

administration clients or were receiving other supplementary relief aid, and approximately 40 percent were not receiving relief.<sup>5</sup> Of the last group, about half were eligible for relief. In addition to the new emphasis on cooperatives as a relief measure, the State relief administration regulations removed much of the independence of the group. "The goal of rehabilitation through self-directed cooperatives was abandoned. In its place was substituted the aim of relief savings with strict government control of units. Principal changes were increased State control over warehousing, transportation, purchasing, and individual unit operations."<sup>6</sup> Under these conditions self-direction, which has been advanced as one of the primary values of the cooperatives, was negated.

*While self-help cooperatives obviously cannot be expected to take the place of either direct or work relief, they appear to offer an acceptable form of public aid to a limited group, particularly older and underem-*

<sup>5</sup> Kerr, Clark, and Harris, Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

*ployed workers who can meet at least part of their needs through their own efforts.* Despite their many limitations, the cooperatives have furnished a certain amount of work and training to persons in need of total or partial public support, and they have often also provided recreational and social facilities.<sup>7</sup> It is also significant, in evaluating this form of public aid, that surveys of public opinion and of the attitude of the members themselves have been generally favorable, although with reservations concerning their effect upon retailers. "Relief savings, productive activity by unemployed workers, vocational training and maintenance of morale, and desirable social attitudes are those features of self-help cooperatives which receive favorable approval by local citizens."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> "Self-help production activities have been fairly successful in maintaining the morale of the participants. The associations offered certain occupational training and practical experience in industrial problems and democratic management." (Kerr, Clark, and Harris, Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 23.) See also Governor's Commission on Reemployment, State of California, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>8</sup> Kerr, Clark, and Harris, Arthur, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

## SPECIAL PROGRAMS FOR YOUTH

It is significant that the first Federal program for the relief of the unemployed—Emergency Conservation Work, later the Civilian Conservation Corps—almost immediately became primarily a work program for youth and that a part of the principal Federal work program—the Work Projects Administration—emerged as the National Youth Administration. This public recognition that the problems of unemployed youth differ from those of adults led to the development of programs aiming to meet the special needs of youth by measures which differed considerably from those of other work programs. Hence any consideration of youth work programs must be based upon some knowledge of the nature of the needs of youth. Evaluation can then be made of the relative effectiveness of the plans adopted to meet these needs.

### The Problem of Unemployed Youth

*An outstanding characteristic of the unemployment of the last decade was its heavy incidence among young people in the age group 15-24.* In 1930, when the amount of unemployment was, by more recent standards, relatively small, there was a fairly regular distribution of unemployment by age groups. Even at that time, however, the incidence of unemployment was somewhat more severe for both males and females in the age groups 10-19 and 20-24 than for any other

age group.<sup>9</sup> As the depression deepened, new openings were far too few to absorb all of the approximately 1,750,000 young people and inexperienced workers who annually offered their services for the first time.<sup>10</sup> Between 1930 and 1935, youth began to appear in large proportions among the unemployed.<sup>11</sup>

The relative severity of unemployment among young people is confirmed by numerous State and local censuses and surveys.<sup>12</sup> In 66 nonagricultural city and

<sup>9</sup> *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Unemployment, II*, Washington, 1932, p. 252, table 11.

<sup>10</sup> Bell, *op. cit.*, p. v.

<sup>11</sup> Gill, Corrington, "Young and Old Look for Work," *American Federationist*, XLV (June 1938), 583 and 585.

The evidence of this situation is assembled in many surveys of unemployment among youth and the labor force both in the Nation and in localities. See, e. g., Rainey, Homer P. and others, *How Fare American Youth?*, New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1937, pp. 22-24 and 34-36; and Jessen, Carl A. and Hutchins, H. Clifton, *Youth-Community Surveys*, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin 1936, No. 18-VI, Washington, 1936, pp. 8-11, 13-14, 31-32, 41-43.

<sup>12</sup> In Pennsylvania in the spring of 1934, 28.1 percent of all employable persons were totally unemployed; but of the age groups 16-19 and 20-24, 60.2 percent and 35.6 percent respectively were unemployed. (Computed from Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, State Emergency Relief Administration, *Census of Employable Workers in Urban and Rural Non-Farm Areas, Pennsylvania, 1934*, Harrisburg, 1936, p. 5.) In Massachusetts in January 1934, among employable persons in the age groups 15-19 and 20-24, 51.3 percent and 30.2 percent respectively were unemployed, as compared with 25.2 percent of all employable persons. (Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Department of Labor and Industries, *Report on the Census of Unemployment in Massachusetts as of January 2, 1934*, Public Document No. 15, 1935, p. 8.) In Michigan in January 1935, 18.8 percent of the total employable population was unemployed. The corresponding percentages for the age groups 15-19 and 20-24 were 34.3 and 24.0. (Michigan State Emergency Welfare Relief Commission, *Michigan Census of Population*

county areas during the period 1930-37, the National Research Project estimated that the incidence of unemployment among those 15-19 years of age out of school, ranged from 18.4 percent in 1930 at the low point in unemployment in the last decade to 50.0 percent at the high point in 1933. The range for the group 20-24 was from 12.7 percent in 1930 to 36.4 percent in 1933.<sup>13</sup>

The overrepresentation of youth among the unemployed is also demonstrated by the Unemployment Census of 1937. According to the Enumerative Check Census, of all persons employed or available for employment, there were 8.3 percent in the age group 15-19, whereas 18.5 percent of all persons totally unemployed were in this age group; persons 20-24 years of age constituted 14.8 percent of the labor force and 19.2 percent of those unemployed.<sup>14</sup> Preliminary returns of the 1940 census indicated that, whereas 9.7 percent of the labor force as a whole was unemployed in the week March 24-30, 1940, 24.3 percent of the age group 14-19 and 13.5 percent of the age group 20-24 were unemployed.<sup>15</sup>

The absolute number of young people who have sought work but failed to secure it during the last 10 years is a matter of considerable difference of opinion. Preliminary returns of the 1940 census indicate that in the week of March 24-30, 1940, 2.6 million persons in the age group 14-24 were seeking work or were on public emergency work.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, the WPA sample analysis indicated that there were 3.1 million unemployed young people below the age of 25 on April 1, 1940, and that by July of that year the number had increased to 4.1 millions.<sup>17</sup> Estimates of

the numbers of young unemployed persons in the middle years of the decade have ranged between 4 and 5 millions.<sup>18</sup>

In the country as a whole, it may be concluded that youth constituted a third of all the unemployed during the decade 1930-40 and that about one-third of all employable youth were unable to find jobs. Moreover, among the employed youth about 20 percent appear to have worked only part-time, an arrangement which can hardly be considered a satisfactory vocational adjustment unless these young people were also attending school.

The published statistics and estimates of unemployment fail to give a complete picture of the limited access of youth to employment. For they do not take complete account of the large numbers of young workers on the farms who are unable to secure full-time wage employment either in agriculture or industry. Prior to the depression, the deficiency in the urban birth rate was made up by migration of rural youth from farms and other rural areas. The cities had need of them to work in expanding industry. With the depression, these youth were no longer needed; hence they were forced to remain on the farm and a surplus of rural youth accumulated. In the absence of a free frontier, the opportunities of rural youth are restricted more than ever.<sup>19</sup>

The duration of unemployment is fully as significant as its volume. *While the longer duration of unemployment is usually associated with older workers, the extent and effects of prolonged unemployment among youth should not be overlooked.* In Michigan, 39.0 percent of the approximately 70,000 youth of 15-24 who were unemployed in January 1935 had been out of work for at least 1 year prior to that date. In fact, 18.4 percent had been unemployed for 3 or more years.<sup>20</sup> A study of 21,000 youth in seven widely scattered cities revealed that, of the 4,000 youth unemployed on July 1, 1938, 28 percent had been continuously unemployed from 6 months to 1 year, 22 percent

and Unemployment, January 14, 1935—Age, Sex, and Employment Status of Gainful Workers in Five Types of Community, Series One, Number One, Lansing, 1936, p. 19, table 10.) In Rhode Island in 1936, 26.0 percent of the gainful workers from 16-25 years of age were unemployed, as compared with 16.1 percent of all gainful workers in the State. (Rhode Island Department of Labor, *Decennial Population Census of 1936*, pp. 26, 27.) In Philadelphia in each year from 1931 to 1936 (except 1934, which was not reported), unemployment among those 16-19 and 20-24 was more severe than in any other age groups, except in the case of women in 1936. (Palmer, Gladys L., *Recent Trends in Employment and Unemployment in Philadelphia*, Philadelphia Labor Market Studies, Report No. P-1, Work Projects Administration, National Research Project, in cooperation with the University of Pennsylvania, Industrial Research Department, Philadelphia, 1937, pp. 51-55.)

<sup>13</sup> Carson, Daniel, *Labor Supply and Employment; Preliminary Statement of Estimates Prepared and Methods Used*, Work Projects Administration, National Research Project, Philadelphia, 1939, pp. 408 and 414.

<sup>14</sup> The figures for the totally unemployed pertain to persons listed as "totally unemployed" and "available for employment"; they exclude persons listed as "emergency workers." (Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations: 1937, *Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment*, IV, Washington, 1938, p. 22, table 7.)

<sup>15</sup> The figures for the unemployed pertain to persons listed as "seeking work," and do not include persons listed as "on public emergency work." (*Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*, Series P-4, No. 3, released April 4, 1941, p. 7, table 3.)

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5, table 1.

<sup>17</sup> "WPA Unemployment Estimates," *Monthly Labor Review*, LIII (October 1941), 893, 897. See also Appendix 1, below.

<sup>18</sup> The Committee on Youth Problems of the Office of Education estimated that there were about 4 million unemployed young people in January 1935. (Jessen and Hutchins, *op. cit.*, p. 1.) Earlier, the Committee had estimated that there were 5 million unemployed youth. (*School Life*, XXI (December 1935), 75.) The National Education Association had estimated that in the middle of the decade there were around 5 million unemployed youth. (American Association of School Administrators, *Youth Education Today*, Sixteenth Yearbook, Washington, National Education Association, 1938, p. 45.)

<sup>19</sup> Coyle, David Cushman, *Rural Youth*, Work Projects Administration, Social Problems, No. 2, Washington, 1939, p. 8. Cf. Edwards, Newton, "Youth as a Population Element," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CXCIV (November 1937), 6-17.

<sup>20</sup> Michigan Emergency Welfare Relief Administration, *Michigan Census of Population and Unemployment, January 14, 1935—Duration of Unemployment of Workers Seeking Reemployment*, Series 1, No. 5, Lansing, 1937, p. 5, table 5.

had been out of work a year or more, and 5 percent had been unemployed for more than 3 years.<sup>21</sup>

Unemployment does not fall evenly on all youth. Certain types of youth obviously are disadvantaged, such as the children of unskilled laborers and other low-income groups, youth with meagre education, Negro youth, and youth in depressed areas. Nor is its incidence uniform as between the sexes. In 1937, 23.1 percent of all females 15-19 years old available for employment were totally unemployed, as compared to 15.8 percent of all males in this age group; in the age group 20-24, 21.1 percent of all females and 18.1 percent of all males employed or available for employment were totally unemployed.<sup>22</sup>

Few would deny the relatively greater susceptibility of youth to the psychological repercussions of continued inability to participate in the normal routines of working life. Permanent harm may be done if, at an age when vitality, personal ambition, and the desire for creative activity are at their highest point and when social attitudes are in the formative stage, large groups of the citizens of tomorrow believe themselves to be thwarted in their desire to enter upon the normal responsibilities of adult life. The need for constructive measures that aim to do more than assure mere physical maintenance is nowhere more imperative than in regard to this section of the unemployed.

Yet the selection of suitable measures for this age group presents peculiarly difficult problems. For, unlike the older segment of the unemployed population, young unemployed workers have not in general formed any industrial attachment. It has long been recognized that, even in periods of expanding employment, the national interest demands that these new entrants to the labor market be assisted in selecting employments which, subject to the limitations laid down by the processes of production, are most fitted to their peculiar capacities and aptitudes. The vocational-guidance facilities which have been developed in many communities are a direct response to the need for this type of assistance to families and young people. The need for this service, however, has not as yet been adequately met in all parts of the country.

Furthermore, the years prior to maturity are characterized by great potential adaptability and capacity to learn. The offer of any type of public or private employment, regardless of its character, is therefore not necessarily the best social response to the needs of young unemployed workers. The failures of our ex-

isting educational provisions to assist young people to overcome economic barriers both to remaining in school for the required period and to continuing education after legal attendance requirements are met, serve to emphasize the desirability of utilizing the otherwise idle years of youth to improve the educational equipment of all or part of the citizens of the future.

In the normal course of events the first years of employment are, for most of the working population, the formative years in which work habits and skills are acquired. The importance to the country of a continuous supply of highly skilled workers, coupled with the failure of industry itself to assure this necessary development, has already been recognized by the grant of large sums to make vocational education available to increasing numbers of young people both in and out of school, and by the establishment of a permanent Federal agency concerned with promoting apprenticeship training. But the latter agency alone has, for obvious reasons, been unable to fill the gap left by the loss of private industrial training through years of unemployment. And vocational education alone can never replace the type of training that is acquired by actual industrial experience.

It is not surprising therefore that the same circumstances which have forced a recognition of the special needs and seriousness of the problem of unemployed youth, have also thrown into relief the inadequacy of the existing arrangements for facilitating the transfer from school to industry even in normal times and for making the best use of these socially strategic years. In consequence, measures which have been developed during the past 10 years with the major objective of meeting the need of youth for employment have not concentrated solely on the provision of work but have also in part attempted to fill the gap left by the incomplete functioning of other programs dealing with the education and guidance of youth.

### Character of the Youth Programs

The public-aid measures devised for the young unemployed include the grant of financial aid to remain in school or college in return for work (the NYA student work program); three other types of work program, afforded by the NYA out-of-school work program, the CCC, and (for young primary wage earners) the WPA work program; and finally, some vocational and educational counseling performed by the NYA, the Employment Service, and the CCC. The provision for youth on the WPA program needs no further discussion at this point, since no distinction is made in the operation of the program between young and older project workers and the general nature of the program has been described in the preceding pages. In this section at-

<sup>21</sup> Payne, Stanley L., *Disadvantaged Youth on the Labor Market*, Work Projects Administration, Division of Research, Series I, No. 25, Washington, 1940, pp. 3 and 19.

<sup>22</sup> Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupations: 1937, *Final Report* \* \* \*, IV, p. 22, table 7.

tention will be concentrated on the extent to which the three public-aid programs designed specifically for youth have met the other-than-maintenance needs of this special age group.

In any case, although relief was one of the objectives of the establishment of both the Federal youth agencies, the stimulation of educational interests and the economic and social rehabilitation of youth were also regarded as of major importance. This was particularly true of the thinking about the NYA prior to its establishment. It was expected that, if young people were kept busy during part or most of their enforced leisure hours, not only would they be spared the demoralizing effects of idleness and be kept off the streets but they would also become more employable through obtaining work experience and work habits.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, although when the CCC was inaugurated, the objective of the program was stated to be the relief of unemployment and the restoration of the country's depleted natural resources through the advancement of an orderly program of useful public works, increasing stress has come to be placed, both in administrative practice and in legal formulations, upon the training and welfare of the enrollees.<sup>24</sup>

#### Civilian Conservation Corps

Between the creation of the Civilian Conservation Corps in March 1933 and July 1, 1940, more than 2,250,000 individual young men have been enrolled. During the fiscal year 1940, 284,454 were selected and enrolled at the four quarterly enrollment periods.<sup>25</sup>

The strength of the corps has fluctuated somewhat

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Johnson, Palmer O. and Harvey, Oswald L., *The National Youth Administration*, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 13, Washington, 1938, p. 6. The first administrative order of the WPA which related to the employment of young people (No. 19, August 31, 1935) stated: "It is the intention of this order to afford families certified as eligible for work relief, supplementary earnings by providing employment to young persons who are members of such families (but not primarily responsible for their support) at salaries equal to approximately one-third of the schedule of monthly earnings and for a number of working hours approximately equal to one-third of the working hours specified in Regulation No. 1 \* \* \*." See also *Report on Progress of the Works Progress Administration, December 1937*, p. 63; and *Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1937*, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 75th Cong., 1st sess., Washington, 1937, pp. 128-129.

<sup>24</sup> The Act which established what was to become the CCC (Public, No. 5, 73d Cong., approved March 31st, 1933) was for "the relief of unemployment" and made no mention of educating or training the men who were to be employed. But in his message to Congress transmitting the reorganization plan in 1939, the President said of the CCC: "Its major purpose is to promote the welfare and further the training of the individuals who make up the Corps, important as may be the construction work which they carry on so successfully." (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1939*, Washington, 1939, p. 95.) Public, No. 163, 75th Cong., approved June 28, 1937 (sec. 1) contained the first statutory statement of the nonrelief objective and provided that "at least ten hours each week may be devoted to general educational and vocation training."

<sup>25</sup> *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940*, Washington, 1940, pp. 13-14.

in response to general economic conditions as well as in response to administrative regulations.<sup>26</sup> The number of junior enrollees employed increased steadily from the spring of 1933 to a peak of over 500,000 in August 1935. Thereafter, the number employed fell to the low point of about 242,000 juniors in March 1937. After the passage of the 1937 Act extending the life of the Corps and placing an upper limit of 300,000 on the total enrollment in the Corps at any given time, employment ranged between that figure and about 250,000 enrollees per month, most of whom were juniors.<sup>27</sup>

Employment is provided on large-scale projects planned by the Department of Interior and the Department of Agriculture, which also supervise the work done in the camps. These camps, which house not more than 200 men each, are located in every State. In June 1940 they were distributed by region as follows: Northeast, 241; Southeast, 357; Middle States, 309; Northwest, 238; Southwest, 155; Far West, 200; total, 1,500.<sup>28</sup> The men live in the camps for the entire period of their enrollment in the Corps. The camps may be within a few miles of the enrollee's home, but they are just as likely to be several hundred miles away, depending on the numbers needed by different camps. The men work 8 hours a day for 5 days a week<sup>29</sup> except in case of emergency or in making up lost time due to bad weather or other contingency.

The type of work done by the men in the Corps falls into 10 general classifications: (1) Structural improvements, including among other things bridges, fire towers, service buildings; (2) transportation improvements, including truck trails, minor roads, airplane landing fields; (3) erosion control, including check dams, terracing, terrace outletting, vegetative covering; (4) flood control, irrigation, and drainage, including dams, channel work, ditching, riprap; (5) forest culture, including planting of trees, stand improvement, nursery work, seed collection; (6) forest protection, including fire fighting, fire prevention, and

<sup>26</sup> For example, in 1934 a contingent of young men was enrolled from the drought States over and above the scheduled enrollment, and in the spring and summer of 1935 the upper and lower age limits of enrollment were extended, thereby increasing the size of the Corps. (*Summary Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work on the Operations of Emergency Conservation Work for the Period Extending from April 1933, to June 30, 1935*, Washington, 1935, pp. 14-15.) See also Melvin, Bruce L., *Rural Youth on Relief*, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XI, Washington, 1937, p. 53, footnote 18.

<sup>27</sup> See the annual reports of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps after June 30, 1935, and periodic reports prior to that time for figures used above. These figures do not agree with those used in Appendix 9, which include Indian enrollees as well as veterans and juniors. For authorized proportions of Indians and veterans, see ch. IV.

<sup>28</sup> *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, pp. 74-75.

<sup>29</sup> After January 1942, 40 hours of work on the project constituted the minimum work week. On the average an enrollee worked about 2½ more hours per week than in previous years.

presuppression, pest and disease control; (7) landscape and recreation, including public camp- and picnic-ground development, lake- and pond-site clearing, landscaping; (8) range, including stock driveways, elimination of predatory animals; (9) wild life, including stream improvement, stocking fish, emergency wild life feeding, food and cover planting; (1) miscellaneous, including emergency work, surveys, mosquito control.<sup>30</sup>

*In many respects, the CCC camps are well adapted to meet some of the needs of youth, particularly with respect to acquiring work habits and the discipline of work through experience. The enrollees are under more or less supervision 24 hours a day, the work projects are planned by competent personnel in the regular agencies of the Government, the work is performed under realistic conditions, and emphasis is placed on the quality and quantity of work performed.*

CCC officials in all departments have made a valuable contribution in recognizing that work that does not meet the standards set by private or regular public employment has little training value in itself. They have bent every effort toward making their program truly work-centered. The Corps has contributed greatly to the improvement of the national domain and has rarely been subject to the criticism of having "useless" or "made-work" projects.<sup>31</sup> *The emphasis on efficiency and production, however, precludes much shifting of enrollees among different types of jobs to find work for which they may be best fitted.* If this is considered a proper objective of work programs for youth, then the training potentialities of the program may be correspondingly limited.

The training afforded, as apart from the educational program carried on after work hours (to be discussed shortly), is based on the opportunities given by the project and facilitating work; it aims to develop in the enrollees proper work habits and attitudes, in addition to knowledge about various types of work. The on-the-job training appears to have suffered from the unfamiliarity of most project supervisors and foremen with pedagogical techniques and the small amount of time they are able to give to preparation for this instruction.<sup>32</sup> The various camps may provide from 30 to 75 different jobs which can

furnish the basis for training enrollees toward recognized pay-roll jobs in private industry, though the average camp work project may present only 8 to 11 of these jobs.<sup>33</sup> The work ranges from manual labor to jobs requiring a high degree of skill and considerable technical knowledge.<sup>34</sup> A good deal of heavy motorized equipment is used, which must be operated and serviced, and other technical processes are used on the various types of construction projects.<sup>35</sup> Since the defense emergency, considerable emphasis has been laid on defense training in the course of the regular work of the Corps, which has been carried on without additional funds.<sup>36</sup> The original purpose of the Corps—the training of unemployed young men for private jobs and the conservation of the country's natural resources—has not been lost sight of in spite of the stress on national defense.

Opinions differ as to the extent to which the CCC can offer specialized training. According to one authority only about one-third of the jobs available to enrollees in the average CCC camp require something more than ability to do common labor and offer substantial opportunities for the development of various skills.<sup>37</sup> A special committee which visited six camps reported that about 60 percent of the 1,195 enrollees in these camps were engaged in jobs which, according to the classification of the United States Employment Service, are "ordinarily filled by professional and kindred workers, salespersons, clerical workers, semi-skilled or skilled workers." The remaining 40 percent "were working at jobs ordinarily filled by common laborers."<sup>38</sup>

It is undoubtedly true that the CCC cannot provide work experience in skilled occupations to all the boys in camp because the projects are primarily in the field of soil, forest, and water conservation. But it is

<sup>30</sup> *Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 63-64. See also *Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940*, Washington, 1941, p. 76.

<sup>31</sup> A partial list of the fields in which enrollees receive training is: auto mechanics, blacksmithing, blueprint reading, bridge construction, building construction, bulldozer operation, care of tools, carpentry, office clerking, compressor operation, concrete construction, crusher operation, small-dam construction, diesel engines, drafting, drainage, equipment maintenance, explosives, farm-woodlot management, foreman and leader training, grader operation, jackhammer operation, landscaping, mapping or map-making, masonry, nursery work, office practice, quarrying, saw filing, sign making, steel structure, stone cutting, surveying, telephone line work, tractor operation, trail maintenance, truck driving, typing, use of tools, welding, woodworking. (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1939, pp. 17-18.)

<sup>32</sup> The CCC has always had the advantage of using first-rate equipment because adequate expenditure for this purpose was definitely budgeted and was included in the calculated cost per enrollee. (See McEntee, James J., "The CCC and National Defense," *American Forests*, XLVI (July 1940), 310.)

<sup>33</sup> *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> American Youth Commission, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Washington, 1940, p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> See *Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>30</sup> *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, Appendix L.

<sup>31</sup> For an account of the contribution of the CCC to the national wealth see ch. XII.

<sup>32</sup> *Report of the Special Committee on Education in the Civilian Conservation Corps*, Washington, 1939, pp. 68-69. (Publication referred to subsequently as *Report of the Special Committee*.) The report of the Director of the CCC for 1940 states that "this phase of the program is gradually being improved by training foremen to teach, analyze work situations for instruction purposes, etc." (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, p. 37.)

presuppression, pest and disease control; (7) landscape and recreation, including public camp- and picnic-ground development, lake- and pond-site clearing, landscaping; (8) range, including stock driveways, elimination of predatory animals; (9) wild life, including stream improvement, stocking fish, emergency wild life feeding, food and cover planting; (1) miscellaneous, including emergency work, surveys, mosquito control.<sup>30</sup>

*In many respects, the CCC camps are well adapted to meet some of the needs of youth, particularly with respect to acquiring work habits and the discipline of work through experience. The enrollees are under more or less supervision 24 hours a day, the work projects are planned by competent personnel in the regular agencies of the Government, the work is performed under realistic conditions, and emphasis is placed on the quality and quantity of work performed.*

CCC officials in all departments have made a valuable contribution in recognizing that work that does not meet the standards set by private or regular public employment has little training value in itself. They have bent every effort toward making their program truly work-centered. The Corps has contributed greatly to the improvement of the national domain and has rarely been subject to the criticism of having "useless" or "made-work" projects.<sup>31</sup> *The emphasis on efficiency and production, however, precludes much shifting of enrollees among different types of jobs to find work for which they may be best fitted.* If this is considered a proper objective of work programs for youth, then the training potentialities of the program may be correspondingly limited.

The training afforded, as apart from the educational program carried on after work hours (to be discussed shortly), is based on the opportunities given by the project and facilitating work; it aims to develop in the enrollees proper work habits and attitudes, in addition to knowledge about various types of work. The on-the-job training appears to have suffered from the unfamiliarity of most project supervisors and foremen with pedagogical techniques and the small amount of time they are able to give to preparation for this instruction.<sup>32</sup> The various camps may provide from 30 to 75 different jobs which can

furnish the basis for training enrollees toward recognized pay-roll jobs in private industry, though the average camp work project may present only 8 to 11 of these jobs.<sup>33</sup> The work ranges from manual labor to jobs requiring a high degree of skill and considerable technical knowledge.<sup>34</sup> A good deal of heavy motorized equipment is used, which must be operated and serviced, and other technical processes are used on the various types of construction projects.<sup>35</sup> Since the defense emergency, considerable emphasis has been laid on defense training in the course of the regular work of the Corps, which has been carried on without additional funds.<sup>36</sup> The original purpose of the Corps—the training of unemployed young men for private jobs and the conservation of the country's natural resources—has not been lost sight of in spite of the stress on national defense.

Opinions differ as to the extent to which the CCC can offer specialized training. According to one authority only about one-third of the jobs available to enrollees in the average CCC camp require something more than ability to do common labor and offer substantial opportunities for the development of various skills.<sup>37</sup> A special committee which visited six camps reported that about 60 percent of the 1,195 enrollees in these camps were engaged in jobs which, according to the classification of the United States Employment Service, are "ordinarily filled by professional and kindred workers, salespersons, clerical workers, semi-skilled or skilled workers." The remaining 40 percent "were working at jobs ordinarily filled by common laborers."<sup>38</sup>

It is undoubtedly true that the CCC cannot provide work experience in skilled occupations to all the boys in camp because the projects are primarily in the field of soil, forest, and water conservation. But it is

<sup>30</sup> *Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 63-64. See also *Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940*, Washington, 1941, p. 76.

<sup>34</sup> A partial list of the fields in which enrollees receive training is: auto mechanics, blacksmithing, blueprint reading, bridge construction, building construction, bulldozer operation, care of tools, carpentry, office clerking, compressor operation, concrete construction, crusher operation, small-dam construction, diesel engines, drafting, drainage, equipment maintenance, explosives, farm-woodlot management, foreman and leader training, grader operation, jackhammer operation, landscaping, mapping or map-making, masonry, nursery work, office practice, quarrying, saw filing, sign making, steel structure, stone cutting, surveying, telephone line work, tractor operation, trail maintenance, truck driving, typing, use of tools, welding, woodworking. (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1939, pp. 17-18.)

<sup>35</sup> The CCC has always had the advantage of using first-rate equipment because adequate expenditure for this purpose was definitely budgeted and was included in the calculated cost per enrollee. (See McEntee, James J., "The CCC and National Defense," *American Forests*, XLVI (July 1940), 310.)

<sup>36</sup> *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> American Youth Commission, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, Washington, 1940, p. 12.

<sup>38</sup> See *Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>30</sup> *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, Appendix L.

<sup>31</sup> For an account of the contribution of the CCC to the national wealth see ch. XII.

<sup>32</sup> *Report of the Special Committee on Education in the Civilian Conservation Corps*, Washington, 1939, pp. 68-69. (Publication referred to subsequently as *Report of the Special Committee*.) The report of the Director of the CCC for 1940 states that "this phase of the program is gradually being improved by training foremen to teach, analyze work situations for instruction purposes, etc." (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, p. 37.)

equally true that not all the boys in camp have the ability to become skilled craftsmen. The major contribution of the Corps toward meeting youth needs lies in the work experience obtained on the job, through which, coupled with related training or other vocational training to be discussed shortly, enrollees gain a familiarity with tools as well as work habits. Even on projects requiring only the simplest types of common labor, enrollees can learn how to get along with foremen and fellow workers, the proper care of simple tools and equipment, the importance of an honest day's work, and a responsible attitude toward the job.

Since a substantial proportion of the enrollees come from urban environments, to which they will probably return after their stay in camp,<sup>39</sup> the question may be raised as to the appropriateness in terms of future employment opportunities of work experience with a training objective obtained on jobs related only remotely, if at all, to any type of private employment they may engage in. A decision that camp work experience is inappropriate for this end does not gainsay that the values received by the individual enrollee in the formation of work habits and attitudes through real work of any kind are of great consequence to the individual, whether he be from rural or urban territory. It may be that, in the light of known facts about the large percentage of occupations for which little or no specialized training is required either before entering upon the job or on the job after employment has begun,<sup>40</sup> the types of jobs for which work experience fits the individual young person may be less important than the provision of realistic work experience in some one field. *It is certain that the scope of occupations in the CCC is definitely limited and that there has never been any realistic appraisal of the extent to which workers, after leaving the camps, can actually obtain employment in the fields for which CCC affords training.*<sup>41</sup>

*While the camps vary with respect to the kind and number of occupational opportunities available, little attempt has been made to classify new enrollees and assign them to camps best suited to their needs or*

<sup>39</sup>In all but 1 of the 10 enrollment periods between January 1, 1938 and April 1, 1940, rural youth constituted 41 to 54 percent of the total youth enrolled. (Quarterly Selection Reports of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Washington, January 1938 through April 1940, tables showing urban-rural distribution.) The only exception was the enrollment period of January 1938, which showed only a little over 32 percent of rural youth among all youth enrolled. The principal reason for this low proportion, it has been pointed out, was the fact that the great majority of replacements in that period were drawn from the north-eastern quarter of the United States, which is a predominantly urban section. (Quarterly Selection Report Covering the January, 1938, Enrollment of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Washington, 1938, pp. 5-6.)

<sup>40</sup>See Bell, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>41</sup>American Youth Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 14. This problem is also discussed in Holland, Kenneth, and Hill, Frank Ernest, *Youth in the CCC*, Washington, American Council on Education, 1942.

*capacities.*<sup>42</sup> When the CCC was first established, little attention was paid to guidance and vocational counseling. The chief interest of the administrative personnel throughout the Corps was in the work projects rather than in the development of the enrollees. It was thus largely a matter of chance that a youth was found working at a CCC job of his occupational choice, suited to his capacities and at the same time realistic in terms of future job opportunities. In recent years more attention has been given to directing the efforts of the camp personnel toward the occupational adjustment of the individual enrollees.<sup>43</sup> Guidance in the camps has now come to be looked upon as a coordination of activities designed to aid each individual enrollee to secure the maximum benefits from his camp experience, including placement and follow-up. In actual practice the best results seem to have been obtained in terms of a better adjustment to the camp life itself and to the work of the Corps rather than in terms of placements and follow-up. The isolation of many of the camps and the difficulty of maintaining contacts with employers in the enrollees' home communities place limitations on the placement and follow-up phases of the guidance service.<sup>44</sup> More than a million and a half guidance interviews were held by the supervisory personnel of the camps during each of the fiscal years 1939 and 1940.<sup>45</sup> Few of these supervisors had any special qualifications either through professional training or experience for their roles as counselors.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, most of these individuals are already so burdened with other responsibilities that they have little time to give to guidance.

That there is need for greater care in the selection and counseling of youth for whom the CCC type of train-

<sup>42</sup>American Youth Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>43</sup>Particularly since May 1939 when plans for developing a guidance program in the camps were sent to the field. Prior to this time little education or vocational guidance was available. For report on status and evaluation of the guidance programs in 9 selected CCC camps and the placement of enrollees in employment in 1938, see *Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 131-47.

<sup>44</sup>As pointed out earlier in the chapter, in view of the obstacles to obtaining effective placement service in some areas through the employment service, as well as the difficulties of registration in rural areas, it has not been feasible to insist that all enrollees establish contact with the employment service prior to their camp experience. All camp commanders are, however, instructed to urge the boys to register with the service when they return to their home communities or to reestablish their contact if they have already registered. In a few cases arrangements have been made for cooperation between the CCC and the employment service on the registration and placement function. Impetus has been given to greater cooperation between the employment service and the CCC through letters sent to all directors of CCC selection and to all State employment security agencies, April 19, 1941.

<sup>45</sup>*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1939, p. 46; and *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, p. 38.

<sup>46</sup>But the Special Committee which studied the CCC in 1938 stated "most members of the camp staffs are qualified from the standpoint of occupational experience to assist with guidance activities." (*Report of the Special Committee*, p. 136.)

ing is appropriate and for continuous examination of the suitability of camp life, both in general and in individual camps, to the enrollees who are accepted, is indicated by the very high proportion of desertions and discharges for disciplinary reasons. Of 3,105,996 discharges from the Corps from its inception to June 1940, inclusive, no less than 313,490 have been on account of desertion, while another 194,311 have been for disciplinary reasons.<sup>47</sup>

In addition to the training on the job, and in conformity with the educational objectives of the Corps, a variety of courses in academic and vocational subjects are given. Moreover, a certain proportion of enrollees participate in educational activities outside the camp through evening or correspondence courses organized by educational authorities.<sup>48</sup>

Attendance at these educational courses is in principle voluntary, although in many camps there is at least partial compulsion.<sup>49</sup> The courses given consist of three major types: Academic, vocational, and avocational. It is reported that during the fiscal year 1940 in an average camp of 188 enrollees, 80 attended academic courses, 99 received vocational instruction,<sup>50</sup> and 30 participated in avocational activities. Undoubtedly, important gains have been secured from the educational program. Thousands of illiterates have been taught to read and write each year,<sup>51</sup> and especially in camps where unusual qualities of leadership have been demonstrated, enrollees have been given useful training.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, the conclusion seems inescapable that the full implications of the dual objective of the Corps, to provide work and training, have not yet been fully reflected in the organization of the curricula and management of the camps. Education and training, apart from the on-the-job training, are reserved for

the leisure time of the enrollees and have not yet been accepted in most camps as part of the normal, prescribed routine.<sup>53</sup>

In general, the educational program has not been sufficiently integrated with the work and life of the camp or adjusted to the background and characteristics of the enrollees,<sup>54</sup> many of whom have distinctly adverse attitudes toward conventional classroom instruction. In part this situation has been due to a division of authority among those responsible for the educational program in the camps.<sup>55</sup> There has also been a disposition in some camps to subordinate the needs of the educational program to that of the other work of the Corps.<sup>56</sup> The educational advisers, who are responsible for the educational work in the camps, have often lacked the qualities needed for adequate performance of their exacting tasks, in part because of the low level of salaries paid and the lack of permanent tenure.<sup>57</sup> Finally the educational program has been further hampered in its effectiveness by lack of adequate equipment for vocational instruction. Because many camps are isolated from schools that are adequately equipped for vocational work, most of the enrollees have only the resources of the camp's educational set-up at their disposal for vocational training off the job.<sup>58</sup>

Over and above the values gained through employment and training, a great improvement in the health and fitness of enrollees has been shown as a result of outdoor work, ample food, and regular sleep. The work of the Corps in sanitation, preventive medicine, and accident prevention also contributes to the general physical and mental well-being of the enrollees. Treatment for remedial defects has been increasingly provided, especially dental care.<sup>59</sup> Each camp has the services of a physician and accommodations for isolat-

<sup>47</sup> Computed from *Summary Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work* \* \* \* 1935, p. 62; *Annual Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work* \* \* \* 1936, p. 57; *Annual Report of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work* \* \* \* 1937, p. 19; *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1938, p. 90; *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1939, p. 117; and *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, p. 78.

<sup>48</sup> During the fiscal year 1940 a monthly average of over 5,000 enrollees were attending schools and colleges located near the camps, some of them on scholarships. (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, pp. 35 and 38.)

<sup>49</sup> *Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 54-56. See also American Youth Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>50</sup> While a total of 250 vocational subjects have been taught, the courses of greatest incidence fall under six main headings (arranged in descending order of number of enrollments): commercial, mechanics, national resources, building trades and construction, subprofessional, and electrical. (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, pp. 36-37.)

<sup>51</sup> More than 9,000 during the fiscal year 1940; 8,936 during the fiscal year 1939. (*Ibid.*, p. 37; and *Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1939, p. 47.) Since the establishment of the Corps, over 87,000 have been taught to read or write. ("Youth in Industry; Eight Years of CCC Operations, 1933 to 1941." *Monthly Labor Review*, LII (June 1941), 1409.)

<sup>52</sup> American Youth Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Examination of the normal working schedules in the camps, however, indicates that the average enrollee has approximately only 3 hours of free time at the end of the day, and attendance at courses must therefore compete with all other demands on his time. In view of the intensive character of the physical work performed during the day, it is doubtful whether the majority of enrollees can profit from courses given in the evenings. (*Cf. Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 42-54.)

<sup>54</sup> American Youth Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Of the junior enrollees admitted in the fiscal year 1940, 51.66 percent had completed only an elementary education. (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, p. 16.)

<sup>55</sup> See ch. XIII below for further discussion of this situation.

<sup>56</sup> *Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 22-24, 48-49 and 51-53.

<sup>57</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 89-98, 119-21. The further training of camp educational advisers has in recent years been promoted through systematic training conferences, usually held at State universities. (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1940, p. 36.)

<sup>58</sup> *Report of the Special Committee*, pp. 68-70.

<sup>59</sup> In the course of a full enrollment period an enrollee is given a dental examination and such ordinary forms of treatment as may be needed through the service of itinerant dental units. (American Youth Commission, *op. cit.*, p. 12.) Prior to February 1937, dental service was limited to emergency treatment for the relief of pain and for the repair of injuries sustained in the performance of duty. (*Annual Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps* \* \* \* 1939, p. 34.)



ing the sick and giving a minimum of nursing care and medical attention.

#### NYA Out-of-School Work Program

The out-of-school work program of the NYA aims to develop good work habits and attitudes and to give young people a general familiarity and manipulative skill with tools through work experience.<sup>60</sup> As with the CCC, the ultimate objective is, of course, preparation for private employment and, in the case of girls, also preparation for homemaking. Underlying all these is the general objective of providing income to unemployed young people who are in need.

There is an evident duality of objectives in the program. As one observer states, "on the one hand, it is an agency of relief whose special task is to bring aid to young persons in straitened economic distress \* \* \* On the other hand, it is an agency of social-economic readjustment aiming to guide young persons in finding a place for themselves in the productive system."<sup>61</sup> While these two objectives are not necessarily opposed to each other, their attainment in the NYA has presented conflicts in method.

Since January 1936, the out-of-school work program has provided part-time wage work for over a million young people. While there has been some fluctuation in the volume of employment, due to operational factors inherent in the program, including the fact that the agency is forced to plan on a year-to-year basis, the general trend has been toward the employment of an increasing number of young people.<sup>62</sup> This has been largely a consequence of the increased appropriations made available to the agency.

The work program is carried on through two types of projects: Those operated in the local communities and known as nonresident projects; and those operated as resident centers, to which youth come to live during the period of their employment.

*Nonresident projects.*—The data on the out-of-school work program as a whole may be taken as an indication of the volume of employment on nonresident projects, since employment at the resident centers has never constituted much more than 10 percent of the total employment provided to young people through the NYA. Beginning with a few thousand in January 1936, total employment on resident and nonresident

projects rose to a peak of about 335,000 in February and March of 1940.<sup>63</sup>

In theory, the types of work upon which youth are employed are determined by three factors: (1) The needs of the community for particular types of goods and services which NYA projects can supply; (2) the aptitudes and occupational interests of eligible youth; and (3) the employment opportunities in the community. Since the rise of the defense emergency, the need for experienced workers in industries vital to national defense is said to have become a primary factor in determining the types of work.<sup>64</sup> However, the needs and interests of the community appear in the past to have been the controlling factor, for all the projects must be sponsored by local public authorities.

The NYA handbook of procedures indicates that, before the initial assignment to a work project, each youth should be interviewed to determine the type of work experience and training that will be of greatest benefit to him and that every effort should be made to provide continual measurement and evaluation of the progress made by each worker. The program specifically aims to give each young person experience in as many fields as possible, so that he can more intelligently select the occupation which best suits his interest and aptitude.<sup>65</sup> There has been little study of the extent to which these procedures are being followed. Through its Division of Youth Personnel the NYA has set up a psychological testing program for selection of youth on certain types of projects; it has published industrial and occupational information studies and made such occupational information available through classes and radio programs; and it has published directories of opportunities for training and recreation within States as well as guidance manuals. It has also established and developed in cooperation with local agencies, special junior consultation services to provide an intensive type of guidance.<sup>66</sup>

Because of the varied nature of the personnel of

<sup>60</sup> This peak was surpassed after the defense funds began to be utilized for the NYA program. During the fiscal year 1941 the NYA obtained, in addition to its regular funds, \$32½ million from the first appropriations for defense. This made possible the purchase of equipment more suitable for the production type of work which seemed desirable on account of the defense emergency. It was expected to increase employment by from 71,000 to 125,000 youth. (Lorwin, *op. cit.*, p. 123.) In April 1941, an additional \$22 million was made available to the NYA by the First Deficiency Appropriation Act, 1941, (Public, No. 25, 77th Cong., 1st sess. approved April 1, 1941). A peak in NYA employment was reached in February 1941, when 470,112 youth were employed on the out-of-school work program. (National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, Monthly Statistical Tables on number of youth employed on out-of-school program.)

<sup>61</sup> National Youth Administration, *Annual Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1940*, Washington, 1940, p. 8.

<sup>62</sup> National Youth Administration, *Handbook of Procedures*, Washington, 1940, bk. III, ch. X, secs. 11, 13-21, and ch. XI, secs. 1-6.

<sup>63</sup> National Youth Administration, *Placement and Guidance Program*, Circular No. 11, Washington, 1940, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup> Department of Labor—Federal Security Agency Appropriation Bill for 1941, Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, 76th Cong., 3d sess., Washington, 1940, pt. 2, pp. 599-600. (Publication referred to subsequently by title only.)

<sup>65</sup> Lorwin, Lewis L., *Youth Work Programs*, Washington, American Council on Education, 1941, pp. 19-20. The writer further comments that "this is the main reason why the NYA has appeared to many persons alternately as a romantic work-relief agency and as a struggling agency of social welfare."

<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 9.

the Division of Youth Personnel on the State and local level, it is difficult to arrive at any conclusion as to what constitutes an adequate staff to carry out the objectives of this aspect of the work of the NYA. Duties of these officials, particularly at the area level, range from the routine matter of assigning and terminating the employment of youth employees to the time-consuming processes of interviewing and evaluating the background and capability of individual youth and counseling them with respect to their occupational and personal adjustments on the project and in the future. During the fiscal year 1941, the Division of Youth Personnel has had a larger staff in the field than at any previous time,<sup>67</sup> and they have undoubtedly gone farther toward reaching the goals set in their procedures.<sup>68</sup>

In practice, the work projects upon which youth are employed have fallen into five major classifications: Construction, conservation and sanitation, workshops, clerical and semiprofessional, and school and home service. The distribution of employment among these types of projects during the fiscal year 1940, with comparable data from two earlier periods, is shown in Table 53.

Comparable data are not available much before March 1938,<sup>69</sup> and continuous data have been available only since August 1939. Table 53 shows that throughout the period three types of projects have predominated—clerical and semiprofessional, construction, and workshop and production. During the period for which data are comparable, there has been no sig-

<sup>67</sup> The division as at present constituted came into being only at the beginning of fiscal year 1940, but the work had been an objective of the previous Guidance and Placement Division. (Information from the NYA.)

<sup>68</sup> The situation in one region will serve as an illustration of the organization and extent of the Division of Youth Personnel in the field. In the region composed of Delaware, District of Columbia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, 423 persons were concerned with youth personnel work in the first week in November 1941. Of these, 45 were officials in the State offices and their clerical personnel, leaving 378 operating on the local level. (Information from NYA.) In June 1941, this staff made about 38,000 assignments and over 27,000 separations, or an average of 173 per worker during the month. (National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, Monthly Statistical Tables for June 1941, table 13.) Since the beginning of the fiscal year 1942, the NYA program as a whole has undergone curtailment which will considerably reduce the number of staff in this division as well as in the other divisions of the NYA administrative and supervisory staff.

<sup>69</sup> The out-of-school projects were originally set up in 4 broad classes: (1) Recreation, (2) rural youth development, (3) public service, (4) research. During August 1936 and subsequent months, blanket projects incorporating all types of NYA work-project activities were placed in operation. Consequently it was no longer possible to continue type-of-project reporting. In the fall of 1937 separate projects for different types of work were again placed in operation. Quarterly reports were prepared in November 1937 and from March 1938 through June 1939. While these quarterly reports do not follow the exact form of the later monthly reports, they can be compared with reasonable facility. (From information supplied by the NYA.)

TABLE 53.—Distribution of youth employment on NYA out-of-school work projects at selected dates, by type of project

Type of project	Youth employed		
	March 1938	March 1939	Average, year ending June 30, 1940
All types:			
Number.....	154,750	235,519	264,460
Percent.....	100.0	100.0	100.0
Construction.....	29.7	28.1	28.0
Conservation and sanitation.....	1.4	1.6	2.3
Workshops and production.....	20.8	28.1	28.7
Clerical and semiprofessional.....	34.7	30.2	32.8
School and home service.....	4.9	4.7	6.3
Projects not elsewhere classified.....	8.5	7.3	1.9

Source: Data for 1938 computed from *Work Relief and Public Works Appropriation Act of 1938*, Hearings Before the Committee on Appropriations, U. S. Senate, 75th Cong., 3d sess., Washington, 1938, p. 189; data for 1939 supplied by the Division of Finance and Statistics, National Youth Administration; data for 1940 from National Youth Administration, *Annual Report, for the Year Ending June 30, 1940*, Washington, 1940, p. 62.

nificant change in the distribution of employment among types of projects except in the case of workshops and production. Still more emphasis has been placed on these types of projects since the beginning of the defense period. They accounted for almost 35 percent of the total employment by June 1941.<sup>70</sup>

The distribution of projects shown in Table 53 has in turn been reflected in the occupational distribution of the young workers employed, as indicated in Table 54.

*Two features of the types of work afforded on the out-of-school work program call for attention; namely, the relatively high proportion of employment on professional and clerical projects and the relatively small proportion of work classified as unskilled.*<sup>71</sup> Some question may be raised by the fact that 5.2 percent of all boys and 7.6 of all girls employed are classified as "professional, semiprofessional, and technical workers" (see Table 54), whereas the 1930 census listed only 3 percent of the men under 30 years of age as "professional persons" and 14 percent of the women.<sup>72</sup> More serious questions may be raised by the heavy weighting of clerical and service work on NYA projects (12.1 percent of the boys and 64.6 of the girls), whereas the 1930 census showed 16 percent of men under 30 and 37 percent of women as "clerks and kindred workers."<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, Monthly Statistical Tables for June 1941, table 8. The reduction in the percentage of the category "projects not elsewhere classified" shown in Table 53, probably reflects a more careful selection and definition of the projects.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Lorwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-61; and Melvin, Bruce L. and Smith, Elna N., *Youth in Agricultural Villages*, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monograph XXI, Washington, 1940, p. 104.

<sup>72</sup> Women teachers account for the higher percentage of women in this group.

<sup>73</sup> There are more women stenographers and clerks than men.

TABLE 54.—Occupational distribution of youth employed on NYA out-of-school work projects, May 1940

	Youth employed					
	Total		Boys		Girls	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total.....	279,664	100	159,369	100	120,295	100
Construction and shopworkers.....	90,067	32.2	88,001	55.2	2,066	1.7
Production workers <sup>1</sup> .....	32,475	11.6	3,346	2.1	29,129	24.2
Agricultural and conservation workers.....	24,770	8.9	24,008	15.1	762	.6
Clerical and service workers.....	96,994	34.7	19,265	12.1	77,729	64.6
Professional, semiprofessional, and technical workers.....	17,388	6.2	8,271	5.2	9,117	7.6
Unskilled laborers.....	17,970	6.4	16,478	10.3	1,492	1.3

<sup>1</sup> Consists mainly of the following employees: bookbinders and repair men, 1,524; canning workers, 508; crushed stone, sand, gravel, and other quarry workers, 1,989; junior foremen, 375; seamstresses, weavers, mattress makers, and other clothing and textile workers, 26,828; other production workers, 1,020. All carpenters, metal workers, machinists, and mechanics are classified under "construction and shop workers."

Source: Information supplied by the Division of Finance and Statistics, NYA.

The relatively heavy proportion of clerical projects is probably due in large measure to the preferences of the local sponsor. Public agencies often need clerical workers, and request projects of this type. It seems likely that the adoption of appropriate and diversified projects may be hindered by reliance on local sponsorship in areas where occupational opportunities of any kind are extremely limited, and the supply of youth labor and the economic need are great. In such areas thought must be given to the training of some young people for occupations that may not exist in the community, since many of them will no doubt migrate. It is not easy to obtain local sponsorship for projects upon which such work experience can be obtained.

Admittedly, the administration faces a dilemma. If sponsors' contributions can be elicited, more funds will be available for the program as a whole.<sup>74</sup> Furthermore, local sponsorship has a real advantage, since it provides a channel through which to develop an understanding and appreciation of the objectives and accomplishments of the NYA in the local communities. Local interest and approval of the work of the agency not only assures understanding and a better adaptation to local needs but is also very important to an agency that depends on Congress for annual appropriations for its year-to-year existence as a government entity. But the fact remains that, *as the program has operated, local*

<sup>74</sup> For example, in the fiscal year 1941 the NYA spent on the out-of-school work program a total of \$120,313,545, of which \$63,951,755 was for youth wages, \$20,252,748 was for wages of supervisors, and \$36,109,043 was for nonlabor cost. Cosponsors' contributions during 1941 were calculated to amount to \$14,207,333, or 10.6 percent of total cost of the program. Cosponsors' contributions are largely in terms of supervision and materials, which would have been paid for out of Federal funds if they had not been provided by the cosponsors. (National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, Monthly Statistical Tables for June 1941, table 16 and A.)

sponsorship has influenced the selection of work projects in a direction which may not have been entirely compatible with the major program objectives.

It is also significant that a comparatively small proportion of young people were reported as being engaged on unskilled labor. It is impossible to determine from existing data whether this is due to the fact that project supervisors have had an exaggerated opinion of the grade of the work done in the occupational fields listed, or to an emphasis upon skilled projects resulting in a process of selection for NYA employment giving preference to young people who can do work which is not merely unskilled labor. If the latter is the case, the program may be denying work and the opportunity to acquire work habits to a significant proportion of young people.<sup>75</sup> *The question may also be raised whether, in view of the character of the demand for labor in private employment, the concentration of so large a proportion of young workers on skilled, professional, and semiprofessional occupations is calculated to make for an easy adaptation to the realities of subsequent private employment.*<sup>76</sup> In any case it should be noted that, to the extent that the out-of-school projects do in fact afford training in skilled work, the NYA, like the WPA, has in the past suffered from the lack of adequate data necessary to adjust training programs to future occupational trends.<sup>77</sup>

In fact, the NYA has not claimed that its program can equip young people with a degree of skill that would enable them to compete with other skilled workers as the term is usually understood, but rather "to give them general familiarity with tools, manipulative skill with tools." At the same time, the program aims to teach young people "to report on time, to know what it means to do a day's work in a group; to learn good work habits, good work attitudes; to be agreeable to orders, and when they are told to do this, to go and do it, and understand that they are going to do it."<sup>78</sup> *It is unfortunate that there is no direct information*

<sup>75</sup> The NYA *Handbook of Procedures* (ch. X, sec. 2B) states among other things that a youth shall be considered eligible for certification if he "will benefit by the work experience and training available in connection with the NYA program." Hence, if the program is largely technical and skilled in nature, some youths who have neither the aptitude nor the background to benefit from it will be ineligible. There is a feeling in some quarters that the emphasis being placed on mechanical and shop projects, in an effort to make the NYA work program contribute directly to the national defense effort, is working a hardship on needy young people whose aptitudes do not lie in these fields.

<sup>76</sup> According to the 1930 census, almost 39 percent of males and 26 percent of females gainfully employed between the ages of 16 and 29 were unskilled workers. The percentages were considerably larger for the ages 16-19. See Melvin and Smith, *loc. cit.*

<sup>77</sup> For an account of the paucity of such data, see "Guidance in Preparation for Available Work" in the section above on the public employment service.

<sup>78</sup> Quoted by Administrator Williams in *Department of Labor—Federal Security Agency Appropriation Bill for 1941*, pt. 2, pp. 599-600.

on the basis of which the success of the program in imparting good work habits and familiarity with tools can be evaluated.<sup>79</sup> Consequently judgments must be based upon facts regarding certain aspects of the program which have a direct bearing upon the extent to which the attainment of these objectives may be expected. Two features of the program—the nature of the supervision and the continuity of working hours—call for examination from this point of view.

Upon the quality of the supervision depend not only the evaluation of the progress made by the individual youth but also the quality and efficiency of the work performed. Unfortunately, no published information is available on the caliber, education, training, and ability of the NYA project supervisors. The caliber of supervisory personnel appears to vary from State to State and from project to project. The administration has sponsored institutes for training supervisors. It is, however, known that *the NYA is somewhat handicapped in obtaining high-grade supervisors because on the whole the salaries paid are not such as to attract supervisors who are competent in the particular technical field in which young people are to receive their work experience and also in performing a training function.*<sup>80</sup> Supervisors' salaries in the NYA in different parts of the country range from about \$65 to around \$120 a month. Furthermore, many supervisors are supplied by the local cosponsor and the NYA has only limited control over their qualifications.<sup>81</sup>

The number of youth per supervisor has averaged between 25 and 30 until the latter part of the fiscal year 1941 and has been somewhat lower since that date. By June 1941 the average was about 16 youth per supervisor.<sup>82</sup> This represents an average on all types of projects both resident and local. The number is necessarily lower on resident projects (see following section), where supervision involves many other re-

<sup>79</sup> The Advisory Committee on Education made some attempt at evaluation in 1937 and 1938. Their statements are very tempered. For example, "To the extent that projects have been well planned, with due recognition of educational values, and executed under the sympathetic guidance of informed supervisors, it is probably true that many youths have gained valuable educational and work experience. Because of their tendency to emphasize production at the expense of the youthful employee, and because of the low caliber of their supervisory and technical personnel, some projects are not altogether creditable; but such projects of poor quality are in the minority. The considerable majority of projects have been well planned and, in general, have been decidedly beneficial in improving the social attitudes of young people. They have probably helped reduce the amount of juvenile delinquency". (Johnson and Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 76). The more recent study by Lewis L. Lorwin, prepared for the American Youth Commission (*Youth Work Programs*), makes no specific evaluation although drawing attention to certain difficulties of project selection and supervision.

<sup>80</sup> Department of Labor—Federal Security Agency Appropriation Bill for 1941, pt. 2, pp. 605-608; and *Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1940*, pp. 113 and 160. See also Lorwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Calculated from National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, Monthly Statistical Tables for June 1941, table 3.

sponsibilities besides overseeing the actual execution of the work on the projects and the training phases of that work.

Young people on the out-of-school work projects work only part time. This fact complicates both the problem of supervision and the planning of projects. By administrative order the hours of work for youths employees were set at the beginning of the fiscal year 1940 at between 40 and 100 hours per month. The maximum was later reduced to 70 hours.<sup>83</sup> The number of hours worked varied among the States and averaged about 55 hours per month during 1939-40. The youth thus work either a few hours a day and spread the work over most of the working days in the month, or, if they work 8 hours a day, work only a few full days each month. In either case the supervisor employed full time must deal with more than one shift of young people.

*Even more important is the fact that the irregularity and lack of continuity of employment detract from the contribution which the program can make to the development of sound work habits and disciplines.* The NYA administrator, in a letter to the State administrators in November 1939, indicated that, when the assigned hours of productive work fell below 45 hours per month, the value of the work to the youth and the standards of the project itself would be seriously jeopardized.<sup>84</sup> The monthly statistical reports of the NYA show that most of the States have averaged a work month above that figure for the greater part of the time. Yet even the average of 55 hours a month which was achieved in 1939-40 will not occupy all the working time in the month and will cover either only a short time during each day or only a portion of the month. The NYA and the United States Office of Education have agreed that young people should be engaged at least 30 hours each week if the combined objectives of work and educational programs are to be achieved.<sup>85</sup>

Some of this idle time has been absorbed by the "related-training" courses which until July 1940 were operated by the NYA.<sup>86</sup> For a short period it was

<sup>83</sup> NYA Administrative Orders No. 5 (September 15, 1939) and No. 6 (November 16, 1939). However, by Administrative Order No. 9 (June 26, 1941) the maximum hours were again increased to 100 hours. More recently, Administrative Order No. 13 (July 1, 1941) set two work schedules: one for the regular program, which provides a minimum of 80 and a maximum of 120 hours per month; and another for the defense program, with a minimum of 80 and a maximum of 160 hours per month.

<sup>84</sup> NYA Letter No. Y-117 to all State administrators, November 17, 1939, p. 2.

<sup>85</sup> U. S. Office of Education, *Definitions of the Respective Functions of the United States Office of Education and the National Youth Administration*, Washington, July 27, 1940, p. 2.

<sup>86</sup> Related-training classes give young people instruction in subjects which have a direct bearing on the work they do. For example, young men employed on construction and mechanical projects study blue-print

considered desirable to include the time spent in related-training classes within the compensable time of the youth employees on nonresident projects, but this regulation was soon rescinded.<sup>87</sup> This did not, of course, preclude the utilization of less formal training opportunities that arise in the normal course of the productive work of a project. Attendance at related-training classes was voluntary until July 1, 1941, when related training was made a requirement for youth employed on work projects financed by the special defense appropriation.<sup>88</sup> Training outside the hours of project work remains, however, a voluntary matter for all other youth employees.

Detailed data on the extent and character of the related-training program have not been published. No information is available as to the kind and number of the courses taken or the number of hours per week occupied by such courses during the period of development of the NYA. It is believed that, prior to the transfer of responsibility for related training to the Office of Education, most of the young people to whom the training was available took advantage of it. This would probably have included well over half and perhaps close to three-fourths of the project workers by June 1940. After the responsibility for related training was given to the Office of Education, the number of courses and the workers in attendance dropped substantially, owing to the fact that the various State Departments of Education were not organized or equipped to cope with this new responsibility. By April 1941, the Office of Education reported that 6,485 courses were in operation in the country as a whole which were being attended by 142,553 NYA young people. Of these, 60,116 were girls; 20,254 were Negroes.<sup>89</sup> The total enrollment since July 1, 1940, was placed at 201,188. It is probable that most of these were youth on work projects financed with defense appropriations where enrollment in related-training courses is compulsory. As much as 20 hours a week is being devoted to this training in some cases.<sup>90</sup>

*In contrast to the relatively extensive health and medical service provided by the CCC, the NYA has never, prior to the fiscal year 1941, had any funds*

reading and shop mathematics. Young women employed on home-economics projects learn dietetics, and clerical workers are given related training in business English and business arithmetic. (See Lorwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65; and *Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1940*, p. 155.) For circumstances surrounding the transfer of responsibility for the operation of related-training programs to the U. S. Office of Education, see ch. XIII.

<sup>87</sup> By NYA Administrative Order No. 6 (November 16, 1939) modifying Administration Order No. 5 (September 15, 1939).

<sup>88</sup> NYA Letter No. Y-203 Revised, June 29, 1941.

<sup>89</sup> U. S. Office of Education, *National Defense Vocational Training Program*, Washington, July 28, 1941, table 1.

<sup>90</sup> From information supplied by the U. S. Office of Education.

*earmarked for health purposes.* Medical certificates showing absence of communicable diseases for employees at resident centers have always been required, and some medical service has been available at these centers. Medical examinations before assignment to other projects were by no means general and when given were not followed up by clinical treatment. The development of a health program was entirely a local matter and depended to a considerable extent on the degree of cooperation State and local administrators could obtain from local medical men and health services.<sup>91</sup>

During the year 1940-41 Congress earmarked 2.5 percent of the \$32.5 million supplemental appropriation to NYA for a health program—a sum amounting to over \$812,000. The following phases were developed: (1) a full-time health consultant was to head each State health project, through whom close collaboration with the Public Health Service was to be arranged; (2) all NYA workers were to have a health examination; and (3) defects were to be corrected by means of tonsillectomies, dental care, and the like.<sup>92</sup>

No appropriations were made available to continue this program on a national basis after July 1, 1941. Only where local communities insist upon maintaining the service and make arrangements to do so does it continue, despite the fact that the examinations made during the year prior to this time revealed that many young Americans are suffering from physical defects and poor health and need medical attention.<sup>93</sup> The NYA has therefore been handicapped in the past and is again handicapped in meeting the health needs of its employees and contributing in this most important respect to their future employability.

*Resident centers.*—As previously indicated, only a relatively small percentage of the out-of-school youth aided by the NYA are employed on resident centers. In June 1940 the centers employed 29,637 youths, or approximately 11 percent of all out-of-school employees.<sup>94</sup> By December the number of youth employed in these centers had increased to 34,091, but the percentage had not changed materially.<sup>95</sup> In succeeding months, while the number increased by a few thousand, the percentage which these employees formed of the total decreased slightly, though the average for the

<sup>91</sup> Lorwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 100-01.

<sup>93</sup> See, for example, "The National Youth Administration Health Program," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, CXVI (May 31, 1941), 2511-12.

<sup>94</sup> National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, *Monthly Statistical Tables for June 1940*, table 8.

<sup>95</sup> National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, *Monthly Statistical Tables for December 1940*, table 3.

fiscal year remained just over 10 percent.<sup>96</sup> But, *though the numbers affected by this phase of the NYA program have been relatively small, the resident centers have demonstrated a pattern for providing practical training and experience to young people in the less thickly settled areas.*

Most of the resident centers employ only youth residing in the State in which the center is located, but a few (known as "regional projects") employ youth from other States.<sup>97</sup> Sometimes they are brought from a considerable distance to take advantage of the specialized training and experience available at these larger and better-equipped centers. Under the pressure of the need for skilled workers in certain defense industries such as, for example, the aircraft and ship-building industries, impetus has been given to the further development of well-equipped regional centers in the vicinity of large plants.

At these resident work centers young people live at their job site and do a wide variety of useful work for wages, such as automotive work, aircraft work, sewing, canning, cooking, farm work of all types, and clerical work. Related training given by State and local educational authorities is a regular part of the regime of the resident projects, and the amount of time so spent is likely to be greater than on local work projects. The young people usually prepare their own food, working under the supervision of competent cooks and dietitians, and they pay for their food, lodging, and medical care out of their earnings at the centers.

There are both full-time and part-time resident centers. At the full-time centers the young people stay continuously, usually 6 months but often longer. The part-time centers are largely for girls being trained for domestic service and for homemaking, including such activities as cooking, nursing, health, sewing, and sanitation.<sup>98</sup> At the full-time centers the youth employees work at the production tasks—the work project itself—an average of 90 hours a month and are paid

<sup>96</sup> See National Youth Administration, Monthly Statistical Tables for months from June 1940 to June 1941, tables on number of youth employed and earnings, out-of-school work program.

<sup>97</sup> During March 1939, there were 10 regional projects in operation, at which about 1,900 youth were enrolled; they were located in Idaho, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, Tennessee, Texas, Washington, and West Virginia. (*Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1940*, pp. 155-157.) For a list of all resident projects as of March 1939, see *ibid.*, pp. 139-148.

<sup>98</sup> The youth stay 2 weeks and return home for 2 weeks, returning again to the center at the beginning of the fifth week for another 2-week stay. This rotation may be repeated. (See *Department of Labor—Federal Security Agency Appropriation Bill for 1941*, pt. 2, pp. 630-632). The defense program has had the effect of causing the abandonment of many of these part-time centers. The emphasis has been placed on shop centers and production work in lines that train more directly for defense industries, and this work is not practical on a part-time basis.

at an average rate of about 25 cents an hour for this work. After deductions for maintenance, the young people have about \$8 to \$10 a month for their own use.<sup>99</sup>

Many of the difficulties inherent in the operation of the local work projects with part-time labor are eliminated in the resident center projects, particularly the full-time centers. Work can be scheduled consecutively and a close relationship between related training and the work on the job maintained. It has been observed, however, that the extent and quality of the equipment has frequently been inadequate and the caliber of the supervision unsuited to the unformalized method of training.<sup>1</sup> As the program has matured and especially since additional funds were made available from defense appropriations, it has been possible in many cases to provide more satisfactory project equipment and other facilities.

*In addition to the more intensive work experience and training received in these centers, the efficiency of the young people is often increased by proper food, more regular hours, and improved personal habits, as well as by wholesome recreational activities.* Some observers have pointed out that medical care at some of these centers was unsatisfactory, in view of the extent to which the young people employed there were suffering from malnutrition, defective teeth and vision, and other conditions which could be corrected. It must be remembered that only for 1 year was the NYA directed to include certain medical services in its program and a small sum was earmarked for this purpose. All other medical service has been obtained in the face of great obstacles.

#### NYA Student Work Program

By the end of the academic year 1939-40, more than 1½ million young men and women had participated in the NYA student work program since the fall of 1933 when the first students were provided with employment by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.<sup>2</sup> An all-time peak was reached in April 1940, when over 482,000 young people were employed.<sup>3</sup>

The student program operates on the high-school and elementary levels as well as on the college level, the former being known as the "school work program" and the latter being known as the "college work program"

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Farrell, George E. and Layne, Donn, *Findings, Recommendations, and Reports Concerning Tour of Inspection of NYA Resident Centers and OCC Camps in West Virginia, South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and New York, June 2 to June 16, and June 26 to June 30, 1940*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

<sup>2</sup> National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, *Youth on the Student Work Program*, Washington, 1940, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See appendix 9.

(undergraduate) and "the graduate work program."<sup>4</sup> Almost three-fourths of the students employed are below the college grade.<sup>5</sup> Very few elementary-school youth are employed, because the minimum age is 16 and most youth have entered high school by that age if they are still attending school.

In accordance with the NYA's general objective of increasing the employability of needy young people, the student work program aims to provide part-time employment on projects which will offer basic work experience and develop work habits and attitudes that will help them to secure and hold employment and to advance more rapidly in their chosen fields.<sup>6</sup> *In the absence of other than scattered or selected studies as to the extent to which these objectives have been attained, only general conclusions can be drawn from the character of the projects, the extent and continuity of the work performed, and the quality of the supervision.*

Attempts are made by the responsible authorities of the participating educational institutions to plan student work projects that will supplement the experience gained in regular school work, especially in the colleges—e. g., youth majoring in science are employed as laboratory assistants, prospective librarians work with books, and medical students engage in medical research. In fact, the work upon which NYA students are employed falls into four categories: departmental assistance (approximately 40 percent of the total); construction and maintenance (approximately 25 percent of the total); clerical assistance and service (approximately 25 percent); and semiprofessional assistance (accounting for 10 percent of all work done).<sup>7</sup>

The distribution of work differs as between the school and the college programs. In 1939, whereas nearly half of the graduate students assisted by NYA were

employed on professional and technical projects, only 15 percent of the college undergraduates and 6 percent of the high school students were employed on such projects. A much larger proportion of high-school than of college students were employed in construction, repair, and maintenance work. Clerical assistance and service projects were more important in the college work program than in either the graduate or the school work program, employing 28 percent of the total undergraduate college students aided by NYA, 22 percent of the secondary-school students, and 17 percent of the graduate students.<sup>8</sup> The largest proportion of all students at the various educational levels were engaged in giving departmental assistance.<sup>9</sup>

*The work performed has undoubtedly been of great value to the schools and local communities, often providing goods and services beyond the regular budgets of the schools. But the very fact that the character of the projects is influenced by the needs and interests of the sponsoring institutions limits the extent to which they can be adapted to the aptitudes and occupational futures of the students.* By and large, the major value of the work to the young participants must lie in the acquisition of work habits and disciplines and the sense of satisfaction in the performance of productive work, regardless of its character.

Even here, however, the value of the experience given is limited by the number of hours worked and their discontinuity. College students normally work about 40 hours a month and high school students about 20 hours a month to earn their wage. During the academic year ending June 1940, students in high school could work a maximum of 3 hours per school day and 7 hours per nonschool day. College and graduate students were limited to 8 hours in any one day. For the year ending June 1941 the maximum for high school students was raised to 4 hours a day.<sup>10</sup> *The work time is not likely to be consecutive for any substantial period. On the contrary, it is usually confined to short periods of time each day, inter-*

<sup>4</sup> Tax-exempt, nonprofit-making, bona fide educational institutions, both public and private, are eligible to participate in the student program. Responsibility for the operation of the student work program within each institution is delegated by the NYA to the officials of the institution. The schools furnish supervision, space, and materials for the work. During the 1939-40 academic year, 28,301 secondary and high schools and 1,698 colleges and universities took part in the program. (National Youth Administration, *Annual Report* \* \* \* 1940, pp. 40-41.)

<sup>5</sup> During the academic year 1939-40, 613,350 different youth were aided on the student work program. Of these youth, 450,585 were attending schools below the college level; 158,359 were undergraduate students in college and universities; and 4,406 were in graduate schools. (*Ibid.*, p. 44.)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 46-48. The Ohio School Work Council, which functions as a policy-forming and advisory committee for the Division of Student Work and Related Training, has formulated what it conceives as being the objectives of the student work program in so far as they concern the individual student: assisting students to acquire "a normal wage-earning experience possessing positive educational values"; guiding students in developing "desirable work traits and skills"; providing experience related to their educational and vocational interest; and challenging the best work efforts of the student. (National Youth Administration for Ohio, Ohio School Work Council, *Ohio School Work Council, Its Origin and Purpose*, Columbus, 1940, p. 5.)

<sup>7</sup> National Youth Administration, *Annual Report* \* \* \* 1940, pp. 46-47.

<sup>8</sup> Jacobsen, Paul B., "Youth and Work Opportunities," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals*, XXIV (April 1940), 45. The data are based on the schedules of work to be carried out under NYA funds, submitted to the NYA at the beginning of the academic year 1939-40 by each institution participating in the student work program. This report contains evaluative judgments, as does also another report by the same author. (Jacobsen, Paul B., "Youth at Work," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals*, XXV (May 1941), entire issue.)

<sup>9</sup> This category includes rendering general classroom and laboratory assistance in fields of instruction closely related to their own school work and including the preparation of visual-aid materials, renovating school-library books or performing library service, working in the home-economics department, sewing, preparing lunches, or doing nursery-school work, and doing printing and reproduction work where skill is acquired in operating mimeograph and other duplicating machinery. (Jacobsen, "Youth and Work Opportunities," pp. 43-45.)

<sup>10</sup> National Youth Administration, *Annual Report* \* \* \* 1940, p. 45.

rupted by classwork and extracurricular activities. This is probably due in part to the nature of the organization of the schools, which have not hitherto provided productive work for wages as a part of the curriculum.<sup>11</sup> Undoubtedly in many cases the work projects are considered secondary to formal instruction and not subjected to as rigid standards of achievement. Discontinuity of work may also be due to improper planning and supervision.<sup>12</sup>

*There is also some evidence that on the whole youth on the school work program may have been less well selected and less well supervised than the older youth on the college program.* This appears to be especially true of the smaller schools, where the planning and supervision of the program is included among the duties of the administrators or teachers who are already overburdened with their teaching load and regular extracurricular activities and have therefore been unable to give the program the essential supervision it requires.<sup>13</sup> All supervisors on student work projects serve without compensation.

Moreover, the operation of the student program is extremely decentralized. The participating educational institutions have been given complete responsibility for planning and executing the program, including the supervision of the work projects as well as the selection of the student workers. Until 1940, when a Student Work Division, coordinate with the other administrative divisions of the central organization, was established in the Washington office of the NYA and divisions were likewise established in the States,<sup>14</sup> the Federal administration had not been in a position to offer much guidance to the States in formulating policies or in meeting the problems that arose in the course of operating the local school programs.

Partly as a consequence of this administrative development, *there has been considerable improvement both in quality of project planning and in supervision on all levels as more emphasis has been laid on the work aspects of the program.* School work councils have been formed in all States to assist in planning to improve the student work program on the high-school level. College work councils are in process of being established for the purpose of rendering advisory services to the NYA in the appraisal, improvement, and

further development of the college and graduate work programs within the States.<sup>15</sup>

### Evaluation of Youth Programs

The preceding account of the various measures adopted to provide for the other-than-maintenance needs of young people indicates that the Nation has made a real effort to grapple with a problem which was the more serious and complex in that, although aggravated by the depression, its root causes were to be found in the imperfect manner in which provision had been made for the special needs of youth in more normal times.

Furthermore, the difficulty of the task was intensified by the fact that, by the time the special youth programs began to function, there was a substantial backlog of unemployed young people whose need for work opportunity had been neglected for several years. In these circumstances it is not surprising that the special public-aid programs for youth, despite their real achievements, have not been entirely successful in meeting the needs occasioned by absence of employment opportunity, and that the contribution they have been able to make toward a solution of the broader problems of youth has been at best limited.

### Coverage of the Youth Programs

*It is noteworthy that at no time have the available programs been adequate in scope to provide training or work opportunity for all the young people who were not attending school or college and who had failed to be absorbed in private employment.* Table 55 indicates that, on various dates for which comparable data are available, the total number of young people employed on the two special programs for out-of-school youth and on the WPA has fluctuated between 515,000 and 854,000.

Although, as shown above, information concerning the extent of unemployment among youth is limited, it seems probable that during the period covered by Table 55 there were about 3 million young people in need of employment shortly before the 1940 census and that in earlier years the numbers were even higher.<sup>16</sup> *Thus the three programs combined were probably meeting the need for employment of considerably less than one-third of the young potential workers.*<sup>17</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Jacobsen, "Youth at Work," pp. 22-25. Cf. *What the High Schools Ought to Teach*, American Council on Education, Washington, 1940, pp. 15-21. (Publication referred to subsequently by title only.)

<sup>12</sup> Osborn, L. G., "What Shall We Do With the NYA in the High Schools," *School Review*, XLVII (November 1939), 655-62.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Officially this occurred July 1, 1940. At the same time arrangements were made to attach a representative of the Division of Student Work in the Washington office to the staff of each regional director.

<sup>15</sup> NYA Letter No. Y-207, to all State youth administrators, Supplement No. 1, July 8, 1941.

<sup>16</sup> See the section above on the problem of unemployed youth.

<sup>17</sup> The NYA Administrator stated in the spring of 1940 that the NYA, CCC, and WPA were giving work to less than 21 percent of those "who are unemployed and seeking work and cannot find it." (*Department of Labor—Federal Security Agency, Appropriation Bill for 1941*, pt. 2, p. 634.)



TABLE 55.—Estimated number of out-of-school youth employed on work programs, at selected dates, 1936-40

	June 1936	November 1937	February 1939	June 1940		
				Total	Male	Female
Total.....	736,000	515,000	854,000	689,000	538,000	151,000
Juniors in CCC camps.....	298,000	256,000	259,000	206,000	206,000	-----
NYA out-of-school work program.....	179,000	122,000	218,000	264,000	147,000	117,000
WPA.....	259,000	137,000	377,000	219,000	185,000	34,000

Sources: CCC figures are estimated on the basis of monthly enrollment data in the Annual Reports of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps for the years 1937-40, exclusive of enrollees outside the continental United States, and exclusive of Indians, of whom only a very small proportion are in the youth age. The number of juniors was arrived at by subtracting the number of veterans enrolled in the Corps, which was obtained from information supplied by the Veterans' Administration. Inasmuch as the number of veterans enrolled was not available for the months included in the table, veteran enrollment figures for July 1936, October 1937, January 1939, and July 1940 have been used in the estimate. It is believed that the difference between the known numbers of veterans enrolled in these months and those immediately preceding or following is insignificant.

NYA figures for June 1936 and November 1937 are from Johnson, Palmer O., and Harvey, Oswald L., *The National Youth Administration*, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study No. 13, Washington, 1938, p. 16, table 1. The 1939 figure is estimated on the assumption that 10 percent of the total number of youth and supervisors (242,254) represents the number of supervisors (total number of youth and supervisors from National Youth Administration, *Annual Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1940*, Washington, 1940, p. 61). Data for June 1940 from *ibid.*, p. 22. All figures are exclusive of supervisors.

WPA figures are estimated on the basis of total WPA employment as given in appendix 9 by applying the known proportion of persons under 25 years of age at the dates indicated. Ratios of persons under 25 among all WPA employment for June 1936 and November 1937 are from Nassimbene, R., *Age of WPA Workers, November 1937*, Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Washington, 1938, p. 3, table 2. The February 1939 ratio is taken from *Report on Progress of the WPA Program, June 30, 1939*, p. 102, table 37. Because no information on age distribution is available after this date, the 1939 ratio has also been applied to the June 1940 total WPA employment, and the sex distribution for this month is taken from *Report on Progress of the WPA Program, June 30, 1940*, p. 40, table 9.

Some measure of the inadequacy of the programs to meet the other-than-maintenance needs of young people can be secured from a comparison of the numbers accepted by the two major youth work programs with the number of applicants,<sup>18</sup> as shown in Table 56. The comparison further supports the conclusion that the provision for young people has been far from adequate to meet the existing need for employment. It is particularly noteworthy that *even after June 1940, by which time both the defense and the selective-service programs were well under way throughout the country as a whole, neither the CCC nor the NYA out-of-school work program was able to provide employment for as many as two-thirds of its applicants in the country as a whole.*

The table indicates also that throughout the period *there has been a great difference in the extent to which the needs of youth have been met in the different regions.* At all times the Far West and for the greater part of the time the Northwest, Middle, and Northeast States were able to provide CCC employment for a substantial proportion of their applicants. On the other hand, until July 1940, in States in the Southeast and in the Southwest regions, less than one-third

<sup>18</sup> Since this section deals with the need for employment, the comparison excludes the NYA student work program, whose primary object is to facilitate continuation of schooling.

TABLE 56.—Proportion of applicants accepted by the CCC and the NYA out-of-school work program on selected dates, 1938-41, by socio-economic regions

Region	Civilian Conservation Corps						NYA out-of-school work program <sup>1</sup>	
	1938		1939		1940		1940	1941
	Jan.	July	Jan.	July	Jan.	July	Nov.	Feb.
United States.....	16.3	33.9	18.2	29.5	36.5	59.7	43.5	57.6
Northeast.....	33.9	53.0	32.6	42.9	63.4	68.7	50.8	62.3
Middle.....	38.2	59.4	24.5	47.4	57.9	84.9	51.6	71.6
Northwest.....	14.2	64.8	24.8	58.0	45.0	90.3	40.1	56.4
Southeast.....	3.4	18.2	7.8	11.9	13.8	43.4	32.3	45.3
Southwest.....	1.1	6.7	7.3	15.4	32.1	62.6	33.2	42.9
Far West.....	40.9	77.3	43.6	69.7	87.0	93.1	74.6	82.0

<sup>1</sup> Data on the basis of which such a comparison could be made for the NYA were not available prior to July 1940. It was thought advisable to select months beyond the point at which the collection of data was initiated.

Sources: Estimated number of junior applicants available for CCC selection was obtained from the office of the Director, Civilian Conservation Corps; number of juniors accepted for enrollment from the Quarterly Selection Reports of the office of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps. The NYA percentages have been arrived at by relating the total number of youth employed on the out-of-school work program to the sum of youth awaiting assignment plus youth employed in the months in question, as reported by the Division of Finance and Statistics, National Youth Administration.

of the applicants secured CCC employment. The situation is similar for the NYA program. In November 1940 the Far West, the Middle States and Northeast employed between 50 and 75 percent of their applicants, whereas the Southeast and Southwest regions employed only one-third of the needy young people who sought NYA employment.<sup>19</sup>

*It is obvious too that young men had a much better opportunity than young women to obtain employment on the youth programs because there was no camp program corresponding to the CCC for girls and because the WPA appears to have employed more young men than young women, presumably because young men in this age group are more likely than young women to be primary wage earners.* Except for a few months during 1937,<sup>20</sup> the NYA also has always employed more young men than young women. The excess of young men has tended to become more pronounced as the out-of-school work program has become more of a defense training program.

The above comparisons have related solely to the extent to which the available youth work programs have met the need for employment of young people out of school. *Although similar comparisons cannot be made*

<sup>19</sup> It is noteworthy that the change in the formula governing the distribution of NYA funds as among States, as required by Congress for the fiscal year 1941, substantially reduced the allocations to certain States in the Southeast and Southwest. (*E. g.*, appropriations were decreased in New Mexico by 54.6 percent, Arkansas by 24.4 percent, Louisiana by 20.7 percent.) On the other hand, the reapportionment increased the allocation to Delaware by 24.3 percent. (Information from the Division of Finance and Statistics, NYA.)

<sup>20</sup> May through December. See National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, Monthly Statistical Tables.

for the student work program, it appears that here too the available funds have been inadequate to enable all youth who so wished to continue at school. Moreover, the principle on which funds have been allocated as between the States appears to have prevented the program from giving most assistance to those States where the need for aid to continue education was most pronounced.

Funds to the States for the prosecution of the NYA student work at the college level and to the institutions within the States are allocated by reference to a given percentage of the previous year's enrollment (9.47 per cent for the year 1941). In the case of high schools the percentage is not fixed, but the amount made available to the States is based substantially upon youth population, school enrollment, and availability of school facilities.<sup>21</sup> Hence the States with the greatest number of educational institutions on the college level and of young people between the ages of 16 and 24 in school in both high schools and colleges have received the largest allotments. Yet it is precisely in the areas where incomes are lowest and youth the most numerous that educational facilities are least adequate<sup>22</sup> and school enrollments are relatively low.

#### Distribution of Resources Between Available Programs

In the preceding section it was shown that at no time have the funds available permitted the employment on the various work programs of more than a fraction of the young people in need of employment. In view of this situation, it is important to inquire whether a somewhat different distribution of available resources among the three youth programs might not have given work opportunity to a larger proportion of young people. Table 57 shows that *the expenditure per youth aided has been vastly different in the three programs*. Whereas the average annual cost per worker on the student work program has varied from \$65 to \$83,<sup>23</sup> that for the out-of-school work program (apart from the first incomplete year) has ranged from \$212 to \$242, while the CCC has involved an expenditure per youth of from \$995 to \$1,244 per annum.

It is unfortunate that lack of available data precludes the inclusion in Table 57 of a comparison of

the expenditures per youth in the NYA resident program. Estimates for the year 1941, however, indicate that expenditures per NYA resident worker amounted to \$648, exclusive of administration but including costs of building.<sup>24</sup> This is considerably higher than the average for the NYA out-of-school program as a whole but still falls far short of the per enrollee expenditures on the CCC program. A substantial proportion of the higher costs of the CCC are of course attributable to the special character of this program. The CCC is a conservation program which requires the use of considerable equipment, and makes a correspondingly greater contribution to the resources of the country. Moreover, the hours of work of CCC enrollees are longer than those of NYA workers, and enrollees receive not only full maintenance but also a monthly cash payment which exceeds that received by NYA workers, who are not provided with free maintenance.

Nevertheless, while it may be admitted that the CCC has had the dual objectives of conservation and special aid to youth, the fact remains that in the public thinking it is primarily regarded as a relatively popular form of aid to young people and that expenditures incurred have been treated not as capital investments but as part of the costs of public aid to the young unemployed. In these circumstances *it seems proper to raise the question whether, given the acute need of young people for work experience and the limited appropriations for the combined youth work programs, it might not have been wiser to have distributed the funds between the available programs in such a way as to have benefited a larger number of young people, even though this might have involved some sacrifice in the conservation of our national resources.*

It is indeed significant as an indication of the neglect of this basic problem that there appears to be no information on the basis of which it would be possible to assess the appropriateness to the needs of youth of the distribution of funds between the NYA student work program on the one hand and the out-of-school work program and the CCC on the other.

On one aspect of the use to which the resources of the youth programs have been put, more specific comment is possible. *In view of the urgent need for maintaining and improving the health of the young people of the country, it must be regarded as unfortunate that so little specific attention has been paid to this vital need of youth.*<sup>25</sup> Specific funds for health services were available to NYA for only the fiscal year

<sup>21</sup> National Youth Administration, *Manual of Student Work Procedure*, ch. I, secs. 5-8, and ch. II, sec. 4, effective July 1, 1940.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, Washington, 1938, pp. 206-07.

<sup>23</sup> The averages for the NYA student-work program combine the costs of the college and the school programs. A break-down of costs by type of program is not available for all years. However, the relative expenditures for the period September 1940 through June 1941 (\$47 for the school program and \$132 for the college program) suggest that even the college program involves a small expenditure per person aided as compared with the out-of-school program and the CCC.

<sup>24</sup> Information supplied by the Division of Finance and Statistics National Youth Administration.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, American Youth Commissions, *A Program of Action for American Youth*, Washington, 1939, pp. 11-13.

TABLE 57.—Annual expenditures per young worker on the NYA student work program, the NYA out-of-school work program, and the CCC 1936-40

Fiscal year ended June 30 <sup>1</sup> —	NYA student work program			NYA out-of-school work program					Civilian Conservation Corps		
	Total annual expenditures	Average number of youth <sup>2</sup> employed	Average annual expenditure per youth <sup>2</sup>	Total annual expenditure		Average number of youth employed <sup>3</sup>	Average annual expenditure per youth <sup>4</sup>		Total annual expenditure	Average number of youth employed	Average annual expenditure per youth
				Federal funds	Federal funds plus cosponsors' contributions		Federal funds	Federal funds plus cosponsors' contributions			
	Thousands of dollars		\$83	Thousands of dollars	Thousands of dollars				Thousands of dollars		
1936.....	23,687	284,175	83	11,848	11,848	133,730	889	(5)	482,177		
1937.....	28,265	362,616	78	37,354	37,354	175,974	212	(5)	396,548	415,562	1,244
1938.....	18,668	271,669	69	32,489	32,489	149,376	217	292	308,599	318,664	1,244
1939.....	21,282	329,077	65	53,865	43,467	227,269	237	280	284,828	270,023	1,143
1940.....	27,254	394,077	69	67,176	63,643	277,502	242	296	278,791	279,612	1,019
					82,406					280,129	995

Sources: NYA student work program: total annual expenditure from National Youth Administration, *Annual Report for the Year Ending June 30, 1940*, p. 50; average number of youth employed computed from *ibid.*, p. 61, table 4; annual expenditure per youth computed on the basis of 10 months. NYA out-of-school work program: Federal funds from *ibid.*, p. 33; average number of youth employed (including supervisors) computed from *ibid.*, p. 61, for the years 1936-39; data on average employment in 1940, from *ibid.*, p. 60; data on cosponsors' contributions, which are available only for 1938-40, were obtained from the Division of Finance and Statistics, National Youth Administration. CCC: total annual expenditures from annual reports of the Director of Emergency Conservation Work for the years 1936 and 1937 and from annual reports of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps for the years 1938 to 1940; average number of youth employed computed from the same sources.

<sup>1</sup> For the fiscal year 1936, the NYA student work data begin with September 1935, and the NYA out-of-school work data with January 1936.

<sup>2</sup> Averages are based on a 10-month period, the academic year (September through June); July and August employment has not been taken into account. If a 12-month basis were used, the average employment figures would be from 15,000 to 70,000 lower, and average annual expenditure per youth employed would be \$83, \$93, \$73, \$71, and \$83, respectively, in the 5-year period.

<sup>3</sup> Includes project supervisors; except for the year 1940 it has been impossible to ascertain the average number of supervisors separately; separation of supervisors in that year would result in a decrease of average annual employment from 277,502 to 264,460.

<sup>4</sup> Cost of administration is not included in these figures; this explains in part the difference of the figure of \$242 for the average expenditure from Federal funds in 1940 and the figure of \$273 reported in National Youth Administration, *op. cit.*, p. 34, which includes about \$19 for cost of administration per youth employed. The other reason for the discrepancy is the fact that the published NYA figure of \$273 relates to youth only and excludes project supervisors. Cf. footnote 6.

<sup>5</sup> Not available.

<sup>6</sup> As pointed out in footnote 3 above, it is possible to separate employment of supervisors from youth employment, and thus an average annual expenditure figure per youth employed can be calculated. With regard to Federal funds this average would be \$254, which corresponds to the published NYA figure shown in footnote 4 above (\$273 minus \$19). When both Federal funds and cosponsors' contributions are taken into account, the average annual expenditure per youth employed, exclusive of supervisors, is \$312.

1941. And although more nearly adequate facilities for physical care have been developed by the CCC, the eligibility requirements of the program, which restrict enrollment to young men capable of hard physical work, tend to exclude from these facilities some of the very youth most in need of physical rehabilitation and remedial treatment.

Finally the inability of the Nation during recent years to provide adequately for the other-than-maintenance needs of the young unemployed raises the question of the age of the group upon which attention should have been concentrated. Initially, the span of years embraced by the term "youth" was wide. During the first two years of its existence the CCC was open to youth between the ages of 18 and 25; between October 1935 and July 1937 the age limits were from 17 to 28; since that date they have been from 17 to 23. The NYA out-of-school work program accepted workers between the ages of 18 and 24 until 1940, when in certain States permission was given to accept young people aged 17. Soon thereafter 16-year-olds began to be employed.<sup>26</sup> In fact, the greater proportion of persons employed on both programs have been under 21. Nevertheless, even in 1940, 5.8 percent of CCC

enrollees and 18.4 percent of youth on NYA projects were 22 years of age or over.<sup>27</sup>

The relatively high upper age limit for the two work programs was no doubt due initially to the consideration that, when these programs were inaugurated, there was a considerable backlog of unemployed young people over 21 years of age for whom no adequate provision had been made. Although adult in years, they might reasonably have been expected to need the special type of aid provided by the youth programs. *As this backlog has been reduced, the justification for the relatively high upper age limits becomes more*

<sup>27</sup> The following tabulation shows the age distribution in percentages of CCC enrollees and youth employed on NYA out-of-school work projects:

Program and date	Age group (percent)		
	Under 21	21	22 and over
CCC:			
Fiscal year 1937.....	77.6	6.8	15.6
Fiscal year 1938.....	84.8	7.6	7.6
Fiscal year 1939.....	84.6	7.9	7.5
Fiscal year 1940.....	87.2	7.0	5.8
NYA out-of-school program:			
August 1937.....	59.0	15.0	26.0
February 1939.....	64.7	13.4	21.9
October 1940.....	68.7	12.9	18.4

Sources: CCC figures from annual reports of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps for the years 1938-40. NYA figures for August 1937 from Johnson and Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 54; February 1939 data from National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, *Characteristics of Youth Employed on NYA Work Projects*, Washington, 1939, p. 2; figures for October 1940 from National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, *Characteristics of Youth on the NYA Out-of-School Work Program, October 1940*, Washington, p. 6.

<sup>26</sup> Section 13 of NYA Administrative Order No. 13, dated July 1, 1941, embodied the sanction for lowering the minimum age to 16 years for employment on the regular program of the NYA. By December 1941, 38 States were permitted to accept young people 16 years of age. (From information supplied by the NYA.)

*doubtful.* From this point of view, the policy of the NYA in permitting certain States to accept young people of 16 years of age is consistent with the objective of utilizing the youth programs to bridge the gap between the school leaving age and full productive adulthood.

#### Allocation of Youth Between Available Programs.

Three special youth programs were in operation during the period covered by this study. All three combined left a significant proportion of young employable persons who were not absorbed by private industry without opportunity for continuance of education or work experience and training. It therefore becomes important to inquire whether the selection of youth who were assigned to the programs was socially expedient in the sense that preference was given to those who were most in need of the facilities offered.

*The limited extent and the dual objectives of the youth programs have resulted in a limitation of access to the programs by reference to the degree of economic need.* While this policy may be fully justified when the programs are regarded as relief measures, it has the unfortunate consequence of denying work experience to many young people whose need for employment may be as great as that of youth from needy families.

The character of the NYA student work program would suggest that the major criteria in selection would be the ability of the youth to profit by continued education and the intensity of the need of the applicant for financial support. Access to the program has been through the educational institutions which have been permitted a wide measure of discretion in the standards to be applied. Unfortunately, little information is available for evaluating the selective process. Data concerning the scholarly attainments of NYA students suggest that the ranking of NYA students has been above that of the general student body, but not outstandingly so.<sup>28</sup> By and large too, the NYA students, especially those below the college level, come from the lower income groups.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the fact that ap-

proximately one-third of the families of the college and graduate students possessed annual incomes of \$1,500 and over, while some 15 percent had an income over \$2,000, suggests that in at least a certain proportion of cases the need for aid may not have been acute.<sup>30</sup>

Young single men between the ages of 18 and 23 are eligible for both the CCC and the NYA out-of-school work program. *The present arrangements for intake, however, offer no assurance that young applicants will be directed to the program most suited to their special needs or that, in view of the limited scope of the programs, access to them will be restricted to those most urgently needing the facilities offered.* Access to the out-of-school work projects has since 1939 been chiefly through the NYA Division of Youth Personnel, which in turn receives referrals from other agencies. The CCC obtains its enrollees through its selecting agents, which have for some time been the State departments of public welfare or their equivalent. It is largely a matter of accident where a young person makes application. If the youth's family has had contact with the local public-welfare agency, it is likely that the attractions of the CCC will be presented to him because enrollment in the CCC would bring a monthly sum to the family as long as the boy is in camp, thus relieving the local agency of certain financial responsibilities. In areas where there has been strong leadership in the NYA and considerable publicity for this program, the young people may have become well aware of the opportunities afforded through this channel and have made application to the NYA. But in the country as a whole there has been no central intake point for all the youth programs except in the few instances where the United States Employment Service has had the vision and the personnel to function in this manner. There has therefore been no assurance that the young people who do apply for places in either NYA or CCC are directed to the type of program which will be best for them.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore,

<sup>28</sup> In February 1940, a Nation-wide survey of the records of 64,805 college and graduate NYA students showed that students employed by the NYA received as a group higher grades than the average of the general student body in four-fifths of the institutions included in the survey, and that nearly two-thirds of the NYA students had scholastic averages that placed them in the upper half of the student body. (National Youth Administration, *Youth on the Student Work Program*, pp. 58-59.) For similar findings of local studies see *ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>29</sup> Between 1937 and 1940 from 43.2 and 47.6 percent of those on the school work program came from families with annual family incomes of less than \$500, while between 84.2 and 86.1 percent came from families with annual incomes of less than \$1,000. At the college and graduate levels between 36.0 and 39.8 percent were members of families with annual incomes of less than \$1,000, while from 64.0 to 66.9 percent came from families with annual incomes below \$1,500. (*Ibid.*, p. 42.)

<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, there are only scattered studies of the extent to which students could have continued in school or college without NYA aid. At Indiana University it was found over the period 1935-39 that from 42 to 55 percent of the freshmen who unsuccessfully applied for NYA employment at the beginning of the year did not enter or failed to remain in college when they found they were unable to secure this help. (Payne, A. C., "Where Go Freshmen Who Fail to Get NYA Employment?" *School and Society*, LI (March 30, 1940), 422-24.) A California study reported that in answer to a question as to whether the more than 2,000 students surveyed would be able to continue in school if NYA assistance were withdrawn, 16.7 percent answered they would not be able to continue; 62.9 percent could remain only with difficulty; and 20.4 percent thought they would be able to continue. (McFarlane, Ruth, *Evaluation of the School Aid Program*, National Youth Administration for California, San Francisco, 1939, p. 10.)

<sup>31</sup> For further discussion of the lack of a central point of intake, see ch. XIII.

it is only in rare instances that young people who have left school are directed to the student program and encouraged to return to school.

#### Relation of the Youth Programs to the Continuing Needs of Youth

Reference was made earlier in this chapter to the fact that to some degree the heavy unemployment among youth during the last decade has emphasized the extent to which the needs of young people were inadequately provided for even during more prosperous periods. Outstanding among these needs are the assurance of appropriate educational and developmental opportunity and informed and technical guidance regarding economic and occupational adjustments. While it is unreasonable to suppose that these long-standing problems could have been solved by the special measures for unemployed youth, it is inevitable that their existence should to some extent have conditioned the character of the provision made for the young unemployed. Hence it is important to determine both the extent of the contribution made by the youth public-aid programs to the solution of these problems and, further, whether public-aid measures are the most appropriate vehicle for this purpose.

*Character and availability of educational opportunity.*—The majority of the States have accepted the obligation to provide educational opportunities up to the age of 16, and have passed compulsory education laws and adopted child-labor regulations with the object of ensuring that all children up to the age of 16 or 18 take advantage of the educational opportunities available.<sup>32</sup> Yet only 69 percent of the total number of youth of secondary school age (14–17) were in school in 1938.<sup>33</sup> There were wide regional variations in this percentage: Far West, 75 percent; Northwest, 65 percent; Middle States, 59 percent; Northeast, 52 percent; Southwest, 50 percent; Southeast, 34 percent.<sup>34</sup> Only 14 percent of the young people between the ages of 18 and 21 were attending educational institutions, most of whom undoubtedly were in college.<sup>35</sup>

There are several reasons why these enrollment figures have not been higher, but three are particularly important. First, many youth are financially unable

to continue their schooling beyond the compulsory school age.<sup>36</sup> Second, facilities for education are not equally available in all parts of the country, there being still communities where even secondary education is not available, let alone facilities above that level.<sup>37</sup> Finally, the type of curriculum available on the secondary-school level does not have sufficient holding power to keep youth in school beyond the compulsory attendance age.

These factors, in conjunction with the depressed condition of the economy, operated with increasing force after 1929.<sup>38</sup> In particular there has been a growing awareness of the deficiencies of the curricula of the high schools both in terms of their failure to reflect the value of productive work as part of the educational process and in terms of the inappropriateness of the training given as a preparation for the realities of contemporary economic life.<sup>39</sup>

As already pointed out, the NYA student work program has enabled hundreds of thousands of young people to continue their schooling, mainly through the wages paid to young workers, but in part also by the improvement of schools and equipment as a result of the projects undertaken. *But the available funds have been inadequate to meet the full extent of the need for opportunity to continue schooling, especially in those parts of the country where incomes are lowest and educational facilities least adequate.*

Moreover, it should be noted that, *as a means of making access to education more widely available, the objective of the program has been very modest. For*

<sup>32</sup> See National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, pp. 206–207 for a discussion of levels of living in relation to education. Another study has indicated that 30 percent of the children in the potential high-school enrollment are eliminated from public schools because of the low economic status of the family group from which the child comes, and that in the year 1935–36 more than a half-million of those who entered high school would need financial help if they were to remain. (Dallard, Ralph C., *An Estimate of the Cost of Making Grades Nine Through Twelve of the American Common School Effectively Free*, Birmingham, Alabama, 1939, pp. 96–97.) Of the reasons given in 1932 by 2,992 pupils in 10 part-time secondary schools who were asked why they had left full-time school, by far the most important was "necessary to help support family." This reason was given by 29 percent of the boys and 22 percent of the girls. (Kefauver, Grayson N., Noll, Victor H. and Drake, C. Elwood, *Part-time Secondary Schools*, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin, 1932, No. 17, Monograph No. 3, Washington, 1933, pp. 32–33.) A study of over 13,000 youth in Maryland in 1937 showed that 54 percent of the youth who left school gave as reason for leaving school "economic reasons." (Bell, Howard M., *Youth Tell Their Story*, American Council on Education, Washington, 1938, p. 64.)

<sup>33</sup> National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, ch. VIII, particularly pp. 207–210; and Edwards, Newton, *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth*, Washington, American Council on Education, 1939.

<sup>34</sup> For percentage of youth aged 14 through 19 gainfully employed in the United States in 1920 and 1930 (*i. e.*, before the effect of the depression was noticeable), see Bell, *Matching Youth and Jobs*, p. 101.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, *What the High Schools Ought to Teach*, especially pp. 10–12; and Douglass, Harl R., *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*, American Council on Education, Washington, 1937, pp. 27–70.

<sup>32</sup> The maximum age up to which children are required to attend full-time school unless excused for work or other legal reasons, ranges from 14 in Georgia and most of North Carolina to 18 in Idaho, Nevada, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Utah, and Wisconsin. See U. S. Children's Bureau, *A Summary of State Laws Affecting the Employment of Minors*, Washington, 1940, table VI.

<sup>33</sup> U. S. Office of Education, *Statistical Summary of Education*, Bulletin 1940, No. 2, ch. I, Washington, 1941, p. 11, table 13.

<sup>34</sup> National Resources Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>35</sup> U. S. Office of Education, *Statistical Summary of Education*, p. 11, table 14.

the program does not attempt to provide full maintenance but aims merely to supplement, through wages paid to the students, the support which they receive from their families. Although opinions differ as to the content of an appropriate "youth standard of living" and as to the precise costs of maintenance of students at educational institutions of different levels, the comparatively small amounts paid to each NYA student can cover only a small proportion of the cost of maintenance.<sup>40</sup> Indeed the average monthly payment of \$4.74 to students working on the school program in June 1940 was considerably less than the median sum (\$6.46) estimated by the applicants to be necessary to cover expenses in addition to maintenance and cash assistance furnished by their families.<sup>41</sup> Hence, young people in those families in which incomes are most deficient can scarcely take advantage of the assistance available under the NYA program. Nor, so long as assistance continues to be given in the form of wages for work performed, is it easy to see how the program can assist those whose resources are most restricted.<sup>42</sup> For to earn through paid employment a sum that would be adequate in such circumstances would require a working period so long as to seriously curtail the time available for education *per se*.

It is difficult to assess adequately in a brief space the effect on the curriculum of the public schools, on educational philosophy and policy, and on general pedagogical techniques, of the experimental work of the Federal youth agencies in providing young people with work for wages and related training both on and

off the job.<sup>43</sup> The CCC has certainly demonstrated the educational value of a "wholesome way of life" and of study associated with genuine productive labor.<sup>44</sup> The NYA has made some of the same contributions. Both have provided a realistic approach to education and have implemented the theory that education should be a continuing vital process. *Above all, the pioneer experience of the two youth agencies has given support to the idea of incorporating work experience more largely into the educational programs of American schools.* The main avenue through which these influences have been brought to bear on the educational system of the country has been the student work program, since this is conducted by the educational institutions themselves.

*Great as this contribution has been, it is doubtful whether the desired reforms in the educational curricula can be brought about through an extension of the NYA student work program.* For in the first place, not all students, but only those from families with restricted financial resources, can benefit from the program, whereas the need for participation in the educational values of productive work is presumably common to all young people. And in the second place, educators who desire to modify the curriculum in such a way as to make meaningful work in school or community service a vital part of the educational experience of all young people will face a practical dilemma; namely, whether it will be possible to operate within the schools two types of work, on one of which students receive remuneration, and on the other of which similar work will not be paid for in wages.

*Guidance and other aids to occupational adjustment.*—The complexity of the social and economic scene and the changing technological requirements of production have for many years made it increasingly difficult for parents and others interested in the future welfare of young people to provide appropriate guidance and counsel in regard to occupational adjustments. But, while there is a growing recognition of the importance of well-developed guidance services to supplement the less technical counsel given by the family, the need is as yet far from being met.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> In California an estimate of the monthly budget for a high-school student living at home varied from \$6 to \$17.50, with an average of \$10. The average budgets per month for students boarding away from home and students entirely on their own were estimated to be \$26 and \$43 respectively. (McFarlane, *op. cit.*, p. 5.) Another study has estimated that full maintenance for a secondary-school pupil would average \$143 per pupil for the 9-month school period. This includes clothing and subsistence. (Dailard, *op. cit.*, p. 93.) Costs of attending college vary widely, depending upon the type of institution and whether or not the student is living at home. (Greenleaf, Walter J., *Working Your Way Through College*, U. S. Office of Education, Vocational Division Bulletin No. 210, Occupational Information and Guidance Series No. 4, Washington, 1941, p. 11 and table 6, pp. 144-162.) Most college students above the junior-college level are away from home, but it is possible that as many as three-fourths may be living at home while they attend junior college. The costs of attending college away from home have been estimated to average about \$700 a year, not including the cost of clothing, off-campus amusement, and travel. (*Ibid.*, p. 11.) In June 1940 the average monthly earnings of youth employed on the NYA college (undergraduate) program were \$12.68; on the graduate program the average was \$21.72. (National Youth Administration, Division of Finance and Statistics, Monthly Statistical Tables for June 1941, table 15.)

<sup>41</sup> National Youth Administration, *Youth on the Student Work Program*, p. 54.

<sup>42</sup> When educators and FERA officials began to explore the possibilities of aid to college students in August 1933, loans and scholarships were discarded as methods for allocating this aid, both because the FERA was encouraging the plan of furnishing employment opportunities in place of direct grants and because the colleges indicated a need for the type of assistance that students could render on work projects. (*Ibid.*, p. 5.)

<sup>43</sup> Certain phases are dealt with directly and by implication in two issues of the *Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, by Paul Jacobsen, cited in footnote 8, above. See also "Education in the Civilian Conservation Corps," special number of *The Phi Delta Kappan*, XIX (May 1937); and Educational Policies Commission, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, The National Youth Administration, and the Public Schools*, National Education Association, Washington, 1941.

<sup>44</sup> *The Phi Delta Kappan*, XIX (May 1937), 297.

<sup>45</sup> The American Youth Commission has summarized the case for guidance facilities as follows:

"Vocational guidance can have major values in facilitating a proper distribution and flow of young workers into the various occupations. The youth without special training who are able to get jobs can be

Every community has several agencies for guidance. To some extent the schools have supplemented the counsel given by the family, but the service is still not adequate.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, young people who have left school have not hitherto been accustomed to turning to the schools for assistance in occupational or personal adjustments.<sup>47</sup> Even the schools, however, are not normally equipped to give informed guidance as to the probable trends in labor demands, on the basis of which young people of specific aptitudes can intelligently plan their future working lives. The United States Office of Education took official cognizance of the need for such a program by establishing the Occupational Information and Guidance Service in 1939. While the establishment of this clearing-house has undoubtedly done much to improve guidance methods and to stimulate local communities to accept responsibilities for guidance of young people, the service is still only in its infancy. The special employment service facilities for junior counseling are available in less than 500 cities.<sup>48</sup> In any case the effectiveness of all such guidance depends, in the last resort, upon the availability of adequate data on occupational or industrial trends and, as already shown, this aspect of the problem has been relatively neglected until recently.<sup>49</sup>

*The special youth programs have indeed recognized the inadequacy of existing guidance facilities and have made efforts to supply the deficiency for their own clienteles.* The service of the CCC, which is a rela-

assisted to make choices of occupations less likely to create maladjustment. In the case of the important minority of occupations for which special training is needed, effective guidance by vocational counselors can point the way to vocational training of the right kind at the right time. For the future, programs of guidance and training may help to prevent the danger that business recovery may bog down in a shortage of skilled workers long before all the unskilled have been absorbed.

"The friction and lost motion of wrong placement of workers can be regarded as in part a necessary price to be paid for liberty of choice, but much of it is caused by lack of suitable training opportunities or by mere ignorance of the worker's personal characteristics and of the fields of work that are open." (American Youth Commission, *The Occupational Adjustment of Youth*, Washington, 1940, pp. 3-4.)

For further discussion of the guidance problem see American Association of School Administrators, *op. cit.*, chs. VII and VIII; and *Occupations—The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, [National Occupational Conference] *e. g.*, XV (June 1937), 838-44 (Rainey, Homer P., "Guidance and Placement of America's Youth").

<sup>46</sup> Full-time counselors are found in probably not more than 6 percent of all secondary schools. (American Youth Commission, *The Occupational Adjustment of Youth*, p. 5.) A survey in 1939 indicated that vocational counseling from faculty members giving at least half their time to counseling was being received by only about 28.7 percent of the approximately 7,166,000 students enrolled in the white high schools of the Nation at that time. (Brewster, Royce E. and Greenleaf, Walter J., "A Roll Call of Counselors," *Occupations*, XVIII (November 1939), 83-89.) Negro youth have even fewer opportunities for guidance than white youth.

<sup>47</sup> American Association of School Administrators, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

<sup>48</sup> See the section on public employment service.

<sup>49</sup> For a discussion of the function of the Employment Service and of the Occupational Outlook Division of the Department of Labor in this connection, see *ibid.*

tively recent development, is restricted to enrollees of the Corps, but the special youth consultation services developed by the NYA in certain areas have undoubtedly benefited a group wider than that securing employment on work projects. *However, both services have been far from adequately financed or staffed. In any case, the expansion of these services in close connection with programs whose major concern must be with unemployed youth can scarcely be expected to meet the needs of the wider group of young people.* Nor can the youth agencies be expected to have the specialized knowledge of labor-market conditions which is an essential prerequisite to guidance services based upon the realities of the national labor market.

The United States Office of Education has pointed out that counseling and occupational information constitute only a part of a complete guidance program.<sup>50</sup> In particular, young people require, in addition to knowledge of their potentialities and the opportunities in different types of employment, assistance in securing the necessary training and skills called for in certain occupations.

It has already been stated that the two major youth work programs undoubtedly enable many young people to acquire desirable work habits and disciplines, despite the existence of certain shortcomings in the programs which are especially evident in the NYA. *But it was also shown that neither program has as yet been able to meet the need for adequate vocational training.*

The need for opportunity to acquire skills has been pronounced in the last 10 years because the depression to a very large extent closed the normal avenues for training given by employment in private industry. The Federal Government has for many years recognized a measure of responsibility for ensuring an adequate flow of skilled labor. The Apprenticeship Section of the Division of Labor Standards of the United States Department of Labor aims to promote apprenticeship and to foster suitable standards. It is obvious, however, that it has been in no position to fill the gap left by the decline in training provided by private industry.<sup>51</sup>

The war needs for immediate and expanded production have brought about a great increase in training by private industry. Available young people are

<sup>50</sup> The United States Office of Education has outlined six functions which are essential to a complete guidance program, viz., individual inventory, occupational information, counseling, training opportunities, placement, follow-up. (Statement prepared by the Occupation Information and Guidance Service of the U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 1940.)

<sup>51</sup> In January 1942 it was estimated by the Apprenticeship Section of the Division of Labor Standards that there were 165,000 young apprentices in industry, as against some 500,000 who were estimated to be needed to ensure an adequate flow of skilled labor.

being trained in the plants on production as soon as they leave school. To aid industry in developing programs for training these young people for the single skills and families of skills, as well as all-round apprenticeship, the staff of the Apprenticeship Section has been greatly enlarged. Most of the large firms have established or are in the process of establishing comprehensive training programs. It is estimated that approximately 10 million workers will receive some form of training in the plants during the year 1942.

Vocational training through the educational system has been fostered by the Federal Government for many years through grants to the States. Despite the fact that substantial sums have been spent,<sup>52</sup> the proportion of the potential demand for this type of training which was being met in the last decade has been estimated at between 12 and 18 percent.<sup>53</sup> While there are admittedly real difficulties in determining the extent to

<sup>52</sup> Federal expenditures for this purpose rose from \$6,878,530 in the fiscal year 1929 to \$19,433,394 in 1939, while State and local expenditures in the same period rose from \$20,595,776 to \$33,232,777. (U. S. Office of Education, Vocational Division, *Digest of Annual Reports of State Boards of Vocational Education to the U. S. Office of Education, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1939*, Washington, 1940, p. 5, table III.)

<sup>53</sup> Russell, John Dale and associates, *Vocational Education*, The Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study Number 8, Washington, 1938, pp. 116-117.

which such training is needed and economically justifiable,<sup>54</sup> and in persuading young people to undertake training in periods when the employment outlook is black, the experience of the country since 1940 has shown that the preparations made for insuring the flow of skilled labor required by a revival of industrial production were far from adequate.

<sup>54</sup> The President's Advisory Committee on Education drew attention to the lack of data regarding both the quality and economic appropriateness of the vocational-education program. "Research of an evaluative type has been very limited in the Federal program of vocational education, and yet this type of research is a fundamental necessity to sound development. Little investigation has been made regarding the needs for vocational education and the types of service required to satisfy those needs. Little or no evidence has been gathered regarding the results or effectiveness of the instruction given. It would seem important, for example, to determine the number of pupils who complete courses in vocational education with a satisfactory degree of mastery and the success of these pupils in the employments in which they engage. The number of young people trained for specific trade and industrial occupations who actually engage in the vocation for which trained, has never been determined and published except for a few local communities. Information concerning the number of pupils who drop out of vocational training classes, their reasons for doing so, and what becomes of them afterwards would be valuable in appraising the program. The value of very specific training, as opposed to a more generalized type of education for an occupation, has never been determined objectively, yet it would seem that the burden of proving the effectiveness of the type of training fostered under the Federal program should rest with those who sponsor and promote its development.

"Many other problems on which evaluation is needed could be enumerated, yet in the 20 years of operation under the Smith-Hughes Act relatively little has been done to settle such issues by careful research." (*Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.)

## EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR FARMERS

Employment opportunities are provided for thousands of farmers through the programs of two agencies: the Farm Security Administration and the Work Projects Administration. Self-employment is facilitated by the FSA rural-rehabilitation loans, made under conditions of agency supervision. The WPA affords job opportunities on projects in rural areas.

### FSA Loan Program

The agricultural group which has received the most constructive assistance from public-aid measures consists of those families who have secured rehabilitation loans from the Farm Security Administration. As shown in Figure 23, the number of standard and emergency rural-rehabilitation borrowers (active, paid up, and foreclosed) amounted to almost 800,000 families by December 31, 1939. As of June 30, 1940, there were 448,200 standard loan clients.<sup>55</sup> The distribution of such clients at the end of 1939 is indicated by Figure 24. The most obvious benefit to the FSA client is the provision of a loan, which is made for from 1 to

10 years but most frequently for 5 years. Perhaps more significant in terms of family rehabilitation, however, is the fact that clients are under direct supervision for the period of the loans. During that time they receive detailed assistance in making farm and home plans, and also receive supplemental loans and grants if conditions so warrant.

The farm and home plan prepared jointly by the farm family and the local FSA farm and home supervisors provides for the home production of most of the family's food supply and feed for their livestock. It includes the production of two or more farm products for sale. All income and expenses are estimated, and farm methods that will conserve the soil must be adopted. The amount of the loan is based on the livestock and equipment needed to put the plan into action. After the loan is made, the farm and home supervisors continue to work with each family throughout the farming season, supplying practical information on modern farming methods.<sup>56</sup>

Loans cover the items the farmer needs in order to

<sup>55</sup> For definition of types of rural-rehabilitation loans made by the FSA see ch. IV. For a statement of the number of standard and emergency loans at various dates, see ch. V, footnote 7.

<sup>56</sup> Brown, Philip, "Toward Farm Security," *The Agricultural Situation*, XXIV, (June 1940), 13-14.



## NUMBER OF RURAL REHABILITATION BORROWERS, BY STATUS, AT END OF YEAR, 1935-39

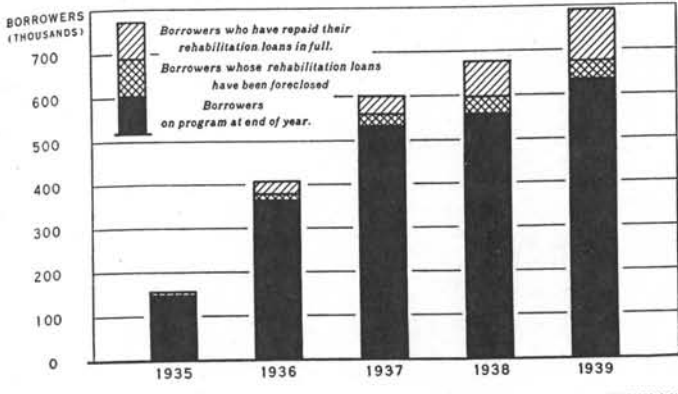


FIGURE 23.

make a living from the land and usually to provide his family with food and clothing through a crop year. The average amount lent to rural-rehabilitation loan clients,<sup>57</sup> as of February 29, 1940, was \$276. Because emergency loans are included, the average loans cited are considerably smaller than the standard loans only. Thus, the total loan advances, including initial and subsequent loans, to a sample of active standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers in 1939 since the date on which the initial standard loan was approved averaged \$839.<sup>58</sup>

There are significant geographical differentials in the amounts of loans, however; the type of farming area in which the loan is made has an important bearing upon the sum lent because of differences in farm acreage and equipment, in costs of production, and in the extent of need. In general, the average amount lent to rural-rehabilitation loan clients as of February 29, 1940, including both standard and emergency loans, was highest in the Northeast and Far West and lowest in the South and in the Plains States.<sup>59</sup> Of the 17 States with average loans of less than \$300, all except four were in the South. Moreover, three<sup>60</sup> of the four nonsouthern States with relatively small loans had exceptionally high average grant allocations per case.

### Supervision of Clients

*The extent of the supervision afforded depends upon the supervisor's caseload, and in many counties this load is too heavy for adequate supervision. Since the educational aspects of the rehabilitation program as developed in farm and home management supervision are in many respects more important in the achieve-*

<sup>57</sup> Including both standard and emergency loans. (*Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1941*.)

<sup>58</sup> Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration.

<sup>59</sup> *Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1941*, p. 181, table VI.

<sup>60</sup> Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

ment of lasting results than the financial assistance rendered, the seriousness of the excessive caseloads is self-evident. The FSA has submitted as evidence of the need for expanding its supervisory personnel beyond the limits possible under present restrictions on administrative costs<sup>61</sup> the fact that certain large life insurance companies which follow programs similar to that of the FSA in supervising farm property have their supervisors handle an average of only 75 farms, while the FSA county supervisors handle an average of almost 200 farms.<sup>62</sup> As of June 30, 1940, there were 189 FSA borrowers and grant clients per county rural-rehabilitation supervisor and 324 borrowers and clients per county home-management supervisor.<sup>63</sup> In individual regions the caseloads per supervisor may be considerably higher.<sup>64</sup>

Any evaluation of the adequacy of supervision should take into account the fact that it is a direct, practical approach to helping families achieve economic security and raise their standards of living. It is a particular type of assistance developed to meet a particular type of problem. It is on the effectiveness of this supervision that the successful rehabilitation of the farm families involved ultimately depends.

The group eligible for FSA loans is not determined in such a manner and on such a basis as to create a *prima facie* case for supervision. The clients are selected on the basis of their estimated ability to become rehabilitated, so that they obviously need supervision less than destitute farm families not eligible for the program. Regardless of the relative extent to which the clients need supervision, this type of assistance is an integral part of the program and is also one way in which the agency protects its loans.

### Repayment of Loans

*The program has not operated long enough to provide an answer as to whether the clients will be able to live economically independent lives, for relatively few of them have been on the program long enough to have paid up their loans. In the early days of the*

<sup>61</sup> According to the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act for 1939 (sec. 3b) "the funds provided in this section shall be available for (1) administration (not to exceed the amount obligated for administration in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939) \* \* \*" The caseload increased, however, between the 2 years.

In the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act, fiscal year 1941 (sec. 2b) the amount for administration was likewise limited. "The funds appropriated by subsection (a) of this section shall be available for (1) administration (not to exceed \$7,500,000) \* \* \*"

<sup>62</sup> *Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1941*, p. 207.

<sup>63</sup> Includes active and inactive standard and emergency rehabilitation borrowers, tenant purchase borrowers, resettlement project occupants under county rural-rehabilitation and home-management supervisors, and active grant clients. (Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration.)

<sup>64</sup> In FSA Regions II, III, VII, and XII, the average case load as of June 30, 1940 was more than 225 per rural-rehabilitation supervisor and more than 450 per home-management supervisor.

program, when wholesale transfers from Federal Emergency Relief Administration rolls to the Resettlement Administration occurred, there was insufficient time for careful selection, so that such clients do not afford a satisfactory test of the effectiveness of the program. In later years there has been increasingly careful consideration of the client's ability to be rehabilitated, but recently selected clients are still under supervision. *The record of repayments on loans to date, the expectation by the FSA of complete repayment of 80 percent of all loans except in areas recently affected by drought,*<sup>65</sup> *the low proportion of fore-*

<sup>65</sup> *Work Relief and Relief for Fiscal Year 1941*, p. 166. By July 1, 1939, approximately 99,000 families had repaid their loans in full. Loan maturities collected ranged from 50.5 percent in the drought States of Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, and South Dakota, to 82.8 percent in Michigan, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. (*Report of the Administrator of the Farm Security Administration: 1939*, Washington, p. 14.)

*closures (see Figure 23), and the average increase in net worth of active standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers since coming on the program (see Table 59) lead to the conclusion that the great majority of all clients will be able to maintain economic independence, barring unforeseen disaster. Their ability to do so will be the real test of the effectiveness both of selection of clients and of their supervision.*

#### Advantages for the Farm Family

*The relative effectiveness of the FSA loan program cannot be evaluated solely in terms of repayments or foreclosures.*<sup>66</sup> *It is also necessary to analyze the results in terms of the individual farm family. On this*

<sup>66</sup> Six percent of all rural-rehabilitation borrowers in 1939 had had their rehabilitation loans foreclosed, usually voluntarily. (Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration.)

### DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVE STANDARD RURAL-REHABILITATION BORROWERS, DECEMBER 31, 1939

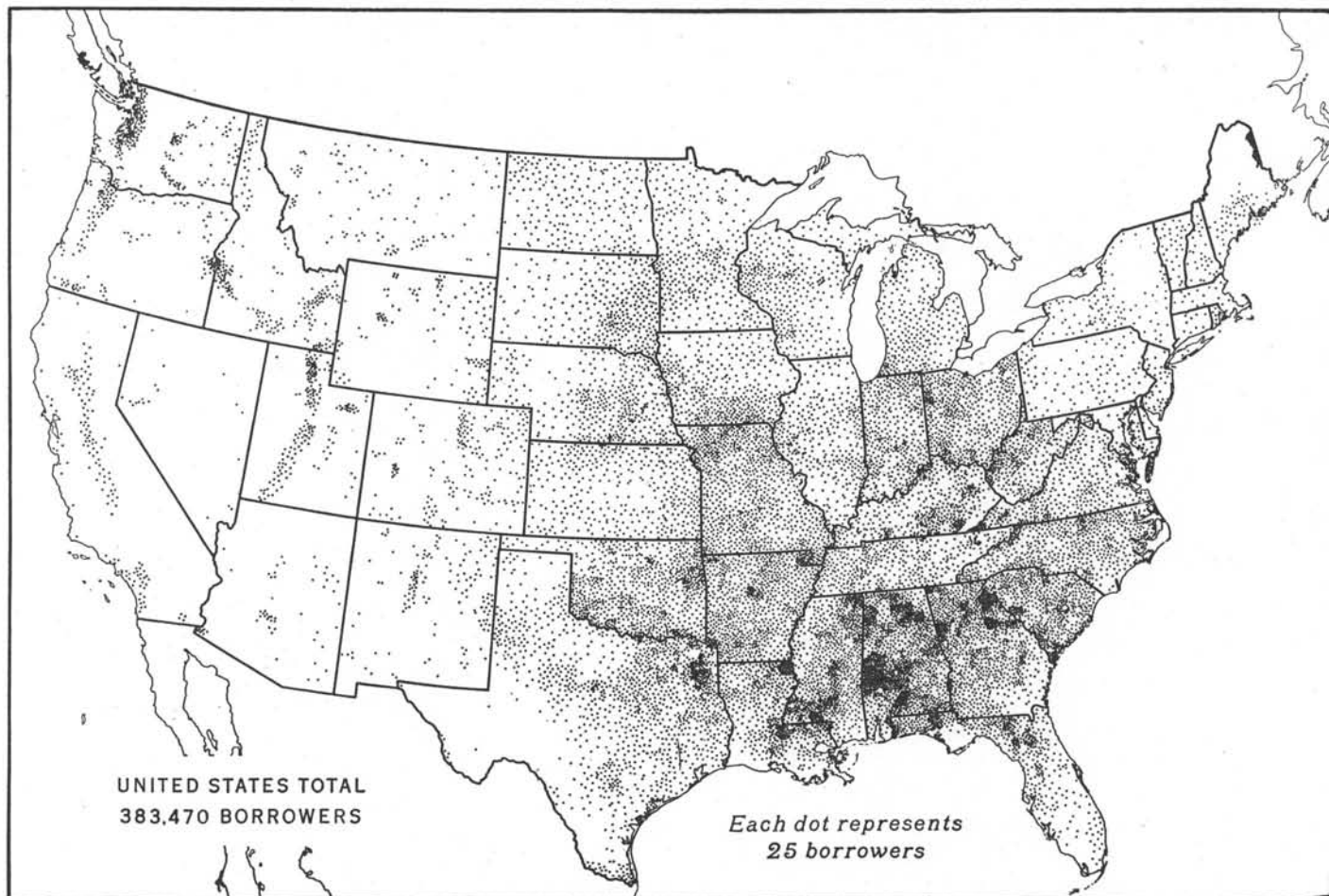


TABLE 58.—Factors in production of FSA standard loan clients, year before coming on program and 1939, by regions

FSA region <sup>1</sup>	Average size of farm (acres)		Average number of workstock owned	
	Year before coming on program	1939	Year before coming on program	1939
United States.....	107	142	1.2	2
Region I.....	98	109	0.8	2
Region II.....	99	138	1.3	3
Region III.....	93	130	1.5	2
Region IV.....	77	87	0.7	2
Region V.....	42	57	0.6	1
Region VI.....	38	57	0.4	2
Region VII.....	255	338	2.4	4
Region VIII.....	89	125	1.5	3
Region IX.....	108	159	1.3	3
Region X.....	574	746	3.3	4
Region XI.....	117	147	1.6	2
Region XII.....	291	404	1.3	3

Sources: Data for 1939 supplied by Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration; size of farm in year before coming on program from County Supervisors' 1939 report of the family progress of active standard rural rehabilitation borrowers, Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration; number of workstock in year before coming on program from Farm Security Administration, *Summary of Rural Rehabilitation Supervisors' Progress Reports, Crop Year Ending December 31, 1939*, Washington, p. 12. Information on size of farm was obtained from about 69,000 borrowers; information on workstock from a slightly larger sample.

<sup>1</sup> States included in these regions are: I, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont; II, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin; III, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Missouri, Ohio; IV, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia; V, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina; VI, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi; VII, Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota; VIII, Oklahoma, Texas; IX, Arizona, California, Nevada, Wyoming; X, Colorado, Montana, Wyoming; XI, Idaho, Oregon, Washington; XIII, Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas.

basis the advantages are numerous. The loans make it possible for clients to perform their accustomed work, *i. e.*, farming. They are given advice with regard to improved agricultural practices and frequently benefit from participation in cooperative enterprises. At the same time their working conditions are improved, as the farm must be considered an "economic unit"<sup>67</sup> before a loan is made, and funds are available for the purchase of essential livestock and equipment.

The average size of farm operated by FSA standard loan clients during the 1939 crop year was 142 acres, an average increase of 35 acres per farm over the acreages operated the year before coming on the program. (See Table 58.) In comparison, the average size of all farms in the United States in 1935 was about 155 acres.<sup>68</sup> The average number of workstock owned by standard loan clients in 1939 had increased by two-thirds, *i. e.*, from 1.2 to 2 animals, since they had come on the program. The limited number of livestock owned is itself significant in indicating that agricultural production is on a family, rather than a commercial, basis.

Another measure of the effectiveness of the program for the individual borrower, which has frequently been pointed out by the FSA in its annual reports and other

<sup>67</sup> *I. e.*, it must usually support a basic herd of livestock, grow home garden vegetables, and provide two or more cash crops.

<sup>68</sup> *United States Census of Agriculture: 1935*, III, Washington, 1937, p. 51, table 5.

publications, is the increase in net worth. Standard loan clients who were active cases in 1939 increased their average net worth by 26 percent from the year before they were accepted as standard borrowers to the 1939 crop year. (See Table 59.) By regions, the increases ranged from 5 percent to 50 percent. While the average increase in net worth has obviously been substantial, it should be pointed out that the increases are partly due to savings effected through the debt-adjustment program which scales down the liabilities of the client, and not entirely to increases in value of land and equipment.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, an increase in net worth does not necessarily involve an advance in level of living.

A related measure of the effectiveness of the loan program is the changes in net income. Standard loan clients who were active cases in 1939 increased their annual net income by an average of 43 percent from the year before they became standard borrowers to the 1939 crop year. (See Table 59.) Even in 1939 after the increases had occurred, however, the average net income for all regions was only \$538.

*In spite of this low average income, there is no doubt that the rural-rehabilitation program has had widespread effect in raising the level of living of low-income farm families, especially in the South.* The program has not wiped out differences in levels of living of low-income farm families between the various sections of the United States, and probably could not, as it is not set up to provide regular payments. It

TABLE 59.—Changes in average net worth and average net income of FSA active standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers from year before acceptance on program to 1939 crop year, by region

FSA region	Average net worth			Average net income		
	Year preceding first crop year on program	1939 crop year	Percent increase in net worth	Year preceding first crop year on program	1939 crop year	Percent increase in net income
United States.....	\$884	\$1,115	26	\$375	\$538	43
Region I.....	1,842	1,952	6	606	752	24
Region II.....	1,149	1,651	44	463	632	36
Region III.....	830	1,176	42	467	640	37
Region IV.....	1,144	1,419	24	479	619	29
Region V.....	480	537	12	174	271	56
Region VI.....	388	583	50	270	463	71
Region VII.....	474	534	13	307	505	64
Region VIII.....	753	978	30	273	468	71
Region IX.....	2,548	3,186	25	746	891	20
Region X.....	1,595	1,769	11	578	808	40
Region XI.....	2,310	2,821	22	727	920	27
Region XII.....	940	985	5	299	546	83

Source: Information from the Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration. For States included in these regions, see table 58.

<sup>69</sup> The average amount of debt reduction effected for active standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers through voluntary farm debt adjustment was \$42 by December 31, 1939. (Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration.)

has, however, tended to reduce variations in levels of living, as measured by net income.

At least as important a measure of the effectiveness of the rural-rehabilitation program as those cited above is the amount of food produced for home consumption. This furnishes a rough index of changes in level of farm family living, particularly among the lowest income groups. Data for the year 1938 show that on the average standard rural-rehabilitation clients had increased considerably the amount of food canned since the year before their acceptance on the program. Moreover, increases in canned fruit are probably accompanied by increased consumption of fresh fruits and vegetables. Large increases also occurred in the production of meat, milk, and eggs for home use. (See Table 60.)

Another indication of the relative importance of production for home consumption is the fact that 28 percent of the average gross family income in 1939 consisted of the value of home use products. (See Table 61.) It is perhaps significant that in most regions the increase in production for home consumption has been directly related to the increase in gross family income. As a result, home use production accounted for approximately one-fourth of the average gross family income both in the year before acceptance on the program, and in 1939. The data indicate, however, that in spite of the marked improvement in average level of living, the families are still far from self-sufficient in the matter of food.

Various other factors, if not always directly related to level of living, tend to improve family status and increase self-respect and hence likewise make participation in the standard loan program desirable for the low-income farm family.<sup>70</sup> The emphasis on medical care is resulting in a rapid increase in the number of families for which at least minimum care is provided at a nominal cost. By the end of February 1940, 520 counties had group medical-care programs for FSA rehabilitation clients.<sup>71</sup>

Practical education along vocational lines is provided through the farm and home supervisors. It particularly stresses agricultural practices and household operation. The record books maintained by the family are another important educational aspect of the program, as the borrower must agree to keep business-like records. School attendance of children is also encouraged. From the point of view of the Farm Se-

TABLE 60.—Average increase in quantities of fruits and vegetables canned and meat, milk, and eggs produced for home use by FSA standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers from year before acceptance on program to 1938, by region

FSA region	Average increase since acceptance			
	Quarts of fruits and vegetables canned	Pounds of meat produced for home use	Gallons of milk produced for home use	Dozens of eggs produced for home use
United States.....	170	292	366	88
Region I.....	146	282	383	86
Region II.....	140	267	256	64
Region III.....	171	282	351	82
Region IV.....	184	355	388	83
Region V.....	144	370	335	75
Region VI.....	260	230	391	102
Region VII.....	55	264	359	91
Region VIII.....	217	294	472	110
Region IX.....	170	201	340	94
Region X.....	124	262	326	84
Region XI.....	222	333	342	99
Region XII.....	126	251	386	100

Source: Farm Security Administration, *Summary of Rural Rehabilitation Supervisors' Progress Reports, Crop Year Ending December 31, 1938*, Washington, pp. 4-7. For States included in these regions, see table 58.

curity Administration, the education afforded is as important as the financial aspects of the program.

There are also at least indirect recreational aspects as persons on the program get together in cooperative enterprises. Bringing people together for work on their record books is one example. This cooperative aspect of the program is certainly a factor to consider in connection with the well-being and enrichment of the lives of the people involved. To a significant extent rural-rehabilitation borrowers and their families participate in group activities directly concerned with farm living.

Tenure improvement operates to raise the status of the family and to provide increased security. Among active standard borrowers in 1939 for whom information was obtained, there had been an increase of 8 percent in owners and part-owners since coming on the program.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, a sharp decrease in sharecroppers and laborers has occurred as these tenure groups are assisted to advance into the tenant class. (See Table 62.)

Another way in which the FSA provides assistance is through making cooperative or community-service loans when groups of low-income farmers need equipment or services they cannot purchase unaided. Members of the group are usually standard rehabilitation clients. Before the loan is made, each member of the group signs an agreement showing how much he will pay for his share in the equipment or service. Through these cooperatives, farmers are enabled to purchase heavy farming equipment, purebred breeding stock, canning equipment, spraying equipment, veterinarian services, and the like. Fertilizer, seed,

<sup>70</sup> Although the community-service loan, medical-care, farm-debt-adjustment, and tenure-improvement programs are not restricted to FSA clients, they are particularly important in helping rehabilitate the families obtaining loans.

<sup>71</sup> Farm Security Administration, Office of the Chief Medical Officer, *Progress Report for 1939*, Washington, p. 40. For a description of the medical-care programs of the FSA, see ch. IV.

<sup>72</sup> Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration.

TABLE 61.—Average amount of gross family income and amount and proportion of change in value of home-use products of FSA active standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers, from year before acceptance on program to 1939, by region

FSA region	Year before acceptance			1939 crop year			Increase in value of home-use products	
	Average gross family income	Value of home use products		Average gross family income	Value of home use products		Amount	Proportion of year before acceptance
		Amount	Proportion of gross family income		Amount	Proportion of gross family income		
United States.....	Dollars 633	Dollars 150	Percent 24	Dollars 889	Dollars 247	Percent 28	Dollars 97	Percent 64
Region I.....	1,523	209	14	1,878	269	14	60	29
Region II.....	760	113	15	1,129	186	16	73	65
Region III.....	700	131	19	988	208	21	77	58
Region IV.....	639	258	40	806	340	42	82	32
Region V.....	359	106	30	515	233	45	127	119
Region VI.....	362	135	37	575	280	49	145	107
Region VII.....	620	136	22	922	201	22	65	48
Region VIII.....	476	127	27	740	235	32	108	85
Region IX.....	1,363	148	11	1,829	209	11	61	41
Region X.....	1,126	158	14	1,613	246	15	88	56
Region XI.....	1,344	168	13	1,749	251	14	83	49
Region XII.....	692	142	21	1,029	232	23	90	63

Source: Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration, based on County Supervisors' 1939 report of the family progress of active standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers. For States in these regions see table 58.

and other farm supplies are bought through the co-operatives at considerable savings. Loans are also made to individual farmers to enable them to take part in cooperatives not financed by the FSA.

In cooperation with State agricultural colleges and other local agencies, the FSA is aiding tenant and sharecropper families to obtain long-term written leases that state clearly what is expected of both landlord and tenant, instead of the usual oral 1-year agreements. Under long-term or automatically renewable contracts, the tenant is encouraged to protect the soil and improve the property. Flexible farm-lease forms have been prepared to fit the laws and customs of every State. Tenure-improvement services are not restricted to FSA clients, but are available to all farmers.

Under the farm-debt-adjustment program, farmers overburdened with debt, both FSA clients and others, are helped to work out a program within the limits of their ability to pay. This is done through agreements with the creditor for extending the period of payment, reducing interest rates, scaling down the debt, or re-financing part of it through an FSA rehabilitation loan. Group debts, such as those incurred for irrigation or drainage, are adjusted similarly.

The scope of this type of assistance is indicated by the fact that during the fiscal year 1940 a total of 15,085 farmers had their debts scaled down from \$75,501,128 to \$62,095,927, a reduction of \$13,405,201, or about 18 percent of the original indebtedness. In addition, 19 groups involving 3,520 farmers, had their debts reduced from \$4,523,109 to \$2,096,148, a reduction of \$2,426,961, or about 54 percent of the original indebtedness. Besides reducing the indebtedness of farmers and groups, the FSA in 1939-40 aided 11,547

other farmers in securing more favorable terms, such as a reduction in the rate of interest, or an extension of time, without actually reducing the amount of their debts.<sup>73</sup>

*The effect of the program on farm families is thus seen to be fairly inclusive, covering as it does both maintenance and other-than-maintenance needs. Both aspects are important in a program based on the philosophy that the American family-sized farm provides a satisfying way of life.*

#### Coverage of the Program

In view of the types of assistance provided and the effect of the rural-rehabilitation loan program in improving the status of farm families, it is reasonable to ask to what extent low-income farm families are now participating in the program. No simple and certain answer to this question is possible because of the difficulty of securing a measure of the size of the group for whom rural-rehabilitation loans are clearly desirable. The FSA has prepared a crude index of the need for rural-rehabilitation activities based upon the number of farm families with net incomes of less than \$500 or receiving relief in 1935-36.<sup>74</sup> In that year it is estimated that there were approximately 1,700,000 such families. Available estimates indicated that by 1940 the number of farm families with gross receipts of less than \$500 might be even larger.<sup>75</sup> A certain,

<sup>73</sup> Information from the Statistics Section, Finance Division, Farm Security Administration.

<sup>74</sup> Farm Security Administration, Rural Rehabilitation Division, *Regional and State Distribution of the Need for Rural Rehabilitation*, Program Analysis Report No. 2, Revised, Washington, 1940.

<sup>75</sup> "Assuming that the pattern of distribution of farm families with respect to such receipts [i. e., gross receipts from sales and value of products kept for household use], will be similar in 1940 to that of

but unknown, proportion of these families would undoubtedly fail to qualify as good risks and thus prove to be ineligible for loans. Against this, however, must be set the fact that as a measure of need among farmers the criterion of receipt of income of less than \$500 is probably unduly low. It has been estimated that the costs of minimum physical requirements for a farm family of two adults and three children at 1936 prices were \$630 in the North, \$550 in the South, and \$660 in the West.<sup>76</sup> Adoption of these higher measures would tend to increase the volume of the potential load.

On the assumption that these 1,700,000 farm families represent the potential FSA load, *it is evident that hitherto the program has met only a relatively small part of the need.* Including all families which received either standard or emergency loans, probably 700,000 farm operators in the group with net incomes of less than \$500 had been assisted by FSA loans by June 30, 1940. Active and paid up standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers totaled 448,200. Of these 331,700, or about three out of four, had net incomes the year before acceptance of less than \$500.<sup>77</sup> This means that approximately 1,370,000 farm operator families may be theoretically eligible for standard loans but have not yet come under the program at all or have received emergency loans only. The data also indicate that *the upper limit of income or standard of living for accepting farmers for rehabilitation loans is not clearly defined and rigorously adhered to under present conditions. Particularly in view of the limited funds, constant stress on assisting the farmers in greatest need through the loan program is necessary.*

Even were more adequate funds made available, other problems would be faced by an expanded loan program. As increasing numbers of farmers are rehabilitated, land becomes more and more difficult to find in many communities both because of the premium at which cotton and tobacco allotments are had and because of the pattern of large landholdings within which there is a considerable amount of idle land. *If continued expansion is to be insured, therefore, the FSA must obtain legislative authorization to purchase land for resale or lease to needy farm families.* Another problem is the difficulty of planning farm opera-

TABLE 62.—Tenure status of FSA active standard rural-rehabilitation borrowers, 1939, by region

FSA region	Borrowers for whom data were obtained	Tenure status of borrowers, 1939 crop year									
		Full owners		Part owners		Tenants		Share-croppers		Laborers	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
United States	69,385	20,333	29	4,395	6	42,790	62	1,492	2	375	1
Region I	2,093	1,362	65	76	4	598	29	51	2	6	(1)
Region II	4,183	1,473	35	210	5	2,409	58	79	2	12	(1)
Region III	11,059	2,219	20	521	5	8,142	74	123	1	54	(1)
Region IV	10,721	4,915	46	892	8	4,238	40	617	6	59	(1)
Region V	12,776	3,200	25	631	5	8,562	67	315	2	68	(1)
Region VI	8,286	2,434	29	314	4	5,460	66	70	1	8	(1)
Region VII	5,622	438	8	418	7	4,722	84	36	1	8	(1)
Region VIII	7,077	1,189	17	381	6	5,319	75	84	1	104	1
Region IX	1,845	1,112	60	228	12	474	26	15	1	16	1
Region X	1,783	540	30	279	16	906	51	51	3	7	(1)
Region XI	1,960	955	49	187	10	793	40	9	(1)	16	1
Region XII	1,980	496	25	258	13	1,167	59	42	2	17	1

<sup>1</sup> Less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration. For States included in these regions, see table 58.

tions in anything like the traditional pattern so as to produce sufficient income to allow the family to get ahead. Associated with the difficulty of planning for sufficient cash crops is the definite need for between-season work to supplement farm income.

*Finally the plight of low-income farmers raises the broader social question whether policy should in future accept the desirability of retaining on the land a large number of small farmers and aim to enable them to secure a somewhat more adequate livelihood, or whether efforts should be made to transfer them to other types of employment where the economic return for a given expenditure of labor is likely to be higher.*

It should be noted, however, that the coverage of the program is uneven as between Negro and white farmers. *There appears to be a disproportionately low representation of Negro borrowers in relation to their need.* The available data show that Negroes constitute approximately the same percentage of all loan clients that they do of all farmers, whether computed on the basis of the Nation as a whole or on the basis of the South only. As already pointed out in Chapter VI, however, such data do not take into account the fact that Negroes are disproportionately represented among low-income farmers<sup>78</sup> and that hence needy Negro farmers are underrepresented on the loan program. Administratively, the factor which militates against the Negro farmer is the fact that his application is usually passed on by white officials charged with the duty of determining his chances of becoming rehabilitated and repaying his loan. Under such circumstances,

<sup>78</sup> Among nonrelief farm families in the South in 1935-36, an estimated 13.5 percent of all white families were below the \$500 income level in comparison with 46.9 percent of all Negro families. (National Resources Committee, *Consumer Incomes in the United States, Their Distribution in 1935-36*, Washington, 1938, table 20 B.)

1930 (even though total national agricultural income is now smaller), a little more than one-fourth of the farm families the country over—perhaps as many as 1,800,000—will have gross receipts of less than \$500 from the farm products they sell and use." U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Home Economics, *The Outlook for Farm Family Living in 1941*, Washington, October 1940, p. 8. Cf. Maddox, James G., "Suggestions for a National Program of Rural Rehabilitation and Relief", *Journal of Farm Economics*, XXI (November 1939) 881-896.

<sup>76</sup> Maddox, *op. cit.*, p. 889.

<sup>77</sup> Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration.

bias must often work against advancing loans to Negroes. Both the Washington and regional officials of the Farm Security Administration attempt to offset the tendency toward Negro underrepresentation by checking periodically on new clients, calling the attention of State directors to any marked trends toward underrepresentation of Negroes, and urging that loans be made to needy farmers regardless of color.<sup>79</sup>

### WPA Employment for Farmers

Since the rural-rehabilitation loan program has obviously never been of sufficient size to care for more than a relatively small proportion of the total needy farm group, large numbers of farm families have had to receive other assistance. This has consisted of general relief, farm security grants, or, since 1935, of employment on the works program. The eligibility of farmers for project employment has presented two major problems. First, it is difficult to determine the need of a farmer by the application of the same standard used in determining the need of industrial workers. The farmer operates in a credit economy rather than a cash economy. He has resources in the form of goods which are difficult to evaluate. Second, having determined his need, the question of whether the Work Projects Administration or the Farm Security Administration should assist him also presents difficulties.

Very generally throughout rural areas the WPA has not employed farmers unless they have applied to the FSA for assistance and have been rejected. The position of some WPA officials also is that the works program is primarily for persons whose need is due to unemployment, and hence should not include farmers. However, trends toward mechanization, with consequent displacement of farm families, the growth of part-time farming with its dependence on a regular wage, as well as special disasters, have been among the more obvious forces creating a need of farm families

<sup>79</sup> It is more difficult to determine whether Negroes have been discriminated against in regard to the amount of the loan granted. Of 8 out of 16 States with substantial Negro farming populations, the average amount of the loans to white clients exceeded those to Negroes in 1939. (Information from Planning and Control Section, Rural Rehabilitation Division, Farm Security Administration, based on FSA county supervisors' 1939 report of the rural-rehabilitation progress of standard borrowers.)

These average figures however do not take into account the different proportions which Negroes constituted of all borrowers in the States concerned. Moreover, Negro farms are on the average smaller than white farms, so that comparable loans to Negroes would be smaller. Furthermore, in relation to their lower net worth at the time of acceptance, colored borrowers received more substantial assistance than whites. The average colored net worth was \$414 as against \$762 for whites. The average colored loan advances were \$606 as against \$659 for whites. In terms of the amount of assistance given therefore, Negroes appear to have received loans comparable to those made to white clients. In other words, such discrimination as may exist is in terms of giving acceptance for loans, not in the size of the loans themselves.

for WPA employment. In consequence, needy farmers have had to be assisted through the relief and work programs at all times, but they have also been given special consideration under certain circumstances. As early as September 1933 the first grants earmarked for drought assistance were authorized by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Special drought relief on a large scale was necessary as a result of the droughts of 1934 and 1936.<sup>80</sup> Again during the winter of 1939-40 drought programs were operated by the WPA in several States. Similiar special programs were operated in four States for farmers whose need was due to flood.

Another special program to assist destitute farmers was inaugurated by the WPA in August 1938 to provide between-season employment for southern farmers with distressingly low incomes. It operated in 11 southern States, and at its peak in October and November provided for 200,000 farm families. Not repeated in subsequent years on so broad a scale, the general approach has nevertheless been followed by some State administrations.<sup>81</sup>

While the reports of the WPA do not classify farmers separately, the agency estimates that as recently as January 1940 it had an agricultural load of more than 400,000, chiefly farm laborers and tenants and sharecroppers considered least capable of rehabilitation under the FSA program.<sup>82</sup> The sharp reduction in the total WPA load by the end of June 1940 and the increased seasonal employment in agriculture reduced the farm families cared for to an estimated 250,000.

It is clear then that the WPA cares for a sizable farm group at all times. The group is made up primarily of families whose possibilities for rehabilitation are considered most doubtful, or whose need is clearly of short duration. Persons currently receiving loans and subsistence grants from the FSA are in general not eligible for project employment, although it would provide the between-season employment they so greatly need.<sup>83</sup>

As general policy the WPA does not employ farmers during the crop season. In many cases it is neces-

<sup>80</sup> In October 1936, more than 350,000 persons were employed on the Works Program because of drought. See *Report on Progress of the Works Program, December 1937*, p. 4.

<sup>81</sup> For example, the "seasonal employment agreement" in use in North Carolina has provided for between-season employment of farm operators. (*Rules and Regulations Governing Referral and Certification for Employment on the North Carolina Work Projects Administration*, Raleigh, N. C., Revised, February 19, 1940, section 13, pp. 4-6.)

<sup>82</sup> Information from the Division of Research, Work Projects Administration.

<sup>83</sup> In the autumn of 1940 a cooperative project was initiated in two North Carolina counties whereby the WPA would provide between-season employment for needy farmers not receiving loans. The FSA supervisor would advise on farm plans. For further development of this project, see ch. XIII.

sary to deviate from this policy, however, even though there is general recognition of the fact that the farmer who remains on his farm should devote his energies during the crop season to the raising of produce for home consumption and sale.

The major advantage for the farmer who secures employment on the works program is that he receives a cash income. Moreover, in a large proportion of cases it represents more money than he could ever realize from his farm operations, and hence such earnings have raised the level of living of large numbers of

farm families. At the same time the program has encouraged the farmer who barely ekes out a living from the soil in the most favorable years to desist from all farm operations and rely entirely on work-program earnings. WPA employment has little relation to agricultural skills, so that, in contrast to the beneficiary of the FSA program, the farmer on WPA does not become a better farmer as a result of his participation.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Except in the case of the cooperative plans between FSA and WPA described above.