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**THE EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION ON THE
FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH**

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Practical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

by

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June 1950

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is an increasing need in the pastoral area for an understanding of the problems involved in urbanization. The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod was one of the last church bodies to retain a foreign language and to shift from a rural to an increasingly urban constituency. This adjustment has been intensified by the gradual migration from rural to urban areas. Since the church is dependent upon the community and has as its goal the members of the community, the church must understand the structure and make-up of the urban community.¹

There is an additional reason for studying urbanism and its effects upon the function of the church. By analyzing the problems of urbanization, we are in reality viewing the problems of the entire contemporary social scene. Civilization has tended to begin and center in cities. "The city," writes Louis Wirth, an urban sociologist, "is the center from which the influences of modern civilized life radiate....the problems of contemporary society take their most acute form in the city. The problems of modern civilization are typically urban problems."²

Concrete sociological studies of the city are all recent. As yet there is not a large body of systematic knowledge on the urban community. In order to present a fairly well-rounded view of the city, we have

¹Vernon R. Schreiber, "The Urban Church in a Transition Community," unpublished Bachelor of Divinity Thesis, (Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., 1949).

²Louis Wirth, "The Urban Society and Civilization," The American Journal of Sociology, XLV, (March 1940), p. 743.

attempted to utilize as many studies of universities and private agencies as possible. Since city life is dynamic, many of the findings must be viewed as tentative but as the best available to date.

The interest in this paper will not be the causes for the rise of urbanism or a study of the social ecology of the city. The emphasis will be on the social relationships in the city. We will ask the question of how these influences in urban areas have affected the function of the church in witnessing.

In using the term "church" in this paper, we are not thinking primarily of an organization with plants and official programs. The term will be used in its New Testament sense of a gathering of people—people whom God has called together to be in fellowship with Him through Jesus Christ. The main task of the church is not seen, therefore, as the promotion of a welfare program. Its main task is the commission given it by God, to witness to the world in order to win individuals back to God. Another facet of its purpose is the strengthening of the people already in its fellowship.³

The problem will be divided into four parts. In the first section we will view personal relationships in the occupational area. The next will analyze the relationships in the family as they are affected by urbanized culture. The third large area will survey personal relationships in recreation and play. The concluding section will look at the impersonal relationships in the urban area.

³Richard R. Caemmerer, The Church in the World, (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1949), pp. 1-11.

Because of the large scope of the problem we will not deal with distinctly racial problems which exist in urban areas. As we have already indicated, the paper will not consider problems of urban growth, ecology or social planning. Though vital, these areas would take us too far afield. We will, however, consider as many as possible of the social forces which affect the work of the church.

Our interest in this paper will not be in the economic organization itself, but rather in the social contacts and interaction of the urban workers. The trend toward monopoly, for example, affects the individual worker. An increased amount of retail business is often done in a market or by chain stores, the control of which is often centered in a centralistic institution. No longer is the individual worker a craftsman, he has become a laborer in a super-organization.

Today not only manufactured commodities are bought and sold, but human labor is sold on the market. There can no longer remain an individual, social relation based on reciprocity. All in a money economy must be judged by the criteria of production and sale. A product is placed on the market and skills are an investment and feeling.⁴ W. E. Miller, in

⁴ Vincent Heath Skinner, "Social-Order People," The American Journal of Sociology, LVII (July 1952), p. 45.

W. E. Miller, Education, The Machine and the Worker, (New York: The New Republic, Inc., 1935), p. 70 ff.

W. E. Miller and J. A. Roberts, Urban Sociology, (New York: New York Public Library, 1937).

CHAPTER II

URBANIZATION IN OCCUPATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

The increasing concentration of population within the urban area and its immediate orbit is caused by the industrial-commercial activities which center there. Though the central cities themselves are not increasing as in earlier decades, the suburban areas adjacent to them are expanding rapidly.⁴

Our interest in this chapter will not be in the economic organization itself, but rather in its effects upon the social contacts and interaction of the urban dwellers. The trend toward monopoly, for example, affects the individual worker. An increased amount of retail business in urban areas is carried on by chain stores, the control of which is often centered in a metropolis far removed. No longer is the individual worker a craftsman; he has become a laborer in a super-organization.⁵

Today not only manufactured commodities are bought and sold, but human labor is also on the market. When man no longer counts as an individual, social relations tend to impersonalize. All in a money economy must be judged by the criteria of production and sale. A premium is placed on intellect and skill, not on sentiment and feeling.⁶ W. E. Moore, an

⁴Vincent Heath Whitney, "Rural-Urban People," The American Journal of Sociology, LIV, (July 1948), p. 48.

⁵H. M. Kallen, Education, the Machine and the Worker, (New York: The New Republic, Inc., 1925), p. 90 ff.

⁶Noel P. Gist and L. A. Harbert, Urban Society, (Third Edition; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1949).

industrial sociologist, writes:

The formal structure of industry, and to a marked degree the demands of the machine technology itself, assumes a high degree of impersonality, rational division of labor, and incentives based upon wages and an impersonal system of exchange.⁷

Effects of Large Scale Machine Technology on the Individual

Actual studies of the effect of machine technology on the individual worker are recent, having come only after World War I. In 1893 Sir William Mather made one of the first experiments when he reduced the work week in his firm from fifty-four to forty-eight hours. "Two years' experience proved that the change had brought about a considerable increase in production and a decrease in the amount of lost time."⁸ Although some of the state-owned arsenals and dockyards in England followed his example, there was no general adoption on the part of private industry.

World War I brought the first great change in the United States. In 1915 the Health of Munitions Workers Committee was set up. The benefits gained by this group can be shown from one case which received wide publicity. The work day of a group of women was reduced from twelve hours in 1915 to ten hours for the next two years. A comparison of industrial accidents showed accidents in 1915 "were two and one-half times more numerous than in the subsequent ten-hour day period."⁹

The emphasis on fatigue of these early experiments was one-sided. It is illustrated by the organization that was established in 1917, known

⁷Wilbert E. Moore, "Industrial Sociology: Status and Prospects," American Sociological Review, XIII, (June 1948), pp. 389-400.

⁸Elton Mayo, Human Problems of an Industrial Civilization, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 1-27.

⁹Ibid., p. 3.

as The Industrial Fatigue Research Board.¹⁰ It made numerous experiments hoping to throw light on industrial fatigue and its localization. Gradually, through a study of biochemistry, the group realized that they must attempt to study as many variables at the same time as possible. Now their monographs do not discuss fatigue directly, but rather the effects of rest pauses, posture, vision, lighting, atmospheric conditions and vocational selection.

Industrial investigations had to recognize almost from the beginning that psychological as well as organic influences were interfering with sustained work. In 1924, Vernon and Wyatt recognized these factors in repetitive work. "The objective conditions of modern industry," wrote Wyatt, "show an increasing tendency to give rise to monotony. This is due to the increased sub-division of labor and the amount of repetition... the amount of monotony experienced probably depends more on the attitude of the operative toward his work."¹¹

In published findings five years later, Wyatt stresses "individual characteristics and tendencies" in understanding boredom. Workers with superior intelligence become bored more easily, but their level of output usually remains above the average. His findings have been further substantiated in later studies. The amount of boredom, he found, is relative to the degree of mechanization. "It is less liable to occur when (a) the work is entirely automatic...(b) when attention is entirely concentrated on the task...It is most marked in semi-automatic processes which require enough attention to prevent mind-wandering but not enough for the complete

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 1-27.

¹¹Ibid., p. 30.

absorption of mental activity."¹² Wyatt summarizes his second conclusion:

The amount of boredom experienced bears some relation to the conditions of work. It is less liable to arise (a) when the form of activity is changed at suitable times within the spell of work, (b) when the operatives are paid according to output produced instead of time worked, (c) when the work is conceived as a series of self-contained tasks rather than as an indefinite and apparently interminable activity, (d) when the operatives are allowed to work in compact social groups rather than as isolated units, and (e) when suitable rests are introduced within the spell of work."¹³

His conclusions have been confirmed by Elton Mayo and others.¹⁴ Mayo was asked, for example, to study the working conditions in the mule-spinning department of a textile mill near Philadelphia. Every year the mill had to hire one hundred workers in order to keep forty working in that department. They had a labor turnover of 250 per cent in contrast to five per cent elsewhere in the plant. During a twelve-month experimental period, the attitudes and personal backgrounds of the workers were studied.

Morale improved when two or three rest periods were granted by the management. Output records which were kept indicated productive efficiency improved immediately. Bonuses which had never before been achieved were now earned consistently by the men. The social inter-relations improved both within the factory and outside. As a result, the factory held its workers. During the experimental period, there was actually no labor turnover. A few, however, had to leave because of other conditions, so the percentage fell from 250 to a normal two per cent.

Absenteeism is always a useful barometer in determining the workers'

¹²Ibid., p. 33.

¹³Loc. cit.

¹⁴Mayo, op. cit., p. 43 ff., and Paul Meadows, "Human Relations in Industrial Civilization," Technology Review, XLIX, (April 1947), p. 341 ff.

attitudes. During World War II a great deal of research was done on this subject. While the average rate of absenteeism was 5.7 per cent, in some industries the rate mounted as high as 15 or even 20 per cent. In studying the problem, Noland found the following eight attitudinal areas more closely associated with absenteeism. In the order of their importance, they are:

1. Satisfaction with job.
 2. Workers' opinion of the efficiency of management.
 3. Workers' opinion of the attitude of management.
 4. Home situation.
 5. Comfort at the job.
 6. Life organization (morale).
 7. Community situation.
 8. Workers' conception of absenteeism.¹⁵
- } Tied

One of the most significant experiments made of industrial problems was the five year study at the Hawthorne Plant of the Western Electric Company.¹⁶ In this study a group of six operatives were separated from the rest of the assembling staff. Careful records of their output were kept as a guide to the combined effect of all the conditions affecting the group. During the first eleven phases of the experiment, various concessions were granted to the workers: piece-rate payment, rest periods, serving refreshments, stopping work a half-hour earlier, giving a day off each week. During the period, production increased steadily and morale was unusually good.

Then during the twelfth phase of the experimental period, all these beneficial changes were stopped, with the girls returning to the original conditions. Contrary to all expectation, production did not drop, but

¹⁵William E. Noland, "Worker Attitudes and Industrial Absenteeism: A Statistical Appraisal," American Sociological Review, (April 1945), p. 508.

¹⁶Mayo, op. cit., pp. 55-98.

the weekly output rose to a still higher point. The following conclusions drawn from the experiment are significant:

- (b) There has been a continual upward trend in output which has been independent of the changes in rest pauses. This upward trend has continued too long to be ascribed to an initial stimulus from the novelty of starting a special study.
- (c) The reduction of muscular fatigue has not been the primary factor in increasing output. Cumulative fatigue is not present.
- (f) There has been an important increase in contentment among the girls working under test-room conditions.
- (g) There has been a decrease in absences of about eighty per cent.
- (v) Output is more directly related to the type of working day than to the number of (working) days in the week.
- (y) ...their health is being maintained or improved.¹⁷

This unexpected upward trend demands some explanation. Negatively we can see that fatigue does not play the important part that might be expected. Even higher pay did not offer a primary incentive. The great changes that resulted were due to a changed mental attitude. A relation of confidence and friendliness developed, so that practically no supervision was necessary. For the first time the individual employee realized that the abstract "industry" was interested in her.

Further insights into the conditions confronting the worker in modern industry are given in an interview program which was inaugurated at Hawthorne.¹⁸ At first the attempt was made to keep the records anonymous. It was soon found, however, that many of the problems which arose in the work situation could only be explained in reference to the personal background of the individual. Although most of the literary critics of the machine age stress the "deadening effects" of automoton work, the interviewers did not find this to be the primary problem. Most of the tensions

¹⁷Ibid., p. 67

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 99-123.

seemed to center about the actual work and the management of its performance. Since the worker and his group were not integrated, there was not a community of interest on the part of the group. As a result, disagreement and discord arose in the personal relationships.

Human collaboration in work...has always depended for its perpetuation upon the evolution of a non-logical social code which regulates the relations between persons and their attitudes to one another. Insistence upon a merely economic logic of production—especially if the logic is frequently changed—interferes with the development of such a code and consequently gives rise in the group to a sense of human defeat. This human defeat results in the formation of a social code at a lower level and in opposition to the economic logic. One of its symptoms is 'restriction.'¹⁹

Unemployment

Another effect of industrial change which seriously affects the outlook and security of the individual worker is unemployment.²⁰ Although frequent geographical and vocational changes make unemployment censuses rather unreliable, they do indicate the severity of this problem.²¹ In the first place, the actual number of employable people has increased four-fold since 1870. Even recently, from 1920 to 1946, there has been an increase in the total labor force of twelve million. In terms of unemployment, this means that the one million unemployed in periods of prosperity swells to fifteen million in periods of depression.²²

¹⁹Ibid., p. 120.

²⁰Stuart Alfred Queen and Jennette Rowe Gruener, Social Pathology, (Revised Edition; New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1942), p. 353 ff.

²¹Cf. William Henry Stead, Democracy Against Unemployment, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942), p. 3 ff.

²²Harold A. Phelps, Contemporary Social Problems, (Third Edition; New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947), p. 55 ff.

This wide fluctuation is important to the individual worker. Immediately before the outbreak of World War II, the number of unemployed in the United States was still high—10.7 out of a potential of 52.8 millions. By the close of the war this had dropped to 1.5 from a 53.0 million potential. Phelps points out that this record of unemployment means that each worker loses on the average about fourteen per cent of his total working time—about forty-two days each year. Subtracting seven days as the average yearly loss because of illness, this leaves a remainder of thirty-five days as a minimum estimate of unemployment. This does not include additional time lost because of frictional unemployment caused by strikes, etc.²³

It is not our purpose to discuss the causes of unemployment from an economic point of view. Seasonal unemployment, for example, is not restricted to our present urbanized culture. Even such occupations as fishing, farming and lumbering have long periods of inactivity which affect the individual workers. At the same time this is also a problem in more mechanized industries such as mills, automotive manufacturing, canneries and textiles.

Of more special concern is unemployment resulting from technological displacement. Before 1920 there were instances of temporary unemployment resulting from the introduction of machinery. But since 1920 this has increased at an unparalleled rate. In rubber manufacturing, glass and steel, there has been a steady increase in production rates with a decreasing number of workers employed. Similar conditions are present even in work which usually is not considered manual—for instance, in clerical occupations.

²³Ibid., p. 59.

The findings of the Philadelphia survey made during the early years of the last depression are noteworthy:

Causes of Unemployment ²⁴	Per Cent of All Causes
1. Inability to find work.....	75.0
2. Sickness.....	14.2
3. Old Age.....	5.0
4. Unwillingness to work.....	4.3
5. Strikes.....	0.1
6. Miscellaneous.....	1.4

Although people in all walks of life have been unemployed, a comparison of the percentage on relief reveals that the unskilled and semi-skilled are most affected in an economic crisis. Since education or specialized training is a distinct economic asset, their lack increases the difficulty in finding employment. In general unemployment affects more men than women.

Unemployment figures as well as relief figures show about five and one-half times as many men as women unemployed in 1930, at a time when the gainful workers....included barely three times as many men as women....This disproportionate number of unemployed men was reduced in the group totally unemployed in 1937 to a little more than two and a half men to every woman....It is the male then who has borne the brunt of the unemployment crisis.²⁵

In a later chapter we are going to look specifically at the effects urbanized culture has had on family unity. At this point, however, we want to see the effects of unemployment on the family. In a study of 248 unemployed families, certain identifying traits became dominant.²⁶ There were eight characteristics that distinguished these unemployed families. First, there was usually one wage-earner in each family (255 male and female

²⁴Monthly Labor Review, XXX, p. 233. Quoted in Phelps, op. cit., p. 65.

²⁵Queen and Gruener, op. cit., pp. 363-64.

²⁶The 248 cases were summarized from records of the Providence Family Welfare Society. Records of other families studied brought the total to 1,474 families with over 7,000 persons. For a description see Phelps, op. cit., p. 71 ff.

workers in the 248 families). Secondly, there were approximately five persons per family. This is not unusually high for dependent families, but did exceed by one person the average family in the community in which they lived. Thirdly, the children were still young; the number of dependent children averaged 3.2. Fourthly, the mean weekly income was \$22 (with a range from \$10 to \$40. This is explained by the large number of laborers and factory workers.) Significant also is the fact that the workers were employed in casual, unstable and overcrowded occupations. Using the census classification, 73 per cent of the men and 89 per cent of the women were unskilled workers.

The families also showed a high rate of mobility, both between cities and within cities. This may be partly explained by the factor of seasonal unemployment. Although this factor cannot be entirely explained, family welfare agencies are disturbed over its frequency. It does not promote an ideal family situation. A seventh characteristic is that the workers' mean age was 44 years for males and 40 years for females. Because of the large labor reserve those under forty are usually given the preference for employment.²⁷ And finally, in analyzing nationality, it was found that 60 per cent were native born and 40 per cent foreign born. This merely means that differences in nativity are of little value in describing unemployment.

A depression affects the individual somewhat as it does families. The study of Mrs. Cavan and Miss Ranck²⁸ shows the influence of unemployment upon the prestige and status of a person. Their social contacts become

²⁷Louis Stark, "Old at Forty," Outlook, CLIII, p. 3. Quoted Phelps, op. cit., p. 75.

²⁸Ruth S. Cavan and Katherine H. Ranck, The Family and the Depression, (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1938).

fewer. Among the children a sense of inferiority seems to be intensified. Because of embarrassment over clothes, the youngsters ask to stay home from school and Sunday School. Many attempt to make an adjustment during this period by leaving home.

Mrs. Cavan and Miss Ranck emphasize in this study that not all the behavior of adolescents in a period of crisis can be attributed solely to the situation. They are partially "the result of preceding personal habits and attitudes."²⁹ Thus boys who became transients were already unhappy at home. The unhappiness or actual breakdown of marriages in most cases rested on other earlier maladjustments. "Nevertheless, however the young people reacted, it seems true that unemployment or very low wages created a period of dissatisfaction, restlessness or resentment."³⁰

The Baltimore Family Welfare Association summarizes the effects from the viewpoint of both personal and familial security:

1. Unsteady employment attacks the worker's efficiency in so many ways that probably no one could enumerate them all. It undermines his physique, deadens his mind, weakens his ambition, destroys his capacity for continuous, sustained endeavor; induces a liking for idleness and self-indulgence; saps self-respect and the sense of responsibility; impairs technical skill; weakens nerve and will power; creates a tendency to blame others for his failures; saps his courage; prevents thrift and hope of family advancement; destroys a workman's feeling that he is taking good care of his family; sends him to work worried and underfed; plunges him in debt.
2. Unemployment is an undermining and destructive influence in the family which it attacks. It diminishes the worker's efficiency and lowers the morale of himself and his family in so many ways that no one can enumerate but a few....Loss of confidence, misunderstanding and bitterness coming in a time of worry, fatigue, and discouragement

²⁹Ibid., p. 177.

³⁰Ibid., p. 178.

are very apt to result in domestic difficulty which may end in the complete disintegration of the home.³¹

Occupational Hazards

The last source of social insecurity we will analyze is that of physical illness resulting from an occupation. Unlike unemployment resulting from technology, there is no noticeable trend in occupational accidents either up or down. At the present time there are between 16,000 and 20,000 fatal industrial accidents each year. When minor injuries are included, the estimate is over three million every year.³² It is practically impossible to estimate the additional number of diseases which have their origin in the industrial situation. But it is acknowledged that constant exposure to new poisons and unwholesome working conditions contribute to a shorter life span.

L. I. Dublin gives some noteworthy observations on the life expectancy and mortality of the industrial classes in contrast to the non-industrial.³³ Pneumonia rates, for example, are twice as high among the industrial class. Even more striking is the fact that deaths from tuberculosis are nearly four times as high among the industrial group. Industrial exposure also increases the death rates from degenerative diseases (cerebral hemorrhage, nephritis, organic diseases of the heart) disproportionately. The overall death rate is roughly double that of non-hazardous occupations. And finally, the life expectancy of an industrial worker is seven to eight years less than that of other workers.

³¹Baltimore Council of Social Agencies, Annual Report, 1927, p. 8.

³²Estimate of the National Safety Council, Chicago, Ill.

³³Louis Israel Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka, Length of Life, a Study of the Life Table, (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1936).

Analysis

What force is this that fumbling man has put in motion? Its pulsations he controls; its consequences so far have controlled him, and modern life has been so involved in a mechanical spiral that we cannot say for sure whether it is that we produce for the sake of consumption or consume for the sake of production.³⁴

Observers of modern life ask repeatedly where the present spiral of machine culture will end.³⁵ The machine started as essentially a labor-saving device. The primary justification for its existence has always been economic. Whereas the simple tool permitted the rise of a differentiated culture, the machine—heedless of customs and tradition—permits but one patterned result. At first only production processes were standardized, but soon this standardization extended into every phase of life. Not only was the worker forced to submit to the stereotyped movement of the machine; soon as a consumer he had to buy standardized goods.

What the eventual effects of this process will be upon man still cannot be determined. That man is being affected bodily and spiritually, however, is certain. Now that we have seen specifically some of the results of modern industrialization, let us evaluate this material from the viewpoint of the function of the church. Wherein is man different now that he has been exposed to this process of standardization resulting from the adjustment of his being to the movements of a machine?

The problem is serious. Wilbur E. Moore, an industrial sociologist, states, "It is by no means sure that it is possible to combine the

³⁴Garet Garret, Oroboras, or The Mechanical Extension of Mankind, p. 18. Quoted in Nels Anderson, Urban Sociology: an Introduction to the Study of Urban Communities, (New York: A. A. Knopf Co., 1928).

³⁵Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938), passim.

productive efficiency of the industrial machine with stable personally satisfying social relationships."³⁶ We must be aware that a functional change has come about in the external conditions of men's lives in this environment.

In the first place, modern technical production does not give due recognition to the individual personality. From the earliest days of the industrial revolution in England, the employer has been granted absolute control over his workers and the working conditions. Legally the workers had no right to even be on his property without his permission. The freedom left to the worker was merely that of stopping work at a particular job. Unless he wanted to starve, he had to submit to similar conditions at another place.

The fact is granted that actual conditions have improved. The hours "from sunrise to sunset" still prevalent in the nineteenth century have been decreased. So also sanitary conditions and safety factors have materially improved. But the underlying consideration of primary emphasis on production—with the workers considered as "hands"—has continued. The individual worker is completely subordinated to the machine and the greater system of which he is a part.

This division of labor with its following of certain rigid patterns affects the managers and white collar workers as well as the laborer. Few are able to see any value and meaning to their daily routine. "The work which a man has to do," Oldham writes, "is one of the decisive influences on his character, and if his natural purposiveness is constantly thwarted,

³⁶ W. E. Moore, op. cit., p. 389.

he will become less of a man and lose his power of initiative and sense of responsibility."³⁷

A corollary to this proposition is that wages are the fundamental objective in accepting a job. The worker does not accept a job with the primary thought of either enjoyment in the work or the service to the community. The primary concern is to achieve wages which will permit a certain standard of living.

A striking example of this fact is found in the worker in a war industry. In a period of peace particularly, his concern is not about the moral issue involved in the manufacture of implements which will mean the death of thousands of other humans. He is not concerned about the use of the product he is manufacturing. He is working for wages; his concern is primarily the number of hours he works. It lies beyond the scope of our immediate interest to note the intimate relation between the machine and war.³⁸

A third effect of machine culture is that it deprives the worker of a sense of security. It is granted that the medieval man living in an agrarian society did not have a sense of security. He was dependent upon the forces of nature for his crops and the protection of the local feudal lord. At the present time insecurity has been increased to a still greater extent by the phenomenon of unemployment and occupational hazards and diseases.

³⁷J. H. Oldham, "Technics and Civilization," Man's Disorder and God's Design, (The Amsterdam Assembly Series; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), II, p. 29.

³⁸Emil Brunner, Christianity and Civilization, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), Part II, p. 9 ff.

The church, by being sensitive to this tragic sense of insecurity felt by workers, can interpret this in its deeper theological significance. Christianity can offer the release from anxiety. The individual man already recognizes the complexity of giant cities and the callousness of industry. He has seen cause and effect, though perhaps he has not as yet interpreted its meaning. Therein lies the starting point of the church.

"Technical development has created new conditions of association and cooperation in work." In her article, "Personal Relations in a Technical Society,"³⁹ Kathleen Bliss stresses the increasing range of work that can be shared by both men and women. Particularly in the lighter industries, in clerical work and in laboratories women are able to share work with men. The church must further help its people to interpret their jobs in terms of service to people. They are to see their occupations as channels through which they can show love to others.

Mayo's experiments at Western Electric demonstrated the importance of the human drive for association. Although the workers were from distinct ethnic and regional backgrounds, the base of group allegiance and cleavage was directly related to the work situation. In his study of absenteeism he found a direct correlation between the existence of work groups and teams and employee satisfaction.

J. H. Oldham emphasizes this sharing of joint undertakings in modern industry:

Technical production places men in relations of dependence on one another and assigns them a share in a joint undertaking. It creates conditions in which men can develop powerful loyalties to the common

³⁹Kathleen Bliss, "Personal Relations in a Technical Society," (The Amsterdam Series; op. cit.), p. 83 ff.

enterprise and find opportunities of working and, if necessary, of sacrificing themselves for the common good.⁴⁰

The final observation is that the church encounters a block because of a felt connection between it as an institution and the status quo. Brunner calls the church to task for not warning society what was going on behind the industrial revolution. The church should have fought the spirit of rationalism and secularization which accompanied this movement. "The church," he writes, "might have been expected to protect men from enslavement and from becoming automatons. The church ought to have seen that in such conditions, which upset all the order of creation, the preaching of the Gospel became almost illusory."⁴¹

This is particularly the case on the level of the average working man in the union. Since the strong rise of the labor unions, he has come to put his trust increasingly in his union. He is interested in immediate social and economic betterment. Such workers are critical of the church as an institution because since the nineteenth century the advice has been to submit to the employer.⁴² They may recognize the ability of the church to make ethical pronouncements, but they fail to see its significance in the practical situation.

⁴⁰J. H. Oldham, op. cit., p. 34.

⁴¹Brunner, Christianity and Civilization, p. 12.

⁴²Cf. Don D. Lescohier, "Secularism and Organized Labor," The Christian Faith and Secularism, edited by J. Richard Spann, (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1948).

CHAPTER III

EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION ON FAMILIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Change in Functions

The urban way of life has produced changes in all of the characteristic functions of the family. The family has historically been the center not only of child bearing and the giving of affection, but also the basic economic, protective, religious, recreational and educational institution.

"The Report of the President's Research Committee" (Recent Social Trends in the United States, Chapter XIII)⁴³ demonstrated how the traditional functions of the family decreased as activities outside the home increased. In a general way we will use Professor Ogburn's outline, attempting, however, to bring the material up to date. For recent material on the family we would suggest The Family⁴⁴ by Professor Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey L. Locke. Though a little more out of date, Ernest Mowrer's Family Disorganization⁴⁵ is profitable. (For material on the urban family cf. particularly Chapters 3-5.) The Social Life of a Modern Community by Warner and Lunt⁴⁶ is a thorough pre-war study, but it is highly statistical.

⁴³Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, Recent Social Trends in the United States, (New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933).

⁴⁴Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey L. Locke, The Family From Institution to Companionship, (Chicago, Ill.: American Book Co., 1945).

⁴⁵Ernest Russell Mowrer, Family Disorganization; An Introduction to a Sociological Analysis, (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press, 1927).

⁴⁶William Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Social Life of a Modern Community, (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941).

The entire May 1948 issue of the American Journal of Sociology is devoted to the study of the family.⁴⁷

It is hardly necessary to state that tremendous changes have taken place in the economic activities of the family. Many of the major household economic activities have been transferred to outside agencies. Thus more families are buying goods from bakeries as well as more commercially canned fruits and vegetables. This transfer has also taken place with the cleaning, laundering and sewing.

As the household tasks decreased in number, the women tended to work more outside the home. In 1940 there were approximately four and one-half million married women working in the United States. What is significant is that this was an increase of almost fifty per cent over the previous decade. This meant, in other words, that about one in seven married women was working. About one in three of those women employed was married. We will observe other effects of this decrease in economic functions later in the chapter.

The protective function of the family has also decreased. This extends not only to police and fire protection but also to care for the aged, accident and employment insurance, federal social security, plus state health protection. "The budgets for public health and sanitation in cities of 30,000 and over have increased about twice as fast as urban families since 1903."⁴⁸ Life insurance records serve as a valuable index

⁴⁷ Particularly valuable to the pastor is The Christian Family in the Modern World, edited by Walter F. Wolbrecht, Fifth Yearbook, Lutheran Education Association, River Forest, Ill., (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1948).

⁴⁸ Report of the President's Research Committee, op. cit., p. 672.

to this transfer of protection to outside activities. From 1880 to 1941 "life insurance in force increased from one and one-half to one hundred twenty-five and one-half billion dollars."⁴⁹

The educational function of the family has been surrendered to professional teachers. During colonial times the child spent at most three months during the year attending school. Now this has been increased to nine or ten months. The child also begins his outside education earlier. Particularly in the last decade, nursery schools and even pre-nursery schools have increased in number very rapidly. This was a radical departure from the former view that one of the major functions of the family was to train the very young child. The greatest growth, however, has been at the other end of the educational ladder, in the high school. In 1940 over seven million young people were enrolled in high schools.

Recreation, which once centered in the home, is also being increasingly shifted to the outside. The actual forms of recreation have also changed considerably. For a more detailed description see Chapter IV. And finally, major changes have occurred in the religious function of the family. There is a downward trend in family attendance at church. In the study made in connection with Recent Social Trends in the United States⁵⁰ it was found that eighty-five per cent of the children attended church with their families in rural areas, compared to forty per cent in urban areas. Family prayers, too, have declined. In this there was no significant difference between city and farm population; only one in eight white,

⁴⁹Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 505.

⁵⁰Report of the President's Research Committee, op. cit., p. 674.

native-born children of junior high school age participated in family prayers. The same is true of family Bible reading. While twenty-two per cent of the rural families still read the Bible, only ten per cent of the urban families do. In general, then, the former functions of the family have been lost altogether or have been radically changed.

Trend Toward Companionship Marriage

With the decline of so many of the former functions of the family, an increased emphasis is given to those which remain--namely, the personality functions of the family. This is expressed particularly in the giving and receiving of affection, and in the mutual adjustment of the various parts of the family to one another.

The basic thesis of Burgess, for example, in all of his writings about the family is that the modern family is progressing toward what he terms a "companionship" form of organization. This means that there is a movement away from the "institutional" family, which was characterized by the father being the absolute head. Now there is a more "democratic" arrangement in which the husband and wife are equals. Usually the child, too, is permitted to assist in making decisions which affect the entire family. The basis of this type of emerging marriage is romance and personality adjustment.

Thus when Burgess and Cottrell⁵¹ began their study of success in marriage, they set up "marital adjustment" as the criterion. Their questions dealt with agreement, common interests and activities,

⁵¹E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939).

demonstration of affection, dissatisfaction and feelings of unhappiness. Lewis Terman⁵² also used "marital happiness" as the criterion in his study, employing many of the questions used by Burgess and Cottrell.

What are the necessary prerequisites to happiness in such a companionship marriage? Katherine Davis⁵³ in an early study discovered happier marriages when the wife had more than a high school education, was in good health when she married, and reported no sex relations before marriage. In a study of urban divorce among a low income group, a correlation was found between happiness and (a) happiness of parents' marriage, (b) parents not separated or divorced, (c) sex education learned from mother or from books, (d) education beyond the high school level, (e) attendance at church three to four times a month, (f) attendance at Sunday School beyond the eighteenth year, and (g) being reared in a rural community.⁵⁴

The following characteristics have been given of the modern family:

(1) Freedom of choice of a mate on the basis of romance, companionship, compatibility and common interests; (2) independence from their parents after marriage; (3) the assumption of equality of husband and wife; (4) decisions reached by discussion between husband and wife in which children participate increasingly with advancing age; and (5) the maximum of freedom for its members, consistent with the achieving of family objectives.⁵⁵

Although the size of the average family has decreased in both rural and urban areas, the decline has been much greater in the urban areas.

⁵²Lewis M. Terman, Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1938).

⁵³Katherine B. Davis, Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-Two Hundred Women, Quoted in Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 456.

⁵⁴Clarence W. Schroeder, Divorce in a City of 100,000 Population, Quoted in Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 457.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 21-22.

The following chart summarizes the relative decline:

Average Size of the Family in the United States

Year	Urban	Rural	Rural-Farm	Rural-Nonfarm
1940	3.61	4.01	4.25	3.78
1930	3.97	4.29	4.57	3.99
1920	4.2	4.5	— *	—
1910	4.5	4.6	—	—

(*Data not available.)⁵⁶

Disorganization of Families

It is inevitable that a certain amount of disorganization will result from this shift in both the structure and function of the family. Industrialization has destroyed the former sentimental and economic relationship between the employer and the worker's family. The transplanting of the rural and European family into the soulless city must also be taken into account in order to reach a complete understanding. Wirth speaks of the city as the place not only where large numbers of people live, but also stresses "the most extraordinary heterogeneity in almost every characteristic in which human beings can differ from one another."⁵⁷

When we speak of marital separations or "broken homes," the terms include those homes broken by death or by employment in another locality. In 1940 data showed that fifteen out of every one hundred married men were temporarily or permanently without their spouses.⁵⁸ This means that about

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 95.

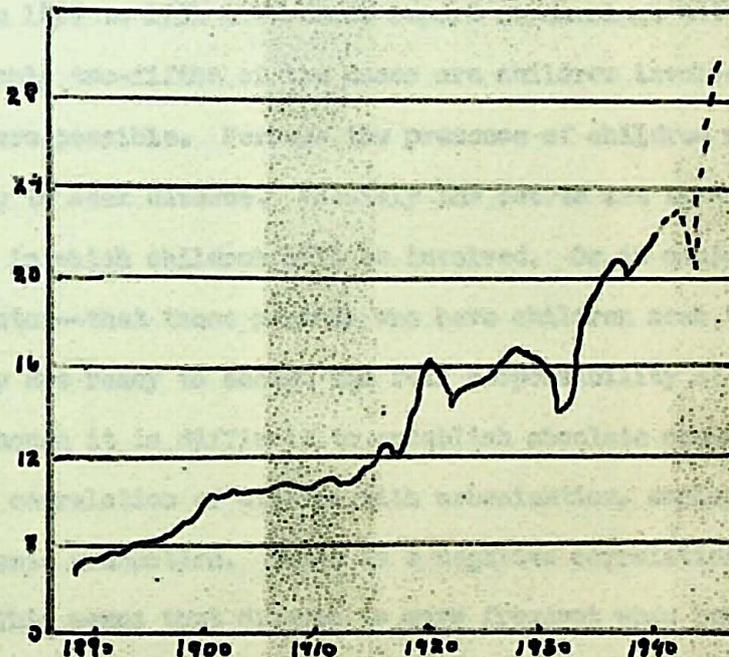
⁵⁷Wirth, op. cit., p. 750.

⁵⁸William F. Ogburn, "Marital Separations," The American Journal of Sociology, XLIX, (January 1944), p. 316 ff.

1,200,000 families were disrupted at any one time in the country. Cities have roughly twice as many broken homes as have rural areas. This is true for two reasons. In the first place, many who are widowed or divorced in the country move to the city. Secondly, the actual number of divorces granted in metropolitan areas is considerably larger. Sorokin and Zimmerman came to the conclusion "that in practically all countries the divorce rate has been higher in the urban than in the rural population and that the agricultural class has rates for divorce possibly lower than any of the large urban occupational classes."⁵⁹

The graph below shows the divorce trend in the United States:⁶⁰

Divorces per 100 Marriages in the United States



⁵⁹Pitirim Sorokin and C. G. Zimmerman, Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology, (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929), p. 331.

⁶⁰Kingsley Davis, "Children of Divorced Parents," Law and Contemporary Problems, (1944), p. 711. Quoted in Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 631.

In this graph two facts become evident. First of all, there is a decided upward trend. The divorce rate has averaged a three per cent increase every year since the Civil War, a total of six hundred per cent.

From 1900 to 1940 the population increased 73 per cent; marriages increased 128 per cent; and divorces 374 per cent....There are close to four million divorced persons in the United States, more... than the number of inhabitants in our land during Revolutionary times.⁶¹

Secondly, we note from this graph that divorces tend to decrease in periods of depression and war and increase in periods of prosperity and following a war. It is noteworthy that there has been little change in recent years in the percentage of divorces in which there are children involved.

From 1887 to 1931 the census report on marriage and divorce shows that in only two-fifths of the cases are children involved. Several explanations are possible. Perhaps the presence of children makes the parents unwilling to seek divorce. Possibly the courts are less willing to grant divorces in which children will be involved. Or it could point to a third factor—that those parents who have children seek to demonstrate that they are ready to accept the full responsibility of married life.⁶²

Although it is difficult to establish absolute causation, there is a definite correlation of divorce with urbanization, employment of women, and economic production. There is a negative correlation with the birth rates. This means that divorce is more frequent when large numbers of women are employed outside the home. There are fewer divorces in times

⁶¹Hazel G. Werner, "Secularism and the Home," edited by J. R. Spann, op. cit., p. 275.

⁶²Queen and Gruener, op. cit., p. 558 ff.

of depression while the rate increases in periods of prosperity. And in times and places of a high rate of birth, the divorce rate is low.⁶³

In summary, the following factors seem to contribute to the increased divorce rate in the United States. (1) Liberal divorce legislation—in comparison with the other nations, the United States ranks first among the three highest in percentages of divorce; yet this hardly answers the underlying situation. It may merely become a case of logomachy. Since the Irish Free State, for example, has no divorce laws, no divorces can be granted. (2) The attitude of the church is important. In general, Catholic countries have a lower divorce rate than the predominantly Protestant countries.⁶⁴ The opposition of the Church of England to divorce is thought to be responsible for the lower divorce rate in England. (3) Rural areas in which there is greater cultural homogeneity of the people have lower rates. The attitude of the people themselves in such areas is against divorce. These differences then in the mores affect the legislation. (4) The most important factor in the United States since 1900 seems to be mobility. A more complete discussion of this point will occur later in this chapter.

Basic in viewing the disorganization of the family is the new status of women. The modern world has made it possible for the entrance of women into industries formerly monopolized by men. World War I gave women some of the first outward signs of the equality of sexes, namely,

⁶³S. A. Queen, W. B. Bodenhafer and E. B. Harper, Social Organization and Disorganization, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1935).

⁶⁴For one of the sternest condemnations of divorce which has appeared in our culture, see the encyclical of Pope Pius XI, Casti Connubii, quoted in Queen and Gruener, op. cit., pp. 551-3.

the right to vote, wear short skirts, and smoke and drink in public. As a result the position of women has become marginal. On the one hand, industry and business welcome women, yet most men disapprove of a continued career after marriage.

Especially during World War II were women granted more equality as was seen in the formation of auxiliary corps in the army and navy and the millions who worked in war production. Though there was a sizeable decrease in their numbers in industry following the war, yet the figures remained above the pre-war level. This economic independence has enhanced their feelings of security or even independence in the family. Many difficult adjustments had to be made because the wife was not willing to relinquish the management position she held while her husband was serving with the armed forces.

Influence of Birth Control

Modern birth control methods have drastically affected the family. In 1938 Fortune made a study of contraception which yielded reliable data.⁶⁵ At that time they estimated the business of manufacturing and distributing birth control devices at \$125,000,000 a year. There were more than four hundred actual manufacturers and over three hundred thousand retail outlets. Fifty-seven thousand of these were drug stores. Open acceptance of birth control methods, however, is still far from complete. It was only in 1937 that the American Medical Association officially recognized birth control. It still is illegal in Connecticut and Massachusetts for even a doctor to give birth control advice to women even

⁶⁵"The Accident of Birth," Fortune, XVII, (February 17, 1938), pp. 83-86, 108-11.

where health requires it. This is because of the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church.

More important is the way women themselves view birth control. When Fortune sampled the country in 1936 and asked women whether they believed in birth control, 63 per cent answered yes, 23 per cent answered no, and 14 per cent had no opinion. When they conducted a similar study in 1943 among women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, the results were as follows:

Do you believe that knowledge about birth control should or should not be made available to all married women?

	All Women	College Women	Grammar School Only	Catholic Women
Should be available.....	84.9	92.6	70.2	69.0
Should not be.....	10.0	4.9	18.2	24.4
Don't know.....	5.1	2.5	11.6	6.6

(If "Should" above) Do you believe that knowledge about birth control should or should not be kept away from unmarried women?

	All Women	College Women	Grammar School Only	Catholic Women
Should be withheld.....	23.3	15.5	33.6	33.6
Should not be.....	69.8	78.5	55.3	58.9
Don't know.....	6.9	6.0	11.1	7.5

It is clear that overwhelming majorities of women of all persuasions favor the availability of birth control information to all married women. Comparing the two tables, it will be seen that 59 per cent of all the women (69.8 per cent of 84.9 per cent) believe that unmarried women should not be kept in ignorance of birth control.⁶⁶

Evidence seems to point to one fact, namely, that the central consideration of having smaller families is the desire for a higher standard of living. Money is budgeted for a child much in the same manner as is

⁶⁶"The Fortune Survey," Fortune, XIVIII, (Aug. 28, 1943), pp. 24-30.

done for a new automobile. As religious controls have weakened in modern society, a decided secularization of human needs has taken place.

Influence of Mobility

Mobility is the chief factor in the explanation of family disorganization.⁶⁷ By mobility is not meant the routine and regular movement of a family but a maximum of change, both geographically and culturally. It is the antithesis of the ancestral home in which several generations live under the same roof. Mobility usually tends to emphasize the individual within the family rather than the family as a unit.

First of all, residential mobility is high in the United States. Donald Cowgill found that thirty-two per cent of the population of St. Louis moved once during the average year.⁶⁸ Mowrer found approximately the same for Chicago, about thirty-five per cent.⁶⁹ Here mobility becomes symptomatic of something deeper in our culture. The community has less hold on a family which is transient. Since the individual members of the family will adjust at different rates to the new community, there occurs a disruption of the unity of the family.

Mobility destroys the communication between the members of a family, which is so vital for common action. "The ambitions and ideals of the

⁶⁷Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 550 ff.

⁶⁸Donald O. Cowgill, Residential Mobility of an Urban Population, (St. Louis: Washington University Library, 1935), Quoted Burgess and Locke, op. cit., p. 530.

⁶⁹Ernest Mowrer, Family Disorganization, pp. 288-9.

individual members of the family become differentiated....."⁷⁰ This is what Mowrer terms "family disorganization." This can be seen, for example, in the immigrant family coming to urban America. One of the classic studies in this field is The Polish Peasant in Europe and America by Thomas and Znaniecki.⁷¹ They show first how the immigration of one member of the family slowly breaks the ties of the family as he adjusts to his new environment. As his individualistic desires increase, his emotional dependence upon his family and his support of them decreases. Secondly, where the entire family immigrates, the traditional attitudes of its members are modified at an unequal rate. The children usually acquire the traits of the new culture more rapidly than their parents. This again causes strife and division.

This applies to a large extent to a rural family moving to an urban area or a family moving to a better residential area. Often it is difficult for the members of the family to find outlets for their talents which had been recognized in the old community. The cycle continues then, from mobility to family disorganization to personal demoralization. Anticipating many later statistical studies, Sorokin wrote:

In cities mobility is greater than in the country. In cities suicide is higher than in the country. A single person.....is more lonesome. Single and widowed persons also show a higher per cent of suicides than married ones,....Hence it is to be expected that the curve of suicide at the end of such upheavals goes up. Statistics corroborate the expectation. In this way psychologically, sociologically and statistically the correlation between mobility and isolation, between isolation and suicide, seems to be very probable and really tangible.⁷²

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 228.

⁷¹William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, (Boston: Richard Badger, 1918).

⁷²Pitirim Sorokin, Social Mobility, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927), p. 524.

Analysis

The church has difficulty in meeting the member of the modern family because it approaches him with different thought patterns from those to which he has become accustomed. The man thinks primarily of his personal happiness in marriage; the church stresses his obligations to the family unit. The modern couple thinks of a companionship marriage in which equality is paramount; the church answers, "Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord."⁷³ Modern education and psychiatry warns parents about inhibiting and frustrating their children; the church demands, "Children, obey your parents in all things; for this is well pleasing unto the Lord."⁷⁴ And to men practicing a double standard of morality the church commands, "Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ loved the Church and gave Himself for it."⁷⁵

The modern family has lost sight of the transcendent purposes God planned for the family. It has lost sight of its divine origin. Marriage is accepted as merely a matter of mores. Whether or not to bear children, too, is decided purely from the viewpoint of expediency. No longer is a homestead established; now a flat is rented by half of the families in the country. No longer does the family worship together. No longer does the family play together. All of these former functions have been transmitted to outside agencies.

⁷³Ephesians 5:22.

⁷⁴Colossians 3:20.

⁷⁵Ephesians 5:25.

Divorce is another problem which must be faced by the church. In stemming the tide of divorce the church must resort to a higher authority than legislation. It is God who ruled that indissolubility is an inherent essential in marriage. In marriage we are dealing with more than love in the sense of eros. As an emotion this type of love is changeable and cannot be promised "till death us do part." In one of his discussions on marriage Brunner writes:

But fidelity, as the recognition of an objective divine bond, is essentially unchangeable; or rather it is related to that which is essentially unchangeable. We cannot "break" love, but we can break faith (or fidelity). We cannot build marriage upon love and be sure that it will stand, but we can do so upon fidelity.⁷⁶

Only the message of the Gospel can save man from the egocentricity into which he is daily sinking deeper. Individualism is the cry of the day. This is having its serious ramifications in marriage. It is to be seen in the diminishing size of the family as well as in the criterion of happiness as the chief end of marriage. A certain emotional immaturity is being developed in people as parents attempt to increasingly shield their children from the realities of life. As a result, many grow to adulthood still doing just what they want to do; they never learned the meaning of the words "must" and "ought." In Justice and the Social Order Brunner stresses this necessity of adjusting one's own desires and cur-tailing freedom for the sake of the other:

Marriage, like the state, is only possible because each party to the contract foregoes part of the freedom due to him in order to fulfill the common purpose of the procreation and the satisfaction of the sexual instinct. The parties to the contract themselves determine

⁷⁶Emil Brunner, The Divine Imperative, translated from the German by Olive Wyon, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1948), pp. 359-60.

the substance of the marital union...The steady increase in divorce has its main source in this individualistic conception of marriage..⁷⁷

The church confronts the family with a message to save it from an end of disorganization. God planned that the family would pass on to its children not only physical life but also spiritual life. The modern family is conscious of its functions of expressing affection and developing personalities. The church must emphasize its greater need to show forth that love which comes from God.

⁷⁷ Emil Brunner, Justice and the Social Order, translated from the German by Mary Hottinger, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945), p. 78.

CHAPTER IV

URBANIZATION IN RECREATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

As population continues to concentrate in small areas, the security of the simple life decreases steadily. With space at a premium, buildings go up instead of spreading out. With neighbors so close, children in the modern city no longer have the space in which to run and play as they should. On the one hand, the environment overstimulates their emotions, but at the same time does not give them the opportunity to release this tension of body and mind. Where pressures and frustrations are higher, there is a greater need for recreation.

In this chapter we will attempt to view the recreational needs of the urban dweller in terms of compensation, regression, temporary escape and social craving. After looking briefly at present trends in recreation, we will consider the community agencies available to meet this increased need. Perhaps of greatest importance will be the analysis of commercialized recreation, for which a more detailed study of motion pictures will serve as an illustration. The final section, as in all chapters, will be a short critique considering how the church can overcome the negative effects and utilize the positive values of urban play and recreation.

Play and recreation have been decidedly colored by the urban environment. Mitchell and Mason in The Theory of Play⁷⁸ show the development from the rural environment, in which the child played right in the front

⁷⁸ Elmer Mitchell and Bernard Mason, The Theory of Play, (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1937).

yard with pets, tools and even mud, to the complex urban environment, in which learning and play has become more abstract. They state:

When life is....integrated, no play movement is needed. Play movements become necessary only when life and education become artificial in type and surroundings—artificial in the sense of being unrelated to the existence which the human race has been presupposed to live through countless centuries of evolution—and when life becomes fragmented, divided, specialized and ultra-specialized.⁷⁹

It will be helpful for our purposes to preserve the distinction between the term "recreation" and "play," though they are used synonymously by some. They are alike in that they are both activities of leisure used as diversion from the tensions of daily occupations. Recreation refers primarily to this diversion—to the release of the tensions, aggressions and fatigue built up during the course of regular daily activities. Usually it means resting the muscles and powers of concentration required by the daily job and bringing the others into activity. "Play," however, connotes growth. We recognize the necessity of play to the child. His means of gaining security in an adult world is to scale their world of activities down to his size in play. He learns to channel excess energy and feelings of aggression into useful social outlets through play. Thus he hits a ball rather than other children. "Play has an inner purpose," Slavson says, "the purpose of using one's growing powers in order that one may grow further."⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

⁸⁰ S. R. Slavson, Recreation and the Total Personality, (New York: Association Press, 1946), p. 3.

Basic Recreational Needs

What are the special recreational needs, then, that the urban environment creates?⁸¹ In the first place, the urban worker has need for recreational outlets which will complement or even compensate for his daily activities on the job. Work in modern industry does not satisfy the basic physical and emotional needs of life. Usually the manual worker uses only a limited number of muscles to perform his required operation. For clerical workers there is usually steady mental work with little chance for exercise. So in work a state of unbalance exists between the activity of nerves and muscles. Much of the hyperactivity, depression of spirits, and irritability noticeable in urban areas is explained by this unnatural condition. The urban resident becomes so restless and desirous of change that his recreation often tends to be overly stimulating and exciting.

Psychiatrists in particular stress a second need which is fulfilled in recreation.⁸² It is regression. In a complex social order there are certain roles to which people are expected to conform. Thus a banker, teacher, secretary or plumber has a certain role which he or she is expected to play. Recreation furnishes an opportunity to throw off, temporarily, certain restraints and formalities. Observe, for example, the hilarious play on beaches. There one can run around, splash water and throw sand as a child. So also actions are permitted at a baseball game or prize fight which would not be sanctioned elsewhere. In periods of

⁸¹For discussion see Slavson, op. cit., pp. 1-26.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 27-47.

recreation one is permitted to act as a child again and otherwise release accumulated feelings of tension in socially accepted fashions. Perhaps a corollary to this point would be the use of recreation as an "escape from reality." When pressures in modern life become too heavy to bear, moving pictures, novels, bingo games and pinball machines afford momentary escape.

Finally recreation satisfies the social cravings of people. Most recreation is enjoyed in a social context. Even when one enjoys a personal hobby, associations and societies of those with life interests spring us. Basic to good mental adjustment is the ability to relate oneself with ease and pleasure to others with whom one comes into contact. The child which begins as entirely self-centered most gradually makes this adjustment. Recreation plays an important role. Most of the relations in an urban setting are impersonal. Therefore these inter-personal contacts afforded in play and recreation give a sense of meaning and satisfaction to life.

As these recreational needs work themselves out in the urbanized area, they form a pattern. One of the results of mass production is that the worker now enjoys a shorter working day. As increased numbers are able to have seventy-two hours a week free from required duties, certain changes have taken place in leisure-time activities. The authors of the Chicago Recreational Survey listed nine significant trends:

1. Interest in active participation in games and sports.
2. Great vogue of automobile touring and other traveling.
3. Development of outdoor life and vacation activities.
4. Acceptance of governmental responsibility for providing public recreation facilities.
5. Expansion of the field of commercial amusements.
6. Strong interest in competitive games and sports.
7. Desire for amusements that provide thrills and excitement.
8. Popularity of forms of recreation that promote social relations between sexes.

9. Development of organizations that facilitate recreational interests.⁸³

In their estimation numbers one and five were the most significant trends—the increase in commercialized recreation and the increase of facilities for public participation in sports. We will consider the second of these first.

Community Agencies of Recreation

The city not only creates more wants by its stimulation; it also supplies more resources for meeting those wants. With the increased emphasis on the need for play facilities in urban areas, the community itself has made provisions. Through local legislation, communities are establishing year-round recreation programs. State governments, too, are subsidizing the local community as well as organizing their own network of parks and training programs for counselors. The federal government itself has agencies for the promotion of recreation.⁸⁴

In 1946 well over 1,700 cities and towns had organized play leadership or supervised facilities. These 26,185 separate play areas included playgrounds, baseball diamonds, bathing beaches, golf courses, swimming pools and tennis courts. The cities which reported spent fifty-two million dollars for community recreation in 1946.⁸⁵

⁸³Chicago Recreational Survey, I, (1938), p. 7. Quoted Gist and Harbert, op. cit., p. 435.

⁸⁴The Works Progress Administration; the Navy and War Departments; Federal Security Agency; Veterans Administration Recreation Service.

⁸⁵For statistics on community recreation see Walter L. Stone, The Field of Recreation, (New York: William Frederick Press, 1949), pp. 5-30.

Another urban phenomenon for recreation and play is the settlement house, situated in the crowded slum area. Its task is to bring people of education and social standing into a closer contact with workers living in the crowded areas. Its goal is to mutually benefit both groups. At the present time there are over two hundred settlement houses in the larger cities of the country carrying on their program of education and recreation. They are all privately supported.

The camping movement, though only about sixty years old, is gaining in popularity. It is estimated that over five million people participate yearly. Besides over two thousand privately operated camps, there are another 2,500 supported by the Young Men's Christian Association and the Boy Scouts of America and similar organizations.

Another aspect of the play movement is the growth of public parks. A survey in 1940 indicated that 1,465 cities owned almost 19,500 parks. Those smaller communities which did not maintain a park usually had the facilities of a nearby town available. There is a recent trend away from the larger type of show park (such as Central Park in New York or Forest Park in Saint Louis). In order to be more functional, the present plan is to build more neighborhood parks with smaller acreage.

Strictly speaking, the recent development of associations and clubs which specialize in some form of recreation fits into neither category of community or commercial recreation. These clubs usually cater to a selected group interested in a certain game or sport, for example, golf, tennis or bridge. These groups provide the facilities and the companionship necessary for the recreation.

The trend is toward an increase of national associations with a subsequent decline of local community clubs. These national associations

set the patterns and policies which are followed to the letter by the individual unit. These may take the form of luncheon clubs, fraternal societies, athletic associations or character-building organizations.

Commercialized Recreation

From a sociological viewpoint commercial amusements are fundamentally important in two ways: (1) they stimulate and aid in determining the culture patterns for individuals and groups; and (2) they influence and modify moral standards.⁸⁶

Commercial recreation develops when there are a large number of people who demand forms of recreation which can be standardized and thus offered at a reasonable price. It must be frankly recognized that its goal is not the enrichment of the life of the total community. Its objective is to provide activities or programs which will appeal to customers, meet other competition and net a profit. Since it does not enjoy gifts, endowments or donations, or volunteer help—as does private recreation—its program is designed to use every device to tap public spending in compliance with state and local legislation.⁸⁷

Providing amusement is one of the country's biggest businesses. It totals from five to fifteen billion dollars a year. One dollar of every twenty is spent for recreation in the United States—for movies, radios, sports and games. The American family, according to its economic level, spends from \$6 to \$560 annually on recreation. The average is \$41.

⁸⁶ Martin H. Neumeyer and Esther S. Neumeyer, Leisure and Recreation; a Study of Leisure and Recreation in Their Sociological Aspects, (New York: Barnes, 1936), Chapter 14.

⁸⁷ Jesse F. Steiner, Americans at Play, Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time Activities, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933), pp. 103-121.

The total amount of recreation made available commercially is tremendous. It has come to account for the major part of the leisure time of the urban dweller. Standing near the top of the list is commercialized sports. Baseball, boxing and football now become full-time jobs for some. Even college football has been exploited for financial gain. Though played by men who maintain an amateur standing, it represents a huge investment. The indoor commercialized amusements have also become popular. These indoor sports include skating, pool and bowling.

Night clubs and roadhouses are different in details but are essentially the same in selling food and liquor at exorbitant prices. Amusement parks tend to be copies of Coney Island in New York, consisting of ferris wheels, merry-go-rounds, roller skating, dancing, shooting galleries, penny arcades and usually gambling devices of infinite variety.

Meyer and Brightbill in their book, Community Recreation,⁸⁸ have a fine analysis of commercial recreation. They discuss four negative effects of commercialized recreation:

- (1) "Passivity" — Commercialized recreation emphasizes the place of the spectator, while it minimizes the place of the participant. Consider, for example, the theater, television, the radio and professional sports.
- (2) "Substitution" — It stresses buying something rather than being something. This substitution provides no stimulation for actual participation with its compensating rewards. The process of commercialization in baseball serves as an illustration.
- (3) "Demoralization" — Certain commercialized recreation leads to vice, dishonesty, poverty and sex delinquency. Particularly suspect are dance halls, roadhouses and pool rooms.

⁸⁸Harold D. Meyer and Charles K. Brightbill, Community Recreation: A Guide to its Organization and Administration, (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1948), pp. 275-77.

(4) "Exploitation" — Since box office receipts are the chief concern, there are no limits to which some operators will go in exploiting emotions. The result is that many attractions are sordid and debased. This tends to accentuate already existing pathological problems and lower moral standards.

On the positive side they discuss five benefits which have come through commercial recreation:

(1) "Stimulation" — It has stimulated interest in wholesome recreation. Golf, baseball, music and travel have received an impetus through witnessing professional exhibitions.

(2) "Provision of recreation facilities" — With the increasing demands for recreation it would be difficult to provide facilities entirely from public or private sources.

(3) "Enjoyment" — Some forms of recreation cater to diversified tastes. Real enjoyment comes from seeing a good motion picture or hearing a symphony.

(4) "Accessibility" — Commercial facilities are usually conveniently located. Many people are still largely dependent upon commercial recreation—the neighborhood movie, their radio and the local bowling alley.

(5) "Inexpensiveness" — Recreation once enjoyed only by the rich has become reasonable because large attendances have brought down prices.

Moving Pictures

Important for our purposes in an analysis of the influence of moving pictures.⁸⁹ Speaking on this subject, Dr. E. W. Burgess of the University of Chicago, said, "It is evident that the boy comes into contact with influences in the motion pictures.....that are in conflict with the standard of the home, the school and the church."⁹⁰

⁸⁹The basic material in this section is based on extensive studies made at the request of the Motion Picture Research Council from 1929 to 1933, supported by the Payne Fund. The individual parts of the study will be cited as used.

⁹⁰Henry James Forman, Our Movie-Made Children, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934), pp. 5-6.

Before we can objectively analyze just what the effects of motion pictures are, we must get some idea of how widespread they are and how many people come into contact with them. The motion picture industry itself in the Film Year Book of several years ago set the attendance at 100,000,000 a week. Although popular estimates go as high as 125,000,000, the investigators for the Payne Fund Study were deliberately conservative in their estimate. After making many deductions, they finally arrived at the carefully selected figure of 77,000,000 persons a week.⁹¹

Miles summarizes many statistics concerning movie attendance in one paragraph:

The movie industry has grown at an unbelievable speed. Today there are over 70,000 motion picture theaters in the world, 18,000 being in America and 35,700 in Europe. The 18,000 American theaters have 10,812,534 seats. There is one theater for every 8,000 population and one theater seat for every 12 people. The American industry employs approximately 275,000 people....Approximately 85,000,000 attend the movies weekly. (Hollywood reports 100,000,000 during 1945.) Theater attendance in America averages 34 visits each year, compared with 22 in England.⁹²

Taking into consideration that we are dealing with averages, it was found that attendance in rural areas is much lower than in cities. The rate is also higher for minors. Of the 85,000,000 who attend movies weekly, about one-third (or 30,000,000) are minors. One-sixth of the total figure (or 15,000,000) are under the age of fourteen. This will take on added significance when we later survey the actual content of motion pictures.

Of paramount importance to our discussion is the answer to the questions: What types of pictures are seen, and what are the major themes of

⁹¹Ibid., p. 13.

⁹²Herbert J. Miles, Movies and Morals, (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1947), p. 13.

the pictures? Dr. Edgar Dale, working under the Payne Fund, attempted to answer these questions by analyzing and sorting out over 1,500 movies.⁹³ He classified these feature pictures under such headings as Crime, Sex, Love, Mystery, War, History, Children, Travel, Animals, Comedy, and Social Problems. When his totals were compiled, he found a "movie trinity" — three themes that kept recurring in the majority of pictures. They were Love, Sex and Crime. He found that between seventy-five and eighty per cent of all pictures dealt with one of these themes.

In a subjective, though well-founded, opinion "from the Christian viewpoint," Miles concludes that ninety-three per cent of the pictures he picked at random were morally bad.⁹⁴ Only five per cent of the pictures emanating from Hollywood, he felt, were morally fit to see. Dr. Dale, although attempting at all times to remain objectively conservative in making his moral judgments, said that this stress on sex and crime robs the screen of pictures of beauty and idealism. When nearly four hundred out of every five hundred pictures dwell upon the "movie trinity," their effects will be important to the total work of the church.

Besides the distortion in motion picture themes in favor of crime and love, they also present a one-sided view of wealth and certain occupations. Miles states that Hollywood "displays circumstances depicting wealth in sixty-one per cent of the movies."⁹⁵ Dr. Dale points out that

⁹³Edgar Dale, Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures, published by the Committee on Educational Research of The Payne Fund, (1933).

⁹⁴Miles, op. cit., p. 58.

⁹⁵Miles, op. cit., p. 81.

thirty-three per cent of the heroes, forty-four per cent of the heroines, fifty-four per cent of the villains and sixty-three per cent of the villainesses in one hundred and fifteen pictures were either wealthy or ultra-wealthy. On the other hand, only five to fifteen per cent of the leading characters were poor.

This shift in extremes is also seen in the professions and occupations depicted in the average film. Dr. Freeman summarizes Dr. Dale's analysis as follows:

The largest single class of occupation for heroes on the screen is "Professional." The largest classification for all characters combined, including women, is "No occupation." Ninety characters in 115 pictures, the second largest group, may be labeled as "Commercial"....The next two groups, however, with eighty characters in each, come under the headings of "Occupation Unknown" and "Illegal Occupation," including such trades as gangster, bootlegger, smuggler, thief, bandit, blackmailer and prostitutes....(It is) notable in that common labor is not included in them at all. A few agricultural laborers exist only because there are western ranches in the pictures.⁹⁶

As a final means of seeing what type of motion picture is most prevalent, let us consider the goals that occur most frequently. In order of their frequency, they are: (1) winning another's love; (2) marriage for love; (3) professional success; (4) happiness of loved ones; (5) revenge; (6) happiness of friend; (7) crime for gain; (8) performance of duty; (9) illicit love; and (10) protection of friend.

To fully appreciate the impact of motion pictures upon the average American, we must ask how much of what is seen is retained. One whole volume of the Payne Series is devoted to this problem. Dr. P. W. Holaday, working in the University of Iowa under the direction of Dr. G. D. Stoddard,

⁹⁶ Forman, op. cit., p. 43.

head of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, gives us concrete data.⁹⁷ He tested retention of movie-gained knowledge in about three thousand persons, ranging from children to college professors. Suffice it here to mention just one phase of his testing. He found that eight and nine year old children will retain sixty per cent as much as an adult. In other words, for every five points an adult is able to note, a child of this age will retain three.

If re-tested concerning the same facts after a period of six weeks, it will be found that these eight and nine year olds still retain ninety-one per cent of what they had originally carried away from the film. Actually six weeks later, a child of this age remembers almost as much of a picture as the morning after which he saw it. (And most of our learning is lost within the period immediately following the original learning!)

After this same period of six weeks, eleven and twelve year olds still retain ninety per cent and high school children eighty-eight per cent of what they originally remembered. Adults rank the lowest, but with a figure that is still high--eighty-two per cent.

The actual physical effect of motion pictures upon the individual has also been studied.⁹⁸ Renshaw's studies show conclusively that pictures tend to so arouse a person's emotions that his restlessness while sleeping increases. Boys averaged 26 per cent and girls averaged 14 per

⁹⁷P. W. Holaday and George D. Stoddard, Getting Ideas from the Movies, published by the Committee on Educational Research of the Payne Fund, (1933).

⁹⁸Samuel Renshaw, V. L. Miller and Dorothy Marquis, Children's Sleep, published by the Committee on Educational Research of the Payne Fund, (1933).

cent greater hourly motility than in normal sleep. Individual cases, however, went as high as 75 to 90 per cent increases in restlessness.

In measuring the emotional excitement for a humorous picture with no great depth of plot, one that does not specialize in emotional scenes, it was found that adolescents have psycho-galvanometer readings of twice that of adults (adult was 1.2; adolescent, 2.0). Children from six to eleven years of age registered readings three times that of adults—

3.6. Similar studies were made upon the heart beat. Dr. Holman states "a picture of extreme emotional content, whether it be tragedy or fear, leaves a physical imprint upon the human being lasting as long as seventy hours."⁹⁹

Perhaps even more important than the actual physical effects of the movies is its influences upon our attitudes and conduct. People tend to imitate everything from dress and cosmetics to particular crime and love techniques. Fifty per cent of the high school students examined stated that their ideas of sexual love came from the movies. Many youthful criminals, both men and women, indicated that movies played a decided part in their downfall, either directly or indirectly. In some it instilled a desire for easy money or adventure. To others it showed specific ways in which they could commit crimes. This becomes understandable when we note in a hundred pictures selected at random that the hero is dishonest in forty-six per cent of the pictures, commits crimes in sixty-seven per cent, commits adultery in twenty-seven per cent, and drinks in fifty-one per cent. The heroine has a similar record: She gambles in four per cent,

⁹⁹Forman, op. cit., p. 103.

drinks in thirty-six per cent; is dishonest in thirty-one per cent, married without thought of courtship in fifty per cent, displays her body publicly in forty-six per cent, and commits crimes in thirty-three per cent.¹⁰⁰

Dr. Thrasher states, "It is apparent beyond a slight statistical chance that delinquents and truants tend more often to go excessively to the movies."¹⁰¹ Today more girls are truants in order to go to movies than are boys. Fifty-four per cent of 252 girls admitted that they had stayed away from school in order to attend movies. Those elements which we have already analyzed in movies set up certain cravings in many of these delinquent girls. Half of them said that it had been movies which had instilled the desire in them to live fast, free lives. Forty-one per cent of them admitted that it was the movies that inclined them to wild parties, cabarets and roadhouses—factors that led to their "getting into trouble."

Contrary to popular belief, Hollywood does not teach that "Crime does not pay." None of the surveys showed tendencies to punish crime. Miles points out that in twenty-three out of one hundred pictures, police officials are made to appear as fools. Dr. Dale reports in the case of sixty-two major crimes in forty pictures analyzed, only nineteen per cent of the criminals were legally punished. An additional thirty-nine per cent were punished but by forces other than legal ones, while twenty-four per cent went wholly unpunished.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Miles, op. cit., p. 39.

¹⁰¹Forman, op. cit., p. 213.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 40.

The effect of motion pictures upon social attitudes¹⁰³ was studied by Peterson and Thurstone.¹⁰⁴ They found, for example, that motion pictures do affect attitudes toward other races. "The Birth of a Nation" had the effect of making children less favorable toward the Negro. Conversely, pictures which presented a minority group in a favorable light did much toward creating an unprejudiced attitude over against that group. The effects of these pictures are cumulative and lasting. Years afterward the differences can be seen in the social attitudes of those who saw the pictures.

Propaganda films have been produced by both Hollywood and the government. They run to two extremes. On the one side we have the purely documentary film, one that actually shows some phase of life portrayed without a set stage or actors. They attempt to be authoritative and unbiased. At the other extreme there is the example of the hate films produced by our government during the war. These were shown for the express purpose of building feelings of hatred and resentment toward our enemies.

Education has been both helped and hindered by the movies. In the actual classroom, films are being used today as never in the past. They have been a great asset in bringing the past, the distant, and the findings of the microscope and the telescope into the classroom. At the same time, however, the average feature film has been eating away at the very foundation

¹⁰³For a study in which the propaganda effects were generally negative, see J. E. Hulett, Jr., "Estimating the Net Effect of a Commercial Motion Picture Upon the Trend of Local Public Opinion," American Sociological Review, XIV, (May 1949), pp. 263-75.

¹⁰⁴Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children, published by the Committee on Educational Research of the Payne Fund, (1933).

which education is endeavoring to build. By presenting life in a harm-fully superficial manner, they are developing a set of attitudes in children diametrically opposed to those learned in the classroom. Holly-wood presents material in a raw, "thrilling" and "exciting" manner. Cause and effect are largely ignored. Its emphasis on luxury, crime and sex is exerting a great influence upon people both within and outside of the church.

Radio

The radio, like movies and newspapers, is dependent upon and designed to meet mass audiences. At present there are twenty-five million sets serving more than seventy per cent of the families in the United States. As a result, both its content and method of presentation must have a direct appeal to the masses. In reaching the lowest common denominator in entertainment and enlightenment, it hopes to appeal to the greatest number. Recently there is some thought among those who manage these mass media to appeal also to a more cultured group. The third program of the British Broadcasting Company, for instance, is experimenting in bringing programs of a higher cultural level to its people.

To understand radio of today one must realize the importance of advertisers who sponsor the programs. Their goal is to keep their product before the public and gain good will. Since the revenue is dependent upon the size of the radio audience, they attempt to get programs which appeal to all. But the sponsors are not content to merely have their names mentioned at the beginning and end of the broadcast; the quality of their product must be extolled throughout the period. Already several years ago over twenty per cent of air time was used for advertising.

In fairness it should be added that a large group of sociologists of late tend to undervalue the influence of radio, motion pictures and comic magazines. They believe that all behavior—including criminal behavior—is learned in interaction with other people. Sutherland, a well known student of criminology, writes:

The principal part of the learning of criminal behavior occurs within intimate personal groups. Negatively, this means that the impersonal agencies of communication, such as picture shows and newspapers, play a relatively unimportant part in the genesis of criminal behavior.¹⁰⁵

This genetic explanation, however, falls short in acknowledging many case studies which tend to indicate the opposite. Perhaps some actual techniques of crime are learned in the primary group, but much of the stimulation for the entire group for easy money and adventure could originate in and receive its stimulation from these other agencies.

Supervised Recreation

The Chicago Recreation Commission published its study of 2,300 youths under the title, Recreation and Delinquency.¹⁰⁶ The commission emphasized its goal was not to show that recreation cures or prevents juvenile delinquency. Their chief findings were:

- (1) More provision is now made for the supervised recreation of boys than of girls.
- (2) Boys over fourteen years of age do not attend recreational agencies in as large numbers as do those under fourteen.

¹⁰⁵ Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, (Fourth Edition; Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1947), p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Ethel Shanas and Catherine Dunning, Recreation and Delinquency: A Study of Five Selected Chicago Communities, Chicago Recreation Commission, (Chicago: Clarke-McElroy Publ., 1942).

- (3) Delinquents do not take part in supervised recreation in as large numbers as non-delinquents; and when they do, they prefer competitive sports and non-supervised activities like the game room.
- (4) Delinquents attend the movies more often than non-delinquents, but all boys and girls spend twice as much time at the movies as in supervised recreation.
- (5) In the four neighborhoods with higher delinquency rates, all children were particularly fond of radio crime and mystery stories, while in the neighborhood with the lower delinquency rate, both boys and girls preferred comedians and variety hours.
- (6) Participation in supervised recreation reduces juvenile delinquency. Delinquents who did not take part in supervised recreation during the year became repeaters thirty per cent more often than those who did take part.¹⁰⁷

At the conclusion of their study, they recommended that supervised recreation should be provided in all Chicago communities, particularly in those areas which have high delinquency rates. Supervised recreation should be expanded for girls while a special attempt should be made to hold boys beyond fourteen years of age. They acknowledged the importance of the home and church. Only when an integrated program including the home, school and church is organized "can recreation function effectively as a character-building and delinquency-preventing activity."¹⁰⁸

Analysis

Leaders in the church must be aware of the vital function of play and recreation in the lives of people. The urban dweller needs this period of change to regain physical, mental and spiritual balance. Work alone must never become the solitary end of existence. Perhaps in rare instances God does place a man into a position in which he must renounce rest and recreation. But for most people, recreation serves as a useful

¹⁰⁷For complete Findings and Recommendations, see Ibid., pp. 236-248.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. xi.

safety-valve against his becoming too possessed by work, a sense of his own importance, or a concentration on the material.

Again the church must give deeper insights as to God's purpose in giving man rest and enjoyment in recreation. The church must point the man with God beyond his pleasures. They are a gift from God but not God Himself. The natural man is in danger of making "gods" of these pleasures. He is in danger of becoming their slave. Satan is using them as a disguise to hold him in darkness. The church can use this desire for pleasure at times as a starting point: the man is searching desperately for something. What he really needs—though as yet he is unaware of it—is God. The temporary pleasures of the world look cold on the "morning after." Only the Gospel can give man the rest and security for which he yearns.

The man in God—one who is a member of the church—also needs understanding. Often he feels, rather Puritanically, that recreation and pleasure is spiritually low, something with which the new man has less to do. At best he feels that moderation is the answer. Neither of these views is distinctively Christian. The first is Pharisaical; the second is Greek. Of course recreation pursued until it becomes a passion is sin. But the answer lies deeper than the Aristotelian "golden mean of moderation."¹⁰⁹ The basic question for the Christian is: Will this activity glorify God? That means, will this both strengthen my bond to Him and witness to others that He rules in me? The Christian has been created through and for the Word of God. Every action, therefore, is to be evaluated in that light. The key word, then, becomes not "moderation,"

¹⁰⁹

Brunner, The Divine Imperative, p. 390.

but "service"—service to God through service to people.

The church itself can utilize a program of recreation as an aid in accomplishing its total task. Its primary concern will not be the exercise of the body even though it recognizes its close connection with the soul. Rather the church will utilize play to demonstrate and practice fellowship and agape. Its members will come together in play to enjoy one another's company and to strengthen one another. This witness of love then will reflect to those on the outside the saving love of the Savior Himself.

The church will take a positive stand against the evils inherent in certain forms of commercialized recreation. Its policy will, however, go deeper in most cases than a mere attempt to pass legislation outlawing certain activities. The church will alert its people to the dangers present. But it will realize that these obnoxious forms of entertainment are present because people desire them. Therefore the church will redouble its efforts to get at the root of the matter: to get the people themselves to desire those recreations and pleasures which are pleasing to God — and not merely to eliminate a surface eruption.

In looking at motion pictures and television, we must keep the full dynamic of Christianity before us. This means the church has more than a Pollyanna interpretation of life. It must do more than merely censor sections of films which are too sexy. Negatively, it should oppose movies which "solve everything on the human plane...which deify and enshrine the aspects of our culture to which allegiance is really given."¹¹⁰ This does not mean the characters are to become colorless or that all must be portrayed

¹¹⁰ Paul F. Heard, "Secularism in Motion Pictures," Spann, op. cit., p. 66.

as good people. There are evil people in the world and thus they are a legitimate subject for treatment. However, the church can take a stand against a superficial treatment which fails to show the mature adult the final result of such a course of action.

In order to interpret itself to the hearts of the people in a world threatened by atomic war and annihilation, the church must turn to itself, clarify its own concepts, and then express itself in a new and vital way.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 74.

CHAPTER V

EFFECTS OF URBANIZATION ON COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

To complete our task we will view the individual living within an urban area. Having seen the effects of modern urbanization on the work situation, the family unit and leisure time, we now look at the community. We will attempt to see the characteristics of an urban population, their associations, their personalities, and some of the effects on those who migrate from rural areas to the modern city.

Characteristics of an Urban Area

An important characteristic of the urban area is its heterogeneity. In comparison with rural areas a larger percentage of the urban population are foreign-born or first generation Americans. People of diverse social backgrounds are thrown together into social contact.

The typical American city, therefore, does not consist of a homogeneous body of citizens, but of human beings with the most diverse cultural backgrounds, often speaking different languages, following a great variety of customs, habituated to different modes and standards of living, and sharing only in varying degrees the tastes, the beliefs and the ideals of their native fellow city dwellers.¹¹²

The predominance of women in the city stands in sharp contrast to farm areas where men are a majority. Yet in the city the proportion of men that are married is higher than in the country, while the reverse is true of women. Because of the migration away from farms among youths in their late teens, cities tend to have more adults and fewer children

¹¹²Stewart Queen and Lewis Thomas, The City, a Study of Urbanism in the United States, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939), p. 383.

proportionately. This is also explained by the fact that until recently the crude birth and death rates have been higher. Cities have always had to depend upon rural areas for their survival.

The impersonalization of social relations is another mark of the city.¹¹³ Trade is regulated by a money economy in which transactions are impersonal. By its very nature it stresses intellect rather than emotion. Modern salesmanship is interested in selling a product, not in the use to which the item will be put. At the same time this money economy gives the individual a greater sense of freedom.

Because of the increase of contacts in a metropolitan area, the individual is lost sight of for the most part. The urban dweller substitutes a list of social stereotypes. In the rush of city life, he recognizes a person as a "milkman," a "bootblack," a "banker," a "minister." He interprets him objectively in terms of the role to which he has assigned him. Much of the supposed coolness and hardness of the city is accounted for by the barriers to intimacy which arise from this fact.

Urban Associations

There is an increase of secondary contacts in the city. People are physically close in crowds, audiences, and lines, yet for the individual the others exist almost as an abstraction. Other people become as much a part of the surroundings as the bus, subway or department store. This is further encouraged by the secondary means of communication: the newspaper, radio and telephone. This being in the midst of people and yet not able to share with them the joy, fear or plans of that day tends to

¹¹³Gist, op. cit., p. 263 ff.

make more utilitarian even those more personal contacts. Contrast this with the rural area in which more contacts are with the primary group, with which memories, plans and dreams are shared. In order to regulate these impersonal contacts, a formal pattern of conduct is developed which is enforced by custom and legislation.

Thus we have the anomalous situation of great social distance among a million people living in a circumscribed area.¹¹⁴ While the rural area has great spacial distance, it has great proximity in the depth of its human associations. "First impression" and "front" are encouraged in the city. One is constantly in crowds made up of people of different social, ethnic and religious backgrounds from one's own. The patterns of a city are determined by these matters of income, education and race.

To overcome the effects of secondary contacts and social distance, people of like interests seek companionship in various voluntary associations. In the city they are really more important socially to a person than the neighborhood in which he lives. These groups may be vocational, religious, political, recreational, educational, cultural, civic, fraternal or even anti-social gangs.

The rapid growth of these associational groups has led to the distortion that all Americans are "joiners." Some of the early studies which surveyed the upper and middle classes supported this conclusion. In a much quoted study of the social participation of over two thousand adults in New York City, Komarovsky found that a large proportion had no single

¹¹⁴ R. E. Park, "The Concept of Social Distance," Sociology and Social Research, VIII, (May 1924), pp. 339-44.

group affiliation¹¹⁵ (except possibly for church membership, which was not counted in this study as "group affiliation"). Particularly among the lower classes, the working population, few affiliations with organized groups were found. Among male manual workers sixty per cent were without group affiliation. The corresponding figure for white-collar workers was fifty-three per cent; for business men, thirty-three per cent; for professional men, twenty-one per cent. For the most part the percentages were higher for women. Eighty-eight per cent of the working women, sixty-three per cent of the white-collar workers, fifty-seven per cent of those in business, thirty-nine per cent of the nurses, and about eighteen per cent of the professional women belonged to no organized group.

This means the old stereotype of the urban man as one who has broken close contact with the primary group to establish contacts for work, recreation, worship and so on, is incorrect. The old neighborhood may have broken down, but it has not been replaced by the voluntary associations to the extent usually supposed.

Indeed in all occupational classes, male or female, earning under \$3,000 and other than professional, that is in the bulk of the City's population, the unaffiliated persons constituted a majority. Conversely, it is only when we reach the business classes earning \$3,000 and the professional classes that the majority is found to be organized.¹¹⁶

Warner and Lunt made a statistical study of associations in a New England town of about 14,000.¹¹⁷ They classified the groups structurally

¹¹⁵Mirra Komarovsky, "The Voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers," American Sociological Review, XI, (December 1946), pp. 686-98.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 687.

¹¹⁷Warner and Lunt, op. cit.

as simple-single associations or multiple-integrative. In the first group they found four types: (1) groups organized around the whole community, such as the support of a hospital; (2) secret societies, usually affiliated with national organizations; (3) ethnic associations, often connected with an Americanization program; and (4) free-lance groups, such as athletic clubs.

Their second group included such groups as Sunday Schools and ministerial associations, which were really subdivisions of a parent group. They recognized the importance also of informal association or cliques, those which were not organized on the basis of rules or constitutions. Such groups were found to exercise as much control over their members as do more formal associations. Their influence was particularly strong among adolescents.

Urban Personality Traits

Urbanization has its effects upon the individual's personality. We want to observe how this milieu has affected his personality. Many of the observations will deal with factors which are only indirectly results of urbanization. Rather than stressing the direct casual relationship between the two factors, we would rather emphasize the frequent occurrence of the phenomenon together. For example, when considering the disorganization of personality, the order of birth is of importance in considering the influence of the family. Actually the factor of smaller families which is observable in urban settings is one level removed from the personality conflict.

Mental conflict, Ernest R. Mowrer shows, is the key which unlocks the problems of personality disorganization.¹¹⁸ The person attempts to resolve conflicting elements in his personality. When unsuccessful, this results in frustration—either the individual continues an active conflict to bring unity or he eventually retreats into a subjective world.

The most important element in the organization of personality is the family. Harriet R. Mowrer describes its dominant role as follows:

It is the function of the dominant role...to bring into working accord the other roles within the personality. Thus the dominant role makes for consistency and unity within the personality by its dynamic direction of accommodation...But not only is there an attempt to achieve unity for the present, but also throughout the life span of the individual. This results from the fact that accommodations accomplished between the various roles tend to persist and to furnish the basic patterns for future adjustments between roles.¹¹⁹

Secondly, communal contacts must be viewed as either confirming or negating the role achieved in the family. The metropolis is characterized by specialization, mobility, professionalism, anonymity and disintegration. To this the individual must adjust. In adjusting, conflict is inevitable within any personality. Whenever any new element confronts the established pattern of habit responses, accommodation must take place. The will must either choose between the two alternatives confronting it or a compromise must be made. These are easily made in situations where the elements are of little basic importance.

The most highly integrated personalities are those in which the conception of their roles defined by the group are most closely approximated

¹¹⁸ Ernest R. Mowrer, Disorganization, Personal and Social, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942).

¹¹⁹ Harriet Rosenthal Mowrer, Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord, (New York: American Book Co., 1935), p. 37.

by the individual. Those who are able to pattern their private worlds most closely to the public world of their group membership are the best integrated. On the other hand, those who cannot integrate are judged insane.

Robert Faris and Warren Dunham have attempted to show the relationship between certain mental disorders and the area of the city in which they are found.¹²⁰ They reasoned from the necessity of communication. Feeling that communication is essential in retaining mental health, it followed that any effect of urbanization which hindered communication would also negatively influence mental adjustment. Life conditions become more precarious in an area in which there is excessive heterogeneity and horizontal mobility. Their findings did show a concentration of mental disorders near the center of the city. It should be added, however, that every disease showed its own distinctive pattern. A word of warning should be added lest an entirely casual interpretation be given their findings.

Since, then, our nervous systems vary greatly and are capable of a wide range of integrative action, it follows that no uniform adjustment to urban life could result. Though there is no "urban personality," there are certain traits which occur regularly in urban people. Certainly each person has traits which are unique to him, but there are certain traits which he shares with the larger group.

¹²⁰ Robert E. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, Mental Disorders in Urban Areas: An Ecological Study of Schizophrenia and Other Psychoses, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1937).

Anderson outlines the following as "urban personality traits."¹²¹

Motility: motor characteristics, such as speed, impulsiveness, control, steadiness, skill, etc.

- (x) Hyperkinetic: easily stimulated low action threshold.
- (-) Hypokinetic: stimulated with difficulty; high action threshold.
- (x) Impulsion: vigorous positive tendency to action.
- (-) Inhibition: tendency to block motor impulses.
- (x) Tenacity: persistence of activity in certain line.
- (x) Skill: manner of execution based upon coordination and motor control.
- (x) Style: individuality of execution.

Temperament: the subjective side of personality; feeling and emotion.

- (x) Emotional frequency and change: rapid succession of moods or emotional states.
- (x) Emotional breadth: range and variety of objects of emotion.
- (*) Characteristic mood: more or less permanent mood of gloominess, cheerfulness, etc.
- (x) Emotional attitude: definite set toward suspiciousness, self-depreciation, cynicism, snobbery, etc.

Self-expression: trends of behavior resulting from special abilities, attitudes toward self, others, reality, etc.

- (x) Drive: group of habits which acquire compelling power and which control other habit systems in individual development; special focus for individual's life.
- (x) Extroversion: objective, unrepressed, insensitive.
- (*) Introversion: attention to self, subjective, imaginative.
- (*) Insight: to act from clear motives; to view oneself as others would if his nature were fully revealed.
- (x) Ascendance: tendency to dominate, to exercise power.
- (*) Submission: tendency to submit, to play inferior role.
- (*) Expansion: tendency to make all behavior personal.
- (*) Reclusion: tendency to keep personality in background.

Sociality: susceptibility of the individual to influence of society.

- (x) Susceptibility to social stimulation; sensitiveness to social stimuli; tendency toward socialization.
- (*) Socialization: active social participation.
- (*) (Character: personality viewed in the light of social justice.)

¹²¹ Nels Anderson and Edward Lindeman, Urban Sociology: An Introduction to the Study of Urban Communities, (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1935), pp. 234-36.

In a recent study of personality adjustment, a group of more than twelve hundred third and sixth grade children from farms, villages and urban homes were compared.¹²² It was found that the farm children rated higher in every component of personality adjustment except one which related to a sense of personal freedom--and even in this the farm youngsters were on a par with those from the city.

Farm children differed favorably from city children in a number of ways. They were more self-reliant, they had a greater sense of personal worth, a greater sense of belonging, greater freedom from withdrawing tendencies and nervous symptoms. Also they showed evidence of greater social skills and rated superior in school and community relations. They failed to show any superiority in their sense of personal freedom and in their adjustment in social standards or in freedom from anti-social tendencies.¹²³

In the section of the study in which the teacher ranked the student according to mental health, they tended to rank farm children above non-farm children as "normal, healthy, wholesome persons." In the third part of the study, students themselves recorded their observations of fellow students. Here again farm children received relatively fewer adverse judgments. The proportion of children of superior personality was highest among farm and village children, and lowest among city children. On the other hand, there was little significant difference among those classified as very poorly adjusted as to their home area. About one in each five or six were in this category.¹²⁴

¹²²A. R. Mangus, "Personality Adjustment of Rural and Urban Children," American Sociological Review, XIII, (October 1948), pp. 566-75.

¹²³Ibid., pp. 574-75.

¹²⁴A follow-up study indicates that since 1946, when the original study was made, the average level of personality adjustment has risen among city children but has not improved much among the rural children.

Adjustment to the City

One of the most certain ways one can determine the impact of the urban community upon personality is to study the adjustment which migrants must make when they move from a rural to an urban area. One of the best studies of this type was made of Ozarkians who moved into St. Louis.¹²⁵ Elsie C. Husemann used a case study approach in this thesis. The actual material which came from these interviews tends to be more penetrating than many more statistical studies.

Most of the families, she found, had left the Ozarks because of economic conditions resulting from crop failure, low income or merely because they felt that life in the city would be easier. When they did arrive in the city, they reported that they were so worried and confused in just trying to subsist that they were oblivious to everything else about them. It was easier for the men when they once found employment; but the women described their first weeks in terms of sheer desperation:

Long hours coupled up with a group of children, who had been accustomed to spending most of their time outside, was far from pleasant. The mothers were too frightened to allow them to leave the crowded rooms. The smoke and dirt were stifling and the noise confusing. Lonesomeness, homesickness, and futile attempts to make friends with the neighbors....marked the efforts to adjust.¹²⁶

The same difficulty initially experienced by the children in adjusting to school was found when they encountered the church in the city. The majority of the families had attended church regularly before they left the country. Many of their leisure time interests were religious in nature.

¹²⁵Elsie C. Husemann, "The Adjustment of Rural Families in Saint Louis," an unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., (1932).

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 164.

The group was exclusively Protestant, the greater part of them being of the Baptist denomination.

The church has been the center of their social life in the hills and they go to it, thinking here to fill the void of which they are but half conscious only to find that 'their church' in the country, although of the same denomination, has little in common with the city sister church....their very appearance makes them feel conspicuous and ill at ease....Only in two instances did families of this group continue to attend the denominational church of their choice....The reasons given were that they 'did not feel at home' in the churches in the city, that they 'couldn't dress fitten' or that the church was 'too cold for poor folks.'¹²⁷

It is of note that in most cases where the regular churches of the city failed, the missions tended to be more successful. Most of the migrants expressed their appreciation for the missions' aid. They enjoyed particularly the music, singing, and the fact that everyone seemed friendly. In some cases, however, the parents refused to let their children go because of the heterogeneous groups which attend such missions. In other cases the parents felt that the children should be "gettin' some religion" so they sent them while they did not attend themselves.

Because of their economic backgrounds, most of the families were forced to live in rooming house districts, areas in which there is a higher rate of mobility and hence "considerable disintegration of social controls." The control of his old group was gradually relaxed and new habits and standards were built to meet the new situation. The older generation tended to hold on to the old patterns as long as possible. The children, however, felt strongly the conflict. As they felt the old rural controls relaxing, they tended to be increasingly influenced by their new environment. As a result, they fell into delinquency in many

¹²⁷ Ibid., pp. 112-113.

cases. Their general dissatisfaction in the area can be seen from their frequent moving.¹²⁸

Analysis

It is doubtful whether big cities have ever been foci of civilization in the sense that in them there has arisen the ideal of a man well and truly developed as a spiritual personality; today, at any rate, the condition of things is such that true civilization needs to be rescued from the spirit that issues from them and their inhabitants.¹²⁹

The Christian sees man as being without God. He sees that "they are all gone inside, they are all together become filthy; there is none that doeth good; no not one."¹³⁰ Even more, he sees the man without God under the active domination of Satan. The Christian man recognizes his common creatureliness with all humans, but he also recognizes a gulf between them.

The church is in the world but not of the world.¹³¹ It sees men divided as either for or against Christ. Its job is not merely to protect itself from the hostility of the world, but to actively oppose the world by winning men individually to its side. Its weapons in this battle God gives: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts."¹³² Against the mass materialism of the world the church fights with the Spirit.

¹²⁸Ibid., pp. 35-44.

¹²⁹Albert Schweitzer, The Philosophy of Civilization, translated from the German by C. T. Campion, (First American Edition; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 12.

¹³⁰Psalm 14:3.

¹³¹R. Gaemmerer, op. cit., pp. 40-52.

¹³²Zechariah 4:6.

The church's confronting of men, however, does not take place in a vacuum. Millions of persons whom the church must meet are living in urban areas. Many of them have become not only men without God, but virtually men without humanity.¹³³ They live in cities among people of different backgrounds for whom they care nothing. Daily they meet thousands of human beings in an impersonal, mechanical way. People become so many obstacles to be avoided. A natural courtesy which develops from interest and concern for another gradually disappears. The very inhumanity of their actions is lost sight of as gradually such action is considered urbane and sophisticated.

Where once the individual was responsible, now the state or some private agency has assumed control. In this great complex the individual feels alone. He must adjust to this inhuman world. Children in these surroundings do not feel self-reliant. They do not have a sense of personal worth; they are nervous and withdrawing. Some are never able to make this tremendous adjustment; the city puts them into institutions.

Though the city has many organizations of every imaginable type, most people do not belong to them. The family is breaking down. The neighborhood is breaking down. But so far, the average man has nothing to take their places. He is lonely and bewildered. How hard it is to become accustomed to such a life can be seen in the cases of those who moved from rural areas into cities. They put on city clothes and ate city food, but basically they felt lost.

Into such areas God has placed churches. Many of them have failed as the world has infiltrated them. Many are strictly for a special social

¹³³Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 14 ff.

or racial class. But others are standing as powerhouses in their communities. They are witnessing to a new life in God. They are calling men to lift their eyes from the sordid and selfish to God. They are vitally concerned with the individual. They are interested in his overstrain, his mental sluggishness, and his fears. In complete opposition to the impersonality and inhumanity of the city, they call people to spiritual freedom through Christ.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

We have considered the problems of urbanization as they affect the function of the church. Our interest was not in urban phenomenon per se but rather in the effects of urbanization on the personal relations in a city. Since the church is working in urban areas to an increasing degree, it must be aware of distinctively urban problems.

In the first section we saw the effects of urbanization in occupational relationships. In particular we noted that large scale machine technology does not recognize the individual personality. It is not merely physical fatigue which afflicts the urban worker but a sense of insignificance in view of the total job. Unemployment and distinctively occupational hazards decrease the security of the worker.

Secondly, we analyzed the effects of urbanization on the family. The functions of the family have changed. The present emphasis is on the personality functions of the family in what has been termed the "companion-ship family." The disorganization of the urban family structure can be observed in the rising divorce rates, the new status of women, the spread of birth control, and increased mobility.

The third problem discussed dealt with recreational relationships. The concentration of population in cities increases the need of recreation. We noted the trends which have resulted from this increased demand for recreational facilities, both in community agencies for recreation and in commercialized recreation. The latter in particular poses many problems for the church. In a more thorough way we viewed the influences of moving

pictures. In conclusion, we looked at the relationship of delinquency to recreation.

The last section looked specifically at the relationships encountered in an urban community. They were found to be brief and impersonal, often to a point of rudeness. Although associations with organizations were found to be prevalent among the professional and wealthier classes, the majority of the manual workers did not belong to outside groups. The effects of urbanization on personality adjustment were seen in the case of children and adults. Finally we attempted to show the difficulties encountered by a rural family moving into an urban area. In all areas we met an underlying illness which the church must meet with penetrating understanding and a vital concern for people.

The Christian conception of the Church's social consciousness rests on the intimate relation between the individual and the community. The Christian sees his relationship to the Church as members in the Body of Christ, a community of the Redeemed. Real community thus can only be established when the individuals are first united to God, and in Him to one another. The Church's mission, then, is to do more than cure maladjustments found in the factory and the community. Its task is to win individuals. The Church is interested in the community because it affects its central mission of proclaiming the Gospel.

The devices by which the Church invades the world are the two great gifts of God to His people; their love, agape, the love with which He loved them and which now beams forth again; and their message, the kerygma, the light of their faith put into the hearts of men by the story of the Redeemer.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ R. Casmerer, op. cit., p. 104.

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