THE SOCIAL SURVEY

THE IDEA DIFINED AND ITS DEVELOPMENT TRACED
Reprinted, with changes, from the Introduction to A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF SOCIAL SURVEYS

BY

SHELBY M. HARRISON

DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF SURVEYS AND EXHIBITS RUSSELL SAGE FOUNDATION



NEW YORK
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PREFACE

HIS pamphlet is in the main a reprint of the Introduction to the recently published book, A Bibliography of Social Surveys.¹ It is hoped that in its present form it may serve as a brief and convenient interpretation of the survey movement as it exists today. It includes a short historical retrospect, an attempt at a definition of the survey and its purposes, and a brief analysis of trends in surveys made since 1907, the year in which the Pittsburgh Survey was begun. It also discusses the significance of surveys as a means of informing citizens regarding community conditions.

S. M. H.

¹ Eaton, Allen and Harrison, Shelby M., A Bibliography of Social Surveys. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1930.

THE SOCIAL SURVEY: The Idea Defined and Its Development Traced

I. Social Changes Call for New Information

O POINT to great and rapid change as one of the outstanding features of American community life is now almost a commonplace. The quick and potent ebb and flow of forces which affect physical aspects and influence social action are not unexpected in the younger settlements of a new country. Change is inherent in growth, and most of them have grown. But the moving forces in this country have not been confined to these newer parts, neither to frontier sections nor those rural and urban districts which have but recently passed out of their pioneer stage. The last thirty to fifty years have transformed the aspect and realities of our older communities also, in ways ranging from the size and kinds of houses in which people live to the size, form, and functioning of their social and political organizations. Mere growth in numbers of people, residences, and enterprises has been one influence at work; but there have been others—among them tremendous developments in the control and use of natural forces. The increase in the use of machinery in farming, the building of good roads, the widespread distribution of electric power, among other things, have wrought remarkable changes in the rural sections of the country; but the use of machinery and new physical energy have brought an even greater change in the urban centers, where commerce and industry have become most highly organized and developed.

The constant rearrangement of elements that make up community life, resulting from new ideas, new opportunities, new interests and energies at work, has taken many forms, among them the transfer of individuals and families to new and different physical environments or the springing up of new environments around their old homes and neighborhoods; the movement of racial, industrial, and agricultural groups away from old associations into new and often difficult ones; a different distribution of

people in the various age groupings in many of our largest population centers, and in our rural districts as well, from that obtaining heretofore; the transfer of many of the home industries and functions of a decade or two ago to bakeries, clothing factories, and other shops and agencies outside the home; new forms of transportation and greater general mobility of population; increased leisure time for many people and new forms of recreation facilities, public and private; and a clear tendency, on the one hand, through the great increase in huge multiple dwellings and office buildings, toward the concentration of larger and larger numbers of people on smaller pieces of land, and on the other hand, the apparent tendency toward decentralization in urban regions—toward the removal both of factories and workers' homes from congested central districts to neighboring belts of satellite communities.

Such far-reaching changes in the manner of life and in the social relationships of people have created new community needs and problems, illustrations of which are on every hand. Fifty-odd years ago, for example, one of our leading cities regarded it as comparatively safe to pump its drinking water out of the rivers flowing through it, and thence, unfiltered, to the homes of its citizens; but the building of industrial plants and homes for workers above the intakes in the rivers, and the location of other cities up the streams which dumped their sewage into the water, so polluted the supply that the typhoid death rate in that city became among the highest of any in the country—over fifty times as high as that now found in some of our largest cities. Other things besides the bad water supply contributed to the high mortality rate, but it is significant that almost immediately following the completion of facilities for the filtration of the water supply the typhoid death rate dropped over half.

Similarly, people faced new problems of housing and health when the atmosphere became so laden with smoke and dust as to shut out much of the available sunlight; of safe food when the road from producer to consumer became longer and more complex; of play and recreation when all of the vacant space near people's homes was built upon and motor cars crowded streets, which were the only playgrounds left to city children; of mental well-being because of the speed and tension of modern urban life;

of family welfare when technological and other developments in industrial processes reduced the employment of wage-earners, and in turn family incomes.

The community not touched by these forces of change, both to its profit and its loss, as values are commonly reckoned, is exceptional indeed; and many have attempted new adjustments to meet their newly emerging needs. Organized education, for example, not so long ago began to see its field of endeavor taking on different aspects, many of them unfamiliar, little understood and otherwise perplexing; and experiments aimed to develop educational methods more realistically related to the life into which children were soon to work and live have been undertaken. Numerous religious organizations also have seen that certain types of their work demanded better adaptation to modern requirements, whether these have been created by new attitudes toward religion, new racial groupings, or new physical conditions of city and rural life. And, though slower to act, many of our governmental bodies have read the signs of the times and set about modifying their work, reorganizing, dropping old functions, and adding new.

But adjustments and new adaptations of the importance called for could not be intelligently undertaken without more information than was ordinarily available. Facts were seen to be a primary requirement: first, in securing a better understanding of the new needs; second, in the formulation of plans for action; and third, as a means of interesting citizens both in the needs revealed and in their duty to do something. Even where facts regarding local conditions were in hand—and the cases were rare—the statistics during these periods of rapid change quickly became out of date. If action in the community was to be taken to promote desirable tendencies and to thwart the undesirable; if evils were to be corrected and burdens lifted, and forces working for advance were to be strengthened; and if such action was to be based upon reliable information, it was obvious that some special effort was needed to secure such information in every modern community from time to time, if not continuously.

In other words, changing community conditions, the increasing demand for united action by citizens in order to control tendencies

in the public interest, and the growing conviction that control and improvement can be more intelligent and effective if based on knowledge, have combined to make the social study or survey almost one of the indispensable activities of the modern community, whether it be neighborhood, parish, village, city, region, or state.

II. Forerunners of Surveying and Early Beginnings

But these developments did not come all at once. They were part of a gradual evolution in which many forces had a part. As far back as the eighties, and in greater degrees in later years, as pointed out in a recent paper by Paul U. Kellogg and Neva R. Deardorff,¹ the charity organization movement in this country had begun to expand its conception of the aid that might be rendered to sick or hungry families. While direct material relief was seen to be a necessary part of the assistance given, it was also realized that a larger service could be rendered if the causes of the family's breakdown were discovered and removed. The first essential in carrying out such a purpose was the ascertaining of the facts in each particular case—the "all-round diagnosis of the causes and the all-round application of the resources of the community to relief and rehabilitation."

Further, among the four or five major features of the charity organization program stress was being laid upon effort not only to remove disabilities already experienced by the family, but to take social action to prevent future disabilities; to prevent the deaths of fathers of families, for example, insofar as they were caused by industrial accidents, polluted water, and the like; or to remedy bad housing, which was often a factor in family discord and breakdowns. Thus when the same form of family distress was seen to recur in a particular locality social workers began to suspect something wrong with living conditions, and stimulated by these recurring clues they here and there set investigations on foot which disclosed the facts necessary for better understanding of causes and for planning community action. The anti-tuber-culosis movement and the movement for tenement house reform in New York had their origins and gathered much of their support

¹ "Social Research as Applied to Community Progress." In Proceedings of the First International Conference of Social Work, Paris, 1928.

from the sequence of diagnosis and treatment of disabled families, observation of recurring disabilities, and investigation of living conditions.

During the nineties leaders in the study of economic and social problems in some of our universities were also beginning to urge the application of the inductive method to social questions. They were turning from the methods of logic to the methods of science, as the latter were then being applied in the natural and physical world; and meanwhile our state legislatures were occasionally instituting fact-finding investigations into problems faced by their state governments, more particularly on their financial and administrative sides.

Moreover, as we made the turn into the new century, new aids were being developed which enabled research to be more reliable and fruitful. The beginnings of a technique in social investigation were discernible; and extension and improvement in the public record-keeping in vital statistics and other matters of social welfare, backward as we still are in some of these respects, were getting under way; attention was being given by scholars and others to the refinement of statistical methods; social problems were being increasingly recognized as complex and ramifying far in many directions; and the conviction was growing that environment plays an important role in the lives of individuals and that improvement in it has great value both as a corrective and a constructive force.

Thus new tools for use in social investigation were being fashioned while the need of them and their value was being more and more recognized—at a time when social and civic leaders began to see that the strands of community life were being thrown into new and unfamiliar patterns, that these undirected interweavings meant the aggravation of many old hardships to persons and families and the introduction of new and oppressive ones, that the welfare and destinies of many were less in their own keeping then ever before because of social conditions outside their own control, and that the community should feel an increasing responsibility for doing something of practical value to retrieve lost ground and to gain new footholds. And the more practical the efforts to these ends and the more intelligent the planning, as

already suggested, the more necessary it became to study existing situations as an indispensable part of the work to be undertaken.

While this closer coordination of civic action and social investigation had begun to show itself in the last two decades of the last century, it has risen more clearly above the horizon since 1900; and although antecedent tendencies were prophetic of an epoch in which something of the discrepancy between the use of scientific methods in the physical and in the social sciences might be corrected, so far as local studies were concerned it was not until the Pittsburgh Survey in 1907 that these tendencies took definite form. In it a new type of endeavor was born which not only articulated developing needs and developing scientific tools, but also gave illustration and impetus to an idea that was destined to spread widely.

There were, however, a number of individual pieces of work immediately preceding the Pittsburgh Survey which shared with it in the effort to secure a more realistic understanding of conditions under which multitudes of people were living, and in the endeavor to enlist the interest of citizens in improving these conditions. The most outstanding among these were the books by Jacob Riis on "slum" conditions1 which pictured out of firsthand experience unhealthful, insanitary, and oppressive surroundings, menacing and thwarting the lives of thousands of people in the most crowded sections of New York; the series of articles by Lincoln Steffens on The Shame of the Cities2 in which, after weeks spent in seven of our larger metropolitan centers, he portrayed conditions which he hoped might bring into action the civic pride he believed to be latent, and which, when aroused, would prove a power for improvement; the Hull House Maps and Papers describing conditions in a crowded section of Chicago; the investigations made in connection with the work of the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1900,3 appointed by Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of the state, which resulted

¹ Riis, Jacob A., How the Other Half Lives. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1890.

² Steffens, Lincoln, The Shame of the Cities. McClure, Phillips and Company, New York, 1904.

³ DeForest, Robert W., and Veiller, Lawrence, editors, The Tenement House Problem. Macmillan Company, New York, 1903.

in the establishment of the first Tenement House Department for New York City; a few investigations into the cost of living of wage-earners; the important series of studies of Life and Labour of the People in London by Charles Booth; and the investigation of the problem of poverty in York, England, by B. Seebohm Rowntree. Nevertheless the Pittsburgh undertaking stood out as something different from these—on a footing of its own; purposeful, as these were; using some of the skill of the journalist, as indeed the earlier ones had—yet having characteristics which made it individual and distinctive.

III. THE FIRST SURVEY: PITTSBURGH

While, as far as one could ascertain, on one or two prior occasions the term "survey" had been applied to inquiries having certain social aspects, the word in the sense in which it has become so familiar in this country was first applied to the series of community-wide, coordinated social inquiries in Pittsburgh. This pioneer effort in the great western Pennsylvania steel district was directed by Paul U. Kellogg and carried out by Charities and the Commons, then under the editorship of Edward T. Devine, the cost being met by a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, which also published the findings. It has been described by Mr. Kellogg as: "an appraisal . . . of how human engineering had kept pace with mechanical in the American steel district . . . an attempt to throw light on these and kindred economic forces not by theoretical discussion of them, but by spreading forth the objective facts of life and labor which

¹ Booth, Charles, Life and Labour of the People in London. Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1902.

² Rowntree, B. Seebohm, Poverty, a Study of Town Life. Macmillan and Company, Ltd., London, 1901.

³ Report on the Croton Water Shed: a Sanitary Survey of the Croton Water Shed, in the Health Department Report, New York City, 1891. While this investigation had certain public health aspects, it, however, was almost entirely an engineering study. Similarly, Patrick Geddes in 1904, in the Introduction to his book on City Development: A Study of Parks, Gardens, and Culture Institutes, refers to a Photographic Survey as part of his town-planning study. This material, however, had largely to do with the physical aspects or appearance of parts of a city; and in Chapter II, when he speaks of a Social Survey of Dunfermline, he had in mind studies like those of London by Booth and of York by Rowntree.

⁴ Now The Survey (magazine).

should help in forming judgment as to their results . . . [an attempt] to get at certain underlying factors in this [Pittsburgh's] growth as they affected the wage-earning population, . . . an inventory of such an American community."

Some of the elements which made the Pittsburgh Survey distinctive may be gleaned from other descriptions by Mr. Kellogg. These, in abbreviated quotations, are as follows: "First of all. the survey takes its unit of work from the surveyor. It has to do with a subject matter, to be sure, but that subject matter is subordinated to the idea of a definite geographical area. Just as a geological survey is not geology in general, but the geology of a given mountain range or watershed, so, even when a special subject matter is under study, the sociological survey adds an element of locality, of neighborhood or city, state or region, to what would otherwise pass under the general term of an investigation. In the second place, the survey takes from the physician his art of applying to the problems at hand standards and experience worked out elsewhere, just as the medical profession has been studying hearts and lungs until they know the signals which tell whether a man's organs are working or not, and what to look for in making a diagnosis. In the third place, the survey takes from the engineer his working conception of the structural relation of things. There is a building element in surveys. When we look at a house, we know that carpenters have had a good deal to do with it; also bricklayers, steamfitters, and the rest of the building trades. But your engineer, like your general contractor and architect, has to do with the work of each of these crafts in its relation to the work of every other. So it is with a survey, whether it deals with the major elements entering a given community which has structural parts or a given master problem.² In the fourth place, the survey takes from the charity organization movement its case-work method of bringing problems down to

¹ Kellogg, Paul U., The Pittsburgh District: Civic Frontage. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1914, p. 493-495.

² In a more recent elaboration of this feature Mr. Kellogg and Dr. Deardorff put the point as follows: "The procedure brought the resources of cognate professions to bear on common problems that interested them all. The staff included social workers, engineers, lawyers, city planners, sanitarians, physicians, statisticians, economists, labor investigators, and the like. It was on the borderlands between the ordinary divisions of inquiry that some of the most

human terms; by figures, for example, of the household cost of sickness—not in sweeping generalizations but in what Mr. Woods called 'piled-up actualities.' In the fifth place, the survey takes from the journalist the idea of graphic portrayal, which begins with such familiar tools of the surveyor as maps and charts and diagrams, and reaches far through a scale in which photographs and enlargements, drawings, casts, and three-dimension exhibits exploit all that the psychologists have to tell us of the advantages which the eye holds over the ear as a means for communication. The survey's method is one of publicity."

Thus, while employing the methods of social research as developed at the time, and also contributing something to their further development, the greatest claim of the Pittsburgh project for distinction lay perhaps in its success in combining the methods and skills of the social investigator with those of specialists in other fields.

The subject matter of the Pittsburgh Survey included the study of wages, hours of work, work accidents, and other questions of industrial relations and conditions for both men and women workers; of family budgets and home conditions among steel workers; typhoid fever and other problems related to health and sanitation; housing of the working population; the local system of taxation; the public schools; city planning and civic improvement possibilities; the hospital and other institutional needs of

valuable results were obtained. Thus the long neglected hazard of work accidents was found at the first staff conferences ramifying in so many directions that practically every member was faced with one phase or another of it. It bore upon the relief funds of the labor unions, the multitudinous benefit societies of the immigrant races, and the relief plans of corporations; it had led to the organization of employer's liability associations and employees' liability associations; it was bringing pensioners to the charitable societies and inmates to the children's institutions; it was a dominating factor in the local system of state subsidies to charitable institutions; it was the concern of the coroner's office, the office of foreign consuls and the health bureau, where it was one of the two causes which gave Pittsburgh its high general death rate; it had to do in a minute degree with the discipline, intelligence, grit, and moral backbone of the working force in the mills; in the courts it harked back to the fundamental issues of public policy and freedom of contract; and in its effect on income on the standard of living of workingmen's families it set its stamp on the next generation." Kellogg, Paul U., and Deardorff, Neva R., "Social Research as Applied to Community Progress." In Proceedings of the First International Conference of Social Work, Paris, 1928, Vol. I, p. 791.

¹ Kellogg, Paul U., "The Spread of the Survey Idea." In Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science, July, 1912, Vol. II, No. 4.

the city; certain phases of the crime situation and the administration of justice; playgrounds and recreation; dependent children in institutions; and a number of other related questions.

The investigations were made by a special staff who had the cooperation of a large number of leaders and organizations in national social and public health movements, together with organizations and leaders in social and civic work in Pittsburgh, the latter including three outstanding citizens who sponsored the undertaking throughout.

The chief findings were presented graphically in a public exhibition in Pittsburgh, summaries of the various reports were also published as articles in Charities and the Commons, and the full reports were issued in six volumes under the titles: The Pittsburgh District—Civic Frontage; Wage-Earning Pittsburgh; Women and the Trades; Homestead, the Households of a Mill Town; Work-Accidents and the Law; and the Steel Workers. Much of the Survey's data also reached the public through addresses at national conventions, newspaper articles and editorials, discussions at luncheon meetings, and articles in a wide range of magazines.

IV. BETWEEN PITTSBURGH AND SPRINGFIELD

Except for the survey of the Polish district in Buffalo in 1910 which was aimed not only to show important needs of that colony but to arouse interest and enlist support for a comprehensive survey of the whole city, during the two years that followed the publication of the findings of the Pittsburgh Survey very little evidence was observable in other cities of a demand to be surveyed. This may have been due in part to the fact that it took time for the significance of the Pittsburgh undertaking for other cities to be understood. However, by 1911 interest in community surveys began to show itself elsewhere.

Following a quick journalistic survey of Birmingham, chosen as a type of the new and growing industrial centers of the South, which was made by The Survey magazine, four city-wide organizations, the Chamber of Commerce, Associated Charities, Ministerial Association, and the Central Trades Assembly, joined in sponsoring a survey of Syracuse, N. Y.; and by 1912 enough

cities desiring surveys had sought advice and cooperation from The Survey magazine and the Russell Sage Foundation to make the latter feel warranted in establishing a Department of Surveys and Exhibits,1 appointing as director Shelby M. Harrison, a former member of the Pittsburgh Survey staff. The two main objectives which the Department set for itself were the spreading of the survey idea and the further development of survey methods. In the furthering of both of these objects advice and assistance were made available to outside organizations on their specific undertakings. As demonstration projects the Department has conducted a number of preliminary and general surveys, among these being its surveys in Scranton, Pa., Newburgh, N. Y., and Topeka, Kans.; but its most important undertaking aside from its participation in the recent surveys of the New York Regional Plan was the survey in 1914 of Springfield, Ill. At that time the city contained roughly 60,000 people and because of wide diversity in its economic and social activities had much in common not only with the other 47 state capitals, but also with a large group of other cities of the country.

V. THE SPRINGFIELD SURVEY

The Springfield Survey included nine main lines of inquiry: the work of the public schools; the care of mental defectives, the insane, and alcoholics; recreation needs and facilities; housing legislation and trends; public health and sanitation; public and private charities; industrial conditions and relations; delinquency and the correctional system; and the administration of city and county offices, other than those included in the previous divisions. Building upon the experience of Pittsburgh and other surveys, four main steps, in addition to the organizing of staff and local forces in Springfield, were stressed: first, the investigation of the facts of local problems; second, the analysis and interpretation of the data gathered; third, the formulation of suggestions and recommendations for action growing out of the analyses; and fourth, the educational use of the facts and recommendations.

¹ There was at the same time considerable interest throughout the country, particularly among social work organizations, in the graphic presentation of information of social value to wider and wider audiences; and because of its important relation to the educational use of survey findings the two types of work were united in this new Department.

In general terms the method of investigation comprised study of the records, published and unpublished, compiled and uncompiled, of organizations and institutions in the community and of outside agencies which had data on Springfield; personal visits to and observation of Springfield organizations and institutions in operation; the gathering of facts through intensive studies or tests planned for certain sections of the city, or of the population; special studies of the activities of particular agencies or groups of agencies and interviews with officers in charge; first-hand observation of conditions throughout the city; written inquiries and personal interviews with individuals in possession of experience or information pertaining to the problem in hand; and studies of legislation relating to local conditions and procedures.

The Springfield Survey added a number of new features, although some of them may claim distinction only in the degree of emphasis which they were given. The inquiry was initiated locally and sponsored throughout by a very representative group of citizens, including a former lieutenant governor, a state senator, 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. Seventeen agencies, national and state, public and private, collaborated in the enterprise; a large proportion of the cost was borne by the locality; over 900 citizens participated as volunteer workers, taking part in the field investigations or in the preparation of the Survey Exhibition; and a highly intensive and diversified educational campaign was carried out to help the public to understand and reckon with the Survey's findings.

While many citizens had a part in the Survey from its beginning, the people of Springfield took over the Survey, so to speak, to a much greater degree during the preparation and course of the Survey Exhibition, held in the large and imposing First Regiment Armory. It was attended by thousands of visitors, including many from distant parts of the state. The Exhibition at one stroke placed them in possession of the leading facts, ideas, and recommendations of the surveyors; and in addition afforded an opportunity to participate personally in the venture. In this way they not only felt a sense of proprietary interest but became

in fact part owners. Here was a broad new channel through which many citizens might help to put the Survey's information and suggestions to work; and through 40 and more exhibit committees they took up the task.

These groups of workers included an advisory committee, a general executive committee, committees on automobiles, decoration, drayage, lettering, lighting, photographs, printed matter, speakers, special days, ushers, and many others. As the campaign grew, more and more people lent their help, not only because their committee leaders were energetic and enthusiastic and the spirit of the campaign contagious, but because the things they had to do were interesting. They made models and mechanical devices, tried their hands at art work, wrote special stories for the newspapers, handled office matter, snapped photographs, and made public addresses before churches, lodges, labor unions, school clubs, and other organizations and societies. They helped stage and take part in the short plays written to bring out some of the important lessons of the Survey.

The Exhibition became an event in the community which gave further "news" value to the Survey's facts and conclusions, and for two months preceding its opening a special campaign of publicity and promotion was carried on which kept the subject before the people. Those familiar with publicity work will recognize the value of such things as the invitations sent out by a hospitality committee to mayors throughout the state; exhibit models and devices displayed from time to time in public places; unexplained cartoons posted in the windows at exhibition headquarters; the street railway company's offer to transport school children free to the Exhibition; prizes offered for the five best grammar school essays on "What I Saw at the Springfield Survey Exhibition"; special days assigned to societies and organizations; a daily department in one of the newspapers under "The Survey Question Box"; proclamation by the mayor making the last day of the exhibit Springfield Exhibition Day, and urging "all citizens of Springfield to take this last opportunity to inspect and study the many interesting and instructive things there to be found."

In addition to the Exhibition other channels to public attention were used in spreading the Survey's data. As each division of the

inquiry completed its work the findings were fully summarized for the local press, the newspapers of the city printing from 12 to 30 articles on each. Material was also used by local, state and national trade papers, magazines, and other periodicals. Complete reports for each of the nine survey divisions and a volume summarizing all these reports were printed and circulated both locally and among those interested outside the city. The material also gained some currency through numerous public meetings where it was under discussion.

VI. THE SURVEY IDEA FURTHER DEFINED

As it has worked out in practice, then, the social or community survey is seen to embody a number of distinct characteristics. It is an enterprise which draws upon and utilizes in a single endeavor the experience and skills of:

- 1. The civic and social workers in discovering in their everyday service to the community clues to current social situations needing better understanding;
- 2. The engineer in seeing the structural relations of different types of community conditions to each other;
- 3. The surveyor in relating his work and study to a definite geographical area;
- 4. The social research worker, in formulating specific questions for study, investigating and analyzing the pertinent facts, and drawing warranted generalizations;
- 5. The physician, city planner, and social worker, in bringing problems down to human terms and in prescribing or planning treatment; and
- 6. The journalist and publicity worker in interpreting facts and new knowledge in terms of human experience and presenting them in ways which will engage the attention and stimulate democratic action.

In short, the social survey is a cooperative undertaking which applies scientific method to the study and treatment of current related social problems and conditions having definite geographical limits and bearings, plus such a spreading of its facts, conclusions, and recommendations as will make them, as far as possible, the common knowledge of the community and a force for intelligent coordinated action.

In the Introduction to Lincoln Steffens' Shame of the Cities, published in 1904, he makes this interesting comment upon his own method of work and purpose:

This is all very unscientific, but then, I am not a scientist. I am a journalist. I did not gather with indifference all the facts and arrange them patiently for permanent preservation and laboratory analysis. I did not want to preserve, I wanted to destroy the facts. My purpose was no more scientific than the spirit of my investigation and my reports; it was, as I said above, to see if the shameful facts, spread out in all their shame, would not burn through our civic shamelessness and set fire to American pride. That was the journalism of it. I wanted to move and to convince.

Twenty-five years later, in his presidential address before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, December, 1929, Professor William F. Ogburn, in forecasting trends and requirements in the development of a more scientific sociology, said:

One of these new habits will be the writing of wholly colorless articles, and the abandonment of the present habit of trying to make the results of science into literature. . . . Articles will always be accompanied by the supporting data, hence the text will be shorter and the records longer. . . . The articles in the new social science journals will be in some ways greatly expanded social science abstracts, that is, an abstract in the sense that the scientific essentials will be abstracted from the irrelevant interpretation, popularization and emotionalism. . . . The sociologist will of course work on the problems that tend to make sociology an organized systematic body of knowledge, but also he will choose for his researches the study of those problems the solution of which will benefit the human race and its culture, particularly those problems that present the greatest acuteness. But the scientific sociologist will attack these problems once chosen with the sole idea of discovering new knowledge.

While neither of these points of view would necessarily exclude or minimize the importance of the other nor the value of the other's resulting product, they nevertheless clearly differentiate between two types of activities—one the work of the scientist in adding to the sum of human knowledge and the other the work of the journalist in so presenting the new knowledge that it may affect life and events. And such a differentiation helps us to see the nature of the social survey. It is not scientific research alone, nor journalism alone, nor social planning alone, nor any other one

type of social or civic endeavor; it is a combination of a number of these. In its best form the survey unites the contributions of the research worker who brings to light new information bearing upon related problems and needs in a definite locality, of the experienced social planner in offering suggestions for improvement based upon the new knowledge, and the expert in educational publicity in spreading widely both information and suggestions, and in interpreting their significance.

VII. GENERAL AND SPECIALIZED SURVEYS

The first surveys covered a broad range of subjects; they were general studies of entire communities, these communities ranging in size and form all the way from the local neighborhood or parish, city ward, town, and city up to counties and states. A tendency set in, however, after a few years, toward employing the survey to appraise one major phase of community life, such as health and sanitation, public education, housing, recreation, employment and industrial relations, child welfare, dependency and charitable effort to reduce or relieve it, and delinquency and correction. Outstanding examples of these are the series of investigations in Cleveland, the first one of which, that on education, made under the direction of Leonard P. Ayres, has been of influence in the spread of the survey of special fields. This was the most complete inquiry into a city school system up to that timeperhaps up to the present. In organizing the undertaking Dr. Ayres broke up the major questions of school equipment, organization and administration into 23 separate divisions, and each was made the subject of intensive investigation. These divisions are indicated by their titles: child accounting in the public schools (which dealt with problems of the school census, retardation, elimination, size of classes, truancy, and compulsory attendance); educational extension; schools and classes for exceptional children; the school and the immigrant; school buildings and equipment; school organization and administration; overcrowded schools and the platoon plan; the teaching staff; education through recreation; health work in the public schools; household arts and school lunches; the public library and the public schools; what the schools teach and might teach; measur-

ing the work of the public schools; financing the public schools; and eight topics in the field of vocational training. Each of these studies was reported upon in a separate monograph of pocket size, and on the date of issue was made the subject of a public discussion at a luncheon conference, always well attended, held in the assembly hall of one of the large downtown Cleveland hotels. The verbal summaries and conference discussions were later fully reported in the local newspapers. The series of monographs was also summarized in two volumes, one entitled The Cleveland School Survey, by Dr. Ayres, and the other, Wage-Earning and Education, by R. R. Lutz.

Other phases of the Cleveland series included surveys of recreation, criminal justice, and hospitals and health. Additional illustrations of these studies in special fields are to be seen in the surveys of municipal administration by the National Institute of Public Administration and the New York and other Bureaus of Municipal Research; the church surveys in Springfield, Mass., and St. Louis by the Institute of Social and Religious Research; surveys of state school systems by the General Education Board and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; and the numerous studies of unemployment and crime under way during 1929 in different parts of the United States.

Both types of survey, the general and that specializing in a single field, have their peculiar uses. The general survey is of value not only where definite measures for social improvement need to be outlined along a broad front, but where interest and a sense of responsibility for conditions still lie relatively dormant and need arousing. Doubtless one of the chief reasons for the shift toward the more specialized inquiry is the fact that in this country many communities have now passed beyond the "awakening" stage and are ready to deal in a more intensive way with special problems or groups of them, taking them up one by one. Moreover, as the technical equipment of surveyors has improved, surveys in single fields have become so intensive and comprehensive that the accumulated findings in a single field often promise to be as much as a community can well assimilate before being diverted to new topics—and in some cases doubtless as much as it can be responsible for or finance at a given time.

Perhaps the most conspicuous exception to this trend is the present practice of surveying communities comprehensively as a basis for city and regional plans—a procedure which seems not only warranted but inevitable because of the intimate relation between the numerous physical, industrial, public health, recreational, housing, legal, financial, and engineering phases of the city's or region's future development. Another group of exceptions of almost equal importance is the series of investigations being conducted in rural districts. These range from the securing of a fact-basis for community organization in the township or county all the way to the study of future programs for rural states. The comprehensive general survey has been used with apparent advantage also as a basis for the Better Cities Contests which have been conducted for a number of years by the Wisconsin State Conference of Social Work; also with conspicuously good effect in studying conditions and problems of racial or otherwise homogeneous groups populating fairly sharply defined areas, as, for instance, the recent survey of conditions among American Indians, made by the Brookings Institution and directed by Lewis Meriam.1

VIII. SPREAD OF BOTH TYPES

That the survey idea has gained wide acceptance and adoption in practice since the completion of the first ventures is to be seen in the story told by the recently published Bibliography of Social Surveys,² from the Introduction to which this pamphlet is reprinted. With a close adherence to the definition of survey already established and the exclusion of undertakings of a strictly research, planning, or journalistic nature, this volume nevertheless includes the surprising total of 2,775 titles of projects completed up to January 1, 1928.

The divisions in which so large a group of surveys fall will be indicative of general trends in the development of the survey movement as a whole. They divide themselves first into two

¹ Meriam, Lewis, and Associates, The Problem of Indian Administration. Institute for Government Research (Brookings Institution), Washington, 1928.

² Eaton, Allen, and Harrison, Shelby M., A Bibliography of Social Surveys. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1930.

major groupings, general social surveys and surveys in specialized fields, the former numbering 154 and the latter 2,621. Of the general social surveys, 82 deal with urban conditions and 72 with those of rural areas.

The surveys in specialized fields represent upwards of 125 separate groupings made up on the basis of questions or problems investigated. Those relating to the general grouping of schools and education head the list with 625; health and sanitation come next with 469; industrial conditions, next with 296; city and regional planning, and delinquency and correction each runs over 150; and housing runs over 100. The sub-groupings under these general heads are as follows:

Schools and Education	Number of Surveys
Continuation and Part Time Schools	16
Education (General surveys of the field)	334
Industrial Education	19
Libraries	12
Negro Education	14
Pre-School	2
Religious Education	5
Rural Education	54
School Buildings and Plants	44
School Organization and Administration	69
Sub-Normal, Retarded, and Exceptional Children	13
Truancy and Non-Attendance	10
Vocational Guidance	33
Total	625
Health and Sanitation	
Blindness, Sight Conservation, and Disease of the E	ye 16
Cancer	5
Cardiacs	2
Child Health	13
Clinics and Dispensaries	9
Convalescence	4
Food	4
Garbage, Refuse, and Sewage	11
Health Administration	43
Health and Sanitation (General surveys of the field)	124
Health in Industry	40

	Number of Su	rvevs
Health Insurance	2	
Hospitals and Sanatoria	13	
Infant Mortality	23	
Infantile Paralysis	11	
Maternal Deaths	2	
Midwife	2	
Milk Problem	10	
Nurseries and Nursing	12	
Posture	2	
Pre-Natal Care	2	
Rural Health and Sanitation	18	
School Health and Sanitation	22	
Trachoma	9	
Tuberculosis	65	
Venereal Disease	5	
Total	<u></u>	469
Industrial and Work Conditions and Relations		
Accidents (Practically all industrial)	19	
Child Labor	61	
Domestic Workers	1	
Eight-Hour Day	2	
Industrial Conditions and Relations (General)	169	
Minimum Wage	18	
Unemployment	26	
Total		296
City and Regional Planning		155
Delinquency and Correction		100
Crime and Criminals	20	
Delinquency and Correction (General)	20 27	
Detention	5	
Juvenile Delinquency	30	
Police	7	
Prisons	46	
Probation and Parole	7	
Reformatories	2	
Sex Delinquency	6	
Workhouses	2	
/D - 1		
Total :		152
Housing		112

Other major fields in which the number of surveys have run fairly large are city, county, and state administration, with 88; child welfare, with 68; recreation, with 53; mental hygiene, with 52; cost of living, with 46; religion, 48; conditions among Negroes, 39; taxation, 35; immigration and Americanization, 36; social agencies, 28; and vice, with 26.

These figures indicate something of the spread in number of survey types, and in the range of subjects investigated. The longitudinal spread, so to speak, throughout the country is equally striking. Every state in the Union is represented, those states for which the largest number of surveys were found being New York, with 392; Ohio, with 206; Pennsylvania, 196; Illinois, 191; Massachusetts, 188; California, 109; New Jersey, 96; Missouri and Georgia, each 78; Minnesota, 75; Wisconsin, 75; Indiana, 72; Connecticut, 71; and with 40 or more in each of the following states: Michigan, Texas, Colorado, Maryland, South Carolina, and Virginia. As would be expected, the greatest local concentration of surveys is to be found in the large cities; thus we find in New York City, 1841; Chicago, 109; Cleveland, 95; Philadelphia, 49; Boston and Pittsburgh, each with 46; Milwaukee, 33; Cincinnati, 32; St. Louis, 30; Minneapolis, 28; Baltimore, 26: San Francisco, 21: and Detroit, 18.

IX. Some Foreign Surveys

For the most part the search for surveys from which our data are taken was limited to the United States and Canada, although some notable examples are to be found in other countries, among them the surveys of York, already referred to, Edinburgh and other cities of England and Scotland;² Constantinople, Prague,

¹ In 1926 the Welfare Council of New York City published a list of some 527 reports of social studies dealing with welfare questions in New York City and carried to completion in the period 1915 through 1925. The number is larger than those here listed for New York City chiefly because the list was not limited to surveys as defined here and because it included studies reported on in type-written form.

² Outstanding among these, in addition to Rowntree's York, are the following:

Bowley, A. L., and Burnett-Hurst, A. R., Livelihood and Poverty: A Study of the Economic Conditions of Working Class Households in Northampton, Warrington, Stanley, Reading (and subsequently Bolton). G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London, 1915.

Peking, and Africa. Some of these are included in the present volume; also a number of others made in Mexico, South America, and elsewhere.

X. THE DEMAND FOR SURVEY AIDS: PUBLICATIONS ON PURPOSE AND METHODS

Another evidence of the vitality of the survey idea is to be found in the apparent demand for information on the experience had by social surveyors in outlining the purposes and aims of their surveys and in developing survey methods. In Part III of the volume referred to references will be found to some 187 published documents treating of such experience. They deal with these aspects of general social surveys in urban centers to the extent of 43 books, pamphlets or articles; in rural areas, to the extent of 10 documents; and publications of this character relating to specialized fields of inquiry number 133. The list includes a number of books written chiefly as college texts; and the subject has also made its way into numerous college courses.²

Bowley, A. L., and Hogg, M. H., Has Poverty Diminished? A Sequel to Livelihood and Poverty. (An investigation after ten years of the same cities—Northampton, Warrington, Stanley, Reading, and Bolton.) P. S. King and Son, Ltd., London, 1925.

Crawford, A. F. Sharman, Cork: A Civic Survey. Cork Town Planning Association, Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London, 1926.

Gilchrist, E. J., Ipswich: A Survey of the Town. Ipswich Local Committee of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, 1924.

Hawkins, C. B., Norwich: A Social Study. Philip Lee Warner, London,

Mess, Henry A., Industrial Tyneside: A Social Survey made for the Bureau of Social Research for Tyneside. Ernest Benn, Ltd., London, 1928. O'Rourke, Horace T., The Dublin Civic Survey. Dublin Civic Survey Committee for the Civics Institute of Ireland, Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., London, 1925.

Rackstraw, Marjorie, editor, A Social Survey of the City of Edinburgh. Joint Committee, Committee of the Social Union and the Edinburgh Council of Social Agencies, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1926.

¹ A Bibliography of Social Surveys.

² Among publications dealing with survey purposes and methods which have been issued in the United States since the date when the listings here were closed are the following:

American Public Health Association, Appraisal Form for City Health Work. Standards for measuring city health department work. By the Committee on Administrative Practice of the American Public Health Association. 3d edition, 1929. American Public Health Association, 370 Seventh Ave., New York.

- Bartlett, Harriet M., "The Social Survey and The Charity Organization Movement." In American Journal of Sociology, September, 1928.
- Caswell, Hollis Leland, City School Survey: An Interpretation and Appraisal. Columbia University Press, New York, 1929.
- Continuing Committee of the Annual Conference on Research, Young Men's Christian Association of the United States and Canada, Association Survey Methods and Results, Section B of Research and Studies II. General Board of the Young Men's Christian Associations, New York, 1930.
- Douglass, H. Paul, How to Study the City Church. Doubleday, Doran and Company, Garden City, N. Y., 1928.
- Good, Carter Victor, How to Do Research in Education. Warwick and
- York, Baltimore, 1928.

 Hogg, Margaret H., "Sources of Incomparability and Error in Employment-Unemployment Surveys." In Journal of the American Statistical Association, September, 1930.
- Lundberg, George A., "Field Work: The Interview and Social Survey." In A Study in Methods of Gathering Data, Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1929.
- Manny, Theodore B., "Method and Scope of the Survey of Local Rural Government." In Rural Municipalities, Century Company, New York,
- Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, The Community Health Study Campaign-Schedule. New York.
- Morse and Burnham, Every Community Survey of New Hampshire. Home
- Missions Council, 105 East 22d Street, New York, 1928.

 Odum and Jocher, "Types of Method: The Survey." Chapter XVI in An Introduction to Social Research, Holt and Company, New York, 1929.
- Palmer, Vivien M., Field Studies in Sociology: A Student's Manual. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1928.
- Rice, Stuart A., editor, Statistics in Social Studies. Papers prepared for annual meeting of American Statistical Association, 1929. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1930.
- Smith, T. V., and White, L. D., editors, Chicago, an Experiment in Social Research. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929.
- West Virginia Country Life Council, Country Community Score Card. Extension Division, College of Agriculture, West Virginia University Circular 255, July, 1928.
- Woodhouse, Mr. and Mrs. Chase Going, "The Field of Research on the Economic and Social Problems of the Home." In Journal of Home Economics, Vol. XX, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 1928.
- (Numerous publications issued by the Social Science Research Council, New York, are also in the nature of aids in the conduct of social studies and research.)
- Among valuable publications in other countries which discuss various phases of survey methods, purposes, and standards, the following British material will be of special interest:
 - Branford, Sybella, and Farquharson, Alexander, An Introduction to Regional Surveys. Prepared at the instance of the Cities Committee, Leplay House. Leplay House Press, 1924, Westminster, 65 Belgrave Road, S. W. 1.
 - Butler, C. V., and Simpson, C. A., Village Survey-Making, an Oxfordshire Experiment. H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1928.
 - Geddes, Patrick, "The Survey of Cities, and City Survey for Town Planning Purposes, of Municipalities and Government." Chapters XV and XVI in Cities in Evolution. Williams and Norgate, London, 1915.

The subject has also gained a place in numerous conferences on social and civic work, the most recent being the 1930 meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in Boston, where the Division on Social Forces devoted two of its main sessions to a symposium on survey objectives, practice, and procedures.

XI. INSTITUTIONS INTERESTED, SPONSORING, AND PARTICIPATING

The spread of interest is strikingly shown in another way—in the very wide range of organizations which have initiated, sponsored, conducted, or in other ways participated in surveys. A glance through the Bibliography will show these to include: special national, state, and local survey committees; various university and college organizations such as sociology departments, extension divisions, college agricultural experiment stations and departments of rural sociology and economics; national, state, and local public health and medical associations, antituberculosis societies, associations of clinics, visiting nurse associations, family welfare and charity organization societies, councils of social agencies, child labor committees, consumers' leagues, civic clubs and federations, committees on conservation, bureaus of municipal research, commissions on efficiency and economy, housing associations and committees, immigration commissions, playground and recreation committees and associations, committees on industrial relations, commissions on interracial relations, child study and child welfare organizations, juvenile protective associations, park commissions, city and regional planning committees, city improvement associations, chambers of commerce and other business men's organizations, taxpayers' leagues, societies for the control of cancer, national life insurance companies, young men's and young women's Christian associations, social hygiene bureaus and associations, citizens' committees on finance, crime commissions, committees on the feeble-minded and on mental hygiene, committees on aged and dependent persons, public education and educational research associations, prison inquiry commissions, probation associations, hospital organizations, committees on unemployment, vice commissions; national governmental bodies, like the United States Public Health Service, United States Children's Bureau, Women's Bureau, United

States Office of Education, United States Bureau of Agricultural Economics; state governmental bodies, like state industrial commissions, state boards of health, charities, corrections, finance, immigration and housing, public welfare, labor, industry, and agriculture; local governmental bodies in many of these fields, particularly in health and education, and a few city councils.

The range of participating organizations also includes national, state, and local departments, federations and branches of national religious bodies, national and local foundations and community trusts, local research organizations, rotary clubs, women's civic organizations, city and civic clubs, federations of women's clubs, social settlements and neighborhood associations, health demonstrations, state and local councils of churches, local chapters of the American Red Cross, community chests, councils of social agencies, and a few library organizations.

XII. WIDER ACCEPTANCE OF FACT-BASIS FOR PUBLIC OPINION AND PROGRAM MAKING

Indeed, practically every type of private organization interested in improving the conditions under which people live and work, and a large number of municipal, state, and federal bodies have made the study of social conditions an important feature of their regular work. They have done this for the purpose not only of giving citizens the raw fact material necessary to form intelligent opinion upon matters of public concern, but also to provide the information necessary to develop plans for the current work of their various organizations. This is a development of great It means that in planning public undertakings leaders in these very numerous types of work are less and less willing to base decisions, or to ask others to act, upon assumptions or best guesses. On the contrary they are resting their cases more and more upon ascertained knowledge, even though it may not be exact and they must therefore often be content with approximate accuracy. Thus, whether these efforts during the last twenty-five years to get at the truth go under the title of surveys, investigations, inquiries, reconnoitres, researches, or some other name, their spread marks an important period in the social history of this country—a period of transition from a great absence of

basic information for social and community planning to a more factual basis.

The movement has further significance. It shows that national organizations no longer are content to work out, away from the local scene, standardized programs for their local branches to be clamped down upon community situations regardless of how well they fit. Rather they prefer, with what guidance and help they can give from their broader range of vision and experience, to see programs fostered by local effort grow out of ascertained knowledge of the peculiar elements in each situation. This trend would seem to acknowledge the need of greater local autonomy in some types of public service.

XIII. CONTINUING SURVEY AND RESEARCH AGENCIES

Another tendency which appears to be evident from this compilation of social inquiries is the institution of more or less permanent survey or research bureaus in different localities. Sometimes the bureau is an independent organization, in other cases it is attached to one of a variety of community institutions. Bureaus of municipal research, and local community trusts and foundations are examples of the former, while the latter vary among private agencies from research bureaus in welfare councils, councils of social agencies, church federations, housing associations, city planning committees, educational associations, census study committees and university departments of sociology, political science, economics, education, medicine, and law, to bureaus in public departments of health and public welfare, and to city and county governmental commissions on city planning.

The tendency, moreover, is perhaps even more marked where the scope is national. In this field, as already indicated, many privately supported organizations and not a few publicly supported agencies carry more or less permanent staffs of workers equipped to make or to cooperate in making at least a limited number of local surveys in different parts of the country. Examples of the former are to be found in the Bureau of Jewish Social Research, National Institute of Public Administration, Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, National Catholic Welfare Conference, National

Child Labor Committee, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, National Industrial Conference Board, National Tuberculosis Association, National Recreation Association, American Social Hygiene Association, Foreign Policy Association, the Brookings Institution, the National Bureau of Economic Research, the Commonwealth Fund, the Milbank Memorial Fund, and the Russell Sage Foundation. Examples of public agencies are to be found in the United States Public Health Service, the Children's Bureau, the Women's Bureau, Office of Education, and some of the bureaus in the United States Department of Agriculture.¹

The setting-up of these local and continuing survey bureaus has made it possible to combine certain features of the general community survey with those of the specialized survey in a particular field. In some cities, for example, successive studies of special fields have been undertaken with the result that after a few years the major divisions of social and civic concern in the locality have been covered. Such inquiries have the advantage usually of making it possible to center public attention upon one set of related problems at a time, presumably to consider them more fully, and possibly to develop a plan of action before passing on to another group of questions. In practice it affords opportunity for more thorough work both on the investigational and the educational sides. An outstanding illustration of this method is to be found in the series of surveys carried out in Cleveland, already referred to, most of them by the Survey Committee of the Cleveland Foundation, which included the Cleveland Education Survey with its more than 20 separate reports; the Cleveland Recreation Survey, reported in 7 volumes; the Cleveland Hospital and Health Survey, in 10 volumes, and a preliminary study of Cleveland's Relief Agencies, reported in one volume.

Local child health and general health demonstrations, notably those conducted by several of the national foundations, by pursuing their work through a period of years, and by utilizing the survey both to draw their base lines for recording conditions from

¹ Other departments and bureaus of the national government, such as the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics, regularly collect and report valuable data on social questions, but these are more in the nature of basic statistical compilations than surveys, as here defined.

which later measurements of trends could be made, and also to outline plans of work to suit the peculiar needs of the community, exhibit certain features of the continuing study and survey method.

XIV. More Funds for Surveys

The Pittsburgh Survey, as has been seen, was paid for in very large part with funds supplied by a national foundation located not in Pittsburgh but in New York City. In the early years of the Survey funds to meet the necessary expenses were in large part supplied by national rather than local organizations. Indeed it has been pointed out that the wide development in social investigation has been due not alone to the growth of the scientific spirit and of a widespread social consciousness, paralleling advances in methods of social research and in the technical equipment of investigators, but also to the rise of the great foundations with their deepening appreciation of research. Before 1900 there were only three foundations in this country, in the more or less generally accepted meaning of that term. By 1907, when the Russell Sage Foundation was established, there were only eight. By 1922 the number had reached 33; 77 in 1924; and over 150 by 1930. The community trust, an endowed institution in many instances also making contributions to social research, has also developed largely in the last decade or two. The first one, the Cleveland Foundation, was established in 1914; by 1924 there were 50, and by 1930 more than 60. The total endowment of the ten largest foundations runs upwards of \$600,000,000 and that of the community trusts in 1929 was estimated at upwards of \$32,000,000.1

Moreover, local funds from other sources, while seldom easy to secure for research purposes, have been put into surveys in larger measure as time has gone on. A major proportion of the Springfield Survey was paid for locally, the largest single sums coming from the local Board of Education and several private organizations and individuals; much of it in small contributions. While the value of survey work is not yet fully recognized nor has

¹ "Foundations in Social Work." In Social Work Year Book, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1930, p. 168-171.

the community reached the point where it will pay for its surveys on an expert basis, as it does when it calls in an engineer to pass upon the safety of a public bridge or a chemist to pass judgment upon the water supply, nevertheless increasing numbers of cities see that the saving of lives, the safeguarding of health, and promotion of the common welfare through organized, intelligently planned attacks upon disease, ignorance, crime, and other evils have legitimate claims upon the public and private purse.

XV. EDUCATIONAL USE OF SURVEY FINDINGS

The importance of putting real effort into interpreting the findings of a survey has been recognized from the beginning. As already pointed out, educational use of the data is essential to the idea. The Pittsburgh Survey was undertaken by a group interested in spreading information through journalism; and it and later surveys have used not only the printed page, be it newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, or book, but also the spoken word, and graphic devices of many kinds. Nevertheless, a glance over the many projects employed and reflection upon a considerable acquaintance with the procedure followed leads to the conviction that as a rule nothing like the attention and skill has gone into the educational use of the material that has been expended upon its collection. One of the interesting and more significant developments, however, has been a considerable increase in knowledge of the educational processes themselves and a growing skill

¹Some minor defects in this connection may be indicated here. A large number of the something over two thousand reports examined lacked essential descriptive information regarding the enterprise itself. Titles, too often even with the aid of sub-titles, gave no clear idea of the field covered; the names of organizations and individuals responsible for the survey and the names of the author or authors of the report were not always clearly stated; even the name of the place surveyed in some cases was difficult to find; the date was sometimes omitted or buried deep in the text; and many of the reports gave no publisher's name nor indication where copies might be secured. While these omissions would occasion little or no difficulty in the locality where the survey was made, particularly if it had been widely participated in; nevertheless in large cities these would constitute important deficiencies, certainly if the report was to be used outside the vicinity studied. It would be helpful locally, and undoubtedly among students of social events, if each report could carry the following information where it can be easily found: descriptive name of report; place studied; names of persons and organizations conducting the survey; the author of the report; date of publication; name and address of publisher; the price or whether copies may be had free; if not to be had from publisher where else it can be obtained or consulted.

in their use. In certain undertakings a desire to take advantage of the method of "learning by doing" governed the use of large numbers of volunteers in presenting data to the public; and the so-called "project" method familiar to study classes and conference groups has been employed to spread knowledge of the data. The trend would then seem to be, though seemingly slow, toward a recognition of the importance of putting survey findings before people in ways which will gain them attention and thought, and will bridge the gap between information and action.

XVI. THE SURVEYING PROCESS GOES ON

The classified listings of the Bibliography of Social Surveys will serve as a comprehensive guide to survey material up to January 1, 1928. Since that period no sharp change appears to have taken place in survey trends, but reports have been published in considerable and perhaps increasing numbers. As a guide to this more recent material we list below the completed projects which have come to our attention. Since no thorough search has been made, the list is presented as it is without pretense of finality or inclusiveness:

Child Welfare

- Boys and Girls in Salt Lake City, by Rotary Club and Business and Professional Women's Club in Salt Lake City.
- Child Labor in Agriculture and Farm Life in the Arkansas Valley, Colorado, by Bertram H. Mautner and W. Lewis Abbott. National Child Labor Committee.
- Child Labor in New Jersey. Part I, Employment of School Children. Part II, Children Engaged in Industrial Home Work, by Nettie P. McGill and Mary Skinner. Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.
- Child Workers on City Streets, by Nettie P. McGill. Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.
- Children in Agriculture, by Nettie P. McGill. Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.
- Children in Fruit and Vegetable Canneries, A Survey in Several States, by Ellen Nathalie Matthews. Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.
- Children in Street Work, by Nettie P. McGill. Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.
- National Study of Catholic Children's Homes, by National Conference of Catholic Charities.

- State Survey of Crippled Children (Massachusetts), by State Department of Public Welfare.
- Study of Children Employed in Enid, Oklahoma City, Lawton, and Tulsa (Oklahoma), by National Child Labor Committee.

City and Regional Planning

Regional planning surveys of the Committee on Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission in Washington, of the Regional Planning Federation of the Philadelphia Tri-State District, and of the Regional Planning Association of Chicago; together with a series of social studies in Chicago by the Local Community Research Committee at the University of Chicago.

Study of city planning problems in New York, by the Mayor's Committee on Plan and Survey.

Community Studies

Community Welfare in San Diego, California, by George B. Mangold for the Welfare Council of San Diego and the San Diego County Welfare Commission.

Jewish Communal Survey of Greater New York, by Bureau of Jewish Social Research (First Section: Studies in the New York Jewish Population).

Middletown, a Study in Contemporary Culture; and a series of village surveys, by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

Delinquency, Correction, Administration of Justice

Administration of Justice in Boston, The, by a group from the Harvard Law School.

Administration of Justice in New Jersey, The, by the National Institute of Public Administration.

Central Registration Bureau of the Municipal Court of Philadelphia, by Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

Health Survey of American Prisons, by National Society of Penal Information.

Illinois Crime Survey, The, by the Illinois Association for Criminal Justice.

Juvenile Courts in Utah, The, by the National Probation Association. Juvenile Delinquency in Maine, by the Social Service Division of the Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.

Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence, a report to the Chairman of the Parole Board of Illinois. Committee on the Study of the Workings of the Indeterminate-Sentence Law and of Parole in the State of Illinois (Bruce, Burgess, Harno, and Landesco).

Police Department, The, by Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau. Survey of Causes and Effects of Crime in New York, by the Baumes Crime Commission.

Survey of Chicago Police Department, by Citizens Police Committee.

- Study of the Prevalence and Treatment of Delinquency among Boys, A, by Dorothy Williams Burke. Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor.
- Survey of Police Department of Minneapolis, Minnesota, by August Vollmer, City Council.
- Survey of the Los Angeles County Juvenile Court, by the National Probation Association.
- Treatment of Adult Offenders and Children in Luzerne County, The, by Leon Stern. Wyoming Valley Welfare Council (Pennsylvania), Wilkes-Barre.

Government Administration and Public Finance

- Administration of Indian Affairs, The, by the Institute for Government Research, Brookings Institution.
- Capital Expenditure Program, A, by Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Inc.
- Comparative Assessed Valuation for 1927 and 1928 in Iowa, by Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research.
- Cost of Government, The, Wayne County, Michigan, 1928–1929, by Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research
- Government and Administration of the District of Columbia, The, by L. F. Schmeckebier and W. F. Willoughby. Institute for Government Research, Brookings Institution.
- Report on the Audit and Analysis of the Accounts of the Town of Milford for the year 1927, by the Taxpayers' Research League of Delaware
- San Francisco-San Mateo Survey, The, by the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research.

Health and Sanitation

- Appraisal of Public Health Activities of Portland, Oregon, An, by James Wallace. Committee on Administrative Practice, American Public Health Association.
- Health Inventory of New York City, by M. M. Davis and M. C. Jarrett. Welfare Council of New York City.
- Health Survey of Cambridge, Massachusetts, in Relation to Tuberculosis, by M. P. Horwood for the Anti-Tuberculosis Association.
- Health Survey of Holyoke, Massachusetts, by Murray P. Horwood.
- Health Survey of New Haven, Connecticut, by New Haven Community Chest.
- Hospital and Health Survey of Philadelphia, by Haven Emerson for Chamber of Commerce.
- Hospital and Health Survey of Washington, D. C., by Survey Committee of the American Public Health Association.
- Investigations by the United States Public Health Service, Office of Education, Women's Bureau, and Children's Bureau.

- Noise Abatement in New York City, by the Noise Abatement Commission.
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XVII. SURVEY TENDENCIES SUMMARIZED

Starting with the Pittsburgh Survey in 1907–1909, which combined in a new form the social investigation within a given area of related current problems and the analysis and interpretation of its findings in ways to make them educational forces in the community, certain developments and tendencies in the use of surveys have emerged. Important among these are: (1) a wider participation of local people and organizations in the various features of the surveys, some of these much more marked than others; (2) a development of survey types and a differentiation between them according to the functions which each is best suited to perform—in other words, the making of a distinction between a general survey and the comprehensive and intensive investigation of a special field, the latter being accomplished through the breaking up of the whole unit of social concern into

subdivisions and the application of more extended study to each; (3) when an inquiry is proposed, an increasing care in the type of survey to be selected; (4) an increasing use of the survey method in foreign countries; (5) the growth of a considerable body of material dealing with survey policies, methods, and standards; (6) the wide range of organizations initiating, sponsoring, and conducting surveys; (7) the consequent and apparent acceptance in practically all types of social and civic work of the survey as important in informing the public on social questions, and as a basis for planning community programs; (8) the shifting of interest from readymade programs evolved in distant central headquarters to the development of plans made through surveys to fit the peculiar needs of the communities concerned; (9) an important increase in funds being devoted to local research and surveys; (10) the setting up of more or less permanent local councils and other agencies equipped to make consecutive studies in their own cities over a period of years; (11) growing attention to social surveys in textbooks and other writings on social subjects and in college courses; and (12) relatively few instances in which the educational use of findings would seem to have been given sufficient emphasis.

It may be added, with some considerable assurance, that the great growth in the use of the survey, partly resulting from a tendency to apply inductive methods to social questions and the increased effort to improve methods of measuring social phenomena, has in turn added vitality and new impetus to these trends themselves, and has also greatly increased the demand on both public and private agencies for better social statistics.

Copies of most of the reports and publications listed in this pamphlet and in the Bibliography of Social Surveys may be consulted in the Library of the Russell Sage Foundation.