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The Influence of External Factors Upon the Functions of the Family Since 1929

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

Preface 1

Introduction 2

Chapter I. The Affectional Function 3

**THE INFLUENCE OF EXTERNAL FACTORS UPON THE FUNCTIONS OF THE
FAMILY SINCE 1929**

1. Relationship between marriage and the

By

Evelyn M. Eckhoff

2. The marriage rate in the depression 3

3. The birth rate in the depression 4

4. The divorce rate in the depression 5

5. Broken marriages 10

6. Lack of preparation for marriage 11

7. Premarital chastity not arbitrary 12

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty
of the
College of Liberal Arts of Marquette University
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Chapter I. The Affectional Function.....	4
1. Nature of the family.....	5
2. Nature of marriage.....	5
3. Relationship between marriage and the family.....	5
4. Family, the media for the expression of affection.....	6
5. The marriage rate in the depression.....	8
6. The birth rate in the depression.....	8
7. The divorce rate in the depression.....	9
8. Broken families.....	10
9. Lack of preparation for marriage.....	11
10. Premarital chastity not arbitrary.....	12
11. Effect of broken families on the children.	12
12. Courtesy in the home a means of promoting family affection.....	15
Chapter II. The Religious Function.....	17
1. Effect of depression on religion in general.....	17
2. Church membership.....	19
3. Church attendance.....	19
4. Attendance by resident members in rural regions.....	20

	PAGE
5. Family religious devotions at home.....	20
6. Family attendance at church.....	20
Chapter III. The Economic and Protective	23
2. Economic Functions.....	23
1. The family as a productive unit.....	23
2. The family as a consumptive unit.....	23
3. Increase in rural population.....	25
4. Consumption in the depression.....	27
5. Income and Expenditures.....	29
6. Work opportunities for males and females..	30
7. Work opportunities as affected by age.....	33
8. Differences in families.....	33
9. Doubling up of families.....	34
10. Effect of depression on protective	35
function.....	35
Chapter IV. The Recreational Function.....	37
1. The expansion of leisure through shorter	
hours.....	37
2. The expansion of leisure because of	
unemployment.....	42
3. Development of governmental interest in	
leisure time activities.....	43
4. Governmental expenditures for recreation..	44
5. Governmental aid for recreation through	
other than recreational channels.....	44
6. Commercialized recreation.....	49

TABLES

PAGE

Table I.	7. The family's participation in recreation..	54
Chapter V. The Educational Function.....		
Table II.	1. The school and the home.....	57
	2. Educational divisions.....	58
Table III.	3. School attendance.....	58
Table IV.	4. Cost a factor.....	60
	5. Attitudes toward education in the	60
Table V.	6. depression.....	61
	7. Educational developments.....	62
Table VI.	8. Federal government's attitude.....	63
	9. The family and the education function.....	65
Table Chapter VI.	Summary and Conclusion.....	65
Appendix.....		68
Bibliography.....		87
Table VIII.	Indexes Showing Changes in Quantities of Selected Consumer Goods Sold Annually. United States, 1929-1935	76
Table IX.	Indexes Showing Changes in Physical Output of Selected Commodities: United States, 1929, 1932, 1934	77
Table X.	Changes in Income and in Percentage Distribution of Expenditures, 1929-1932	78
Table XI.	Estimated Percentages of Total Gainful Workers Unemployed in Selected Industries: United States, 1929-1935	78
Table XII.	Index of Employment in Selected Manufacturing Industries: United States, 1932-1935	80
Table XIII.	Ratio of the Percentage of Males Unemployed among all Gainful Male Workers to the Percentage of Females Unemployed among all Female Gainful Workers, by Age: Boston, 1930, 1931, 1934, Detroit, 1930, 1931, 1935	81

TABLES

Table I.	Calculated loss in Marriages During the the Depression	69
Table II.	Estimated Number of Births, and Births per 1000 Women Aged 15 to 44 Years: United States, 1929-1935	70
Table III.	Calculated Loss in Divorce During the Depression	71
Table IV.	Per Cent Distribution of Families by Marital Status of Head of Family, United States Census, April 1, 1930	72
Table V.	Percentage Increase in Church Membership for Selected Denominations: United States, Various Periods	73
Table VI.	Average Monthly Attendance in Selected Rural Churches: All Denominations, by Regions: 1924, 1930, and 1936	74
Table VII.	Indexes Showing Changes in Physical Volume of Retail Trade, by Types of Outlets (Adjusted for Changing Price Level) United States, 1929, 1933, 1935	75
Table VIII.	Indexes Showing Changes in Quantities of Selected Consumer Goods Sold Annually: United States, 1929-1936	76
Table IX.	Indexes Showing Changes in Physical Output of Selected Commodities: United States, 1929, 1932, 1934	77
Table X.	Changes in Income and in Percentage Distribution of Expenditures, 1929-1932	78
Table XI.	Estimated Percentages of Total Gainful Workers Unemployed in Selected Industries: United States, 1929-1935	79
Table XII.	Index of Employment in Selected Manufacturing Industries: United States, 1932-1935	80
Table XIII.	Ratio of the Percentage of Males Unemployed Among all Gainful Male Workers to the Percentage of Females Unemployed Among all All Female Gainful Workers, by Age: Boston, 1930, 1931, 1934, Detroit, 1930, 1931, 1935	81

	PAGE
Table XIV. Percentage of Males Unemployed Among Employed Males, by Age: Pennsylvania, (1934), Massachusetts, (1934), and Michigan, (1935)	82
Table XV. Estimated Hours of Leisure Gained Per Week Per Wage Earner, Since 1920 in 25 Manufacturing Industries, by Sex, and Males by Skill: United States, 1921-1936	83
Table XVI. Monthly Average Number of Visitors and Automobiles Arriving at National Parks: 1929-1933	84
Table XVII. Estimated Weekly Attendance at Movie Theaters During the Depression	85

PREFACE

The writer desires to express her appreciation and gratitude to Miss Marguerite Keuse, under whose direction this thesis was written, and to both Miss Keuse and Dr. Paul J. Mundie for their many helpful suggestions and constructive criticisms during the writer's course of study in the Department of Social Sciences at Marquette University.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to show the influence of external factors upon the functions of the family since 1929. The writer will consider the affectional, religious, economic, protective, recreational and educational functions, and will endeavor to determine the extent to which external

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In the Department, Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of
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Education in the Depression.

All tables referred to in the chapters of this thesis are in the appendix.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to show the influence of external factors upon the functions of the family since 1929. The writer will consider the affectional, religious, economic, protective, recreational and educational functions, and will endeavor to determine the extent to which external factors have affected the functions of the family and the family itself.

Studies on the social aspects of the depression, published by the Social Science Research Council, have been particularly helpful in the preparation of this thesis. The writer refers especially to the Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression, Research Memorandum on Religion in the Depression, Research Memorandum on Social Aspects of Consumption in the Depression, Research Memorandum on Recreation in the Depression, and the Research Memorandum on Education in the Depression.

All tables referred to in the chapters of this thesis are in the appendix.

CHAPTER I. THE AFFECTIONAL FUNCTION

The depression of the early 1930's was like the explosion of a bomb dropped in the midst of society. All the major social institutions such as the family, church, and school, were profoundly affected and the repercussions were so far reaching that scarcely any type of human activity was untouched.¹

In considering the effects of the depression it is of special interest to note **CHAPTER I** on the family, since the latter is the **THE AFFECTIONAL FUNCTION** the family has several functions, among which are: the affectionate, religious, economic, protective, recreational, and educational. For a thorough understanding of the effects of the depression on the functions of the family, especially the affectional function as discussed in this chapter, a definition of the term "family" is necessary.

Many writers have attempted to define this term. Their definitions vary according to the problem they are connected with, such as the differential fertility of various groups, the relationship between the standard of living and the family wage, the inheritance of physical and mental traits,

1. Samuel Steffen and Paul Lazarsfeld, Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression, p. 5.

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etc., so the bewildering variety of definitions is quite understandable. The definition adopted by the United States Bureau of the Census is used frequently. It includes all persons living together in the same household. Thus relatives, friends, lodgers, and servants are included provided they habitually form part of this residential household. Nimkoff, on the other hand, defines the family as "a relationship of indeterminate duration existing between parents and children."¹ The writer will use the term "family" to include only parents and their offspring, if any.

A definition of marriage is also necessary to clarify the place marriage has in relation to the family and why it exists. Marriage as a natural society is defined as "a stable union of fit persons of opposite sex, made under contract, with a view principally to the birth and rearing of children."²

The two primary purposes of marriage are the birth and rearing of children, and the secondary purposes of marriage are the happiness of the married couple and the legitimate satisfaction of concupiscence.³ However, the latter are subordinate to the primary purposes. That marriage is the necessary basis of family life and national stability is proven in Whither Marriage.⁴

1. M. F. Nimkoff, The Family, p. 6.
 2. Morrison, Marriage, p. 37.
 3. Gannon, Holy Matrimony, p. 20
 4. Marguerite Irmgard Reuss, Whither Marriage, Marquette University, 1935.

1. Samuel Stouffer and Paul ... p. 5.

The family furnishes the media for the expression of affection between parents and between parents and children.

Something more than the mere satisfaction of economic wants is vital to a well-rounded and happy existence. There are human needs which must be met and in the home lies the opportunity for the creation of the essential gratification of those most important cravings. Here may be provided recognition for the qualities which outsiders may be slow to appreciate. Honesty, kindness, gentleness and trustworthiness, affection, sympathy, and understanding all are found in the home and can be held there at their true worth.

New experience and some of the greatest adventures of life are to be found in the home. The man or woman who has known the unquestioning faith and loyalty of a child or who has faced death or seen it patiently and bravely risked knows that those who live for themselves alone live incompletely. These experiences are facts of life and not romantic fiction.

As far as the social and psychological effects of the depression on the family as an institution or on marriage as an institution are concerned, they are exceedingly difficult to detect. However, "it is an old sociological hypothesis that the deeper the structure of an institution is rooted in the mores, the more resistant is it to change. Thus, an institution created by the government to market farm products abroad may be quickly and profoundly changed by legislative fiat in a depression, yet a primary institution like the family may change imperceptibly in the face of great pressure."¹

1. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 5.

"Even though the effects of the depression on marriage and on the family because of the primary nature of these institutions, may be either slight or elusive to research, the research worker may find a rich field for study in asking how marriage and the family during the depression modified other phenomena. Thus, the decline of the marriage rate has direct demographic effects on the reduction in births, sociological effects in possibly encouraging a relaxation of sex taboos among the unmarried, and doubtless psychological effects on individuals, particularly on the women who fail to marry. Thus, the family, however much or little it may alter as an institution, may play an important role as a modifying factor during depressions, and one must keep both aspects of the problems in mind at all times. For example, in some cases an improvement in husband-wife relationships and a strengthening of the internal family organization may tend to restrain a man from risky adventures which might improve his economic situation. The withdrawal from all contacts outside of the family may strengthen the family yet retard recovery from depression. On the other hand, the stimulus of family responsibility may provide an added drive to keep going economically."¹

In regard to psychological and more subtle factors associated with the effects of the depression on husband-wife relationships, one must rely on case studies. Robert Angell illustrates some of these problems in a recent publication.²

In endeavoring to show the effects of the depression on the family, there are three rather well-established facts which may be taken as a starting point, namely:

- "1. Fewer families are begun, by marriage, during a depression.
2. Fewer families are augmented by births during a depression.
3. Fewer families are broken by divorce during a depression."³

1. Ibid., p. 7.

2. Robert Cooley Angell, "The Family Encounters The Depression."

3. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 5.

"These three findings were well-established before the depression of the 1930's and give ample evidence so that events of recent years correspond to what past findings would have led one to expect."¹

In regard to the first of the aforementioned statements in the preceding paragraph, numerous studies show that there is a definite relationship between the marriage rate and the business cycle. "Scores of studies in the past hundred years covering many of the countries of western Europe as well as the United States have shown that when business is good the marriage rate is high and when business is bad, the marriage rate is low."² Table I shows that the marriage rate during the latest depression in the United States held true to form. This table compares the observed number of marriages during the depression with the number which would have occurred in 1930-1935, inclusive, if the number of marriages per 1,000 population in these years had been 10,1644, which was the 1925-1929 average. On the assumptions stated, the accumulated deficit in marriages was 748,000 by the end of 1935. Table 2 shows that the birth rate also went down. Some of this decrease, however, may be a result of the decrease in marriages.

A depression tends to increase the tendencies for discord between husband and wife. Other factors being equal, one would then expect an increase in separation and divorce. However, the divorce statistics indicate a sharp decrease in

1. Ibid., p. 7.

2. Ibid., p. 5.

divorce during depressions. Table 3 shows that between 1930 and 1935, inclusive, there was a net loss in American divorces of 171,000 from the number which would have been expected if the trend prevailing in the previous years had continued. This may be the result of the expense attached to court costs, attorneys fees, and settlements including alimony.

A certain proportion of the decline in divorce may also be attributed to the decline in the marriage rate. Since over eight out of ten divorces occur after at least three years of marriage, it is evident that it requires several years of declining marriages to produce in itself an appreciable divorce rate. There were 30,000 fewer divorces in 1932 than in 1930, while of this deficit 23,000 occurred among those who had been married at least three years.¹ Only a part of the other 7,000 was due to a decline in marriages and the rest was due to the same factors that produced a deficit in divorces among those married before the depression. So, it is clear that it will take several years before the depression loss in marriages can affect the divorce rate appreciably.

One would normally expect that the cost of divorce would be greater if children were involved and that the percentage of cases involving children would decline. However, the percentage of cases involving children was slightly higher in 1932 than in the years before the depression, 38.2

1. Bureau of Census, "Marriage and Divorce" 1932.

as against 37.2 in 1929, 36.9 in 1928, and 36.5 in 1926.¹

No significant factual evidence has been published concerning the increase or decrease of desertion during the depression.

It is an accepted fact that children are best cared for in the home by the members of their own family.

The functions necessary for this purpose require a division of labor within the family. The husband should be the provider, the wife the homemaker. Any circumstances which interfere with the performance of the functions of the family create problems which threaten the survival of the family as a unit. When the threats become actualities, the result is the broken family. Among the factors resulting in broken homes are: the death of a husband or wife, and the withdrawal of husband or wife by separation, divorce or desertion.

The 1930 Census enumerated the total number of families at close to thirty millions. Fully one-fifth of these were found to be broken and of these broken families more than one-half were the result of the death of the husband or the wife as shown by the item "widowed" in Table 4.

This table also shows that divorced families constituted only six per-cent of the broken families. However, it is thought that this is an under-statement since many of the divorced maintaining homes may have declared themselves as single.

1. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 71.

The failure of some individuals to get along in the marital state has provoked considerable discussion of the necessary or more adequate preparation for the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood.

If people would spend as much time thinking about the virtues - and lack of them - in their prospective mates as they do of their trousseaus and honeymoon itinerary, there would not be so much grief later. The old saying: "marry in haste, and repent at leisure" still holds true, but people do not always take heed of the old adages.

Of course, the best and most careful men and women can err in forming judgments. Even with due time and observation the most prudent person may choose the wrong one for his or her wife or husband, but many individuals rush into matrimony without any regard for its life-long and intimate nature. They do not exercise their God-given intellectual faculties at all, and then they wonder why marriage is not what they expected it to be.

In contracting marriage vows, one is making the most sacred and inviolable of contracts. Man makes other contracts in his every-day life, but from common experience we know that the breaking up of a business partnership, for example, has none of the disrupting consequences of the dissolution of the marriage contract. And yet there is conclusive evidence that the importance of marriage in the Christian sense is not being considered adequately today.

Education is essential for those aspiring to professional occupations. Training is necessary for the beautician and

the tonsorialist - why not for those who aspire to wedded bliss? Furthermore, life is more complex now than ever before. Problems arise today which our forefathers did not even think of and these problems necessitate training. In all walks of life people are finding it more difficult to attain employment without training. But why should they confine themselves to training in that alone which gives them pecuniary recompense? Education for marriage should be just as necessary as education for those engaged in business pursuits; in fact, it is more essential to marriage.

Premarital chastity is for fundamental reasons not arbitrary because intimate relationships outside of marriage result in an assault on the institution of marriage; it is an assault on the family as a natural and necessary institution, without which the human race is doomed; it makes prudence, rather than right and wrong the norm of action; it justifies self-indulgence out of all due proportion and if a most rigorous control is not kept, physical, moral, and social ruin will corrupt the race.

The stability of the family is necessary for the proper protection and training of children. When the family breaks up for any reason, the children are the greatest sufferers; they are deprived of their natural home life, the guidance and care of parents, and the opportunity of training for life's work. They are also exposed to greater moral dangers and risks. Society is interested therefore in strengthening family life for its own present and future good.

be cheated out of normal home life, parents must be willing

Family breakdown may result from death or disability of the father or mother, from the incompetency of parents, or from the separation or divorce of the parents. The State, recognizing the value of the family, is providing increasingly for the care of children left helpless through the death of parents, particularly the death of the father. Families are being kept together through the aid of charities and mothers' pensions systems. The State is also protecting the rights of children in families where parents are neglectful by means of juvenile courts and similar agencies that intervene to force parents to do their duty properly toward their children. When separation and divorce are finally resorted to, society still safeguards the rights of the children as far as possible by compelling their support, safeguarding their property rights, if any, and providing for their guardianship.

Without a discussion of the rightness or wrongness of divorce there is much to be said regarding the responsibility of divorced parents toward their children.

They can never be independent of the obligation to a child. He has a claim upon them that should always come first in the minds of fair-minded parents, regardless of their feelings toward each other. It therefore seems but fair for them to think out, carefully and seriously, how they can best meet their obligations, even though they have failed to work out their own partnership successfully.

To safeguard the future interest of children who are to be cheated out of normal home life, parents must be willing

to sacrifice their personal grievances, their self-pity, and sometimes even their rights as determined by the court. They must be guided by their desire to reduce to a minimum the effects of a broken home on their child. There is no room for selfishness and malice. Children should never be made to take sides for or against either parent. They should not be hauled into court to bear witness against those whom they love. They should not have to listen to slander and idle gossip. Nor in the midst of their confusion, should they be asked to decide to which parent they will give their allegiance.

Altogether too many children are tossed about and mentally scarred in the arena of legal controversy. If, however, parents are so blinded by their own jealousies, animosities, and hatreds, that they cannot protect their child from becoming the victim of their misfortunes, legal protection is needed.

It is difficult for an immature child to figure out why a good father cannot be a good husband or a good mother a good wife. If, as it seems, everybody loves his mother, why should not his father feel the same and vice versa? It is too much to expect a child to understand that good mothers and good fathers do not always make equally good partners.

The child should, however, be given as clear an understanding as his years permit, of the reason why separation seems wise. But it is not fair to poison his mind against either parent.

The tolerance that divorced parents show for one another, and the affection and respect for each other that they endeavor to create in their child's mind are, perhaps, the greatest contributions they can make to minimize the effects of a broken home. It is the intelligent, kindly humane way to cope successfully with a difficult situation.¹

Certain courtesies in the home would help toward eliminating divorce and its resultant effects. The Right Reverend Edgar Schmiedeler says: "There are many apparently trifling little attentions that contain within themselves great possibilities for the promotion of family affection."² Ordinary courtesies and conventions, seemingly insignificant at times, will go far toward fostering love between parents and between parents and children while their neglect will lead to contempt and a loss of affection. The simple rule of being courteous would do much to prevent family friction and to build up a sense of love and loyalty within the home.

The effect of the depression on the affectional function of the family itself is exceedingly hard to detect. In some cases, family ties were loosened and in others they were strengthened. On the whole, the effects of the depression on this function of the family were imperceptible, but the depression has emphasized the value of the home as a center of rest and affection.

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1. D. A. Thom, M.D., *When Parents Part*. Director of Habit Clinic for Child Guidance, Boston, Mass. *The Milwaukee Journal*, April 3, 1938, p. 12.
 2. Edgar Schmiedeler, An Introductory Study of the Family, pp. 330-331.

CHAPTER II - THE RELIGIOUS FUNCTION

Certain religious functions have traditionally been performed by the family. Its role is significant in the inculcation and maintenance of ethical standards. Marriage is held by many to be a sacrament and some consider it desirable that a family be composed of persons with the same church affiliation.

In order to determine the religious function of the family in the domestic sphere, we shall consider the effect of modern secularization.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS FUNCTION

Some believe that the Renaissance had a tendency to turn people toward religion. They believe that men have turned toward a more spiritual interpretation of life. F. H. Wilson says in "A New Tide of Religion Sweeps Onward" that a survey of religious movements have concluded:

"First, since the turn of the century, man has been subject to a wave of secularism which has reduced the voice of religious observance. Second, the tide has turned and there is a return of religious feeling. Third, the returning tide is affecting religious institutions. There is a revival of organized religion. Years of war, economic upheavals, the disintegration of the families - these are some of the factors that are driving many people, by an unconscious reaction, to the view that neither materialism nor hedonism are the best enough."¹

1. "New York Spring Times Magazine," December 20, 1938, p. 3.

Others say that the emotional zeal which might have turned into the churches had been put into "near religious movements" such as zeal for Huey Long, the New Deal, Fervor for the Soviet.

CHAPTER II. THE RELIGIOUS FUNCTION

These various positions raise the question of the relations. Certain religious functions have traditionally been performed by the family and its role is significant in the inculcation and maintenance of ethical standards. Marriage is held by many to be a sacrament and some consider it desirable that a family be formed by mates with the same church affiliation.

In order to determine the religious function of the family in the depression, it is necessary to consider the effect of the depression on religion in general.

Some believe that the depression had a tendency to turn people toward religion. They believe that men have turned toward a more spiritual interpretation of life. P. W. Wilson says in "A New Tide of Religion Sweeps Onward" that a survey of religion suggests three conclusions:

"First, since the turn of the century, man has been subject to a wave of secularism which has reduced the volume of religious observance. Second, the tide has turned and there is a return of religious feeling. Third, the returning tide is affecting religious institutions: there is a revival of organized religion... Fears of war, economic upheavals, the disintegration of the families - these are among the reasons that are driving many people, by no means religious in profession, to the view that secular sanctions are not enough."¹

1. "New York Sunday Times Magazine," December 20, 1936, p. 3.

Others say that the emotional zeal which might have turned into the churches has been put into "near religious movements" such as zeal for Huey Long, the New Deal, fervor for the constitution, etc.

These various positions raise the question of the relationship of the depression to interest in religion, church membership, and church attendance.

An answer to these questions would serve as a basis for a discussion of religion as a function of the family. However, there are no authoritative works either by church historians or by sociologists and economists on the effects of the depression on religion.

Total membership data are so rough that they are not an adequate index in fluctuations in church interest. In the first place the term "church member" has different meanings between the different denominations. Some groups whose membership requirements are at a minimum, use the term in a broad sense, while others whose membership requirements are not at a minimum, use the term in a narrower sense. Another deficiency of church statistics lies in the fact that methods of enumerating church membership is often inaccurate. Again, these figures tell nothing about participation in church life. Theoretically, there may be no variation in the number or percentage of church members between the depression years and prosperous years, but there may be great variation in members' participation in church activities. However, although the data is not decisive or entirely conclusive, "in the

country as a whole, on the basis of available statistics, there have not been significant changes in church membership during the depression."¹ Nevertheless, there may have been significant regional changes within the various denominational groupings. For example, the Southern Baptists have grown at a more rapid rate in recent years than the Northern Baptists. Again, year book figures for various denominations suggest a sharp increase in the membership of minor "fundamentalist groups" during the depression years. However, this growth has been fairly constant since 1925, and the number of people belonging to these groups is small in comparison with other denominations. Although newer sects make inroads on the older established religious groups, among the large established denominations one group does not readily make great gains over another. (Refer to Table 5).

Another index of people's interest in churches during the depression in comparison with their interest at other times would be figures on church attendance. At the beginning of the depression it was assumed that church attendance would increase tremendously. However, "the general consensus, based on almost the unanimous opinion of clergymen in personal correspondence with the author, seems to be that there has not been a noticeable increase and that where increases did take place these gains were not of long duration."²

1. Samuel Kincheloe, Research Memorandum on Religion in the Depression, p. 6.

2. Ibid., p. 12. Worship in the United States, Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, Vol. 1, p. 574.

church Brunner and Lorge sought to answer this question for rural regions. The material they gathered indicates that there has been a decided falling off on the part of resident members. The Middle Atlantic and the South, and the Middle West declined. Only the far West showed an increase, and that was not on the basis of church membership, but of people in the community. The explanation given by Brunner and Lorge is that of "small competing churches, poorly trained ministers, and feeble programs."¹ Their attendance summary is given in Table 6. *the family as a unit.*

Religious devotions and prayers in which the entire family participate at home are declining.

"In a study made of parents and children in 1930, including samples of school children in rural areas, villages and cities of various sizes, about 1 in 8 white American born school children of the seventh, eighth and ninth grades was found to participate in family prayers. There was not much difference in the practice of this custom between the city and the country, though in the very large city the proportion of children participating was slightly smaller."²

The same study shows that family attendance at church is much more widespread than family prayers. In the rural area, 85 per cent of the children went to church with their families while in the city only 40 per cent went together to

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1. Edmund S. Brunner and Irving Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years.
 2. Recent Social Trends in the United States. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, Vol. I, p. 674.

church. Family reading of the Bible was reported by 22 percent of the rural white children and 10 percent of the city children. Grace at meals was the practice in 30 percent of the samples in the large city and 38 percent from the rural area.

Summarizing, the writer calls attention to the fact that the religious function of the family has not been operating as strongly in the immediate past as it has formerly and religious devotions in the home have declined as has church attendance by the family as a unit.

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC AND PROTECTIVE FUNCTIONS

CHAPTER III. THE ECONOMIC FUNCTION

In considering the influence of external factors on the economic function, the family may be regarded both as a productive unit and as a consuming unit. As a productive unit, its functions have decreased. Numerous products, in past decades made in the home, are now being made in agencies outside the home. This shift, up until 1929 has been documented in Recent Social Trends.

CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC AND PROTECTIVE FUNCTIONS

In 1929 "the proportion of families engaged in production and the protection of consumers' goods and services which families purchase in the market rather than produce at home had increased. These two things may be highly correlated, but their sociological implications are somewhat different."²

Families organized around a family unit enterprise differ from other families in that they have more ties holding the members of the family together. Although the ties are more numerous, they do not necessarily mean that they are always stronger taken as a whole than the fewer ties which connect the members of a family which is not organized around a family unit economic enterprise.

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1. Recent Social Trends in the United States, Vol. I, Chapter VII, 1.
 2. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Bakerfeld, op. cit., p. 10.

CHAPTER III. THE ECONOMIC FUNCTION

In considering the influence of external factors on the economic function, the family may be regarded both as a productive unit and as a consumptive unit. As a productive unit, its functions have decreased. Numerous products, in past decades made in the home, are now being made in agencies outside the home. This shift, up until 1929 has been documented in Recent Social Trends.¹

In 1929 "the proportion of all families engaged in production and trade as a family unit enterprise had declined and the proportion of consumers' goods and services which families purchase in the market rather than produce at home had increased. These two trends may be highly correlated, but their sociological implications are somewhat different."²

Families organized around a family unit enterprise differ from other families since they have more ties holding the members of the family together. Although the ties are more numerous, this does not necessarily mean that they are always stronger taken as a whole than the fewer ties which connect the members of a family which is not organized around a family unit economic enterprise.

1. Recent Social Trends in the United States, Vol. I, Chapter VIII.

2. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 10.

Differentiating in greater detail, it may be seen that the wife is a producer as well as homemaker in a family organized around a family unit economic enterprise, and her production differs from that of a wife employed in a department store, office, or factory, or of wives whose only duty is to keep house. The wife who is a producer as well as homemaker, is, in a sense, her husband's business partner rather than a supplementary contributor to the family purse or rather than a housekeeper alone. Therefore, the ties between the husband and wife in such a family are more numerous. Children in such families may be not only economic assets but business partners as well. Therefore, the ties between parents and children are more numerous. On the whole, such families have more occasions arising which require decisions by which all the members of the family are affected. This is implied by what has been said above. It should be noted that occasions requiring decisions also have the possibility of being occasions for conflict. However, it is probable that these occasions promote family solidarity since the welfare of the whole family is at stake.

Since most families organized around a family unit of economic enterprise are probably rural, it is necessary to look at the differential effects of depression on the relative distribution of the urban and rural population. The decade from 1920-1929 was characterized by a heavy migration from the farms to the city, but "When the industrial depression struck in the winter of 1929-1930, a backward trek to

the country set in, despite the fact that economic conditions were bad in the rural regions. There was not only an exodus to the open country, particularly the poorer land areas, but also an increase in the cultivation of small tracts in the neighborhood of cities. Agriculture in its depressed state might be able to provide only a meager standard of living, but the farm at least provided food and shelter, which the empty factory did not provide."¹

An agricultural census taken January 1, 1935 showed an increase in farm population of 1,356,000 since April 1, 1930 (about 1,630,000 since January 1, 1930); and the increase in the number of farms between 1930 and 1935 "was relatively greater than the population - nine per cent as compared with five per cent. Evidently a decrease occurred in population per farm."² This is surprising in view of the fact that millions of people returned to farms, many of whom were seeking shelter and sustenance with relatives or friends.

From the standpoint of family organization, it may be said that the depression tended to increase the number of families organized around a rural family unit economic enterprise. It would also be interesting to know whether, apart from shifts from farm to store and vice versa, the depression tended to increase or decrease the number of village, town, and city families operating stores, shops, or other service institutions as family unit enterprises; but data are almost

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1. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 13.
 2. O. E. Baker, "Rural and Urban Distribution of the Population," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1936, p. 264.

wholly lacking concerning this subject. There is no clear evidence for or against a marked shift in 1930-1933 in the proportion of urban families organized around a family unit enterprise.

"There are no recent data on small manufacturing establishments with a gross of less than five thousand dollars per year nor on household handicraft industries. Although there are scattered reports of families in depressed textile towns who set up small looms in their homes, there is little evidence of an important increase in household handicraft in urban regions. In rural areas, particularly among farmers living along highways, there probably was an increase in the production of home-manufactured articles for sale (e. g. bedspreads in Georgia, jelly and preserves in many parts of the country) and farmers supplemented their income not only by selling family handicraft but also by selling farm produce at roadside stands. Such cases would not necessarily imply a shift in family organization, since the farm family already is organized about a family unit economic enterprise."¹

"The role which the gasoline pump played in enabling the members of a family to cooperate in surviving the depression is in itself of some interest; particularly, as the roadside filling stations, which also dispense confectionery and soft drinks grew rapidly in numbers throughout the depression. The Census of Retail Distribution reported a net increase of forty per cent in filling stations in 1929-1933; and sixteen per cent in 1934-1935."²

In concluding this section, attention is called to the fact that although there is a difference between families organized around a unit economic enterprise, and those which are not, there are also differences in the degree to which the whole family cooperates in such an enterprise. Problems encountered therein may have had either a weakening or strengthening effect.

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1. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 16.
 2. Ibid., p. 17.

In considering the family as a unit of consumption, attention must be given to the effects of the depression on the economic functions which are found in varying degrees, among all families. These include such activities as baking, canning, laundering, and sewing. Prior to the depression, these activities were leaving the home. It is very probable that this trend was interrupted during the depression, simply because of a reduction in purchasing power.

From the Census of Retail Distribution, it is possible to compare the dollar sales at retail made by various types of outlets. These dollar figures adjusted for price changes and then reduced to relatives of 1929 are presented in Table 7, and show the approximate changes in physical volume of trade through several types of outlets. The figures show that the physical volume of sales have increased in filling stations, remained constant in food stores, and have remained almost constant in general merchandise stores (including urban department stores). In drug and apparel stores there were moderate decreases, and in hardware stores, lumberyards, and furniture stores there were marked decreases.

Other data concerning the physical unit sales of specific consumer goods is shown in Table 8. The physical output of individual commodities, 1929-1934, has been reported on by the National Bureau of Economic Research, and their findings are shown in Table 9.

The data in Tables 7, 8, and 9 come from different sources and seem to tell very much the same story of the character of change in total consumption during the depression.

Several conclusions may be drawn from these tables.

"1. The total consumption of foods changed very little during the depression. This is evidenced by the physical sales through food stores, by the physical units of meat, wheat flour, and butter sold, and the physical production of potatoes, fruits and vegetables, and milk.

"2. The sales through general merchandise outlets, including urban department stores, remained fairly constant during the depression. This is in contrast to the trend of sales through country general stores. Perhaps the decrease in the latter is due partially to greater mobility, which has resulted in country people increasing their purchases in city stores. To the extent that this is true, the change is not due directly to the depression. Moreover, this shift of patronage may account in part for the maintained volume of sales by urban department stores.

"3. The use of automobiles seems not to have declined. This is indicated by the sales through filling stations and by the sales of gasoline. The sales of passenger automobiles in physical units, on the other hand, showed a very pronounced decline. This is evidence of the ability of people to use automobiles for a longer period of years than had previously been the custom. It is interesting to note also that automobile tires showed a marked decline in physical volume of output. This is probably associated with an improvement in quality; another partial explanation may be that it was not necessary to furnish tires as new equipment on as many new automobiles during the depression as previously. Certainly the gasoline figures indicate that motor vehicles went as many miles as previously.

"4. There has been an interesting shift in volume of production and consumption of different types of textiles. The output of rayon increased materially. The output of silk decreased somewhat and that of cotton and wool textiles decreased much more strikingly. Part of the reduction in wool

consumption is due to the reduction in output of wool carpets and rugs. Undoubtedly a weighted index would show some total reduction in yards of textiles consumed.

"5. Another case of change in the relative status of related commodities is found in the fact that cigarettes decreased very little and for a brief period while cigars decreased materially and had not recovered in 1934.

"6. The domestic use of electricity showed a considerable increase throughout the period of the depression. Associated with this was the striking increase in the sale of electrical refrigerators and the continued active sale of many other electrical devices for the home. One cannot, of course, attribute this increase to the depression - more likely, it may be said to have occurred despite the depression.

"7. Durable consumer goods, such as furniture and automobiles, showed a striking reduction in sales. This reduction, however, may have been accompanied by no reduction in use, as is indicated in the case of automobiles by the gasoline consumption figures."¹

Table 10 shows changes in income and in percentage distribution of expenditures of wage earners, clerks, and executives, 1929-1932. The data included therein might be interpreted to mean that a larger percentage of income was reserved for "miscellaneous" expenditures, while there was a reduction in the percentage used for food, clothing, and shelter. Such an interpretation, however, is erroneous and is in direct contradiction to Engel's laws of consumption. In reality all the data really mean is that "if the same things had been purchased in 1932 as in 1929, the changes in relative prices would have caused food to cost a smaller, and 'miscellaneous' to cost a larger proportion of the total expenditures."²

1. Roland S. Vaile, Research Memorandum on Consumption in the Depression, pp. 19-22.
2. Ibid., p. 28.

Many family problems in connection with the depression are concerned to some extent with differential work opportunities for family members in the depression and recovery.

For example: This is illustrated in Tables 11 and 12 which

"Any effects of the depression in possibly tending to shift authority in the home from husband to wife would be a function, in part, of the relative ability of husband and wife to keep or find jobs. The adjustment made in the depression and by the hundreds of thousands of young women who failed to marry during the depression in the United States would vary in its nature depending on the employment opportunities for these women. The strain on the protective functions of the family for the care of older people or for the care of youth would depend on the relative job opportunities for these people at both ends of the age distribution of workers, as compared with opportunities for those who are neither old nor very young."¹

"Two broad but relevant generalizations emerge rather clearly from data which have been collected:

- (1) Women seem to have fared better than men, with respect to employment, in the earlier years of the depression, but the female advantage seems to have narrowed as the depression progressed, and in the recovery period.
- (2) The youngest age groups, without previous work experience, and the oldest age groups seem to have fared worse throughout both the depression and the recovery period than the age groups twenty-five to forty-four, and the heaviest impacts may have been upon the youngest rather than the oldest age groups."²

Evidence supporting the first generalization is drawn from several types of data. Although the data may be faulty and subject to errors of representativeness of coverage and definition, all the types of data converge to the same conclusion and strengthen confidence in the interpretation.

1. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 25.
 2. Ibid., p. 28.

Available data indicate that the industries in which male workers tend to be concentrated were affected more severely by the depression than those in which large numbers of females work. This is illustrated in Tables 11 and 12 which are derived from a comparison of the 1930 census statistics on the industry and sex of gainful workers, together with Robert Nathan's estimates of unemployment by industry and Lee Wolman's index numbers of employment by industry. Table 11 compares estimates of average annual unemployment from 1929 to 1935 in industries in which men and women, respectively, appear in large proportions. From these data it is apparent that female workers, by virtue of the nature of the industries in which they are primarily employed, would not, very probably, become unemployed as quickly or as extensively as male workers. This conclusion is further substantiated by analyzing the employment in "male" and "female" industries within the manufacturing group. Data for industries within the manufacturing group are not included in Nathan's estimates, but Wolman's employment indexes available for specific industries, can be used for this purpose. Such an analysis is presented in Table 12.

"Some analysis of relative employment of males and females within a given industry also is possible. The fact that the administration section of an industry is likely to be less elastic than the production section presumably would tend to operate in favor of women, since women are more likely to be employed in the former section. Two factors may have tended to counteract one another to some extent with respect to the employment of men and women in equivalent jobs. On the one hand, some employers may have turned to female labor because it is cheaper and, on the other hand, some

employers may have turned back to male labor when they could get it during the depression as cheaply as female labor previously."¹

"Annual employment data compiled by five state labor departments, 1929-1934, indicate uniformly that index numbers of female employment showed less drop between 1920 and 1932 than index numbers of male employment. The series which is generally considered the most comprehensive of any state employment data, namely that of Ohio, indicates that the percentage declines from 1929 were less between 1929 and 1934 for females in industries taken as a whole than for males, although males may have fared relatively better than females in trade, transportation, and public utilities. The female advantage tended to narrow in 1933 and 1934."²

No comparable data on a national scale are available, since the Bureau of Labor Statistics employment series is not presented by sex.

In the Census of April 1, 1930, the percentage of female gainful workers reported as unemployed was less than that of the male gainful workers reported as unemployed. "This was true in all broad industry groups, in all age groups, and in all sections of the country by Census geographical divisions."³ In the unemployment Census of 1931, seventeen of the nineteen cities enumerated showed that the proportion of female unemployment was less than that of male unemployment. The 1934 Census of Massachusetts and the Michigan Census of 1935 show the same results. A comparison of the information in three periods for Boston and Detroit, by age, is particularly interesting, as Table 13 shows. Even when allowance for error is made, it is obvious that the percentage of males unemployed was greater in all

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1. Ibid., pp. 30-31.
 2. Ibid., p. 31.
 3. Ibid., p. 33.

periods considered. The ratios in Table 13 are seemingly lower in 1934 and 1935 than at the beginning of the depression. This lowering of ratios may have been due to an increased entry of women into the labor market.

All figures of state and federal unemployment offices suggest almost without exception that women were more successful in finding jobs in the depression than men, and "The impact of the depression was most severe on males and females in the youngest and the oldest age groups and the least severe on those of twenty-five to forty-five. It is also thought that the impact of unemployment may have been greater on the youngest age groups than on the oldest. Table 14 bears out the latter contention. The general consistency of the picture in the Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Michigan state censuses argues for the belief that the youth may have been hit worse by unemployment than the older people."¹

Economic changes affect the age of marriage, the activities of women, husband and wife relationships, the authority of parents, family security and many other aspects of family life. The effects of the depression on individual families vary in accordance with the fundamental characteristics of each family prior to its economic collapse. Thus we find trends toward family disorganization and demoralization and other trends toward family unity and family loyalty. "Increased tension, desertions, drinking, vice, and mental

1. Ibid., p. 35.

abnormality reveal the first; and sacrifice, more use of home, and a wiser philosophy of living express the second trend."¹

In many instances the depression has been an occasion rather than a cause of family tension. Family problems which had been dormant, were brought to the surface, enlarged upon, and made disastrous; whereas under ordinary circumstances this might not have been the case.

The continuous presence of the husband and father in the home often increased family tensions and led to discord. Wives sometimes attributed their husband's unemployment to something for which he rather than social conditions was to blame. Again, in many instances, the wife became the financial support of the family and the husband lost status as its head. This loss of status, incidentally, varied with the total amount of unemployment in the community and the number of unemployed in the same age group.

The presence of in-laws in the home also created conflict situations and was a factor making for marital discord. Serious problems of discipline developed from the doubling up of families with different ideas of child training, and during the depression hundreds of thousands of families were forced to double up.

The Real Property Inventory taken in sixty-four cities as of January, 1934, shows that the percentage of "extra

1. Ernest Groves, "Adaptations of the Family," American Journal of Sociology, May, 1935.

families" varied from two to fifteen per cent of all families with the greatest doubling up in the Southern cities.¹

The protective function of the family operated during the depression to an extent not evident for many years. The amount of aid given by families to relatives cannot be measured, but this aid was undoubtedly one of the great cushions of the shock of the depression, especially in 1930-1932. Relief policies are thought to have increased the pressure for this aid, since there was a tendency to force families to get help from relatives before the granting of relief. As a result of the depression, however, security was assured more than ever before with the passage of the Social Security legislation.

In so far as the depression tended to close employment opportunities for youth, it is likely that youth tended to remain longer under the parental roof and continued nominally, at least, to be subject to parental responsibility for a longer time. Then, too, the decline in the marriage rate also must have served to prolong the period of nominal parental responsibility.

There are also indications that the depression has led to a still greater decline in our birth rate and has been highest where it has been stimulated by the dole.²

1. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Real Properties Inventory, 1934.
2. E. Sydenstricker and G. S. J. Perrott, "Sickness, Unemployment, and Differential Fertility," The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 2, 1933.

CHAPTER III. THE RECREATIONAL FUNCTION

For a comprehensive evaluation of the external factors influencing the recreational function of the family, it is necessary to take into consideration the great financial crisis of 1929 with its resultant increase in unemployment and the greater expansion of leisure time; the greater cognizance by the public of increased leisure and its social significance; recognition by the federal government of the need for recreational facilities and its efforts to supply them; participation in all these efforts to supply

CHAPTER IV

THE RECREATIONAL FUNCTION

commercialized and non-commercialized types of recreation, etc. Then only can one determine the effects of external factors on the recreational functions of the family.

The more obvious effects of the depression upon recreation and leisure time stand out clearly and can readily be stated. Leisure expanded in an unprecedented manner during the depression, while recreational activities were seriously curtailed because of lack of funds. The occurrence of either one of these effects alone would have been a matter of major importance with far-reaching implications in the social and economic world. But the expansion of leisure, at a time when people could ill afford to enjoy it, introduced an unusual situation and one which is worthy of study.

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THE EFFECTS UNDER THE CODES OF Fair Compensation. Bulletin 54 March 16, 1933, p. 8.

Leisure in such a large measure and its concomitant distribution among people of all classes is a new experiment in the modern world. Traditionally, leisure was for the favored few; the gulf between those fortunately situated and the lower social and economic classes was clearly marked. However, as the process of industrialization and urbanization went forward, technological changes brought about shorter hours of labor. By 1929, the struggle to cut down the length of the workday and the workweek had achieved considerable success, but

"it was not until the onset of the recent widespread business stagnation that the movement toward shorter hours gained rapid momentum. A bill limiting working hours to thirty per week under certain conditions was being favorably considered by Congress early in 1933 as a means of dealing with the unemployment emergency, when the passage of the National Recovery Act with its provisions for the limitation of hours under codes of fair competition made unnecessary special legislation concerning hours of labor. Within two years after the establishment of the National Recovery Administration, approximately two-thirds of the workers covered by the industrial codes in operation at that time were enjoying a workweek of forty hours or less. It is estimated that the maximum workweek in 1935 was five hours shorter than in 1929, a reduction in hours far greater than during any similar period in the past."¹

After the National Recovery Act was abolished in 1935, a six-hour day and a five-day week became a paramount issue with organized labor, and the thirty-hour week was put into effect by several large employers of labor.

The increase of leisure for certain groups led to extravagant assumptions. Many popular statements seemed to

1. Jesse F. Steiner, Research Memorandum on Recreation in the Depression, p. 19. Taken from Leo. Wolman, Wages and Hours under the Codes of Fair Competition. Bulletin 54. March 15, 1935, p. 8.

assume that the gain in shorter hours during the depression were wider than they actually were. Accurate generalizations concerning recent reductions in working hours are difficult to make due to the numerous and wide variations in the different trades and occupations as well as in different places. Then, too, the abolition of the N. R. A. in May, 1935, made ineffective hundreds of codes that had been adopted.

After governmental restrictions upon the maximum hours of work had been removed, it was generally assumed that most of the gains made in the movement for shorter hours would be lost very rapidly. There have been no extensive studies of this situation, but a preliminary report by the National Industrial Conference Board in January, 1936, states that the average working hours per week in twenty-five manufacturing industries combined, increased from 36.7 in April, 1935 to 38.5 in October of that year or 4.9 per cent. A longer workweek was noted in eighteen industries, a shorter workweek in five industries, and no change in two industries. A definite increase took place in the average workweek, but some of these increases are explainable on reasonable grounds.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor reached similar conclusions.

"Their findings show that between May and November, 1935, there was an average increase of two hours in the workweek of manufacturing industries, an increase due mainly to business improvements. Only two manufacturing industries - non-ferrous metals and railroad repair shops - were operating as long as forty-one hours a week. The lumber and food industries were maintaining forty hour schedules while all

other manufacturing industries were working less than forty hours a week. Longer hours of work were characteristic of the non-manufacturing industries with the exception of coal mining. Hotel employees had the longest workweek, approximately forty-eight hours, and electric railway and motor bus operators stood second with forty-five hours. In general, however, only slight changes in hours of labor had taken place in the six months following the abolition of the National Recovery Administration codes."¹

The preceding findings run counter to statements issued by labor organizations which called attention to the tendency in some lines of work to return to pre-N. R. A. standards. They say that such drastic changes were made in the service trades and garment-making industries that a return to sweatshop conditions was threatened.

Table 15 estimates weekly gains in hours of leisure for wage earners, and classifies the latter according to sex and skill for the years 1921 to 1936 inclusive. This table shows that women wage earners gained much less leisure than men wage earners and that skilled male workers (whose hours of work were shorter) gained less than the unskilled.

One of the problems which presents itself in trying to determine the amount of leisure time is the fact that not all people have regular employment and regular working hours. Many are not forced to work by the clock. Then, too, casual and seasonal labor is so irregular that it is difficult to measure. The free-time of housewives varies widely depending upon the labor saving devices, the number and age of children, ability to hire help, etc. Small shopkeepers

1. Ibid., p. 21.

and professional people determine to a great extent their own hours of work. It is difficult to determine the amount of leisure these people have or how much it increased during the depression. The working hours of many independently employed must have been cut down during the depression because of the far-reaching effects of business stagnation. On the other hand, "housewives very probably made no gains in leisure. Children's leisure remained largely the same except where the school term was cut down by lack of funds or where children were forced to work because of hard times."¹ Here, however, it is well to note that young people under twenty ordinarily were not hired as easily as their parents during the depression.

Although it is difficult to measure accurately the increase of leisure with the onslaught of the depression, the extraordinary trend toward more free time for millions of people is easily discernible; and this remarkable change in the free time of workers has directed public attention to the social significance of widespread leisure.

When the movement for shorter hours first began, it was thought of primarily in terms of the efficiency of the workers and the possible effect upon the cost of production and the reduction of unemployment. Of late, there is a great deal of thought and writing in connection with the effect of expanding leisure upon the mass of the people and its far-reaching social implications. Some writers feel

1. Ibid., p. 22.

that the expansion of leisure has made the people restless and discontented with existing social conditions. They are the ones who hold that leisure gives time for thought, facilitates gatherings for the discussion of grievances, and therefore enhances the danger of revolt. On the other hand, others believe that the wider spread of leisure will result in a social and intellectual advance that will prove helpful in solving the pressing problems of our time. Much that has been written is purely speculative or impressionistic, and only reflects the unsupported opinions of the writers, and serious research on the subject is handicapped by the failure of recreational agencies and governmental departments to collect the materials needed in such studies.

In studying the effect of the expansion of leisure, it is also necessary to consider the problem of enforced leisure among the millions of unemployed. The problem of unemployment is not new, but it has never been so widespread and devastating in its social and economic effects. Millions who were used to working had to habituate themselves to long periods of idleness with no assurance of work in the future. Forced leisure of this kind differs greatly in quality from that which affords respite from daily toil. The sense of failure, anxiety for the future, and the feeling of helplessness as savings disappear make inevitable a mental attitude far different from that experienced when one is responding to normal periods of leisure. How to lessen the demoralizing effects of forced leisure has become a major problem.

Significant efforts to deal with this phase of the unemployment problem were made during the depression through the establishment on an extensive scale of leisure time programs planned specifically for the unemployed. Various types of leisure time activities were sponsored by governmental agencies and were participated in by large numbers of people.

Four or five decades ago, when the first steps were taken toward community action in the field of recreation the public's indifference greatly limited the scope of activity. Private leadership was at the helm, and little encouragement was given to those who sought the active cooperation of public authorities. However, between 1910 and 1930, rapid progress was made in developing public recreation as a governmental function and municipal appropriations were granted in increasing amounts to expand park acreage and to construct athletic fields, swimming pools, bathing beaches, tennis courts, golf courses, and other recreational features. County governments supplemented the city park facilities by establishing county parks in outlying areas. A growing interest in outdoor life called attention to the recreational possibilities of state and national parks and forests, and efforts were made to make these government lands more accessible and attractive to tourists. During the 1920's the federal government and some of the states made great progress in building up these outdoor recreational facilities and their use grew at a rapid speed. However, appropriations

for this new governmental function were often hard to secure, and it is not surprising that with the coming of the depression one of the first economies in governmental expenditures was a reduction in recreational budgets.

Reports made to the National Recreation Association by 795 cities show that city and county budgets for recreation in 1933 were only a little more than half of what they were in 1929.¹ This cut, which included the expenditures of park departments and commissions, recreation departments and commissions, and the recreational activities of school boards, meant in a few cases temporary suspension of recreational services. However, in general, ways and means were found so that such activities could be continued in a more or less restricted manner.

Fortunately, this decline in local appropriations to recreation departments was offset in many cities by the use of federal and state relief funds for the employment of persons on recreational projects. "In fact, one of the significant developments in the field of public relief during the past few years was the active leadership and cooperation of unemployment relief agencies in the promotion of local community recreational programs."²

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Works Progress Administration both encouraged and abetted

1. L. H. Weir, "Parks and Recreation," What the Depression Has Done to Cities, Chapter V.
2. J. F. Steiner, op. cit., p. 57.

the improvement of public recreational facilities in rural communities as well as in cities. In this work the federal government cooperated with local agencies interested in public recreation and tried to develop sufficient local interest so that the enterprise would continue when the aid of the federal government was withdrawn.

Some idea of the nature and extent of emergency recreational activities may be derived from the following statement concerning the work of the Recreation Department of the Works Progress Administration of Indiana.

"One hundred and ninety-four school buildings have been used for recreational purposes from one to six nights a week during the year. One hundred and fifty-six agencies, churches, libraries, etc., twelve city halls, three court houses, five armories, and fifty-two vacant buildings have been used as recreational centers. Communities are seeing the value of using public buildings to capacity as well as making use of vacant buildings which have been standing as monuments to the depression...Attendance of the public in all types of recreational activities sponsored by the Department in the state during the past six months has been slightly over one million per month. Of this amount about seventy-five per cent has been in physical activities... Community programs, including Hallowe'en and Christmas celebrations, not only attracted the largest attendance but provided opportunities for local talent. Cultural activities have included sixty-nine choral groups, forty-one bands and orchestras, and ninety-two dramatic clubs...State and local hobby and craft exhibits have attracted much attention. The value of this activity cannot be overestimated... The number of contacts per paid leader has varied from 1,400 to 3,000 per month."¹

Altogether more than 20,000 work projects were completed throughout the country in the field of public recreation.

1. "Proceedings of First Annual Meeting of the State Recreation Committee of the Works Progress Administration." Indianapolis, 1935, pp. 16-17 Mimeo.

Every state shared in this program, which was broad and flexible enough to meet the needs of different kinds of communities.

This recognition by the federal government of the value of leisure time programs, at a time when public resources were strained to the utmost to relieve the destitute, is a landmark in the history of the public recreation movement.

Emergency work relief funds greatly accelerated the improvement of parks and forest lands. The Civilian Conservation Corps did much to develop recreational areas. Approximately 150,000 young men in C. C. C. camps were engaged in this work under the National Park Service with 6,000 professionally and technically trained persons to plan and supervise their activities. In 1934 five million dollars were set aside by the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation to acquire submarginal agricultural lands to be used for recreational areas and the National Park Service was asked to take charge of this part of the federal program.¹ According to the Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1935, twenty-two projects, which will furnish recreational facilities for more than twenty million people living within a radius of fifty miles from large cities, were approved for acquisition and development. These projects cover more than 340,000 acres and, when completed, will have required an expenditure of \$2,800,000.

1. Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, 1934, p. 172.

In spite of a tendency toward a decline in pleasure travel during the depression, wide use has been made of our national forests. In 1934, thirty-eight million people visited or passed through the national forests and thirteen millions stayed long enough to enjoy real recreation.¹

Table 16 shows that the number of visitors arriving at national parks during the years 1929-1933 inclusive remained relatively high.

Paradoxical as it may seem, public recreation, which secured adequate appropriations only with difficulty in prosperous years, made distinct gains during the depression. The financing of recreational projects by federal and state governments in connection with the administration of emergency relief was a large factor in bringing this about. Without this financial assistance, such activity would have suffered a serious setback. However, other than the financial factor entered in to advance public recreation at this time. Many people had to give up expensive forms of private recreation and this led to the crowding of public parks and play fields. Then, too, the greatly increased leisure became a news item of wide interest and led to frequent discussions in popular journals of the inadequate recreational facilities. Furthermore, the staggering amount of unemployment caused social and civic agencies to promote recreational programs as a means of overcoming the deteriorating effects of

1. R. H. Rutledge, "Planning the National Forests for Greater Recreational Use," Recreation, 29:445, 1935.

long-continued idleness. So while the resources of the nation were concentrated on relief and recovery, public recreation gained in public favor and plans for its further development were made in a more far-reaching manner than ever before.

Organized community recreation increased during the depression due to the federal government's subsidy. A ten-year review published by the National Recreation Association estimates the number of people employed in community recreational activities as having increased from 17,000 to 44,000 between 1925 and 1935. The expenditures during these years increased from \$19,000,000 to over \$37,000,000. Even the changes reported in facilities and expenditure between 1933 and 1935 are marked. The expenditures in 1933 were \$27,065,854, and in 1935, \$37,472,409.¹

In the midst of the rising tide of recreational development, came the financial crash of 1929 and this resulted in a curtailment of recreational expenditures on the part of individuals and families. Many were able to live as usual, but millions were entirely deprived of their ordinary means of livelihood or found themselves in exceptionally straightened circumstances. People who lost thousands or millions were compelled to practise economies in their recreational life. Those on a lower economic scale had to give up commercialized recreation entirely or to a great extent. The forms of mass recreation which the individual could

1. Roland S. Vaile, op. cit., p. 25.

enjoy at a minimum of expense were in great demand. Private golf clubs lost in membership, but municipal golf courses were crowded as usual. Public tennis courts were crammed in spite of the comparatively high cost of equipment needed to play the game. An increasingly large use was made of bathing beaches and swimming pools. "The wave of popularity of this type of water sports continued unabated during the depression. In estimated numbers participating, it ranks as the most popular American sport. Even in cities where a large portion of the public recreation personnel was dismissed because of lack of funds, life guards at bathing beaches and swimming pools were retained."¹

As far as commercialized recreation is concerned, a rapid survey of the more easily available evidence concerning recent developments is sufficient to indicate the varying fortunes of profit-seeking ventures in this field during the past few years. Statistics show that public support of professional games and sports declined during the depression. Promoters reduced admission prices to cope with the problem, but the crowds were smaller than in former years. In the field of professional baseball, the minor leagues in the smaller cities suffered most, and if it had not been for the support of the two major leagues, only the strongest minor circuits could have survived the worst years of the depression. The National League attendance in 1932 decreased about forty per cent from the year 1931.² The American League

1. J. F. Steiner, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

2. *Literary Digest*, 114:37, July 30, 1932.

fared a little better, but had smaller crowds than it did in the late 1920's. Only the World Series games were able to attract capacity crowds - and in spite of the usual high admission prices.

Professional football grew in popularity where it was already established, but did not spread to smaller cities. Popular interest in football was limited largely to the college game. Attendance at college football games was lowest in 1932, but has been steadily climbing since then - especially on occasions when championships are at stake. Admission prices were, in general, lowered to attract the usual crowds. According to an estimate by the Associated Press, attendance at college games in 1935 showed a forty per cent increase over 1932.¹

Professional tennis was profitable during the depression. "Each year a professional team toured the large cities of the country, and while their gross receipts were lowest in 1932 and 1933, they continued to be money-making ventures."

Boxing and prize-fighting continued being a popular sport and several championship matches brought large profits to the promoters and participants. However, measured by federal taxes collected on admissions, boxing contest receipts declined more than fifty per cent between 1929 and 1932.

In the field of commercial amusements, there was a large reduction in profits. "The theaters, concerts, etc., that

1. All Sports Record Book, 1936, p. 204.

were subject to federal taxes may have suffered a loss in patronage of more than two-thirds between 1929 and 1932. The assessment of new taxes beginning with 1933 makes it impossible to use this measure throughout the depression period, but the available figures seem to show no marked trend toward recovery between 1933 and 1935."¹

During the first years of the depression establishments classified by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue as roof gardens and cabarets did not experience such heavy losses, and in 1935 they made substantial gains in income.²

"Business interests that secure their profits from pleasure travel and the tourist trade suffered serious losses, especially during the first years of the depression. Seasonal hotels, which rely largely upon the patronage of tourists and vacationists, showed a decline of seventy-five per cent in receipts between 1929 and 1933. The decline in pleasure travel was overcome to a considerable extent by lower fares put into effect by both railway and steamship companies. Largely because of this policy adopted by travel agencies, pleasure travel was one of the first forms of recreation to show a decided upward trend. By the year 1935 travel had increased to the point where transportation agencies were beginning to face the problem of crowded passenger accommodations."³

The aforementioned indices indicate that commercialized recreation declined until the year 1932 and then began to revive.

The value of sporting goods as a whole produced in the United States, as reported by the Census of Manufacture, decreased from \$58,289,000 in 1929 to \$25,267,000 in 1933,

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1. Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, 1929-1935.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Jesse F. Steiner, op. cit., p. 96.

a decline of fifty-seven per cent. The net sales of amusement and sporting goods (wholesale trade), according to the Census of Distribution, declined from \$485,400,000 in 1929 to \$271,888,000 in 1933, a decline of forty-four per cent. However, before making anything but a very general conclusion, one must consider the decline or rise of imports and exports of sporting goods and variations in prices in the different years.¹

In the 1929 and 1931 publications of the Census of Manufactures, the different kind of sporting goods were reported on both as to quantity and value. This makes it possible to determine changes in the use of equipment for various sports and games. However, later reports issued during the depression were so abbreviated that they are only useful in ascertaining trends in a very general way. For example, a comparison of the 1929 and 1931 reports shows that while the value of footballs manufactured during those years declined six per cent, their actual number almost doubled. Baseball equipment showed a similar decrease in value with an increase in the number of bats and balls manufactured. Since the 1933 and 1935 reports did not cover quantity as well as value, it is impossible to determine whether the decline in the sporting goods industry during the depression was due to lowered prices or to actual reduction in the quantity of goods manufactured.

1. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

Attendance at moving picture theaters decreased approximately forty per cent between 1929 and 1932 and then began to mount upward. At the end of 1932 more than thirty per cent of the motion picture theaters were not in use and the construction of new theaters was practically at a standstill. While total admissions to theaters declined, there was record-breaking attendance at theaters showing unusual films which had a wide and popular appeal; and although motion picture attendance declined, (refer to Table 17), this continued to be America's most popular form of commercialized recreation.

The number of families owning radios rose rapidly between 1930 and 1935 according to governmental reports and Roland Vaile says that "During the depression both radio broadcasting and the installed number of receiving sets increased continuously. From 1930 to 1936 the total number of radio sets, exclusive of automobile radios, increased steadily from twelve million to nearly twenty-three million. In addition, auto radios have increased from none in 1930 to three million in 1936."¹

"According to the best available estimates, the number of families in the United States owning radio sets increased by four million between 1930 and 1932 and made a further gain of six million between 1932 and 1935."²

Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, after reading numerous unpublished case studies, came to the conclusion

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1. Roland S. Vaile, op. cit., p. 24.
 2. Jesse F. Steiner, op. cit., p. 95.

that the depression tended to increase the proportion of recreational activities indulged in jointly by husband and wife - especially when listening to the radio at home is taken into consideration.¹

A recent survey undertaken by the National Recreational Association tends to support this assertion. This survey determined what 5,002 average men and women in twenty-nine American cities do in their leisure time. Among the ninety-four activities listed, the ten most popular activities were in order: reading newspapers and magazines, listening to the radio, attending the movies, visiting or entertaining others, reading fiction books, motoring, swimming, writing letters, reading non-fiction books and conversing.² All of these center in or about the home and cost little or nothing. The writer believes that the majority of these are indulged in jointly by husband and wife.

As far as children in the family are concerned, the depression probably did not greatly alter the amount of participation by adolescents in family recreational activities, since the time they spend in commercialized recreation outside the home is probably small as compared with the time spent in non-commercialized recreation, which was not necessarily curtailed.

From the foregoing, it may be asserted that recreational activities as a whole have increased throughout the depression

1. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
2. "Depression Has Effect on Recreation," Hygeia, April, 1934.

as well as during recovery. As far as the family is concerned, there was an increase, apparently, in the recreational activities indulged in jointly by both husband and wife, and such activity tended to be non-commercial in character to a much greater extent than in the years prior to 1929. The amount of participation by adolescents in family recreational activities was not greatly altered; but recreational activities which showed the greatest increases were of such a nature as to take the members of the family away from home.

CHAPTER V

THE EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION

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In addition to the affectional, religious, economic, protective, and recreational functions, there is another function which the family performs, namely, the educational function. The writer will now endeavor to determine the influence of external factors on this function.

Education has been a function of the family since time immemorial, but it, too, has undergone a transformation.

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When the family was organized as a family unit, education was a function of the family. Practically everything the child learned was learned in the home. For, however, it is the school's function to a very great extent to educate the child, and the school is absorbing an ever larger share of the responsibility for the education of children. "The tendency is for more and more children to go to school, to start schooling at an earlier age, and to remain in school longer."¹

Thus, some parental educational responsibilities have been lessened or taken away completely. This in itself, however, is not a bad thing since the child receives a better education in the school and yet is at home during the

1. M. F. Sturhoff, The Family, pp. 210-211.

CHAPTER V. THE EDUCATIONAL FUNCTION

In addition to the affectional, religious, economic, protective, and recreational functions, there is another function which the family performs, namely, the educational function. The writer will now endeavor to determine the influence of external factors on this function. Education has been a function of the family since time immemorial, but it, too, has undergone a transformation. When the family was organized around a family unit economic enterprise and the home was the center of play activities, education was centered there, too. Practically everything the child learned was learned in the home. Now, however, it is the school's function to a very great extent to educate the child, and the school is absorbing an ever larger share of the responsibility for the education of children. "The tendency is for more and more children to go to school, to start schooling at an earlier age, and to remain in school longer."¹

Thus some parental educational responsibilities have been lessened or taken away completely. This in itself, however, is not a bad thing since the child receives a better education in the school and yet is at home during his

1. M. F. Nimkoff, The Family, pp. 210-211.

formative years so that the family may play an important part in the formation of the child's character. In the latter capacity, the family still retains its commanding role. Then, too, in an increasingly complex society, the child can no longer be adequately taught at home.

Since the writer refers to different types of schools, and since depression influences affect them in different ways, an explanation of the set-up of the educational system is necessary.

Educational work is carried on under three major divisions: (1) public schools, which are state controlled; (2) parochial schools, which are church controlled; and (3) private schools, privately controlled. Each of these groups has, in turn, several fields of instruction. In each there are elementary, secondary, higher, and special education subdivisions.¹

Numerous sources of data on school attendance show that the number of persons enrolled in schools has been increasing in recent years. This increase in the number of students at the various types of schools, however, is not necessarily a satisfactory index of the effects of the depression on school attendance since this increase may represent the continuation of a long time upward trend in the number of persons attending school. Then, too, the age composition of the population must be taken into consideration. Furthermore, the depression

1. The Educational Policies Commission, Research Memorandum on Education in the Depression, p. 12.

may have had differential effects on the school attendance of different sectors of the population when considered by age, sex, nativity, race, economic status, religion, place of residence, and type of school.¹ "Studies of the effects of the depression on school attendance therefore would attempt to control the age, composition of the population, to eliminate the secular trend, and to get at differential effects by as many of the factors enumerated above as can be controlled."²

"The importance of controlling the age composition of the population and eliminating secular trend in studies of school attendance cannot be overemphasized. As a sample, the Biennial Surveys of the United States Office of Education were used in order to secure data by school years from 1919 to 1936. The percentage of population aged 14 to 17 years attending high school in each year since 1920 was estimated from the total number in public high schools and the total population aged 14 to 17 years. These latter data were estimated by interpolation of ratios of population 14-17 years of age to total population between 1920 and 1930, and extrapolation to 1937. Population was estimated as of January 1 of each year.

"The number of students enrolled in high school in the United States underwent three distinct stages of growth during the period from 1919 to 1936. In the period from 1919 to 1925, that of most rapid growth, the average annual rate of increase was 10.3 per cent.³ From 1927 to 1929 the average annual rate in high school enrollees slowed down to 3.9 per cent. During the depression years for which data are available, 1931 to 1936, this average annual rate increased to 5.9 per cent. If, however, the growth of the population is examined, it is discovered that the average rates of annual increase in the number of persons 14 to 17 years of age, from which high school students are largely drawn, were, for the same periods, 1.9, 1.6, and .9 per cent. Thus, it is clear, even from this cursory observation, that a portion of the increase in high school

1. Ibid., p. 65.

2. Ibid.

3. Calculations are based on biennial data for school years beginning in 1919 from Biennial Survey of Education.

enrollment is attributable to the increase in the size of the potential high school population.

"If the age composition of the population is held constant by studying the changes in the percentage of the total population of high school age which is actually enrolled, the average annual rate of increase for the first period is 7.7 per cent as contrasted with 10.3; for the second period 4.3, as against 5.9."¹

That "high school enrollment increased throughout the depression at a faster rate than would have been expected from the secular trend, while college and university enrollment fell off, recovering rapidly with the upswing of the business cycle,"² is a well-known fact.

Assuming that cost is an important factor in determining where young people go to college, it is reasonable to expect

"(1) that free-tuition schools would be favored during a prolonged depression; (2) that schools close to home would be favored as opposed to those at a distance; (3) that transfers from high-tuition to low-tuition schools would be in larger numbers than usual; (4) that relatively more students would have applied for government aid in the low-tuition than in the high-tuition schools; (5) that upper division and graduate attendance would decrease more than that for lower divisions; (6) that perhaps the attendance of women would drop more than that of men."³

Some educators feel that students are now more serious about getting an education than they were before the depression. If a definition of "serious" and a measure of this trait could be worked out, it might reveal a positive effect of the depression that would have permanent value.

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1. The Educational Policies Commission, op. cit., p. 66.
 2. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 111.
 3. The Educational Policies Commission, op. cit., p. 57.

Then, too, it is said that

"during this depression secondary school and college students have become much more interested in public affairs, and in government and socio-economic theory; that students are better informed and hold more clearly defined positions on social and political philosophy. There is an assumption that liberalism and even radicalism have gained ground among students. There is said, also, to have developed among a small number of youth a fatalistic attitude which sees no hope and so surrenders.

"This field of attitudes is a hazy one for scientific study. But since these young people soon will be in charge of government, industry, and education, there is no doubt as to the importance of their views. Their beliefs are in terms of what they see, know, enjoy, and suffer. It may not matter so much whether they lean politically toward the left or toward the right, but it matters greatly whether they retain their mental balance; whether they become hopeful or despairing."¹

There are both direct and indirect effects of the depression on the school population, that is, on those eligible to go to school under the law. "Direct changes are seen in the number of old students returning and in new additions such as the adult student groups. Indirect changes are reflected in the many recent educational projects set up for new kinds of training."²

During the latest depression certain educational developments that may have been exceptional were seen. These included a great expansion in adult education activities, the initiation of nursery education on a large plan, the creation and spread of a special type of education as a feature of the National Youth Administration or the Civilian

1. Ibid., p. 56.

2. Ibid., p. 54.

Conservation Corps program, and stimulus to experimental colleges, junior colleges, and high schools.¹

It may be a coincidence that these projects attracted attention in this depression; yet, "somewhat similar relationships followed the depression of 1893, when the high school entered a remarkable period of expansion, and still earlier, in 1837, when Horace Mann did his great work for free schools."²

"Since history shows numerous instances in which important developments began in, or followed closely, depression periods or other crises, one is tempted by the hypothesis that when the American people have suffered severely in some catastrophe they show a tendency to use education in unusual new ways as one means of settling their difficulties."³

As yet no federal policy for education has been announced. Yet there has been a vast expansion of educational activities from this source. Some of the federal government's undertakings have abetted education and yet have been purely incidental to it, the chief aim being to provide work for the unemployed. "The schools themselves have received little or no recognition directly and some of the educational projects of the government have been handled through other than the usual educational channels."⁴ Many of the federal government's recent contributions to education have not been

1. Ibid., pp. 24-25.

2. Ibid., p. 25.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 45.

concerned with education as such, but only with the need of the people to be fed and sheltered.

It is obvious that a depression lowers income; and when income is lowered, the school reacts by reducing its personnel. "Reduced personnel," in its turn, "results in a cumulative story of large classes, crowded classrooms, increased chances of infection with colds, increased absences, lowered standards, and lower quality of work."¹

Staff personnel as well as student personnel were effected by the depression. Younger teachers were often dismissed and the staff became older and so comprised relatively more of the group who had passed their greatest efficiency. Teachers salaries were cut and, at the same time, in many instances, their work practically doubled.

If one considers education to be "the harmonious development of the physical, emotional, intellectual, volitional, and religious powers of human beings, to prepare them to live upright, honorable, and useful lives in this world in order to attain in the next the end for which man was created...",² then the family still has a definite educational function to perform.

1. Ibid., p. 8.

2. William A. Kelly, Educational Psychology, p. 2.

CHAPTER VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

External factors which influence the family are easy to discern, but how these changes react on the family itself is less clearly indicated. Material culture - as anthropologists term the various tools and equipment, techniques and skills - is readily changed, but the non-material culture of customs, traditions, codes of behavior, ethics and morals, is less plastic. Long after the material culture has changed, reference of conduct will still be observed as man's behavior before...

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Material changes, the effect of these changes is not so easy to discern; and although it is apparent that many functions formerly performed by the family are now being transferred to outside agencies, the effect of these changes on the family itself is imperceptible.

As far as the effects of the depression on individual families is concerned, they varied in accordance with the fundamental characteristics of each family prior to its economic collapse. So no generalization concerning the influence of external factors on the family can be made which will be true of all families. However, generalizations can be made as to the effect of the depression on families in general.

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As far as the effects of the depression on individual families is concerned, they varied in accordance with the fundamental characteristics of each family prior to its economic collapse. So no generalization concerning the influence of external factors on the family can be made which will be true of all families. However, generalizations can be made as to the effect of the depression on families in general.

Summarizing, the writer calls attention to the following facts: 1. The depression emphasized the home as a center of rest and affection. 2. The decrease in the divorce rate during the depression years indicates a strengthening of the affectional function for although this decrease might be attributed to some extent to the decrease in marriages, over eight out of ten divorces occur after three years of marriage and, consequently, would effect the divorce rate only slightly over a short period of years. When recovery set in, the divorce rate went up again. 3. The increase of rural families organized around a family unit economic enterprise also indicates a strengthening of the affectional function since the ties between husband and wife are stronger in such families. 4. The protective function operated to an extent not evident for many years. The inability of youth to find work and the inability of young people to marry resulted in youth's remaining under the parental roof for a longer time than in previous years and served to prolong parental responsibility. 5. More children went to school, started schooling at an earlier age, and remained in school longer, consequently, they were dependent on their parents for a longer period of time. 6. The doubling up of families and the provision for parents by their children also indicate a strengthening of the protective function. 7. Religious devotions and family prayers in which the entire family participate at home declined, and the members of the family went to church together to a lesser degree. 8. The

depression increased the percentage of recreational activities indulged in jointly by both husband and wife. 9. The depression did not greatly alter the amount of participation by adolescents in family recreational activities; but recreational activities which showed the greatest increase were of such a nature as to take the members of the family away from home. 10. Although the depression had a tendency to weaken family ties in some instances and to strengthen them in others, on the whole the changes in the family itself are imperceptible.

This thesis supports the hypothesis that "the deeper the structure of an institution is rooted in the mores, the more resistant is it to change."

TABLE I.

CALCULATED LOSS IN MARRIAGES DURING THE DEPRESSION

Year	Observed marriages ^B (1000's)	Calculated ^A marriages (1000's) if average marriage rate of 1925-1929 had prevailed	Deficit at end of year (1000's)	Accumulated deficit at end of year (1000's)
1930	1,126	1,251	125	125
1931	2,061	1,262	201	326
1932	982	1,270	283	614
1933	1,096	1,278	180	794
1934	1,302	1,287	15	779
1935	1,337	1,298	31 ^D	748

APPENDIX

^A Figures from 1930-1932 are from the Bureau of the Census. Figures from 1933-1935 are estimated by the writers.

D. Surplus

TABLE VI.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS PER 1000 WOMEN AGED 15 TO 44 YEARS, TABLE I.

CALCULATED LOSS IN MARRIAGES DURING THE DEPRESSION¹

Year	Observed marriages ^a (1000's)	Calculated marriages (1000's) if average marriage rate of 1925-1929 had prevailed	Deficit at end of year (1000's)	Accumulated deficit at end of year (1000's)
1930	1,126	1,251	125	125
1931	1,061	1,262	201	326
1932	982	1,270	288	614
1933	1,098	1,278	180	794
1934	1,302	1,287	15 ^b	779
1935	1,327	1,293	31 ^b	748

a. Figures from 1930-1932 are from the Bureau of the Census. Figures from 1932-1935 are estimates by the writers.

b. Surplus by interpolating data in 1920 and 1930 Census of Population. This table takes into account the fact that certain states were not in the registration area until 1933, when the registration area was complete.

1. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1936, p. 64.

TABLE II.

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF BIRTHS, AND BIRTHS PER 1000 WOMEN AGED
15 TO 44 YEARS: UNITED STATES, 1929-1935¹

Year	Estimated births (1000's) a	Estimated number of women 15-44 (1000's) b	Estimated births per 1000 women 15-44
1929	2,525	28,900	87.4
1930	2,565	29,300	87.5
1931	2,460	29,600	83.1
1932	2,400	29,800	80.5
1933	2,278	30,100	75.7
1934	2,373	30,300	78.3
1935	2,359	30,500	77.3

a. Estimates by the Scripps Foundation, which make allowance for under enumeration for births and for the changing representatives of the birth registration area. For the problem of estimating under enumeration see especially, P. K. Whelpton, "The Completeness of Birth Registration in the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*. 29:125-136. June, 1934.

b. Computed by interpolating data in 1920 and 1930 Census of Population. This table takes into account the fact that certain states were not in the registration area until 1933, when the registration area was complete.

1. Samuel Stouffer and Paul Lazarsfeld, op. cit., p. 123.

TABLE III.

CALCULATED LOSS IN DIVORCES DURING THE DEPRESSION¹

Year	Observed divorces ^a (1000's)	Calculated divorces if the 1919-1929 straight line trend of divorce rate had continued	Deficit at end of year (1000's)	Accumulated deficit at end of year (1000's)
1930	192	205	13	13
1931	184	209	25	38
1932	160	213	53	91
1933	165	218	53	144
1934	204	222	18	162
1935	218	227	9	171

- a. Figures from 1930-1932 are from the Bureau of the Census. Figures from 1933-1935 are estimates by the writers.

1. The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, November, 1936, p. 68.

TABLE V.

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP FOR SELECTED
DENOMINATIONS - UNITED STATES, VARIOUS PERIODS*

Denomination	Period					
	1920-25	1925-30	1930-35	1930-32	1930-32	1933-35
Catholic	5.1	7.9	8.2	1.8	.2	1.9
Ev. Synod.						
Presbyterian	12.5	(3.5)	(4.0)	(3.0)	1.9	2.2
Wesleyan Meth.						
Baptist				7.8	3.1	-

TABLE IV.

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BY MARITAL STATUS OF HEAD
OF FAMILY, UNITED STATES CENSUS, APRIL 1, 1930¹

Marital status of head of family	Per cent distribution	
	of all families	of broken families
All families	100.0
Broken families	20.8	100.0
Widowed	11.9	57.1
Divorced	1.2	6.0
Married, consort absent	2.4	11.2
Single	5.3	25.7

Source: "Types of Families in the United States," released
by the Census Bureau, Washington, dated August 5,
1935.

Lutheran	11.5		8.1	3.4	
Ev. Synod. of N. A.			14.6	10.6	7.0
Southern Baptist	15.8	(3.5)	14.0		5.2
Methodist					
Episcopal	13.5	3.2	5.2		1.4
Presbyterian					
Other Protestant groups					15.3

a. Figures in parenthesis are not quite comparable with the
others. Calculations are due in part to incomparable fig-
ures, or to the fact that figures were not available or
have not been secured. The last three columns were put
in to make comparisons not possible in the first three.

1. Ibid., p. 117. Source: Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C., 1935.

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Denomination	Period					
	1920-25	1925-30	1930-35	1930-34	1930-32	1933-35
Roman						
Catholic	5.1	7.7	2.2	1.2	.2	1.9
Brit.-Amer.						
Protestant	12.5	(3.5)	(4.0)	(3.0)	1.9	2.2
Major Luth.						
Bodies	-	9.1	-	7.8	3.1	-
3 Northern						
Bodies	9.0	1.5	(2.0)	-	.5	.1
3 Southern						
Bodies	15.4	(4.2)	10.0	-	3.8	4.0
Disciples of						
Christ	15.9	7.3	4.1	-	1.2	2.7
Cong'l and						
Christian	9.2	3.6	-1.1	-	-.5	-.9
Protestant						
Episcopal	8.0	7.2	8.6	-	2.6	5.3
Missouri						
Synod Luth.	7.2	7.0	14.2	11.5	5.7	5.2
American						
Luth. Conf.	-	4.2	-	4.9	.7	-
United						
Lutheran	-	11.3	-	8.1	3.4	-
Ev. Synod						
of N. A.	-	-	14.5	10.6	3.1	7.0
Southern						
Baptist	15.9	(5.5)	14.0	-	5.6	5.2
Methodist						
Episcopal S	13.8	2.9	5.2	-	1.4	2.6
3 Fundamen-						
talist groups	-	-	-	-	-	15.8

a. Figures in parenthesis are not quite comparable with the others. Omissions are due in part to incomparable figures, or to the fact that figures were not available or have not been secured. The last three columns were put in to make comparisons not possible in the first three.

TABLE VII.

INDEXES SHOWING CHANGES IN PHYSICAL VOLUME OF RETAIL TRADE,
BY TYPES OF OUTLETS (ADJUSTED FOR CHANGING PRICE LEVELS),
UNITED STATES, 1929, 1935, 1936*

TABLE VI.

AVERAGE MONTHLY ATTENDANCE IN SELECTED RURAL CHURCHES: ALL
DENOMINATIONS, BY REGIONS: 1924, 1930 AND 1936¹

Region	Average Monthly Attendance					
	Per Person in Community Population			Per Resident Church Member		
	1924	1930	1936	1924	1930	1936
All Regions	1.2	1.1	.96	3.9	3.6	2.8
Middle Atlantic	1.1	1.1	.91	3.5	3.1	2.5
South	1.1	1.0	.95	2.5	3.1	2.4
Middle West	1.6	1.4	.97	5.4	4.0	3.0
Far West	.8	.8	.98	4.5	4.0	3.8

of outlet. Statistics are presented for these comparisons between the three years. In the first place, there was some difficulty in the classification of stores used in the three categories. In the second place, the indexes used are not perfectly designed for the purpose. Nevertheless, the striking differences are believed to be significant.

1. Edmund S. Brunner and Irving Lorge, Rural Trends in Depression Years, Columbia University Press, 1937, p. 305.

TABLE VII.

INDEXES SHOWING CHANGES IN PHYSICAL VOLUME OF RETAIL TRADE;
 BY TYPES OF OUTLETS (ADJUSTED FOR CHANGING PRICE LEVEL)
 UNITED STATES, 1929, 1933, 1935^a
 (1929 = 100)

Types of Outlets	1933	1935
Filling Stations	117	145
Food	98	100
General Merchandise	92	94
Drug	82	85
Apparel	69	86
General (country)	68	58
Lumber and Hardware	45	63
Furniture	40	54

a. Computed from Table on p. 99, Retail Distribution, Preliminary U. S. Summary (Census of American Business 1935). Bureau of Census, October, 1936. Adjustments for price changes were made in using the price index published in the Survey of Current Business that seemed logically related to each type of outlet. Exactness cannot be claimed for these comparisons between the three years: in the first place, there was some difference in the classification of stores used in the three censuses; in the second place, the indexes used are not perfectly designed for the purpose. Nevertheless, the striking differences are believed to be significant.

TABLE VIII.

INDEXES SHOWING CHANGES IN QUANTITIES OF SELECTED CONSUMER
GOODS SOLD ANNUALLY: UNITED STATES, 1929-1936^a
(1929 = 100)

Type of Commodity	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936
Electric Refrigerators	183	440	390	490	625	770	-
KWH Electricity (Domestic)	112	120	122	122	131	143	158
Gasoline	102	108	100	101	109	116	114
Incandescent Lamps	98	102	99	100	114	122	-
Meat	97	98	96	102	101	84 ^b	91 ^b
Wheat Flour	101	95	93	95	93	90	92
Cigarettes	100	95	87	94	106	113	122
Butter	100	103	80	79	83	78	76
Electric Flashlights	93	81	77	91	109	120	-
Electric Toasters	80	80	64	63	115	125	-
Radio Tubes	75	77	64	80	80	94	-
Radio Receivers	86	77	59	85	91	107	-
Vacuum Cleaners	75	56	35	43	58	72	90
Passenger Automobiles	65	44	30	30	39	60	69

- a. The data in this table are compiled from various sources and probably they are of different reliability. All of them, however, are believed to be reasonably close estimates. The items are arranged in declining order of 1932 ratios.
- b. Not including government slaughter for distribution to relief clients.

TABLE IX.

INDEXES SHOWING CHANGES IN PHYSICAL OUTPUT OF SELECTED
COMMODITIES: UNITED STATES, 1929, 1932, 1934^a
(1929 = 100)

Commodity	1932	1934
Rayon	111	173
Potatoes	109	118
Fruits and Vegetables	107	109
Milk	104	100
Silk	89	74
Boots and Shoes	86	97
Cotton Consumption	70	76
Cigars	67	69
Wool Consumption	66	65
Auto Tires	52	69
Wool Carpets and Rugs	38	53

- a. C. A. Bliss, "Production in Depression and Recovery."
National Bureau of Economic Research, Bulletin No. 58.
November 15, 1935.

TABLE X.

CHANGES IN INCOME AND IN PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURES,^a 1929-1932

Item	Executive			Clerk			Wage-Earner		
	1929	1932	% Change	1929	1932	% Change	1929	1932	% Change
Food	15.6	13.7	-1.9	32.6	29.6	-3.0	34.7	30.4	-4.3
Clothing	13.7	10.8	-2.9	17.0	14.6	-2.4	15.4	12.3	-3.1
Shelter	37.8	34.4	-3.4	29.5	30.5	1.0	29.3	32.2	2.9
Miscellaneous	32.9	41.1	8.2	20.9	25.3	4.4	20.6	25.1	4.5

a. Data from Report of the Heller Committee for Research in Social Economics, University of California, Berkeley, January, 1933. (Mimeographed)

TABLE XI.

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL GAINFUL WORKERS UNEMPLOYED IN
SELECTED INDUSTRIES: UNITED STATES, 1929-1935^a

Selected Industries In Which Male Workers are Concentrated ^b	Per cent Total Female, 1930 ^c	Percentages of Total Gainful Workers Unemployed in Selected Industries: United States, 1929-1935 ^d							
		INDUSTRY	%	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934
Forestry and Fishing	1.2		1.9	22.2	49.3	64.8	62.2	57.4	56.3
Extraction of Minerals	.9		13.9	22.9	36.2	50.1	50.6	42.5	43.6
Steam Rail- road	3.6		1.6	11.3	25.4	38.8	42.5	40.0	40.8
Street Rail- road	3.5		.5	7.1	15.8	25.0	30.6	28.6	29.1
Manufacturing ^l	16.9		6.4	16.4	28.4	40.4	37.3	29.3	25.6
Weighted Average ^f	-		6.4	16.4	29.0	41.4	39.3	32.0	30.0
Selected Industries In Which Female Workers are Concentrated ^g									
Telephone & Telegraph	53.8		3.1	5.2	16.1	23.4	31.8	31.8	32.0
Other Professional	54.8		1.8	3.4	5.5	7.8	7.2	6.0	5.7
Hotels and Restaurants	48.8		8.4	9.2	15.8	27.7	31.4	22.2	21.5
Laundries	49.2		2.9	6.7	11.0	20.5	24.3	22.0	21.5
Other Domestic	75.1		2.8	9.2	18.6	30.2	30.7	25.1	21.9
Weighted Average ^f	-		3.2	7.0	13.6	21.9	23.1	18.9	17.3

- a. Derived from R. L. Nathan, "Estimates of Unemployment in the United States," International Labor Review, Vol. 33, January, 1936.
- b. Includes 52.7 per cent of all male gainful workers in 1930 exclusive of agriculture.
- c. Females were 25.7 per cent of all gainful workers excluding those in agriculture in 1930.
- d. Estimated workers unemployed as percentage of total gainful workers in each industry in 1930.
- e. First ten months.
- f. Weighted by total number of gainful workers in each industry in 1930.
- g. Includes 51.7 per cent of all female gainful workers in 1930 exclusive of agriculture.

TABLE XII.

RATIO OF THE PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES UNEMPLOYED AMONG ALL GAINFUL
 INDEX OF EMPLOYMENT IN SELECTED MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES:
 UNITED STATES, 1932-1935^a

Selected Industries in which Males are Concentrated ^b	Per Cent		Index of Total Employment (1929 = 100)			
	Total Workers Female 1930 ^c		1932	1933	1934	1935
Auto Factories	7.1		54.4	84.8	99.1	99.0
Blast Furnaces	3.5		68.9	82.1	86.8	96.8
Weighted Index ^d	-		61.7	83.4	92.9	97.9
Selected Industries in which Females are Concentrated ^e						
Knit Goods	58.4		91.0	95.8	100.1	101.7
Clothing Industry	52.4		89.0	93.5	99.8	103.7
Weighted Index ^d	-		89.4	94.0	99.9	103.3

- a. From Leo. Wolman, "The Recovery in Wages and Employment," National Bureau of Economic Research, Bulletin 63, 1936.
- b. Includes 4.2 per cent of all male gainful workers in 1930 exclusive of agriculture.
- c. Females were 25.7 per cent of all gainful workers excluding those in agriculture in 1930.
- d. Weighted by total number of gainful workers in 1930.
- e. Includes 5.2 per cent of all female gainful workers in 1930 exclusive of agriculture.

TABLE XIII.

RATIO OF THE PERCENTAGE OF MALES UNEMPLOYED AMONG ALL GAINFUL MALE WORKERS TO THE PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES UNEMPLOYED AMONG ALL FEMALE GAINFUL WORKERS, BY AGE:
BOSTON, 1930, 1931, 1934, DETROIT, 1930, 1931, 1935.

Age	Boston			Detroit		
	1930 a	1931a	1934b	1930a	1931a	1935c
15-19	1.8	1.2	1.1	2.0	1.3	1.2
20-24	2.5	1.9	1.5	2.4	1.7	1.3
25-29	2.3	1.8	1.9	1.8	1.4	1.1
30-34	2.0	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.3	1.3
35-44	1.9	1.8	1.3	1.8	1.1	1.5
45-54	1.8	1.8	1.3	2.2	1.8	2.1
55-64	1.7	1.8	1.3	2.5	2.6	2.4
65-Over	1.8	2.0	1.5	3.3	3.4	2.6

a. United States Census, Classes A and B combined.

b. Census of Massachusetts, January, 1934. "Employable persons" as defined in this census may not correspond exactly to "gainful workers" as defined in the United States Census. "Unemployed" includes "those working on government projects such as the P.W.A., C.W.A., C.W.S., and C.C.C. projects, and on state, county, and local projects of a temporary nature, and those employed on private 'make work' which would terminate in the course of a few months." Report on the Census of Unemployment in Massachusetts, Massachusetts Public Document No. 15.

c. Census of Michigan, January, 1935. Approximately the same definition as in Massachusetts. Persons without previous work experience, however, were considered as "employed persons" only if they had made verbal or written application for employment within the past month. Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, First Series, No. 2.

TABLE XV.

ESTIMATED RATES OF UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG EMPLOYABLE MALES SINCE 1920 IN THE WAGE MARKET.
 TABLE XIV.
 PERCENTAGE OF MALES UNEMPLOYED AMONG EMPLOYABLE MALES, BY AGE:
 PENNSYLVANIA, (1934), MASSACHUSETTS, (1934),
 AND MICHIGAN (1935)^a

Age	Pennsylvania	Massachusetts	Michigan
Under 20	63.6	55.9	46.2
20-24	38.2	43.4	25.2
25-34	22.2	26.0	12.2
35-44	18.5	20.7	13.3
45-54	22.1	23.3	19.7
55-64	27.2	27.3	31.4
65 and over	33.8	26.6	36.4

a. Census of Employable Workers in Urban and Rural Non-Farm Areas, Pennsylvania, 1934, State E.R.A. Division of Research and Statistics. Table 5, p. 5; Report on the Census of Unemployment in Massachusetts, Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries, Division of Statistics, Table 3, p. 14; Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, January 14, 1935, Table 8, p. 12.

1935 11.0 11.8 7.3 12.8 11.6
 1936^b 8.3 8.8 7.4 10.1 9.9
 a. Compiled from data in Wages, Hours, and Employment in the United States, 1914-1936 by W. Lee Boney, National Industrial Conference Board, Study No. 529, 1936.
 b. First six months of 1936 only.

TABLE XV.

ESTIMATED HOURS OF LEISURE GAINED PER WEEK PER WAGE EARNER,
SINCE 1920 IN 25 MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, BY SEX, AND MALES
BY SKILL: UNITED STATES, 1921-1936^a

Year	Total	Male	Female	Male	
				Unskilled	Semi-Skilled and Skilled
1921	2.6	3.2	-.2	2.7	3.5
1922	-1.0	-.8	-2.0	-1.3	-.4
1923	-1.0	-.8	-2.0	-1.1	-.5
1924	1.3	1.4	.4	.3	1.9
1925	0.0	.2	-1.1	-1.1	.8
1926	.1	.1	-.5	-1.0	.9
1927	.5	.7	-.7	-.7	1.3
1928	.3	.4	-.4	-1.2	.9
1929	-.1	.1	-1.2	-1.0	.6
1930	4.3	4.7	2.5	3.3	5.4
1931	7.8	8.8	3.2	7.4	9.7
1932	13.4	14.8	6.7	12.8	14.3
1933	11.8	12.9	6.4	11.8	12.3
1934	13.5	14.4	9.0	14.8	14.4
1935	11.0	11.6	7.8	12.2	11.6
1936 ^b	9.3	9.8	7.8	10.1	9.9

a. Compiled from data in Wages, Hours, and Employment in the United States, 1914-1936 by M. Ada Beney. National Industrial Conference Board, Study No. 229, 1936.

b. First six months of 1936 only.

TABLE XVI.

MONTHLY AVERAGE NUMBER OF VISITORS AND AUTOMOBILES ARRIVING
AT NATIONAL PARKS: 1929-1933

Year	Visitors (In Thousands)	Automobiles (In Thousands)
1929	174.0	36.5
1930	177.6	42.8
1931	189.8	45.2
1932	161.4	45.3
1933	157.3	36.1
1934	193.5	45.9
1935	209.3	30.2

a. Estimates published by the U. S. Department of Commerce.
Survey of Current Business. 1936 Supplement. p. 74.

TABLE XVII.

ESTIMATED WEEKLY ATTENDANCE AT MOVIE THEATRES
DURING THE DEPRESSION

Year	Millions of Persons
1929	95
1930	110
1931	75
1932	60
1933	60
1934	70
1935	80

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