

reflects an underlying demographic selection must be taken into account, and the operation of migration as selective in terms of age, sex, and civil status needs to be investigated in a more direct way than has been possible with existing American and English data. In the second place, it should be remembered that migration streams are not one-directional from country to city, and that while the net result of two opposing currents may be of slight significance from the point of view of selection, the differential between the incoming and outgoing streams may result in a major selective redistribution. In the third place, country and city, or rural and urban, are oversimplified classes for determining differentials. Much more detailed subclassifications, based on sociological and economic criteria, are needed if selection is to be adequately determined. In the fourth place, temporal factors need to be better controlled, for it is evident that the strength of selection may vary with time and it may even happen that the direction of selection may be reversed. But not only should long time trends be taken into account but short time variations corresponding to the phases of the business cycle are important. It is highly probable that apparently conflicting selective tendencies observed by different investigators are due to fortuitous timing. In the fifth place, distance spanned in migrations should be viewed as a possible modifier of the strength of selection. Finally, selection cannot be clarified unless more care is taken to determine the stage in migration experience at which the observed differentials appeared: Are migrants already differentiated from the parent population at the time of migration; do they become differentiated in the process of migrating; or do they become differentiated in the process of assimilation or adjustment in a new environment?

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A SOCIAL STUDY OF PITTSBURGH¹

THIS book is a report of the most significant community study that has yet been made. The study, begun in 1934 and completed in 1936, was

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¹ Klein, Philip and collaborators: *A SOCIAL STUDY OF PITTSBURGH*—Community Problems and Social Services of Allegheny County. New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, 958 pp. \$4.75.

made under the auspices of the Citizens' Committee of Pittsburgh with funds, totaling \$85,000, made available by the Buhl Foundation of Pittsburgh, "in the interest of adapting services and agencies to existing and future needs as these may be ascertainable."

In spite of its specific reference to one area and its very definite findings and recommendations applicable to that area, it is in two respects of far more than local significance. For it is, through nearly 350 of its pages, the kind of community study that "Middletown" might have been had its authors chosen to make it carefully scientific rather than reportorial. It fascinatingly portrays the social and economic background which makes social and health services both possible and necessary. Also, in analyzing these services, it offers at the same time a closely packed compendium of varying views and practices in each of the many fields covered, with a brilliant and usually convincing exposition of what, under the circumstances, is the *right* goal and the *correct* method. It is not so much dogmatic as authoritative. And although the clarity of its style and the consistency of its ideas make unmistakable the single authorship of most of its chapters, the finality with which it expresses judgment is based broadly upon the exceptional technical adequacy of the staff as a whole as well as of its director. In many a classroom in college and graduate school, it will serve as a source book on social problems and on the principles of social work which they help to define and illustrate.

The book is also significant from the angle of survey methodology. It really combines two types, the community survey and the institutional survey. By the selection of those community data which most obviously condition social and health services, it makes them contribute to the reader's understanding of the institutional problems discussed. Thus Part I anticipates and reinforces Part II. However, one cannot help but wish that in Part II more frequent and more specific reference had been made to those aspects of community conditions pertinent to specific issues under consideration. In other words, though the community survey admirably sets the stage for the institutional surveys, the action in them portrayed is too little related to this carefully elaborated setting. Another methodology of vital interest is the effort to coordinate professional and lay talent in the actual work of institutional surveying. It is revealed at its best in the cooperation between the Citizens' Committee and the survey staff. "With one (minor) exception, every recommendation submitted by the staff of this study was accepted and approved by

the committee, and practicable steps were devised by it for promulgating them and carrying them into effect." (p. 879) It is least in evidence in the more technical studies, especially in the fields of the organized care of the sick and of public health administration. It is most in evidence in the study of leisure-time activities where the survey staff seems largely to have surrendered its functions to committees of local group workers in the voluntary agencies, and with unfortunate results. At all events, it so narrowed the field of investigation in the city of Pittsburgh, as distinct from the outlying county areas, as to leave virtually untouched the broader problems of leisure, involving the schools with their extensive recreational and informal educational programs, the parks and playgrounds, the libraries and museums, industrial and private club facilities for recreational activity, and last, but most significant of all, commercialized recreation and the quantity and quality of its offerings. No doubt the group-working agencies gained in interest in and grasp of their problems. It seems obvious, however, that the degree of cooperation practiced was too costly in terms of the technical adequacy of the survey report.

A further comment on methodology is necessary. The classification of agencies offered in Chapter I and repeated in Chapter IX is highly unsatisfactory, especially in its futile effort to distinguish between agencies "securing minimum amenities of life—cultural and educational" and those "raising basic standards of life in the community" and in its attempt to put into a separate classification those agencies concerned with "efforts to build a better social order." This latter would seem to deprive the majority of social agencies of any other than a practical interest in immediately present needs. In reality each, in order to be practically efficient, must have a social philosophy, goals more distant than the daily task. But it doubtless is a sufficient commentary on this classification that the author says of it: "Oriented to practical purposes and to proposed changes, the text will not seek to follow a pattern parallel with the groupings discussed in the preceding pages." (p. 357) It might profitably have been omitted altogether.

It is noteworthy also that Dr. Klein sees certain fundamental limitations to the scope of such studies as this. For example, he says: "It is impossible to know the conditions of the population except when those in distress are sufficiently troubled so that they attempt to obtain help from the outside." (p. 8) Surely, that was not the source of the motivation

of the first housing investigations in New York City. The very genius of the community survey lies in its ability to discover what without its intervention would remain unknown. And again he says: "All hope of direct measurement must be banned, even in the more obvious fields, as a means of judging the adequacy of social services." This is true only in the sense that "adequacy" is itself a relative term derived from the corporate experience of the community. But it is untrue to the extent that there exist generally accepted criteria of adequacy in many fields and that certain quantitative factors are directly measurable. For example, the late Dr. C. Luther Fry of Rochester devised for that city, in terms of each of its eighty-eight census tracts, a series of ten social indices whereby each tract was ranked in comparison with all the others. Since that time in the course of a survey of Rochester's "character-building" agencies, this reviewer has listed for each of these census tracts the proportion of its population in the membership of each (and all) of these agencies. Dr. Klein himself used a similar technique in studying the comparable agencies in Pittsburgh, though he used but one social index (the incidence of cases of relief). The point is that this certainly constitutes "a direct measurement . . . as a means (one among many, the majority of which, it is true, are indirect) of judging the adequacy of social services." The issue is important due to a prevalent tendency to deny that social phenomena can be in any way directly measured. On this account direct measurements, however partial, have significance for methodology.

But, in the face of the unique and truly stupendous task comprised in this Social Study of Pittsburgh, it is unfair to emphasize points of criticism such as these. To attempt to give some further idea of the richness and variety of the material presented would be both more pertinent and more useful.

Part 1, Social and Economic Background—after devoting a chapter to the scope and perspectives of the study—describes Allegheny County as a place in which to live, its physical setting, its historical development, the nature of its suburban and county communities, its manufacturing towns, its mining villages, its townships and other forms of government. It then proceeds to discuss the chances for earning a living in the County, the meaning of unemployment and the extent of it, and the relation of income to need. It then discusses the whole development of social legislation and of labor organization in the County, offering wise and pertinent

comment on workmen's compensation, health, old-age, and unemployment insurance. One comment particularly deserves quotation:

Whatever progress may be made toward the establishment of health insurance in this community, it is not likely to come as an isolated phenomenon but as part of a larger movement, inevitable in the end, of translating the progress of medicine into prevention of disease, advancement of health, public-health administration, and medical service as a social function rather than merely as a commodity bought and sold in the open market. (pp. 167-168)

In the following chapter, the physical conditions of life in the County are vividly portrayed, especially as they involve housing and public sanitation. Slums remain a noisome and discouraging fact. Something has been accomplished but the major task remains undone—"not a single task, but many tasks, for there is no royal road." Chapter VI ably discusses social and ethnic stratification, making all too clear the discriminations under which the foreign-born and those of foreign parentage and the Negroes continue to live. This is followed by a completely frank and intensely critical chapter upon social attitudes, public opinion, and pressure groups. "We must be prepared, therefore, to expect, as indeed we shall find, that in social work, as in the general fields dealing with immigrant, Negro, unemployed, and the poor in general, and also in civic programs and legislation, in public education and in the leadership offered to the masses, public opinion is politically and philosophically conservative and often militantly orthodox; that the chances for the introduction of changes that are, or seem to be, out of harmony with this prevalent attitude, are slight." (p. 292)

Part I closes on a more hopeful note in a chapter devoted to an example of progress—the Pittsburgh public schools.

Part II begins with a panoramic summary of social work in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, and proceeds to an analysis of the cost and support of social work, discussing the changing relation between public and voluntary funds, the connection between support and control, and wisely concludes that the public source of the majority of social work's financial support makes imperative a deeper concern on the part of social workers for "budgets, appropriating bodies, and technical procedures of the public authorities sponsoring work in their field." (p. 397)

Consideration is next given to planning and coordination of social work, one of the most significant chapters in the book by virtue of its

prophetic emphasis upon the importance of coordinated and cooperative, continuing and informed community planning, not afraid of frank evaluations and basic modifications to meet the changes in a changing world. Then follows a chapter on the personnel of social agencies and facilities for professional training, showing a generally high percentage of college graduates, but only 40 per cent with any training whatever in a professional school, and "salaries . . . are low compared with those in many other communities."

Chapter XIII deals with relief and social case work, recommending a rather complete divorce of the two functions (which, to this reviewer, seems definitely to threaten standards of relief though of course it saves the case workers from their more routine tasks of relief administration), and pleading for a public relief free from the unreasonable phases of restrictions now imposed by law. The next chapter discusses the problems and practices of relief, being on the whole critical of public indoor relief, of commodity rather than cash relief, and of low standards of relief as found in Pittsburgh. There follows an exposition of the fundamental principles for the reorganization of the care of dependents, and an urgent recommendation for the creation of county departments of public assistance, of health and of hospitals, for the transfer of the administration of medical relief to the Department of Health in the city of Pittsburgh, and for the surrender of responsibility for home relief of the economically dependent by the voluntary agencies to the county department of public assistance. As far reaching as any other recommendation of the entire study, this is based upon the assumption that "the entire obligation for providing economic assistance to those in need is . . . a public function." This would leave social case work (including medical case work and personal adjustment) as a function distinct from relief. It is reported that "psychiatric social work is . . . practically nonexistent in Pittsburgh and Allegheny County except for children and to a very limited extent as a part of family social work." (p. 649)

Chapter XVII, *Social Work for Children*, is an admirable treatise on the guiding principles and the variant practices in this broad field. Nor does it fail to analyze the local situation, finding upward of forty agencies and institutions active in the field, each independent, making all but impossible coordinated planning and community perspective. It therefore recommends the organization of a family and children's division in the Federation of Social Agencies.

The next two chapters deal with related problems, the organized care of the sick and public health administration, both being condensed statements of reports earlier made public. They are impressive to the layman both by virtue of the distinguished medical specialists who cooperated in their preparation and in their own right. Certainly they make unmistakably clear the vital inter-relatedness of social and health agencies. In briefest summary, the organized care of the sick in Pittsburgh compares unfavorably with that of seven other cities both as to the rate of illness and the amount of medical service received. There has been a poorly coordinated development of facilities in the voluntary hospitals, while serious overcrowding exists in the tax-supported hospitals for general care. There is a pronounced lack of facilities for mental diseases and a definite need for clinics providing general diagnostic service. In spite of the admirable service rendered by the Public Health Nursing Association (a voluntary organization), there is a lack of provision for the home care of the dependent sick. There is obvious failure to plan equitably for the care of Negroes and for the training and progressive study of Negro doctors. Group insurance for hospital care is urged. Public health administration in Allegheny County is subject to 123 separate governmental units, a relatively uniform urban population of 1,278,000 being served by ninety-one public health bodies. Of the 123 municipalities, more than two-thirds spent in 1934 less than 30 cents per capita for public health, as against a conservative "standard" of \$1 per capita. "But with a trained and experienced director of health and a trained staff, working in a city-county health department with district branches, the county could be far more effectively served even on this budget." (p. 783) Also, "there is a striking lack of a coordinated, comprehensive health education program . . ." (p. 834)

To Chapter xx, dealing with leisure-time activities, some reference has already been made in relation to problems of methodology. Its theoretical statement as to the nature and varieties of leisure is unimpressive. The effort to stress the importance of "facilities for recreation" as contrasted with educational, religious, and "character-building" activities, is futile since such "facilities," apart from their intelligent and purposeful supervision, are as meaningless as schoolrooms without a curriculum. Yet the major conclusions of the chapter are sound and impressive. There is "need for a general increase in the facilities available," preference to be given "in the extension of leisure time facilities to those types of service

and of agency that are most likely to reach the largest possible group of the community, those least favored economically and least adequately provided for by the existing agencies." (p. 875)

The Epilogue reports the as yet not very impressive progress made by the community in putting into practice the recommendations made to it. There is reason to feel that its comments are a trifle premature. The seed, once planted, should for a longer time be undisturbed.

No careful reader of the book could fail to be impressed with the sincerity and forthrightness of its utterances and the careful gathering and analyzing of data upon which they are based. It is no exaggeration to say that the finished report is thrilling in what it has accomplished in social pioneering and in what it portends both for Pittsburgh and for the fields of social and health service everywhere.

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THE FAMILY AND THE DEPRESSION

IN SPITE of the interest of social scientists in problems raised by the depression, our knowledge of the impact of the recent economic crisis upon family life remains meager and inadequate. Available data and fields for further research along these lines have been summarized in a research monograph on the family¹ comprising one of thirteen studies on "The Social Aspects of the Depression" which were instigated and sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. This volume clearly indicates the need for more adequate studies of family life, particularly during normal times in order to obtain a basis for determining and understanding the deviations which occur during critical periods. Students of the effect of the depression upon family life have been handicapped by lack of background material and hence have tended to confine their studies largely to the particular period of the depression without reference to earlier conditions.

In an effort to present a more fundamental picture than could be obtained from an investigation of the depression period alone, a recent

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¹ Stouffer, Samuel A. and Lazarsfeld, Paul F.: RESEARCH MEMORANDUM ON THE FAMILY IN THE DEPRESSION. New York, Social Science Research Council, 1937. 221 p.