters all moved disaffected groups to add their strength to radical demands, and paying them earlier attention would have enlivened as well as added more meaning to the detailed narrative of *who said what and when* in the intricate parliamentary struggle which fills the first four-fifths of the book.

The author lets contemporaries tell much of their own story, drawing chiefly from the press: *The Gentleman's Magazine, Annual Register, Monthly Review,* and others; and to some extent from the writings of participants. They are not new sources; but no one hitherto has picked out the story of the "Oppositionists" with such thoroughness. Mr. Maccoby does not give to this volume, it seems to me, quite the degree of penetration and synthesis found in most of his earlier work. But it is unfair to make a good book suffer by comparison with its predecessors. This one was needed and will prove very useful.

MILDRED CAMPBELL
Vassar College

H. A. CLEGG and ALLAN FLANDERS (Eds.). *The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain: Its History, Law and Institutions.* Pp. viii, 380. $4.20.

H. A. CLEGG. *General Union: A Study of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers.* Pp. xiv, 358. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell, 1954. $3.85.

These two books belong among the small but growing number of distinguished British works dealing with industrial relations whose tradition was started by the Webbs and continued by G. D. H. Cole (to whom Clegg's book is dedicated). Clegg and Flanders are highly promising pupils of these masters; their work is remarkably careful and detailed; they ask a number of highly pertinent questions and come up with interesting and illuminating answers. Yet, social scientists will wonder whether there is really so little to be done in this field beyond description, and economists in particular may express some surprise at the slight use of their theoretical apparatus which the authors make.

The first column combines essays by Asa Briggs, "Social Background," O. Kahn-Freund, "Legal Framework," J. D. M. Bell, "Trade Unions," H. A. Clegg, "Employers," Allan Flanders, "Collective Bargaining," Clegg and T. E. Chester, "Joint Consultations." This range is less ambitious than that of J. Henry Richardson's recent *An Introduction to the Study of Industrial Relations,* equally published in 1954. With one major exception such limitation has its advantages since it has permitted the editors to produce a shorter and, in some parts at least, more searching study. The one omission in the present book, which this reader regrets, is the lack of a thorough discussion and analysis of the British wage structure. There are of course many references to wage issues and Mr. Flanders does not fail to continue his well-known discussion of the case for a publicly guided wages policy. But all this, admirable as it may be, is no substitute for an investigation of the wages structure and the economic and other influences operating on it. An American reader will also be surprised at the little space given to issues of lay-offs, dismissals, seniority (mainly Pp. 303–5). Even full employment does not explain this relative disregard.

Space does not permit me to do more than to express admiration for the general level of this work and the real achievement of its editors in avoiding most of the usual pitfalls of symposia. It would be invidious to single out any of the contributions for particular praise. Nevertheless Asa Briggs has performed a major achievement in his brief essay and the book contains some of the most interesting material on union activity in the plant I have come across so far.

Mr. Clegg, a fellow of Nuffield College, Oxford University, devotes his book to the

second largest British Union. The National Union of General and Municipal Workers is one of the two giant general unions in England, the other being the Transport Workers Union. Each of them really consists of a number of semi-industrial unions, which form a secure basis for the union, plus large aggregates of laborers working in many industries. This organizational device characteristic for British labor is the alternative to industrial unionism, a kind of giant "district 50" of the United Mine Workers of America.

American readers will be greatly interested in this study, not only because the Union is numerically significant, but also because of the peculiarities of the general union. The author examines the organization most carefully, again with the methods and limitations discussed above. The N.U.G.M.W. has been almost consistently a pillar of the right wing of British labor, and Mr. Clegg uses the American term "business unionism" in describing the spirit of the union leadership. Unfortunately—like many European observers—Mr. Clegg apparently believes that this term not only implies the absence of a philosophy of class struggle, but he also conveys (p. 256) that it is a less aggressive kind of unionism. Strike statistics do not confirm this view.

The general unions have produced some of the most outstanding and powerful British labor leaders such as Ernest Bevin. Mr. Clegg's study will greatly help understand why this is so. The size of the general unions tends automatically to give their leader a particular stature, but more important the system of organization endows the general secretary with an authority which few leaders of craft unions enjoy.

These are two books which no student of industrial relations can afford to miss.

ADOLF STURMTHAL
Roosevelt University

J. HARVEY PERRY. *Taxes, Tariffs, and Subsidies: A History of Canadian Fiscal Development*. Vol. I: Pp. xviii, 324. Vol. II: Pp. xi, 436. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1955. $25.00.

This two-volume work, sponsored by the Canadian Tax Foundation, was conceived as a preface to the author's *Taxation in Canada*. The material became so bulky that it led to "a book twice the length of the work of which it was originally intended to be an introduction" (p. vii).

The first volume deals with events 1867–1940. In its first two decades the Canadian federation had hard going and, partly as a result, adopted a protectionist program. In the 1890's the economic climate changed for the better, and Canada experienced a boom which continued almost to World War I. This allowed the Dominion government to rely upon revenue from customs and excises (chiefly liquor and tobacco). The provincial governments, however, had to enter—timidly—the field of direct taxation, and the municipalities the area of business taxation.

In Canada, even more than the United States, World War I recast the federal revenue system, despite federal tardiness in facing up to the issues of war finance. Taxation of corporate and individual income began, and, in 1919, a federal sales tax was added. Then in the 1920's the federal government retreated in response to the mood of the times, and to the fact that the important tasks, especially construction of highways, called for provincial and municipal action.

The great depression after 1929 struck with terrific force at provincial and municipal finances. It forced federal intervention, gradual at first and later with a rush, to lift some of the burdens from these governments. But the problems were so great and the solutions so obscure that, in 1937, the federal government appointed a Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (the Rowell-Sirois Commission) to give it advice. Its report, although coming after the start of the war, was of vast significance. For the first time a Canadian public document explained the significance of fiscal policy.

Volume II covers the period from 1940 to date. Perhaps because the author experienced events at first hand in the Department of Finance, it has more verve and force than Volume I. From its interesting pages I would particularly commend the exposition of the principles of war finance (pp. 331–33), chapter XXII on the excess profits tax, the brief exposition treating the

refundable income tax (pp. 363–64), and chapter XXVIII treating Dominion finance postwar. The events of the fifteen years 1940–54 are of great interest to students of federal finance. The impression emerges that the federal government did a good job, and yet at the present time no level of government is content. The provincial and local governments declare that centralization has gone too far and that they need more autonomy; the federal government is restive because of its heavy financial responsibilities to the other governments. If easier times lie ahead, a swing toward decentralization may be expected.

The two volumes are, then, a most welcome addition to the literature of Canadian public finance, and the Tax Foundation, as well as the author, deserve our thanks. Mr. Perry has, for fuller measure, provided nearly forty pages of bibliography and an appendix of useful tables. In these volumes he has chosen to be chiefly descriptive. At some future time he should give us a fuller measure of interpretation and analysis, because the brief samples provided this time are so sensible and convincing that one wishes for more.

JAMES A. MAXWELL
Clark University

SLAVIC COUNTRIES

E. H. CARR. *The Interregnum, 1923–1924.* Pp. 392. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954. $5.00.

Mr. Carr maintains in this fourth volume of his history of Soviet Russia the impressive standards set in the first three. Despite some overlap with the earlier volumes, arrangement and structure are orderly and clear. As usual, the style is superb, though constant use of Russian abbreviations must present problems to those who do not know that language.

The content is the year 1923 in Russia. Economics, foreign affairs, and the first stage of the struggle between Trotsky and the "triumvirate" of Stalin, Zinoviev, and Kamenev furnish the main themes, each receiving roughly a third of the space. In each case, some attention is devoted to background extending to 1922 and to final developments in 1924. Much attention is given to the crucial Twelfth Party Congress of April, 1923 and considerable to the Thirteenth Conference, and Congress, of January and May, 1924. Throughout, the author relates events and issues, in a dispassionate but suspenseful narrative, to the tensions set in motion by Lenin's incapacitation.

Considering the magnitude and complexity of the subjects treated, this work must be acknowledged an outstanding success. Unlike in earlier volumes, Carr uses very extensively not only official Soviet sources, but also non-Soviet material, particularly the very important Menshevik organ, *Sotsialisticheski Vestnik*. Those who have accused him of confining his documentation to pro-Soviet sources may be pleased to note that Max Eastman, Ruth Fischer and Trotsky's posthumous biography of Stalin are among many anti-Stalinist sources effectively employed. However, some of the vital, or sensational—depending on one's point of view—contents of these sources are ignored. For example, though Carr brings out, at least by implication, some of the peculiarities of Lenin's last illness, he says nothing about Trotsky's strongly expressed belief that Stalin poisoned Lenin.

On the other hand, Carr's interpretation of the "interregnum" is in many ways similar to that of Trotsky, although his account is pale and bloodless in comparison with the vivid prose of Trotsky.

In this volume Carr shakes off some of the fatalism and doctrinaire bias in favor of "socialism" which are the chief defects of the earlier volumes. Yet it is curious that he attributes many of the characteristics of the Soviet economy of the early NEP period to "capitalist" policies. Since some of the most important of these, such as the ruthless exploitation of the labor force by the state, were deeply intensified after Stalin launched his more "socialist" policy in 1928, one is puzzled by the author's interpretation. In general, Professor Carr's series thus far has been much stronger as a factual record than as a work of interpretation. Mr. Carr's interpretation is usually implicit. This makes it difficult to appraise and often difficult to discern.

However, a basic pattern of analysis remains. Russia, according to Carr, lacked the prerequisites for "socialism." Consequently, the progressive descent into despotism was inevitable. Carr does not face the possibility that a state monopoly economy, among other factors, may have—I would say did—intensify the already existing Russian tendency toward a despotic type of government which, however, many Russians opposed, and which was being gradually overcome in the period after 1905.

FREDERICK C. BARGHOORN
Yale University

N. N. SUKHANOV. *The Russian Revolution, 1917.* Edited, abridged and translated by Joel Carmichael. Pp. xxxvii, 691. London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1955. $10.00.

Sukhanov's account of the Bolshevik seizure of power is a primary historical source. Sukhanov was a versatile, left-wing intellectual, a Marxist though never a Bolshevik. He knew everyone that mattered in St. Petersburg and had a remarkable knack of being in the crucial place when history was being made. His reminiscences of the revolution, first published in seven volumes in 1922, provide an honest and disinterested record of the critical months between the abdication of the Tsar and the assumption of power by the Bolsheviks. Trotsky made full use of these memoirs in his own inimitable *History of the Russian Revolution.* The memoirs are now published in an abridged English translation for the first time. About half of the original text has been translated, and the excisions have been wisely done. The translation is excellent; the editor's footnotes and Introduction are most valuable.

Revolutions, when described in college textbooks, are neat affairs. They have certain major causes (usually four) and certain consequences. The revolutionary process itself seems coherent and rational. Sukhanov reminds us that in real life revolutions are incoherent, chaotic affairs, and that revolutionaries are tired, hungry, puzzled men with stomach disorders who spend a great deal of time doing nothing. This is how Sukhanov describes Miliukov on the first day of the Russian Revolution (pp. 48–49): "Quite alone in the Catherine Hall P. N. Miliukov was walking around, the central figure of bourgeois Russia, the leader of the only official organ of power in Petersburg at the moment, and *de facto* head of the first revolutionary Government.

"He too found himself inactive. His whole appearance said plainly that he had nothing to do, that he did not in the least know what to do. Various people went up to him, asked him questions, gave him information. He replied with evident reluctance and vagueness. They left him, and he started walking around alone again."

Except for Lenin and Trotsky, the Bolshevik leaders in 1917 were quite unprepared for revolution. Sukhanov refers to "the complete shapelessness" of the Bolshevik movement (p. 14); the Bolshevik leaders were flatfooted and incapable of thought (p. 24), "primitive and badly grounded" (p. 44). *Pravda,* the paper edited at that time by Stalin, was "muddle-headed" (p. 224).

The consolidation of Stalin's power after Lenin's death led to a rewriting of history, and in particular the history of the revolution. Stalin's role in 1917 had been relatively undistinguished—Sukhanov refers to him as "a grey blur" (p. 230)—but history was revised to portray Stalin as Lenin's chief partner in 1917. Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Radek, and the rest were shown as fools, cowards or traitors—or all three. Sukhanov's too honest account became heresy, and Sukhanov himself was one of the first victims of the Stalinist purges.

SYDNEY D. BAILEY
New York, N. Y.

RAYMOND A. BAUER with the assistance of Edward Wasiolek. *Nine Soviet Portraits.* Pp. viii, 190. New York: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley and Sons, 1955. $3.95.

Raymond Bauer has shown himself, in his *New Man in Soviet Psychology,* to be one of the more sensitive and sensible students of the Soviet Union. In his present study Mr. Bauer, who is a social psychologist, has selected fiction as a vehicle for expressing certain conclusions he has reached

concerning the behavior of Russian citizens. This project was undertaken, as the author tells us, on a "dare," and while much serious research went into the preparation of the book its casual origin is not easily forgotten.

Chapters in the lives of nine different Soviet types are presented here: the student, the collective farmer (quite typically, a woman), the doctor (also a woman), the District Party Secretary, the urban housewife, the writer, the factory director, the tractor driver (who is also a veteran returned from Germany), and, most speculatively, the secret police official. Mr. Bauer and his assistant, Edward Wasiolek, first listed methodically the characteristics of each of these types which they wished to stress; they then devised a narrative which would include these points. The results of their labors is a readable and very often engaging series of vignettes of Soviet life. The characters and the situations appear entirely plausible, and, with perhaps one or two exceptions, give every appearance of authenticity. Indeed, many of the episodes are adapted directly from the testimony of refugees.

It is an exceedingly grim picture of existence in the Soviet Union which Mr. Bauer depicts. While it may seem mild beside the lurid accounts given by some recent emigrés, it is a harsher portrayal than this reviewer considers warranted if the object is to render a well-balanced study of individual behavior and motivation in Russia. It would not occur to this reviewer, for instance, to lay such stress on the deceits which, Mr. Bauer alleges, each Soviet citizen consciously practices in his everyday relations with his associates. Unquestionably there is deceit in Russia today, as a necessary prerequisite to survival. It is easily detected by the social scientist observing Russia from the outside. But the subjective capacity to scrutinize his own behavior which the author ascribes to each of his main characters may be questioned. The very circumstances, it would seem, which have given rise to the practice of deceit among Soviet citizens must also prevent them from being as fully introspective about this practice as Mr. Bauer suggests.

The marriage of fiction and sociology is unlikely, under any conditions, to be an easy one. Mr. Bauer makes it clear (p. 171) that sociology is the dominant partner here, but he does not in this assure the harmony of the union. *Nine Soviet Portraits* remains to the end a *tour de force*, suspended somewhere between passable fiction and what, from Raymond Bauer, we would expect to have been less stereotyped and less transparent social psychology.

CHARLES B. MCLANE
Swarthmore College

F. BOWEN EVANS (Ed.). *Worldwide Communist Propaganda Activities*. Pp. xiii, 222. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955. $3.00.

The main aim of this book is to present a description of the nature, volume, and cost of the total Communist propaganda effort during 1954. It also seeks to provide perspective by putting the account within the framework of the historical development of Communist propaganda theory and practice by describing the worldwide organizational network through which Communist propaganda is disseminated, and by relating the strictly propaganda and ideological aspects of the Communist program to broader Communist objectives and strategies in the cold war. Chapter II is concerned with the central emphasis on propaganda in Communist theory and practice (particularly since Lenin) and points out the continuous, unremitting use of propaganda as an instrument for the propagation of the Marxist-Leninist ideology and for the promotion of foreign policies of Communist states. In addition, the development and present organization of the worldwide apparatus through which the Communists conduct a globally-co-ordinated propaganda is described. Chapters III, IV, and V examine the volume, themes, and media of Communist propaganda during 1952 on a worldwide basis; and Chapter VI treats briefly some of the activities of the major international Communist-Front groups during the year. Each of the remaining four chapters is devoted to the Communist propaganda developments during 1954 in a particular geographic region. In order that Communist propaganda activities may be

seen in their proper context, each of these chapters begins with a description of Communist strength, objectives, and strategy in the particular area. The materials used here are from many sources. Some standard works have been used, and they are cited in the footnotes. However, by far the greatest amount of information was selected from a mass of published materials and eyewitnesses' reports obtained from United States government representatives and correspondents throughout the world.

The specialist will find this booklet quite useful not because the material presented here is new, but rather because it has been systematized and butressed by citing facts and figures. In this respect, we have here an extremely useful reference book. The nonspecialists will be overwhelmed with the mass of these facts and figures, and the fellow-travellers will keep on making fun of such "revelations," since the Soviet propaganda machinery has built its success on Hitler's famed principle: "the bigger lie...."

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK
University of Bridgeport

HAROLD H. FISHER. *The Communist Revolution: An Outline of Strategy and Tactics.* (Hoover Institute Studies, Series A: General Studies, No. 2.) Pp. v, 89. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1955. $1.00.

In this manual Professor Fisher has provided an objective outline of Marxist theory and practice. He writes with the authority of one who for more than thirty years has studied the Bolshevik Revolution and its aftermath. He is evidently less at home in Chinese affairs, and his account of the rise of Mao Tse-Tung is less perceptive than other parts of the study. There is a full bibliography of works in English.

Some readers may be surprised by Professor Fisher's insistence that the shift in the Kremlin line to a policy of "peaceful coexistence" preceded Stalin's death by "six months or more" (p. 42). In the opinion of this reviewer, the evidence in support of this hypothesis is overwhelming; indeed, the shift can be fixed at almost exactly a year before Stalin's death.

SYDNEY D. BAILEY
New York, N. Y.

HAROLD J. BERMAN and MIROSLAV KERNER. *Soviet Military Law and Administration.* Pp. xiv, 208. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955. $4.00.

In the Preface, the authors promise the reader only an analysis of the administrative and legal structure of the Soviet military establishment. But they achieve more than this. First, they formulate a very plausible hypothesis about the type of integration of the armed forces of the Soviets into the total power structure. On the top level, they find a complete fusion of the armed forces with the other elements of the power machine, not so much on the institutional as on the personal level: the armed forces are headed by the same men who also head the technical apparatus of the government and the political police; this makes a *pronunciamento* rather improbable. But on the middle and lower levels, the armed forces are granted a large margin of autonomy which the authors correctly explain as the result of a cumulative experience of the leaders who learned that semi-autonomy is a functional prerequisite of the efficiency of any army. Second, on the basis of scattered data (systematic data are unavailable), they give some insight into the informal structures existing within the armed forces; here they come to the conclusion that the situation is ambivalent: discipline is strict and relentless; but there are also elements of "parentalism" which, in his earlier works on Soviet law, Harold Berman had given a probably exaggerated emphasis.

The major part of the book is devoted to a concise, but clear presentation of the structure of the military establishment, the regulation of military discipline, the law of military crimes and punishments, the organization and procedure of military courts, and military prosecution. Very interesting is the discussion of the history of the consecutive changes in the disciplinary code showing the steady de-emphasis of revolutionary ideas and re-emphasis of patriotism, but also of the duty of absolute obedience to the orders of the superiors. The book is concluded by an "appraisal" of the Soviet system of military law and administration which, perhaps, is not so much an appraisal as a summary. This summary includes

however a most illuminating digest of the impressions, on the subject, of M. Kerner who, from July 1, 1944 until the end of the war served as a colonel of the Czechoslovak unit on the Eastern front, and a summary of a few cases concerning the application of the military court procedure to essentially nonmilitary offenses committed by railroad workers, an awkward feature of Soviet law indeed.

N. S. TIMASHEFF
Fordham University

WESTERN CONTINENTAL EUROPE

DAVID T. CATTELL. *Communism and the Spanish Civil War.* (University of California Publications in International Relations, Vol. IV.) Pp. xii, 290. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. $3.75 cloth; $2.75 paper.

Any book dealing with the first two and a half years of World War II in Spain is a welcome contribution to the truth. The truth about these lost years of that war is still being hidden behind an iron curtain of our own to hide the shame. Mr. Cattell's book, dealing with the part played by European Communists, with never more than 500 Russians among them, is well documented. It is not, as the title might imply, another effort in the doctoring of history to show that Hitler and Mussolini gallantly fared forth in the name of the Lord to save the Spaniards from the "Communism" of the Azana regime. The author undertakes no such fantastic task. He makes an honest effort to indicate the part the Communists actually played in the Spanish war against the Axis. These Communists were certainly not fighting for democracy, but they were fighting for selfish reasons against the Nazi aggression. Actually volunteers trained in fighting, their help was welcomed, just as the help of the Communist Government of Russia was hailed with enthusiasm by England, France, and the United States in the second phase of World War II. These Communists, trained fighters in the International Brigade, under the command of a German Communist, did save Madrid at a critical moment; but, when, taking advantage of natural gratitude, their commander tried to impose his views he was promptly dismissed.

The legal government bought such arms as it could from Russia solely because the three democracies from whom it preferred to buy had denied it its unquestionable right under international law to buy from them, and the gold it sent to Moscow was solely to pay for the material bought. It placed two Spanish Communists in the Ministry in the dark days for the same reason that de Gasperi in Italy placed Communists in his first Government to unify the people behind the regime in a crisis. Mr. Cattell accurately shows that in the darkest hours toward the close when the Government's sole hope for guns was on Russia, the Communists did force concessions through threats and blackmail. Based on intensive research, this book is a valuable contribution in these days of brazen attempts to so color "history" as to make it conform to the defence of our unhappy policy of unwitting collaboration with the Axis in its war on the gallant democracy of Spain.

CLAUDE E. BOWERS
New York, N. Y.

PAUL FARMER. *Vichy, Political Dilemma.* Pp. vi, 376. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. $5.50.

As a thoughtful student of modern French history, Mr. Farmer is concerned with the political *malaise* that has come over the French nation. In fact, his original purpose in undertaking a study of the Vichy regime grew out of a desire "to discover what new light this might throw on both the history of France in the period 1918–1939 and on the course of affairs since 1944" (p. v).

To a degree, the work does throw light on continuing and basic French problems, but it would have been more accurate to state the purpose the other way around: the author's interests in the periods before and after Vichy, so far as the present study goes, are really directed toward an explanation of Vichy. This is valid procedure, but in following it Mr. Farmer assumes an importance for the Vichy period, and makes

uses of it in his attempt to answer long-range questions, that other scholars may well question. There is no doubt that the principles and practices of the Vichy government derived in considerable measure from the evils of the prewar period; nor that the Vichy scars were deep and in some instances lasting; but Vichy was also a product of special circumstances of defeat and occupation and many of its aspects were unique rather than typical. These facts make it extremely treacherous hunting ground for the historian who seeks to explain France's basic ills. Mr. Farmer recognizes all of this, of course, but the recognition does not sufficiently govern this study. He continues to read into Vichy more than is warranted.

But one may question an author's perspective without denying the general value of his book. *Vichy, Political Dilemma* is the work of a skilled hand and bears evidence of patient, thorough research. Although there are no footnotes, which presumably means that the work was designed for the "general reader," there is an excellent "Note on Sources." Judgments of the Vichy leaders are notably temperate and enlightening. Although the author makes every effort to be fair to these leaders, it can scarcely be said that any one of them gains in stature as a result. There are too many occasions when the author, in an attempt to demonstrate his adherence to the basic tenets of the historian's faith, dwells on explanations of what questions may be properly asked and what answers soundly ventured. These may indicate the consistency of his position, but they are repetitious and make for periods of tedious reading in an otherwise well-written book.

JOSEPH J. MATHEWS
Emory University

MAURICE BAUMONT, JOHN H. E. FRIED, and EDMOND VERMEIL (Eds.). *The Third Reich*. Pp. xv, 910. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. $9.00.

This inquiry into the methods and procedure of Nazism is published under the auspices of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies and sponsored by UNESCO. Twenty-seven European and American scholars have united to present a comprehensive account of the National Socialist movement from its philosophical origins in nineteenth-century nationalist thought to the political policies pursued by the Nazis in their twelve years of power.

The book is divided into three major parts. Prefaced by a long study by Edmond Vermeil on the background of German nationalist ideology, the first group of essays deals with the philosophical forerunners of National Socialism, including Constantin Franz, Paul de Lagarde, Nietzsche, H. S. Chamberlain, Stefan George, Moeller van den Bruck, and Adolf Hitler. Part II analyzes the political, social, and economic circumstances that brought the Nazis to power in 1933. Part III is devoted to examinations of the political methods and techniques of the National Socialist régime, such as the use of propaganda, the misuse of philosophy, anti-Semitism, racialism, the National Socialist vocabulary, the role of the Schutzstaffel (SS), and the position of the Catholic and Protestant churches. Among the excellent essays is Otto Klineberg's study of Nazi racialism.

This giant, encyclopedic volume shows in microcosm some of the difficulties encountered when scholars work on an international scale (British, French, American, Dutch, and Belgian historians contribute essays). The editors fixed only the subjects beforehand and made no attempt to determine the scope of the treatment, on the ground that there was to be no interference with the creative freedom of the authors. While this aim certainly is a most laudable one, the practical effect is that there is a serious amount of overlapping and repetition. Careful editing to avoid this result does not come under the category of "overstrict regimentation."

The Committee, preferring "sincerity and plain speaking to the impersonal neutrality of a lifeless report" (p. xv), allowed each author perfect freedom to adopt his point of view, even in the political sphere. This, of course, was to be expected under the circumstances. The discriminating reader can judge the varying viewpoints for himself and make his own choice. There is as yet no last word on the underlying causes of the Nazi movement.

The contributions of German historians are somewhat depressing. Wilhelm Grenzmann, agreeing with Edmond Vermeil, describes the Nazi "relapse into barbarism" as a poison that had been creeping through the organism for a long time, but hastily adds: "The Germans, of course, were not the only people to be contaminated" (p. 203). Gerhard Ritter echoes Meinecke's German "catastrophe": "It is important for anyone examining these conditions to realize how unprepared internally Germany was for the political events of 1932–33—the sudden rise to power of the Hitlerian party" (p. 384). Though fully one-third of the book is devoted to the intellectual precursors of National Socialism, Theodor Litt warns about labelling "pioneers" of National Socialism: "In every case we must be careful to examine whether, and in what degree, the affinities of which so much was made really existed, or were only part of the make-believe of those virtuosi of the lie" (p. 455). The implication is that Hitlerism was a sudden catastrophe without link to the sphere of ideas and theories. Far from being a bolt from the blue, National Socialism was the final link in a chain of disastrous events.

On the whole, however, this volume should be welcomed as a real contribution to the clarification of National Socialism. It should be of value in the vital task of the quickest possible identification of any similar movements that might appear in the future.

LOUIS L. SNYDER
City College of New York

HELGA TIMM. *Die deutsche Sozialpolitik und der Bruch der Grossen Koalition im März 1930.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Heft No. 1.) Pp. 216. Düsseldorf, Germany: Droste-erlag, 1952. DM 12.80.

HANS GEORG WIECK. *Die Entstehung der CDU und die Wiedergründung des Zentrums im Jahre 1945.* (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien, Heft No. 2.) Pp. 247. Düsseldorf, Germany: Droste-Verlag, 1953. DM 12.80.

Recent German historiography is enriched by the first two volumes published by the "Kommission für die Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien" (Commission for the History of Parliamentarianism and Political Parties) which is sponsored by the West German Government. Its self-declared task, "to examine aspects of German political life from 1848 to the present," is auspiciously commenced by Helga Timm's competent treatment of the fall in 1930 of the Herman Müller cabinet over the issue of unemployment benefits. This was the last coalition cabinet anchored in the majority parties.

Helga Timm skillfully describes the deterioration of the governing parties into brawling interest groups and the political immaturity of large parts of the population, a process which was aggravated by the impact of the Depression. The Social Democrats faced the dilemma of satisfying their following with increased unemployment compensation and other benefits while balancing a hopelessly deranged budget. The German People's Party, the other wing of the coalition, demanded economy and had in fact shriveled from its broad middle-class basis to a core of economic die-hards.

The author also demonstrates by an exhaustive treatment of the bitter Parliamentary struggles over naval appropriations during August 1928 and the employers' intransigence in the Ruhr strike later that year that the threat to the Weimar coalition government was great even during relatively full employment.

The author labels the fall of the Müller government as the disruption of the tenuous democracy of the Weimar Republic. She ascribes this to the lack of a non-Marxist mass movement to which the petit-bourgeosie could have turned, and to the fact that consideration of social policy had become a subject of party polemics. This analysis gives inadequate weight to the deep cleavages of German society which became especially apparent in the depression. Yet the author deserves high tribute for making a scholarly effort at identifying and interpreting the interplay of forces

which helped to determine the fate of the ill-starred Weimar Republic.

The second volume of this series, by Hans Georg Wieck, is an original study of the founding of the Christian Democratic Union and the revival of the Catholic Center Party in the British occupation zone of Germany, from May 1945 to March 1946. Drawing extensively from hitherto unpublished documents, party files, correspondence, and interviews with over a hundred leading participants, Dr. Wieck provides an informative analysis of the political climate in the war-ravished Rhenish-Westphalian industrial basin and in Northwestern Germany. Sensitive to pertinent details, he shows how in many large German cities in 1945 isolated small groups gathered under the leadership of Protestant and Catholic clergymen and of prewar democratic and nationalist party leaders. They were now united by the need for a Christian-oriented, liberal democratic party that was free of Socialist and Communist doctrines.

Considerable attention is given to the deeply rooted disagreement over the question whether the emerging political alignment should be denominational or nondenominational in character. The development of the Christian Democratic Union and the revival of the Catholic Center Party attested both to the irreconcilability of the two views, and to the common desire of all leaders to safeguard religious harmony and strengthen democratic political life. Although scant data are presented on the response of party leaders to the rank-and-file demands, this work represents the successful completion of a challenging task and undoubtedly is likely to remain for long the definitive treatise on the subject. A name index and short summaries on the growth of Christian liberal parties in Western Europe after World War II are appended.

Both works exhibit a degree of scholarship which, it is hoped, subsequent volumes of this series will maintain.

ROBERT MUELLER

New York, N. Y.

NORMAN RICH and M. H. FISHER (Eds.). *The Holstein Papers.* Volume I: *Memoirs and Political Observations.* Pp. xxvii, 216.. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1955. $5.00.

Historians have so far refrained from writing a full study of the "mystery man" on the Wilhelmstrasse, Baron Friedrich von Holstein (1837–1909), pending the reappearance of the Holstein papers. With the capture by the Allies of the massive archives of the German Foreign Ministry, these papers, formerly in private possession and confiscated successively by the Gestapo and by the Foreign Ministry, have now re-emerged. Their publication has been approved by their former owner as well as by the British Foreign Office and the United States Department of State in their capacity as custodians of the German documents. The Holstein papers that have survived consist of political memoranda, diary fragments for the period 1881 to 1888, memoirs, and a large volume of letters. The present volume presents the memoirs, dealing loosely and fragmentarily with various stages and episodes of Holstein's career; subsequent volumes will consist of diaries and letters.

The editors make the rather exaggerated claim that these papers will lead to a complete rejudgment of German foreign policy, of Bismarck, and of Holstein himself. In particular, the editors assure us, these papers will explode the myth—if it is a myth—of Holstein as the sinister schemer behind the scenes. As everyone knows, Holstein acquired an evil reputation among contemporaries and succeeding generations as the "evil genius" of the Foreign Ministry and was regarded as a warped personality and social recluse. Although he never held a higher office than *Vortragender Rat* (Counselor), he was the most influential person in the Foreign Ministry by virtue of his long experience and Bismarck's confidence in him. After the latter's fall from office in 1890 Holstein virtually dominated foreign policy until in 1906 he was forced to resign because of his reckless policy during the first Morocco crisis.

As a historical source the Holstein memoirs are rather disappointing. They contain a good deal of society talk, petty affairs, and Holstein's observations and characterizations of contemporaries. Some of

this is illuminating and entertaining (illuminating especially the author's character), but it adds little or no new light on the major problems in this period. Holstein's part in the Arnim affair is in no way clarified by his disclaiming to have had anything to do with it beyond his admission of political differences existing between Arnim and Holstein. His venomous comments about Bismarck (in later years), his opposition to the Iron Chancellor's complicated alliance system, and particularly to the "Reinsurance Treaty" with Russia are in no way surprising. That Holstein was violently Russophobic and Francophobic and to a considerable extent Anglophile and favored an Anglo-German alliance has been amply shown in recent studies by Helmut Krausnick, Peter Rassow, and G. P. Gooch. Holstein blames Chancellor Buelow and the Kaiser for the failure to reach an agreement with England at the turn of the century, but that Holstein, too, insisted on an exorbitant price for such an agreement he fails to point out. The Moroccan affair of 1905 is given scant attention.

It is perhaps unfair to expect significant revelations from these memoirs. As the editors point out, there are great gaps in the narrative and certain papers have been removed, lost, or destroyed by interested parties. Finally, it is at least probable that Holstein himself wrote as he wished to be remembered and edited his papers accordingly.

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OTHER COUNTRIES

MAO TSE-TUNG. *Selected Works.* Vol. I: 1926–1936; Vol. II: 1937–1938; Vol. III: 1939–1941. Pp. 336; 296; 260. New York: International Publishers, 1954, 1955. $3.00 each.

Mao Tse-tung's contribution to the formal literature of Chinese Communism began with the publication in March 1926 of a brief "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" (I, pp. 13–20). During the next fifteen years, through May 8, 1941—the period covered by the first three volumes of his *Selected Works*—Mao produced fifty-six other works which the editors of the present series thought useful to reproduce. The *Selected Works* do not include all of Mao's works of this period, although no works of significance are known to be omitted; and the present texts have been carefully edited to revise and omit portions of the early works which for one unexplained reason or another were thought to need revision or deletions. Consequently the professional student of the history of Chinese Communism must still rely on Chinese originals of an earlier date for his research. However, for the general reader whose attention has been drawn to China by recent events, and who is interested in the mental processes and perspectives of the man who has been the unchallenged leader of the Chinese Communist Party since 1935, the present texts will be found extremely valuable and representative. They offer insights into the nature and quality of Chinese Communist thought that cannot be had otherwise.*

The present three volumes are the officially sponsored translation of the first two Chinese volumes published in Peking in 1951. They include a wide variety of materials: the shorter pieces include press interviews, official policy statements, and such pungent essays as "Combat Liberalism" (September 7, 1937; II, pp. 74–76); the longer pieces include theoretical expositions which were not widely known before 1950—such as "On Practice" (July 1937; I, pp. 282–97) and "On Contradiction" (August 1937; II, pp. 13–53)—and the most important political and tactical works, which have long served as basic guidance for party cadres and the rank-and-file.

Three of the political-tactical works have particular significance. (1) "Strategic Problems of China's Revolutionary War" (I, pp. 175–253) is the unfinished analysis of the military lessons of the "Second Revolutionary Civil War" which Mao presented in December 1936, to familiarize his followers with military doctrines that would be applicable in the war with Japan. This central military analysis was the predecessor of many others, including "Strategic Problems in the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla

War" (May 1938; II, pp. 119–56), and "On the Protracted War" (May 1938, II, pp. 157–243). Out of this body of doctrine emerge explanations of the military victory over the Kuomintang and, to some extent, of the Communist military tactics in such other Asian countries as Viet-Nam and Laos. (2) "The Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party" (December 1939; III, pp. 72–101) is a Marxist-Leninist attempt to fit the Communist Revolution into the mainstream of China's revolutionary experience and to apply Leninist principles to the analysis of the revolutionary potential of the different classes of Chinese society. (3) "On New Democracy" (January 1940; III, pp. 102–56) was the authoritative pre-1949 guide to the political organization, methods, and objectives in Communist-controlled parts of China, and throws important light on the principles of public policy written into the Constitution of the Chinese People's Republic of September 20, 1954.

Maoism—*Mao Tse-tung ssu-hsiang* (lit. "the Thought of Mao Tse-tung")—is the official doctrine of the Chinese Communist Party. It is not a philosophical system of very high order, suffering in this respect the weaknesses of other expressions of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Nevertheless, Maoism emphasizes the special situation of China, and the special requirements of the revolution in China, and to that extent is the Chinese counterpart of Stalinism. Its basic tenets are found in the first three volumes of Mao's *Selected Works* and establish a tenuous distinction between Chinese and Soviet Communism.

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Ennin's Diary, The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Law. Translated from the Chinese by Edwin O. Reischauer. Pp. xvi, 454. $7.50.

EDWIN O. REISCHAUER. *Ennin's Travels in T'ang China.* Pp. xii, 341. New York: The Ronald Press, 1955. $5.00.

Ennin was a Japanese Buddhist monk who went to China in the year 838 to travel and to study Buddhism, and who remained there until, falling victim to the great Buddhist persecution of 845, he was expelled from the country, and returned to his own homeland two years later. During these nine and one-half years he wrote (in Chinese) a lengthy diary, notable not only as the first great document of its sort in the Far East, but also as the first detailed account of China by a foreign visitor. Ennin was fortunate enough to have seen China during one of its peak periods of political and cultural glory—the T'ang dynasty—when Chinese Buddhism was at its apogee. Now, in these two handsomely printed volumes (each equipped with excellent maps), Professor Reischauer of Harvard has made this ancient Far Eastern record available for the first time to the Western world.

The first of the volumes containing a complete translation of the diary is a splendid piece of scholarship, primarily designed for the specialist, in which a host of difficult problems, linguistic and otherwise, has been successfully surmounted. The second volume, while equally scholarly, is on the other hand intended for a more general public. In it Reischauer has extracted the essential meat from Ennin's diary, added to it material drawn from other sources, and thus given us, in modern language, a coherent picture of what Ennin saw in ninth-century China. Some of its topics include Ennin's dealings with Chinese officialdom, everyday life in T'ang China, popular Chinese Buddhism, and the great Buddhist persecution of 845.

There is much in Ennin's diary, and even more in Reischauer's book based on this diary, that is fresh and interesting. For the 845 persecution, for example, the diary is our most detailed single source. Yet there is also a good deal in Reischauer's book that, to the general reader at least, will probably seem somewhat inconsequential or pedantic, even though it no doubt has significance for the scholarly specialist. The chapter on popular Buddhism, for example, while telling much about some of the formal aspects of T'ang Buddhism, conveys no idea at all of the qualities, spiritual or otherwise, which made Buddhism the great religious force it was.

No doubt these features of Reischauer's book reflect corresponding features in the

record of Ennin himself, who, as Reischauer points out (*Ennin's Travels*, p. 38), "apparently was not a man of creative imagination." As seen through his diary, Ennin appears to have been a sincere and devout, but nonetheless somewhat matter-of-fact person. He faithfully recorded the factual minutiae of everyday life, including texts of numerous letters and official documents, and, as far as Buddhism is concerned, was apparently chiefly impressed by its miracle-working and ritualistic aspects. It seems a pity that Reischauer has not chosen to tell us more specifically just what it was in Buddhism that Ennin took back with him to Japan and that made him such an important figure there. One interesting point, alluded to but not commented on by Reischauer, is that Ennin, devout Buddhist though he was, was enough of an eclectic to be ready to pray, in moments of emergency, to all sorts of Shintoist and other non-Buddhist divinities.

In the opening pages of *Ennin's Travels*, Reischauer interestingly compares Ennin with Marco Polo, pointing out that the former, as a Buddhist monk coming from a country culturally an offshoot of China, was far better equipped than the latter to enter into a sympathetic understanding of Chinese life, and that his diary is a much more detailed and accurate source of information. This is unquestionably true, yet it is equally true that, judged purely in terms of human interest and its ability to stir men's imaginations, the diary falls far short of Polo's famous narrative. Grateful though we are to Ennin for this record of China during one of its peaks of splendor, and to Professor Reischauer for now making it available to the West at a time when China has again become a world power, there is very little likelihood that it will ever rival in popularity the no doubt often superficial and misleading, yet always fascinating, account of the Venetian traveler.

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WERNER LEVI. *Modern China's Foreign Policy*. Pp. xi, 399. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1953. $5.50.

Professor Levi's book is an attempt to "analyze and interpret China's foreign policy" during "the past century or so," with China, and "not the countries with which she has had dealings," as "the focus of the study." This admirable objective is only partially attained because (1) the author has not used enough Chinese material to enable him really to get behind the scenes and see what the Chinese attitudes, motives, objectives, hopes and dreams actually were, and (2) his manner of organization and presentation fails to bring out clearly the major developments and trends.

The author attempted to meet the first difficulty by using translated Chinese documents, works by Chinese in Western languages, foreign newspapers published in China and Chinese news releases. He has also used German and French materials far more extensively than do most American writers. Despite this, however, his basic analysis has had to be based on the exterior record as shown in treaties, notes and public statements, and only now and then has his account been illuminated by a glimpse at the interior record—instructions to negotiators, interoffice memos, private letters, papers, and so forth, of those involved in policy making. A thorough understanding of China's foreign policy will only come after the large mass of this interior record now available to scholars has been laboriously studied.

The book of approximately 400 pages is organized into twenty-five chapters without dates or subheads. Chapter headings are only partially descriptive of policy. Fewer chapters, with headings descriptive of policy aims, characteristics or trends, with sub-topics dealing with specific developments illustrating how efforts to implement policy aims failed or succeeded, would have presented the analysis much more clearly and forcefully. Brief statements at the beginning or end of chapters pointing up the significant trends are also needed. As it is, many penetrating observations and significant trends are all but lost in the dead level of presentation. The really important points that the Boxer Settlement of 1901 played into the hands of the reactionary Empress and her clique

when it could have easily assured the accession to power of progressive elements (p. 69), and that the failure of the Western powers to respond sympathetically and quickly enough to the upsurge of young progressive China from 1919 to 1922, epitomized by the ignoring of the appeal of Sun Yat-sen and the failure of the Washington Conference to take concrete steps to help China, threw Young China into a leftist tailspin from which it was never fully able to recover (pp. 157–63) are almost lost sight of in the welter of other facts and generalizations. The Sun-Joffe declaration of January 1923, which might have been used to highlight this shift, is not even mentioned (pp. 174–75), although the general shift is discussed.

Despite the amount of specific detail that one finds in the study it is written at a rather high level of generalization, and many of the remarks and statements will not be fully understood or appreciated by one who does not already have the basic details of Far Eastern developments well in mind. The final third of the book dealing with the period of the collapse of Chiang and the development of Communist policy is especially well done. The work as a whole is full of interesting and often challenging interpretations and suggestions, but it has to be read slowly and with care if these are to be noted and given the consideration they deserve.

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JEAN STROETZEL. *Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword: A Study of the Attitudes of Youth in Postwar Japan.* (A UNESCO Publication.) Pp. 334. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. $4.00.

This book is the outcome of a study planned by UNESCO in 1951 and 1952 to investigate the attitudes of Japanese youth in the 15–25 year age range, with special reference to the social reforms in Japanese society administered during the Occupation period. The objective was to determine how these reforms had influenced the attitudes of young people and to assess such attitudes in the light of known constants in Japanese social relations and cultural patterns. The study was directed by Jean Stroetzel, a French social psychologist, in collaboration with F. Vos, a Dutch specialist in Japanese ethnology and behavior. Many Japanese scholars and scientists assisted in the planning of the project and were instrumental in accomplishing the actual research operations. Special mention should be made of the National Public Opinion Institute of the Japanese Government, which did the national-sample attitude survey forming the nucleus of the study.

Methodologically this is a model research undertaking. It is the first major project to consciously employ socio-psychological, personological, and cultural anthropological techniques and knowledge in order to gain insight into the problem of attitudes in a sector of the population of a large nation-society. Recognizing the advantages and limitations of anthropological methods, the researchers successfully used anthropological knowledge of behavior and social patterns as a background against which attitudes influenced by contemporary events and experiences could be placed and ultimately interpreted.

The findings are extremely valuable, if not particularly surprising. Since it is impossible in a brief review to summarize a large quantity of specific data, one may hazard the impression that the attitudes and personalities of Japanese youth as revealed by this study provide the reader with a feeling that Japan is headed in very familiar directions. In Japanese youth, as in the youth of the West, a prevailing anxiety over contemporary historical uncertainties, and a willingness to reserve opinion on political matters (save for a special activist element in the universities, not fully acknowledged by the author) are in evidence—buttressed in the Japanese case by understandable economic and military insecurities brought about by Japan's ambiguous international position.

In spite of this "conservative" or withdrawal tendency *re* political matters, Japanese youth is predominantly prodemocratic and individualistic in the sphere of human relations. The Occupation period reforms, building upon latent liberalism due to industrialization and urbanization, and to

residues from the "liberal era" of the 1920's, have emerged among the majority of young people in the form of favorable views of love *vs.* arranged marriage; considerable personal ambition to "succeed"; discontent with the burdens of the family system; and numerous other "democratic" or egalitarian tendencies. These and other "modern" values are, of course, not symmetrically distributed. The sampling indicates that they vary by locality and region; the more isolated and traditional areas yielding more traditional responses.

Yet underlying this general modern cast of opinion go uncertainties which are interpreted as based on the prevailing functional character of the older institutions. While many young people reject family obligations, their personality analyses indicate that they still depend upon family ties for security to an extent probably greater than in Western countries, and their optimism and ambition are founded on images of an expanding society which the economic and political facts do not necessarily bear out. This is perhaps symptomatic of Japan's intermediate and dynamic position: while her modern history is best interpreted, as Reischauer has pointed out, in the broad categories and processual factors of Western society, her psychology, and the means she often uses to accomplish her "modern" ends, often remain traditional, and if not stereotypically "Oriental," at least "feudal" and "hierarchical," and adjusted to the facts of life in an overpopulated country which must depend upon foreign trade for a living. Japan is still at the crossroads, culturally, psychologically, and historically; her future is by no means certain, and the particular mixture of the traditional and the Western elements in her culture has not yet taken stable form.

JOHN W. BENNETT
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MICHIHIKO HACHIYA. *Hiroshima Diary: The Journal of a Japanese Physician, August 6–September 30, 1945.* Translated by Warner Wells and Neal Tsukifuji. Pp. xi, 238. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. $3.50.

Ordinarily one cannot review a book by quoting from its jacket but this is an exception. "This is a day by day eyewitness account of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and the seven weeks that followed. Terrifying in its portrayal of the greatest man-made catastrophe in history, it is inspiring in its revelation of the heights of human heroism."

Not only is the book an important contribution to medical literature, but it is also interesting from a political science point of view. When the bomb exploded, a government employee, making his way through the darkened streets and fallen houses, ran to the fourth floor of the building where the Emperor's picture was hung, pried open an iron door behind which it was kept, and, with the help of others, carried it to safety ahead of the fire which broke out to the water's edge, the crowds of wounded and fleeing opening up, saluting and bowing to let it pass. The people of Hiroshima reflected the attitude of one old lady who said: "I'm sorry for the Emperor. He didn't start the war." The masses did not realize what had struck them and they were subject to all kinds of rumors including one that the city would be uninhabitable for seventy-five years. According to the author, the military authorities "had betrayed the Emperor and the people of Japan," and the ruthlessness of the army leaders and their stupidity knew no bounds. "Our personal rights were violated and we never knew when we might say something to provoke their irascible and vindictive natures." "The one word—surrender—had produced a greater shock than the bombing of our city." Contrary to the usual Japanese respect for law and order, the city was infested with burglars, looting was common and "the country was in the clutches of the mean and unintelligent." Yet despite all this criticism by Dr. Hachiya, his own exploits and heroism and those of his brave and conscientious staff make up a remarkable saga of Japanese courage and fortitude.

If the author ever entertained any harsh feelings toward the United States for the dropping of the bomb, he no longer seems to harbor them since his diary merely states that Buddhism taught him to be

resigned in the case of adversity, and his 1952 postscript declares that when he thinks of the kindness of the American officers and doctors who subsequently took charge, "I think one can overlook thoughts of revenge." Everyone should read this short but fascinating and terrible story. Great credit is due to Warner Wells and Neal Tsukifuji for the lucidity of their translation from the Japanese.

ALBERT E. KANE

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HUBERT HERRING. *A History of Latin America: From the Beginnings to the Present.* Pp. xx, 796, xxvi. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. $6.50.

This is a lively and interesting history of the twenty highly diversified nations south of the United States which we lump together for convenience under the term "Latin America." Fulfilling the promise of the book's title, the author sketches their history "from the beginnings" more than two thousand years ago in Indo-America, Europe, and Africa—the three major areas from which the racially variegated population of modern Latin America was drawn. He has also done all that is humanly possible in this changing world to make good the promise of bringing the story down "to the present": for example, he discusses so recent an event as the overthrow of the "Communist-inspired" Arbenz government of Guatemala in June 1954.

Professor Herring has long been one of the most widely read writers on Latin America, but he has addressed himself primarily to the general reader in all his previous writings. These include *Good Neighbors,* one of the best of the World War II spate of books about Latin America, and numerous articles about Good Neighborland in *Harper's* and other magazines catering to what used to be called the carriage trade.

Now for the first time Herring has addressed himself directly to an academic audience, for the book under review is obviously a college text book—witness its numerous footnotes, its half-dozen statistical tables, and its thirteen-page reading list. In the main, however, he has adhered rather closely to the established pattern of text books in this field. The most striking illustration of this fact is provided by the section on the national period (pp. 243–772). Here, except for a twenty-eight-page group of chapters on "Latin America and the United States," each country is treated separately, with the result that this section, which fills more than two-thirds of the book, is not so much a history of Latin America as an aggregation of twenty national histories.

Although this is a text book, it is written in a style that should give it a wide appeal. The emphasis is on politics and personalities, though there is enough economic and social material to satisfy most readers who like to be provided with that kind of ballast.

Oddly enough in view of Herring's previous interest in cultural matters (see, for example, *Renascent Mexico,* which he co-edited), the cultural aspect of Latin American history is rather neglected in this book. Thus, there is only a ten-page chapter on "The Formation of Spanish-American Culture" for the colonial period, and no corresponding chapter at all for the national period. The separate national histories do not fill the gap. For example, of Mexico's two outstanding writers in the past generation, one, José Vasconcelos, is mentioned only in connection with his political appointment as Minister of Education, and the other, Alfonso Reyes, is not mentioned at all. Herring surely knows a great deal about the cultural history of Latin America. Was it assumed that this would not interest either students and teachers or the general reader?

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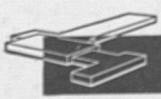

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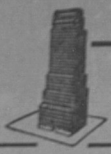

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