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COMMUNITY ACTION THROUGH SURVEYS

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COMMUNITY ACTION THROUGH SURVEYS

In referring to the death of the editor of the Kansas City *Star* a few months ago, the New York *Evening Post* made several interesting comments. A paragraph ran as follows:

"The civic advance made by Kansas City in the last thirty years has been brought to general attention by the death of William R. Nelson, but it is worth holding up to other municipalities in any connection. In 1880, we learn from the Missouri press, Kansas City lay among the hills and hollows of the Missouri River, 'content with its strategic importance, its mud, its filth, and its packing houses.' The little group of public-spirited men whom Col. Nelson represented accomplished what they did by holding an unmerciful mirror before the town. They described the defects of the streets, the untidiness of the business and residence sections, the wretched service of the street-car system, the excessiveness of the gas and water charges, the need for parks and boulevards. The Union Station swarming with vermin, and the unsightly thickets of telephone and telegraph wires that ran above the ground were especial objects of attack.

"This candor had its effect in making æsthetic progress a consistent part of commercial and physical growth. Kansas City has today a chain of public parks that would be creditable to a city four times its size, its boulevards are models in construction and design, and it has utilized to the full the scenic possibilities of its location upon the bluffs. And the Union Station is among the four best architectural works of the kind in America."

Colonel Nelson's type of newspaper represents a social force illustrative of, and akin to, the social or community survey. Both are concerned with the practical, every-day issues of community life; both inquire into them, analyze what they find, formulate proposed courses of action, and seek wide currency for their data and proposals. In other words, both this type of newspaper and the survey gather facts, digest and interpret them,

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and seek to reach the whole public with their information, conclusions, and recommendations.

At the same time, there are differences between the two—some of them at the very points of similarity—which are also illustrative and suggestive. The survey, for example, collects its data through the agency of the investigator who, in addition to having a "nose for news" and an eye for facts, as the reporter has, is a specialist on social and community problems, trained in the handling of material on these subjects. He knows better than the reporter what data to look for, better how to collect and collate them.

An essential characteristic of the survey, moreover, is the careful and thorough study and evaluation of the many important elements of a situation before reaching a conclusion, whereas the newspaper often finds it necessary, partly because of the exigencies of daily publication, to handle questions piecemeal and in haste. Further, the reporter, when his story is ready, has but one avenue to the ear of the public, his newspaper columns; while the surveyor, besides having the same newspaper columns open to him, may use many other means of spreading his information—among them the summarizing leaflet, the public address, the graphic exhibit, the educational play, the magazine and periodical press, and finally the full report in pamphlet or book.

But whatever their relative advantages, the comparison helps to describe the survey idea and to resolve it into some of its more important parts. Among these, as already suggested, are the investigation, the analysis and interpretation of facts gathered, the formulating of constructive recommendations, and the educational use of the facts and proposals with a view to providing a solid basis for intelligent community action. Let us look further at these.

Investigating the Facts

First, then, investigation—the securing of facts regarding community problems. Fact gathering is the A B C of surveys. But

it is the facts of *current* problems and living conditions, not data that are remote or necessarily concerned with the historical past, except as they cast light on the present, with which the survey deals. The survey is an attempt in the field of civic and social reform to do what the civil engineer does before he starts to lay out a railroad, what the sanitarian does before he starts a campaign against malaria, what the scientific physician does before he treats a case, what the careful financier does before he develops a mining property, what the modern manufacturer does before he locates a new manufacturing plant. It is, in short, an attempt to substitute tested information for conjecture or mere belief.

Unconfirmed belief has sometimes been a very unreliable and socially expensive guide to action. It was once believed, for example (and not so long ago), that fumigation was one of our main reliances in preventing the spread of contagious disease; now a fuller understanding of the manner in which infection is spread and careful tabulations of statistics show the emphasis belongs on much more important preventive measures. Again, it was once believed that spring water was always safe for drinking purposes; but facts collected regarding such water and investigation of the condition of people who drink it have shown that it is very often dangerous and usually to be regarded with suspicion. Still again, it was once believed that the vast majority of injuries to workmen while at work were pure accidents and unavoidable, and that it was of little use to try to prevent them; but now we have the data to show that a very large proportion are by no means purely accidental and unavoidable, and it has been demonstrated that their occurrence can be greatly reduced. And so on—illustrative instances might be drawn from many quarters.

On the other hand, it is true that many beliefs and opinions have ultimately found justification in facts. And many others have contained half truths of value. It was J. A. Froude who once said, "Depend upon it, in all long established practices or spiritual formulas there has been some living truth." Thus,

for example, the belief once held that malaria was produced by stagnant water and by swampy districts, has turned out to contain a half truth, although never of much preventive significance. But even these beliefs and half truths, although they at times may have served good purposes, really support our point, since they leap into great practical usefulness upon being proved. At best, untested belief, *a priori* theory, or conjecture are uncertain foundations upon which to build, whether in social work, industry, commerce, or finance. They should be replaced as soon as sufficient data can be made available.

Analysis and Interpretation

The second survey characteristic is analysis and interpretation of facts. Once the data are in hand, what do they mean? Do they show satisfactory conditions or conditions calling for corrective action? If it is found, for example, that 25 per cent of the elementary school pupils of a city are over-age, that is, two or more years behind the grade in which children of their ages would ordinarily be found, does it mean that they are badly taught, or that the city has a defective educational system? Or should other data be related to this fact before any conclusion can be drawn—such as whether unfavorable home and family conditions, ill health, ill-adapted courses of study, foreign birth and recent immigration, or badly enforced school attendance, enter into the backwardness of this over-age group. And before condemning the city, should an examination be made of the per cent of over-age pupils in the schools of other comparable cities?

Or, to take another example, if it is found in a given city that 5,000 persons, or let us say 18 in every 1,000 of the population, died in a certain year, what, if anything, does this mean? Is it either fair or significant to compare this crude death rate with those of other cities? Or is it more important to relate other facts to these death figures, such as the number of deaths of non-residents included in the total; the ages at which the bulk of the

population is grouped; the division of the deaths between the sexes, races, and nationalities; their classification according to the causes of death, and the proportions that were due to the well-recognized preventable diseases and accidents; their geographical distribution; the places of greatest concentration; local conditions favoring their spread; the city's equipment for dealing with the problem in its various phases? And so on.

Obviously, the facts gathered in the survey, if they are to be of real use, must be organized, and basic principles and general truths drawn from them. More than that, they should be interpreted in the light of as wide an acquaintance as possible with the factors entering into social problems; and interpreted also, as the word science in itself implies, with an eye single to the truth, regardless of the particular interests that may be affected.

Constructive Recommendations

After conclusions as to what the facts mean are reached, the third step is the working out of recommendations for improvement. The survey, of course, aims at results. It is diagnosis to the end that prescription may be written. Results very often follow the mere turning of the light upon unwholesome conditions, particularly in cases where conditions are notoriously bad. But in general, conclusions should be, and are, accompanied by recommendations as to the first and later steps to be taken in solving the problems that the community faces. The soundness of the recommendations depends in some measure upon the familiarity of the surveyor with the methods and experience of other communities in dealing with similar or related difficulties, and in new situations upon his ability to invent practical methods and procedures. Having gone deeply into the city's problems, the community will expect and want the surveyor's best judgment as to their solution, but the community will also, and should, reserve the right to accept or reject the measures suggested according as the majority are impressed and convinced of their

necessity and effectiveness. If the majority cannot be ultimately convinced, there is grave doubt whether the findings should be accepted, for democracy is built upon the principle that what the majority decides is right—particularly if the essential facts have been given full publicity.

Presentation of Survey Findings

That leads to the fourth feature of the survey as a measure for community action—the presentation of the survey findings, conclusions, and recommendations to the whole citizenship; the convincing of the public.

First and last the survey is an educational measure, spreading its information in the untechnical phrases of the street. It is a means to better democracy by informing the community upon community matters, and thereby providing a basis for intelligent public opinion. It is a school whose teaching is not confined to children and youth, but which aims to get its facts and message, expressed in the simple terms of household experience, before the whole people. It utilizes as many channels of education as possible.

If the information and knowledge it has obtained are to become a part of the common experience of the community, moreover, it must recognize that the individual or organization who would speak to the millions nowadays has great competition. With the motion picture showing African jungles, Indian Durbars, and scenes that formerly only the very rich could see, all now within one's reach for a few cents; with the newspaper brought down to one cent a copy, and at the same time made more pictorial and attractive and going into practically every urban home with the telegraphic news of all the world also on its pages; with the great increase in the number of popular magazines; and with other developing inroads and drafts upon the individual's leisure time, the social surveyor must also put his message in a way that is both interesting and quick, and easy to

understand. These publicity agencies—already mentioned—the daily press, the graphic exhibit, the illustrated periodical, the public address and entertainment, the motion picture screen, as well as the printed pamphlet and book report—should be utilized, and utilized, moreover, with as great a command as possible of the technique of these different publicity mediums.

To illustrate, in the case of the exhibit, it is not enough to fill a hall with pictures, diagrams, and models. If information is to be spread effectively through symbols, the various exhibits must have organization and unity, and as much as possible of the technique for interest-compelling presentation should be taken advantage of. In other words, the exhibit, like the pamphlet, the tract, the magazine article, or the book, must have plan, structure, color, variety, and point, if it is to be effective. This is merely saying that in the graphic spreading of survey findings it is just as important to employ the highest technical excellence that the exhibit has attained as it is to conform to high standards of accuracy in gathering and interpreting the facts. Indeed, it applies even in greater degree to the exhibit because of the very common tendency to place too much reliance upon the belief that exhibits, because pictorial, are always interesting and instructive no matter how inadequately organized and correlated. But if the careful planning is needed for the exhibit, it is even more needed for other educational measures and particularly for the printed page.

These four survey features have to do chiefly with method. There are, however, at least two other characteristics that should be mentioned—which in part at least relate to method also.

The Survey a Community Enterprise

Fifth, the survey is distinctly a community enterprise. It describes conditions in a definite geographical area, and it requires the co-operation of all interested in that area. Recognition of the complexity and the wide ramifications of social

problems have made the survey different from other investigations. Many of these, for instance, are studies, close scrutinies, or examinations into some one problem which is more or less complete in itself; such, for example, as a study of the vital statistics of a city, the finances of the health department, the city's milk inspection work, etc. The social survey, on the other hand, is a group of such investigations. In other words, a survey is a scrutinizing of such individual and related subjects as knot themselves together into the larger community problems. The value of this co-ordinated inquiry, however, does not minimize that of specialized work along any one line. The comparison is here made merely to point out that the two types of work are different and that the function of the survey is to gather the information for attacking along many related lines, and for enabling the improvement agencies to fit their work together in a united front.

To attack municipal problems in their larger aspects and their various bearings, the community must *work together*. This is essential. And co-operation is growing easier. With even the larger and more densely populated city areas now connected with a working center by the telephone, by cheap and better transportation, by the daily press, the typewriter and the multigraphing machine, thus releasing these areas from earlier difficulties of distance and slow communication, it is possible for interested men and women to get together in larger units—and to work more effectively. The survey, by dealing with many subjects, affords a rallying center as well as the so-called psychological moment, for arousing the whole community to organized co-operative, and, therefore, more forceful action—often along the very lines where intermittent, unrelated efforts had previously been made without result. Thus the survey through the authority and the authenticity of its facts not only educates the whole community but through its uniting of interests promotes co-operative community action, believing that we have yet touched only the remote fringes of the latent power of the community for good when aroused to think in terms of the whole and to act as an organized unit.

Follow-up Work

Sixth, the survey, to get the fullest results, should be "followed up." After the first general awakening of interest, the citizens need to be systematically re-acquainted with the conditions found, and the public mind consecutively urged to take the next steps. The information should not be allowed to grow dim or out of date, nor effort be allowed to grow stale. Follow-up work, therefore, should be both a further driving home of what information is already in hand and also a more or less continuous investigation of new developments and changing needs.

A Brief Definition

To sum up the survey in a few sentences at this point, it is an implement for more intelligent democracy, its chief features or characteristics being: the careful investigation, analysis, and interpretation of the facts of social problems; the recommendation and outlining of action based on the facts, and the acquainting and educating of the community not only to conditions found but to the corrective and preventive measures to be adopted. The survey lays, moreover, emphasis upon the importance of studying problems in their various community-wide relations and urges co-operative action on a community-wide basis. It deals with the whole district and endeavors to lead individuals to think in terms of the whole. *It is the application of scientific method to the study and solution of social problems, which have specific geographical limits and bearings, plus such a spreading of its facts and recommendations as will make them, as far as possible, the common knowledge of the community and a force for intelligent co-ordinated action.*

An Illustrative Survey

So much for the survey in its parts. Perhaps I may take a few moments to show its workings in a specific case and to apply a few quick tests of results. The case is the Springfield (Illinois)

Survey. I shall refer to the Springfield Survey with some freedom because it was no one organization's job. It was a cooperative undertaking, joined in by many organizations and individuals. A little over two years ago, that is in 1914, a group of public-spirited Springfield citizens who had been giving some thought to social conditions in their city and had become dissatisfied with them, decided that the time had arrived to get out of their maze of conflicting opinions and beliefs and, if possible, onto a basis of certitude in working for community advance.

There were some citizens, for example, who believed Springfield's public schools compared well with those of other cities; but there were others who believed the school work needed to be readjusted to the changed conditions under which the upcoming generation of school children must live and work. Some regarded their school houses with pride and satisfaction, while others believed them to be far below modern standards of construction and equipment. Some boasted of the city as the most healthful place to live in the state, and others believed the number of deaths from preventable causes was higher than it should be and that the public health service was too meagerly financed. Some believed that their labor disturbances were due to the mere desire of the unions to kick up agitation, others that the disturbances indicated something wrong with wages, employment opportunities, and general working conditions. There were those who believed any treatment to be good enough for lawbreakers, but others were of the opinion that the treatment accorded offenders often contributed to the problem of crime instead of protecting the community, and that the offender himself was worthy of consideration. Some believed the welfare of the insane to be relatively unimportant, others that there must be a better method than to treat them like criminals. A few thought that playgrounds, sports, and other recreation activities were among the frivolities, but others that they could be constructive and reconstructive forces. Some pointed with pride to the growth of the city as indicated by the recent building of apart-

ment houses and multiple dwellings; others were of the opinion that Springfield should conserve the great advantage it had as a city of single family homes. Some thought the giving of material relief to be the beginning and end of charitable effort, others that something more constructive could be done. And so on; the opinions and beliefs were as conflicting and various as they are in every live, growing, American city. Fortunately a few interested citizens thought it important to give them the test of fact.

A Co-operative Community Effort

A survey committee of some 25 representative Springfield persons was organized. The chairman was a state senator, and among the other members were a former lieutenant-governor of Illinois, a state commissioner, the city superintendent of schools, other public officials, business men, labor leaders, clergymen, doctors, women's club leaders, editors, teachers, and social workers. The planning and direction of the survey was put into the hands of the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, and that department in turn secured the assistance and service of six other departments of the Foundation, together with that of five other national organizations, five Illinois state organizations, the co-operation of the social agencies of Springfield, and the assistance of over 600 volunteer workers in Springfield—including both the workers on the survey investigations and those helping in the survey exhibition. The five national organizations were: the United States Public Health Service, American Association of Societies for Organizing Charity, National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, National Committee for Mental Hygiene, and the National Housing Association. The five Illinois organizations were: Illinois State Board of Health, Illinois State Water Survey, Illinois Conference of Charities and Corrections, Illinois State Food Commission, and the State Department of Factory Inspection.

The survey comprised nine main divisions, as follows:

I. The Public Schools of Springfield.
II. Care of Mental Defectives, the Insane, and Alcoholics in Springfield.
III. Recreation in Springfield.
IV. Housing in Springfield.
V. Public Health in Springfield.
VI. The Correctional System of Springfield.
VII. The Charities of Springfield.
VIII. Industrial Conditions in Springfield.
IX. City and County Administration in Springfield.

Had time and funds allowed, other subjects would have been added; namely, city planning; home conditions, as such; commercialized vice; and the religious forces of the city. All of these, however, were dealt with in some degree as parts of the nine main divisions.

The facts collected in these nine divisions were in due time analyzed and interpreted, and followed by the working out of detailed recommendations for improvement. All of the reports were fully summarized in the local Springfield press, the newspapers handling from 12 to 30 full column stories on each report. In addition, an exhibition of survey findings was held in the state armory—which was open for ten days and which attracted thousands of visitors, including many from distant parts of the state. Finally, the complete statement of findings is being published in ten separate illustrated volumes.

During two months preceding the opening of the exhibition a special campaign of publicity and promotion was carried on which kept the subject of the survey before the people pretty constantly. A sufficient number of interesting things happened during the course of the campaign to furnish still other daily survey stories for the papers; and as the campaign grew, more and more people not formerly associated with social work became interested and lent their help. The exhibition campaign included public addresses before churches, lodges, labor unions, school clubs, and

other organizations and societies. It also utilized the short educational play especially written for the occasion to drive home some of the important lessons of the survey.

As to follow-up work, the survey committee organized itself into sub-committees which were charged with carrying out the recommendations for each of the main fields covered. These have already some accomplishments to their credit.

As Teaching Material in the Public Schools

May I here digress long enough to refer to another use of the Springfield Survey and similar reports on social conditions; namely, their use in the public schools? They have already been introduced into college class rooms, but it seems entirely in line with the current effort to make the teaching of our high schools more practical to ask that they be used there also. Dean Galloway, of the New York College of Agriculture at Cornell, was reported in the newspapers not long ago as saying that "the demand is for education that will teach the meaning of things and their relation to the present, rather than the teaching of words and their relation to the past. I am not so much concerned," he continued, "with making more farmers as I am with making better ones." We hear that sentiment expressed also in reference to preparing children for their life occupations, particularly in the case of industrial education.

Is it not time that we as social workers and as citizens should insist upon the use in the school room of material that can be employed in the teaching of *civic and social* subjects in their relation to the present, rather than, to use Dean Galloway's phrase, in "the teaching of words and their relation to the past?" I do not mean, of course, the introduction in high school of a course aimed to prepare one for professional social work, although some preliminary intelligence along that line for the one who later selects such a career would not be out of place. What I do mean is that, if we expect the upcoming generation to be intelligent

and take its part in public affairs, it is high time that the lessons drawn from some of the current social facts and principles, whether found in Russell Sage Foundation surveys, the Bureau of Municipal Research surveys, the United States Children's Bureau surveys, the Cleveland Foundation surveys, or any others, be taught in the public schools. It would seem that such material, by presenting definite cases and by providing concrete illustrations for the principles laid down in dealing with present social and civic problems, would be useful in supplementing (and perhaps in furnishing a medium for interpreting) the more general material of the current text-books on civics and government.

I have not the slightest desire to overemphasize the Springfield effort, and I am fully aware of the existence of other survey material of equal or greater value; but since there may be places where this particular material will have special fitness for teaching, I venture to spend a few additional moments upon it.

Springfield as a Typical City

Mention has already been made of some of Springfield's problems which are among the live issues in scores, if not hundreds, of other American communities. But Springfield has other features besides her social problems which make it typical. Its economic life is of quadrivial structure, to go far afield for a word. It is built where four main currents quick with energy and possibilities for community building come together—manufacturing, mining, agriculture, and commerce. Indeed, Springfield might count a fifth main current—the business of public service. Springfield is the capital of Illinois, and the location here of the head offices of the state, county, and city governments, with their thousand and more workers, has been an additional important factor in the growth of the city.

Springfield's manufactures are about the average for places of her size. They are diverse, ranging, for example, from agricultural implements to watches, building brick to shoes, grist

mill products to asphalt paving, and on through a long list. A bed of soft coal, averaging over five feet in thickness, underlies the city and surrounding territory and furnishes power for its factories. Several mine tipples stand near the city and 2,500 Springfield residents are employed in the coal pits. The surface of Sangamon and the adjacent counties is covered by a stratum of the same fertile soil found in other parts of the corn belt. This soil extends over low hills and is well adapted to farming. And with no large centers nearer than 30 miles, Springfield is the collecting and shipping point for the farm products from a large area, as well as for its own manufactured and mine products. It is also an important distributing point to the surrounding district. This four-ply structure, not to include the fifth, obviously increases the possibility of problems and interests similar to those of other cities, whether they are built on four or three or two or one of the major business activities of this district.

Springfield, moreover, is a city not of many extremes but of many averages. Located about midway between the northern and southern states and near the center of population of the country, it has shared in the cross currents of political, social and economic forces of the East and the West, the North and the South. It is not congested. The multiple dwelling has appeared in a few parts of town, but for the most part residents live in single family houses. Its increase in population has been at a comparatively regular yearly rate. The city is built on land that is flat, about four-fifths of its area varying not more than 20 feet between the highest slope and the deepest ravine. Like most other American cities, it had grown without the guidance of a city plan and the usual rectangular block prevails. Commission government was adopted at about the time it was being adopted in many other places.

In addition it should be pointed out that Springfield is a city of, roughly, 60,000 people; that out of the 228 incorporated places in the United States which in 1910 had 25,000 or more inhabitants, 196, or 86 per cent, ranged from 25,000 to 150,000; that

cities within these population limits are likely to have many common civic and social problems; that a state capital should mean state leadership in municipal advance movements; that there are 47 other state capitals in the United States; and that the city entertains many visitors from other cities in connection with the meetings of the legislature, the annual state fair, the annual encampment of the state militia, and sessions of many civic, trade, and other conventions.

These facts indicate some of the reasons why the survey was undertaken and show some of its broader bearings. They also indicate some of the reasons why the various national organizations joined with the forward-looking Springfield men and women who were willing to bear a large share of the cost of the undertaking in time and money, as well as why the reports should be useful for students of municipal problems in other cities.

Results from Surveys

But to return from the digression, I have tried to describe *how* the survey is designed to get community action, and *why* results should follow. But it may very well be asked: *Do* results follow? *Does* the survey really lead to action? An adequate answer would require a great deal more time and painstaking work than any one has yet been able to devote to it. The answer will be worth the effort, however, and doubtless sooner or later will be sought. But in the meantime there are some very significant indications, even though they may not tell the whole story.

Community Education and Awakening

Recalling that the survey is *first and last* an educational measure aimed at informing the citizens on local conditions and public questions, and to stimulate thinking in terms of the whole community, a few public statements, which have come to us only incidentally and after their publication elsewhere in various localities, are illuminating.

For example, A. L. Bowen, Secretary of the Illinois State Charities Commission, in a recent address, said:

"In any campaign such as the survey has been and still is, we must always look for two classes of results. We must ferret out the intangible or abstract results. We must find the tangible or concrete results. Very often the intangible results of a great public welfare movement are by far the most important and far reaching. I think this is true in the matter in hand. The intangible results of the Springfield Survey are worth more to our community than those which we can actually see with our eyes or touch with our hands. I would say a new community conscience, or, perhaps more truthfully, an *aroused and stimulated* community conscience, is the most noteworthy effect of the survey. Our attitude of a community toward all questions affecting its well-being has radically changed. We see new meanings in them and react to them in a different manner. Our sense of duty in many cases where it formerly would have been dormant now asserts itself and prompts us to action. There is a new spirit in our work."

Similarly, Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, a resident of Springfield, and an observer and writer of distinction, ended a magazine article descriptive of the survey exhibition with this paragraph:

"I at least feel that the picture of this survey exhibit will remain in the minds of the citizens as the general concept toward which they are all going. The spirit of that final dinner, with its new leaders springing up and its sober resolution will probably abide. We have the serious expectation that henceforth Springfield's graver rank and file and leading citizens of whatever party are enlisted for steady lifetime tasks, each in his chosen place."

Again, H. T. Chase, chief editorial writer of the Topeka *Daily Capital*, in an article on the survey, which was recently made of Topeka, issued this statement:

"The survey has broadened the foundations of existing welfare organizations and awakened a larger and more sympathetic popular confidence in systematic and organized methods of welfare work, as well as a deeper consciousness of municipal responsibilities and capabilities, a profounder sense of the city's unity."

A short time before the Topeka Survey, Newburgh, N. Y., went through the ordeal. In an article published in *The Survey* magazine in October, 1914, Amy Woods, secretary of the Newburgh Associated Charities at that time, is quoted as saying: "All these are specific improvements [referring to results of the survey], but I want to emphasize what to me seems the most significant aftermath of the survey. It is the awakened social atmosphere of the town." And she goes on to describe it.

You will perhaps recall that Pittsburgh had a survey several years ago. A few years later, H. D. W. English, a prominent business man and former president of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, wrote to the business men of Topeka, Kansas, regarding the usefulness of surveys, and among other things said: "We have found here [referring to Pittsburgh] a much better and finer spirit; a determination to get together not only bravely to face all the wrongs which the survey had disclosed, but to correct them."*

And so the quoting of competent seasoned testimony could be extended to great length.

Specific Accomplishments

But the indications as to results are not limited to general community education; there are signs, at least, of specific results. I say signs, for it is not possible in most cases to be sure, as Mr. Bowen has pointed out, just what are the direct results of a given survey. The survey, as already stated, shows conditions and needs and furnishes a program of improvements; but after all, the program must be *carried out* very largely by other agencies than those that made the investigation, and they should come in for a good deal if not for most of the credit for results. Some

* One of the important specific results that followed the Pittsburgh Survey was the elimination of several features of the Pittsburgh taxation system, which, prior to 1912, distributed the tax burden very unevenly and unjustly among the citizens—some property under the old scheme paying more than three times the rates paid by other properties, and the high rates in most cases falling upon those least able to pay.

time ago, however, we tried to list the events which pretty clearly had their beginning in survey recommendations—or at any rate, the advances made in the community *since* the survey, which had been specifically recommended *by* the survey, no matter what other agencies had also helped. In compiling the list, no special effort has been made to gather inclusive data.*

Springfield Developments

First, as to developments following the Springfield Survey:

In the Public Schools

1. The Rules of the Board of Education have been revised, reducing the number of committees to three, as follows: (a) Education, (b) Finance and Supplies, and (c) School Property.
2. The junior high school system has been adopted, and four junior high schools organized.
3. A new high school principal was elected, and the entire organization and course of study changed. A well-planned system of supervised study has been introduced, and it is reported that the best of discipline is obtained without friction.
4. A new modern high school building is now being erected and will be ready for occupancy next year. This building will accommodate about 1,500 pupils, and will cost, completed, nearly $500,000.
5. The lighting, ventilation and general sanitation of all the schools have been given attention and greatly improved. Fire exit locks have been placed on all outside doors, and fire escapes on the high school.
6. The new school buildings in course of erection meet much higher standards with respect to lighting, heating, ventilation and sanitation.
7. A special supervisor of buildings is employed to see that the property of the school district is kept in proper repair.
8. Patrons' clubs have been organized in every district of the city, and nearly every school house is now used as a social center for neighborhood meetings. Public meetings and political discussions are

* The items listed for the most part came to our notice through newspapers and the press clipping service. They have not been fully checked up.

held in the auditoriums of the several schools, and about one-third of the voting places of the city are now located in school buildings.

9. The number of teachers employed in manual training and household arts has been more than doubled since the survey, and pre-vocational training and guidance are promoted.
10. The school census has been revised, and valuable additional information is now obtained.
11. A new salary schedule for teachers and janitors has been established on a basis of efficiency, and the required qualifications of principals and teachers has been raised.
12. Seven branch libraries have been established in as many different schools, and five other centers, the books being furnished to each of these twelve schools through the city library.
13. Attendance department has been reorganized and an experienced supervisor of attendance has been secured. The work of the department has been studied and systematized.
14. Finally the entire course of study for the elementary, junior high, and senior high schools, has been revised and made more modern.

DELINQUENCY AND CORRECTIONS

1. The sheriff has pledged himself to turn into the county treasury approximately $7,500 per year of profits from feeding prisoners in the county jail. A first return has already been made. This money previously had gone into the sheriff's pockets. For his four-year term the total will approximate $30,000, an amount alone that exceeds the cost of the Springfield Survey.
2. The closing of the former large and flourishing red-light district of the city. It had existed as a recognized community institution for fifty years.
3. Appointment of a policewoman and a woman deputy sheriff.
4. Improvement of the juvenile detention home.
5. Improvements made in conditions in the county jail and a beginning made in putting city and county prisoners at work in farming and gardening. Progress toward the establishment of a modern institution for the care of city and county prisoners is also reported.
6. The Humane Society has abandoned its plan of subsidizing regular policemen for its work.

HEALTH

1. Infant hygiene work started.
2. Announcement made of a movement on foot for new contagious disease hospital facilities.
3. The Tuberculosis Association has reorganized itself and its work, placing more emphasis upon educational features.
4. Free dispensary established at St. John's Hospital.
5. Publication of the milk inspection scorings of milk dealers has been started by the Health Department and an improvement in the milk situation is claimed.

CHARITIES

1. A new Associated Charities secretary has been secured and marked improvements have been made in the society's methods. In fact, its work has been completely reorganized.
2. A county child welfare organization is planned.
3. Better co-operation between private charitable societies and between the public and private agencies has been accomplished.
4. Improvements have been made in bringing legal influence to bear upon non-supporting husbands and fathers.
5. Home for the Friendless has begun to initiate placing-out and other child welfare work along lines recommended. A trained nurse has been added to its staff, and the physical condition of the children is reported to be greatly improved.
6. A trained nurse employed to care for the tuberculous and other sick patients at the County Poor Farm, and food and rooms for them improved.
7. The attendance department of the public schools has been reorganized with a view to closer co-operation with the Associated Charities and other social agencies. An experienced supervisor has been secured to have charge of the work.
8. A tangible new interest in its charitable institutions on the part of the community is also reported.
9. Central Council of Social Agencies organized.

RECREATION

1. Employment by the Board of Education of a director of hygiene to take charge of playgrounds, athletics, and social centers.

2. Extension of athletic organization among elementary school children, and the holding of athletic contests for them and a play festival for all Springfield children.
3. Extension of park board's plans for equipment of play sections of parks and an attempt to work out a plan of supervision in conjunction with school board.
4. Free public golf courses in two of the city's largest parks have been established.
5. Bathing beaches with proper protection and safeguards have been constructed in two of the parks.
6. Complete reorganization of Y. M. C. A. work and the extension of its physical department.
7. Clean-up of one burlesque theater.*

Topeka Developments

Similarly, a listing of developments following the publication of the findings and recommendations of the Topeka Survey showed:

Health

1. Full-time health officer, a specialist in public health and sanitation, secured.
2. New and more able milk inspector secured, and improvement in the milk situation reported.
3. Health department laboratory with laboratory worker established.
4. East side sewer system in the largest unsewered settled area in Kansas provided for and built. Cost, $150,000.
5. Development of infant hygiene work by Public Health Nursing Association.
6. First printed annual report of the health department issued.

Delinquency and Corrections

1. Establishment of detention home for children held for the juvenile court.

*The final reports on Industrial Conditions and City and County Administration in Springfield had not been issued when this listing of Springfield developments was made.

2. Bill passed legislature to permit city and county to unite in establishing a farm workhouse for lawbreakers. A bond issue for this purpose will be voted on at the next election.

INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

1. Bill passed legislature establishing industrial commission and giving it power to limit women's hours of work and fix minimum wages. (This, as already indicated, cannot be traced absolutely to the survey, but both the hours and the wages of women received marked attention in the survey report.)

THE SURVEY AS A CIVIC RENEWAL PROCESS

And now, finally, I should like to reverse the usual proceeding and announce my text at the end and close with a little of what the old darky preacher called "'spostulations." The text is what I think we ought to call the golden text of our political Holy Writ. It was spoken by a citizen of this same Springfield, Sangamon County, Illinois, some fifty odd years ago in a memorable appeal. It ran: "that we here highly resolve that the nation shall, under God, have *a new birth of freedom:* and that the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." These words were pronounced when the nation was at deadly grips over a national social question. The appeal was for a rehallowing of government to the task of serving the men and women who *are* the government, to the ends of plain matter-of-fact democracy.

The conflicting interests of that day, now long passed and forgotten, threatened to halt that generation's steps in the onward march. At the same time they revealed that generation's opportunity and responsibility to do its part in keeping alive and advancing the democratic movement. For, as the text implies, democracy may need to be *reborn* from time to time. It is not a static thing, ushered in complete, handed on from one period to the next without diligent relaying. In its daily motions it is subject—sometimes profitably, sometimes not—to the dominat-

ing forces of the period, whether political, ecclesiastical, economic, or other. Its forces ebb and flow with them, and must be refreshed whenever substantial rights have been invaded, or, indeed, whenever there are new gains to the common weal to be won. That is why, is it not, that each oncoming thirty years or so has its job to do and a farther peg to scale to?

Something, it seems to me at least, that is mighty fundamental in the fabric of our public affairs has been in-weaving in the last dozen years or more—something that also bears the marks of high resolve and carries the infection of life and youth and renaissance. It is a process of *peaceful civic renewal*, through the scrutinizing of conditions surrounding our daily living, with a view not only to correcting those that are unwholesome, but to quickening any that show promise.

Changed Conditions Calling for Action

Back of this scrutinizing and this resolve is the recognition that times have changed; that new circumstances to the harm of some folks have arisen; that simultaneously new forces have been gathering to cope with just such difficulties, and that these forces, in the form of new knowledge and experience and more effective methods, must be made to count at once. Otherwise, if we do not actually lose ground, we shall at least be standing still.

It was not so long ago, to use a very familiar example, that most of the weaving and spinning was done in the home; but when women in thousands were summoned to the textile factories, new problems immediately arose because of the greater dangers of physical harm or even death from fire, contagion, industrial processes, insanitary quarters, and power-driven machinery. Spinning and weaving seemed entirely reasonable occupations for women; the dangers, therefore, needed to be removed and the factory made as safe as the home workroom. If not, such assurance of reasonable life as the worker had possessed before would be lost. Somebody saw the situation and need, and a series of

investigations of women in industry was begun, aimed at informing the public of the dangers and at securing intelligent action.

Similarly, people faced new problems of safe water and safe food when the enormous growth of city populations set in. Householders needed the guarantee that the exigencies of city life would not be allowed to send typhoid into their homes through the kitchen spigot, or diphtheria through the medium of the milk bottle. Otherwise, whatever the social or industrial gains in community life, its losses would be beyond compensation. The situation needed diagnosis and a prescription.

And so on; the modern economic fetters of the seven-day week, and the twelve-hour workday, are just as heavy and hampering to political freedom as are legal fetters. The growing complexities of modern life are many; but with them has arisen the insistence that changed conditions shall not leave people with less independence, less opportunity, and less comfort than before; rather that more shall be wrung out of life for them. *Thus the last decade or so in this country may be characterized as years of social, industrial, and civic investigating, scrutinizing, researching, surveying, with a view to meeting the new human needs discovered—a process predicated on the desire for peaceful, but not necessarily slow social evolution, rather than wasteful, upturning revolution.*

The successful working of this leaven of civic renewal depends upon the correcting power of facts, which must be gathered as carefully and faithfully as the truth-loving scientist in any field gathers them—plus such a telling of the facts as will make them common knowledge. It is believed to be American experience that communities will act upon facts when they have them.

Spread of the Social Survey

One of the forms of this new type of social exploration and reporting was that telling broadside of fact and reason, the Pittsburgh Survey, of 1907, already alluded to, carried on under the

auspices of the Charities Publication Committee of New York, and directed by Paul U. Kellogg—a piece of work that started a train of surveys of which Newburgh, Topeka and Springfield have been but later developments. One of the reviewers of the Pittsburgh Survey recently said that "it outstrips any social work done in this generation." At any rate, the survey idea has spread enormously. Vital as the idea was in itself, it also doubtless drew some of its momentum from the collateral movements in certain public and private agencies which during a number of years have been emphasizing scientific inquiries into social conditions as a part of their regular routine.

Among these are the United States Bureau of Education, the United States Children's Bureau, and the federal Public Health Service, state and city boards of health, civic federations, charity societies, housing associations, city planning boards, churches, home and foreign missionary societies, Sunday school associations, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, chambers of commerce, tax associations, women's clubs, civic improvement societies, vice commissions, city boards of public welfare, state boards of charities, recreation associations, committees of private citizens, many colleges and universities and a few periodicals, public libraries and normal schools—not to mention a number of the philanthropic foundations. An important recent appearance of the survey is an activity of a new type of foundation under semi-public control, started by the Cleveland (Ohio) Trust Company and called the Cleveland Foundation.

The civic re-birth process is also seen in the contemporaneous creation of bureaus of municipal research, and of large numbers of city, state and federal commissions on economy and efficiency.

It is hoped that the work done in Springfield may add its small part to this most promising movement.

While it is true that Springfield's workshops, mine pits, farm and trade resources make it touch elbows with many other cities, their chief function is to serve the interests of Springfield herself.

They should furnish the groundwork for a structure of social well-being, the output of which should mount far above factory output, coal tonnage, farm products and trade values. Even without special economic advantages, a city's responsibility for promoting the welfare of its citizens must be acknowledged, but with these advantages the responsibility is much increased. A large group of Springfield men and women, most of them already builders of this superstructure, were ready for fresh efforts. What they have done may seem but a modest contribution to the welfare of other cities than their own; but large or small, they pray that the example of improved home conditions may be of some worth in promoting a nation-wide process of orderly, disinterested, thorough analysis of complex social situations as a basis for constructive state and municipal action—action aimed to promote the well-being of the plain folks whose numbers are legion, and for whom the fellow townsmen and predecessor of this Springfield committee two generations ago so forcefully spoke.

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