Children, young people, and unemployment / the Save the Children International Union.

CHILDREN YOUNG PEOPLE AND UNEMPLOYMENT

A Series of Enquiries into the Effects of Unemployment on Children and Young People

PART I

GERMANY. — Ruth WEILAND. — Gertrud BAEUMER. — Walter FRIEDLAENDER.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. — BELGIUM. SWITZERLAND.

THE SAVE THE CHILDREN INTERNATIONAL UNION
(Union internationale de Secours aux Enfants)

15, Rue Lévrier, GENEVA, Switzerland.

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PART I

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The spread of unemployment to-day is a standing menace to the economic and social structure of society, and the Save the Children International Union, whose business it is to follow closely the development of Child Welfare throughout the world, deems it highly important to ascertain and define the effects of the enforced idleness of vast numbers of adults on the moral and physical health of the younger generation.

To what extent has parental unemployment and the consequent diminution of family incomes reacted on the health of the child, — on its mental development, its character, its attitude towards parents, brothers, sisters, companions and society at large?

What of the age-group that is leaving elementary and technical schools, or concluding its time of apprenticeship, without hope of finding a livelihood, or having found one, of keeping it? and which is thus liable to forget all it has learned and to acquire habits of idleness, thus making it extremely difficult to become a productive member of the community, whenever such an opportunity may offer in the future?

How far have public and private child and youth welfare organisations been affected by the impoverishment of the masses? What new tasks are facing them to-day, and how have they met, or tried to meet the situation?

The gravity of these questions is evident. The world now includes some twenty-five million registered unemployed. If we add the total of those dependent on them we reach a figure of at least one hundred million human beings suffering directly from lack of work; without counting the crowds of artisans, agriculturists, shop-keepers and small producers of all kinds, whose business is almost at a stand-still owing to the diminished purchasing powers of so many customers.

If close on one-fifth of the population of a country produces nothing, and must be supported by the other four-fifths who cannot let them perish of hunger and cold, a number of social problems arise, clamouring for solution. Among these the problem of child welfare is not the least urgent, for it is a patent fact that the future of the rising generations is now imperilled.

The Save the Children International Union has been repeatedly asked by its member organisations, — and the same idea has been suggested by experts in various countries — to undertake a study of the effects of unemployment on children and young

relatively important, and thus the general aspect is wholly different.

As a general rule, however, unemployment leads sooner or later, and quite inevitably to a condition of economic impoverishment and lessened security. That children and young persons must suffer from the serious consequences of this state of things may be assumed, if we attach importance to the signs that can already be observed.

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Effects of Parental Unemployment on the Health of the Child.

At the time time of writing it is impossible to quote general mortality and morbidity statistics showing that unemployment is exercising a disastrous influence on the health of the child (1). Thus the infantile death-rate has followed — up to 1931, at least — the descending curve that has been observed during recent years. No death has been registered as due to starvation, and the usual epidemics of infantile disease have been neither more numerous nor more severe.

This relatively favourable situation is due to the fact that in most of the countries studied, public and private health organisations have developed considerably since the War. General health had taken a decided turn for the better, and the population has thus been able to bear the effects of privation for a longer time, even when preventive health measures have been slowed down through lack of funds.

Numerous symptoms lead us to foresee that this picture is undergoing a change, and that statistics may tell another tale before long. Local inquiries carried on in Germany, Austria and the United States, in places and districts where unemployment has been prevalent for years among a large section of the population, show that the health of the children is already directly affected. As a rule, persons who have been in close touch with the children of the unemployed — social workers, teachers, kindergarten assistants, doctors or visiting nurses, — notice a general falling-off in the standard of health. This is evidenced by the following phenomena : rapid fatigue after any bodily or mental effort, and even inability to make such effort; lowered resistance to common infectious diseases; protracted convalescence after serious illness; increase of rickets, positive

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[1] It must be emphasized that the data used in this introduction refer particularly to the following countries: Austria, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland and the United States; and that the specific facts apply to certain localities or regions only, and not to the country as a whole.

reactions to tuberculine, and dental caries. In the United States pellagra, that very serious complaint probably due to absence of certain vitamins, has been noted. These conditions are due to

(1) Inferior quality or insufficiency of food,

(2) Insufficient clothing and foot wear,

(3) Bad housing accommodation; over-crowding; lack of sleep and dirt.

Malnutrition.

Two principal factors should be taken into account :

(1) Bad quality of food. The mother has to choose among the cheap food-stuffs and does not always know how to select what is best suited to children. Many essential food-stuffs are beyond the possibilities of an empty purse.

(2) Insufficient food. Underfeeding is becoming increasingly frequent in districts where acute unemployment has prevailed for a certain time.

Fourteen out of twenty doctors who replied to the inquiry of the Deutsche Zentrale, emphasized the fact that the children of the unemployed were underfed, and that the proportion of well or sufficiently nourished children had much diminished.

Although weight and height measurements should never be taken at their face value, weights so far below the average as those that have been noted in Austria, are extremely disquieting. The same may be said of the kind of meal described as frequent in unemployed American families. Even in Switzerland, a comparatively favoured country, school doctors and teachers call attention to the bad effect of monotonous, chiefly farinaceous diets. Such insufficiency is evidenced by the children's inability to keep up bodily or mental effort for any length of time.

Clothing and Foot-Wear.

Before economizing on food, parents cut down expense on clothing and shoes. The family resources are devoted to the purchases of food. Residents in suburbs or in the country eke out their supplies with their own garden-produce (potatoes, fruit and vegetables). But the time must come when in spite of maternal ingenuity, clothes fall to pieces, soles drop off from shoes, and it is impossible to buy new things. In such circumstances, even fairly well nourished children catch cold easily and cannot attend school regularly; thus they not only miss their mental training, but also the advantages of school kitchens, free milk, and so on.

Speaking generally, the problem of clothes and shoes seems to be more serious in the country than in the towns, where more can be done in the way of free distribution of old clothing and boots.

Housing.

Decreased income almost always involves reduction in the number of rooms occupied. The family either leaves a healthy and comfortable dwelling to seek shelter in a slum district, or takes in one or more sub-tenants or lodgers. In either case, the effect is almost always the same : parents and children must crowd into one or two rooms and sleep several in a bed. To save heating, the windows are never opened; as warm water and soap cannot be had, washing and cleaning are done as seldom as possible; thus conditions gradually become increasingly wretched. Sufferers from consumption or contagious disease cannot be isolated, and unless the mother is particularly careful, vermin and skin diseases quickly spread.

Medical Care and Supervision.

Underfed children become weak and liable to contract infectious disease; they are thus in especial need of supervision and medical care. Actually, what happens?

When the child falls ill the parents put off calling the doctor until the last moment; they are afraid of being unable to pay his fee or the insurance dues (Germany, United States). For the same reason notification of infectious disease is made as late as possible, and thus the chances of further infection are increased (Germany). Social workers have so many cases to enquire into that there is no time left for preventive health work (Germany) (1). And finally, the reduced funds of public services and private organisations (Austria, Germany, United States), often imperil the work of health centres, dispensaries, school medical service, as well as the placing of children in preventoriums, holiday camps, and so forth.

Thus, assistance threatens to become perfunctory and superficial. It is limited to giving the needy the minimum necessary to keep them alive, and there is always less scope for preventive work or for putting the indigent on their feet again.

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[1] In Germany the " Fürsorgerin " undertakes certain duties that in other countries are fulfilled by the Visiting Nurse.

Effects of Unemployment on the Intellectual Development (School Work) of Children.

Unemployment reacts unfavourably on the standard of school work, for several reasons. Owing to underfeeding and bad housing conditions, the children are already tired when they get to school. They have little strength left for any serious mental effort, and if they attempt it, cannot keep it up for any length of time. Teachers complain constantly of inattention and lack of concentration and perseverance. The pupils, especially where the family is united, frequently share the worries of their parents; in class they are absent-minded, because they are thinking anxiously how the rent is to be paid and the daily bread found. Teachers state that home work is badly done, because study is impossible in the cramped and crowded home. The father seldom takes any interest in the home work of his children; his anxiety about the future does not leave him the requisite peace of mind and patience.

Family worries weigh heavily even on children of pre-school age. In the kindergartens they are timid and dare not move about nor touch anything, because they expect to be scolded; their games allude to the unhappy things they experience at home : idle and irritable fathers, overworked mothers, insufficient doles, evictions, etc.

Returning to school children, we notice other factors that retard their mental development and which are not subjective as those just mentioned. Almost everywhere, both in Europe and in America, numbers of children are prevented from attending school through want of decent clothes, and especially of boots. In certain parts of the United States, where school government is decentralized, the economies made are fraught with the most serious consequences. Grants for the purchase of readers, copy-books, and so on, have been abolished; teachers' salaries are paid after long delays and sometimes cut; the school year has been shortened; the number of pupils in class has been raised; special classes for backwards have been abolished, etc., — things which all go against a high standard of education. Similar measures, particularly the enlarging of classes, have been taken elsewhere. In some places in Austria, schools have been temporarily closed, since the municipalities had no funds to pay for heating the class-rooms.

School attendance has been affected in two-fold and peculiarly contradictory manner : pupils who have passed school age remain or come back, having found nothing to do; others, on the contrary leave school before their time is up, so as to help the family by earning something. In Germany, in the United States, and

elsewhere, numerous cases are cited where children of 13 and 15 have become the breadwinners of the family. The jobs these children do are in general underpaid, blind-alley occupations. And, still worse, as soon as these youngsters reach the age when the employer must pay them properly and insure them, they are discharged.

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The Effects of Unemployment on the Moral and Social Attitude of the Child.

Obviously, such conditions are scarcely favourable to the proper development of character.

There are happily many cases where adversity strengthens family ties and where difficulties provoke devotion, self-sacrifice and mutual assistance. Throughout the abundant data we have received, the contrary is usually true. It is a striking fact that unemployment is more disruptive of family life than is poverty resulting from insufficient wages; for unemployment disturbs the normal rhythm of life itself. When the father works he plays his part as breadwinner, even if his wage is small, and he feels that he can demand respect from his offspring. But when his job is gone and he passes the greater part of the day in the street, about the house, or in vain endeavours to find work, he gradually grows convinced that he is a useless load and loses his self-respect. His position changes even more when the mother, or one of the children, earns the bread that is necessary for all, and thus becomes the real head of the family.

This loss of paternal authority is perhaps one of the most disastrous elements in the situation, since its influence on the moral development of growing children can have far-reaching consequences.

To the serious fact of paternal idleness must be added the equally serious fact of maternal labour. When the husband loses his job, the wife very often takes on work, generally underpaid, and which prevents her presence at home when the children have most need of her. Sometimes the mother appears to suffer from the crisis even more than the children; not only does she deny herself everything on their behalf, she also tries to combine the duties of housewife and breadwinner at the expense of her bodily and mental health.

Some children are greatly depressed by family conditions they grow apathetic, indifferent, and self-centred. They lose all

initiative, and being unable to satisfy any of their wishes, end by having none at all, and by vegetating.

In the case of others, on the contrary, difficulties stimulate the fighting instinct for good or for bad. If it is for good, the children give evidence of willingness and self-sacrifice, so as to help the parents and their younger brothers and sisters. If it is for bad, they seek personal advantage at the expense of society and even of the family; they become asocial and rebel against authority. In the United States, many of the older children run away from home.

The almost complete absence of regular relief — e.g. in certain towns in the United States — drives the individual, and especially the child to beg. In Philadelphia it has been found that a large part of the food consumed by unemployed families receiving no relief is obtained from shops by children who beg more or less openly.

Among the causes of demoralisation is the feeling of " coming down in the world ", which moving from a comfortable dwelling in a respectable district to a hovel in the slums usually excites (United States). Removal often entails the breaking-off of all contact with former friends and companions, and exposes the children to new and doubtful relations.

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The task of Child Welfare organisations increases with the crisis. More babies need milk; more children require school meals — and more substantial meals at that — since they get almost nothing at home. More kindergartens, day homes, children's libraries, playgrounds must be opened, so that the children who at home have no room for games or study, may enjoy quieter and more cheerful sourroundings, with space in which to play and develop. Closer supervision of health in school is also required, to allow early diagnosis of illness and timely provision of care, food, medicine, and so on.

The fact remains that at the present day public authorities incline to reduce all grants in aid of social work, and that private charity is no longer able to support relief organisations as in the past. Yet of all classes, the children most surely deserve sacrifices on their behalf, since it is they, and society with them, who will have to bear all through life the consequences of present hardships.

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The Effects of Unemployment on Young Persons.

There is little reliable information concerning the effects of unemployment on the health of young persons. The very fact that the organisations which look after them have found it necessary to make provision for food, clothing, and even shelter, clearly shows that the material conditions of their existence are bad.

On the other hand, it has been found that the young out-of-work escapes all the occupational risks to which their employed comrades are exposed. By occupational risks we mean not only the diseases and accidents incident to regular work, but also such adverse conditions as overheated and badly ventilated workshops, exposure to weather, excessive bodily or mental fatigue induced by the kind or the length of the work. It follows therefore that the young unemployed who can spend their enforced leisure in a rational way should be in better physical condition than when they are busy in factory or workshop.

But there is another side to the question, and that is the undoubted influence unemployment exercises on the moral and social attitudes of the young person. All observers recognize and deplore this fact and fear its ultimate consequences.

There are two main categories of young unemployed :

(a) those who have learned one or more trades; and

(b) those who have learned none.

A distinction should also be drawn between those who have never worked — after leaving elementary school (unskilled labour), or after apprenticeship or technical school (skilled labour) — and those who have worked for some time and are now idle.

The position of the young unemployed who knows a trade — especially if he has worked at it for some time — is certainly better, since he has a focus of interest in his life, as well as certain steadiness, which is generally lacking in those who have learned nothing and have never worked.

Finally, however, even the first category (unless endowed with great strength of character, or living in particularly favourable surroundings) loses courage, since all efforts lead to nothing. They have no inclination to work, and become apathetic and indifferent, or refractory and rebellious.

Relatives who were at first anxious to sympathize with and support them, begin after a while to find fault with their idleness and their... appetite. Home life becomes a burden and many young people look for shelter elsewhere, or even take to the road. In Germany and the United States the numbers of this new class of tramp are enormous. Many of them, it is true, have left home

through no feeling of hostility, but rather through a desire to lessen the number of mouths to feed and to leave the others to share the dole.

Almost everywhere there have been arranged for the young unemployed homes, clubs, complementary technical courses, re-adaptation courses — especially in agriculture — many of which have given or promise to give excellent results.

Voluntary Labour Corps (Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst), subsidised by the public authorities, have been created in Germany; similar organisations have been, or are being called into existence in Austria, in the United States, in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. The keenness with which some of the young people seize the opportunity of doing useful work for the community shows that in their ranks are still to be found valuable moral and social elements, which only await the chance of proving what they are able to do.

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The above preface is an attempt to summarize briefly the preliminary results of our inquiry into the effects of unemployment on the Child and the Young Person. Subsequent pamphlets will include data from Austria, Great Britain, Poland, and other countries. We also propose to issue detailed studies on definite groups of children and young people, which are now being carried out in various countries by qualified experts.

These additional enquiries may, or may not confirm our present conclusions, but we have reason to believe that they can scarcely cast any doubt on the accuracy of the information here summarized.

We confidently hope that the impression created by a perusal of these reports will be sufficiently strong to rouse expert and public opinion to the absolute need of concerted effort on the part of those interested in the vital problems of Child Welfare. The fullest cooperation of all — public bodies, private organizations and individuals — is essential if we can hope to avoid the dangers now threatening thousands and millions of children and young persons of the world's population.

Geneva, February, 1933.

GERMANY.

The Effects of Unemployment on Children and Young People

by Ruth WEILAND,

Executive Secretary, Deutsche Zentrale für freie Jugendwohlfahrt. Berlin.

With over 6,000,000 registered unemployed, Germany takes second place on the list of countries affected by the economic crisis; and it is estimated that there are also one or two million " invisibles ", that is to say, unregistered.

Since last summer registration of the unemployed by the Labour Offices has been less strictly carried out. Recently orders have been given for a much more careful enquiry into the degree of indigence of the unemployed (" means test "), and as a result, a large number have had their allocation suppressed, particularly in cases where other members of the family are still at work or receive the dole. As a consequence the weekly income of hundreds of thousands of families has fallen far below the minimum necessary for existence.

The recovery of the labour market (on which wilfully erroneous information has too frequently been published) has not led to any re-employment of idle hands, but has in many cases tended only to the lengthening of the daily working hours of those still in jobs. Because of an insufficient wage rate workmen and employees have often been ready to accept longer hours, although the Trade Unions maintained the principle of shorter time.

The difficult economic situation in Germany and the resulting distress among unemployed, part-time and underpaid full-time workers, are evidenced by the progressive slowing down of economic activities during recent years. This is most clearly shown by the falling-off in the turnover of the Co-operative Societies, which supply the great mass of workers and employees with the daily necessaries of life. Thus, while in 1930 each member of a co-operative spent an average of 100.75 marks per quarter, the 1932 average fell to 66.10 marks.

In December 1932 the German National Statistical Office published interesting figures concerning average salaries, and from these we learn that the average wage fixed by collective contract fell, between 1929 and 1932, by nineteen to twenty per cent. In 1929, 38 per cent of workers earned more than 36 marks a week; in 1932, the percentage was only 19.9. On the other hand, the number of workers who earned up to 24 marks a week rose from 45 per cent in 1929 to 60.9 per cent in 1932.

We quote these figures because they show that unemployment, which has become practically permanent in Germany, has brought about a serious lowering of the average standard of living among the population still at work. Moreover the falling-off in the consumption of milk, butter, eggs, meat, wheat, flour and other farm produce, has also aggravated the agricultural crisis. Here also there seems to be no chance of any kind of compensation, such as exists in countries more recently affected by the economic crisis.

A. The Effects of Parental Unemployment on the Child.

I. Health.

If we compare the curves of infant mortality in the different age groups during the past ten years, with a view to ascertaining the present health conditions of the German child, we arrive at conclusions that do not appear to substantiate the actual degree of economic poverty of large classes of the population, nor the dangers to which the child is exposed. The proper course is to take note of evils when they appear, and before their full effects are apparent in mortality statistics.

In recent years a number of careful scientific studies made among the stricken population showed that, until a short time ago, it was very difficult to prove by accurate statistics that the health of the people in general suffered seriously through unemployment and poverty, but that, nevertheless, no conscientious observer could fail to acknowledge the present needs of individuals or of particular groups. In times of need, children are always in danger, since any serious fluctuations in the physical, intellectual and moral care they need are a grave obstacle to their normal development.

All who are responsible for child welfare work must therefore enquire into the most trivial symptoms indicating that the child population has already suffered harm. If we wait until all the organisations responsible for the health and education of children and young people supply one hundred per cent statistics showing

the damage already done, it will be too late to apply useful remedies.

Acting on this principle, the Deutsche Zentrale für freie Jugendwohlfahrt (Central Union of Private Child Welfare Organisations) has asked a large number of school doctors, poor law doctors, hospital physicians, family physicians, pediatricians and directors of municipal Public Health Offices to furnish carefully considered answers to the following questionnaire :

(1) Have you observed an increase of morbidity among the children of the unemployed, as compared with the children of families in better conditions?
(2) Have you observed an increase in rickets among the children brought for the first time to the child welfare clinics or outpatient departments?
(3) Have you observed an increase in illnesses caused by cold, and do you think this is due to inadequate clothing or bad shoes as an effect of the unemployment, and the resulting poverty of the family?
(4) Have you observed among the children of the unemployed an increase of illness due to lack of cleanliness?
(5) Has reduced living and sleeping accommodation among the unemployed, diminished the physical resistance of the children (tiredness, lack of enthusiasm for games, reduced power of concentration, etc.)?
(6) Have you observed undernourishment, or bad consequences of irregular and faulty feeding, due to poverty rather than to bad house-keeping?

Answers were received from twenty-nine doctors and three Municipal Health Offices in twenty-two towns and districts.

A very suggestive complement of such medical information on the health conditions of children in unemployed families can be derived from numerous reports by teachers in kindergartens, day-homes (Horte) (1), elementary schools and others dealing with the care of children and young people, social workers and members of private relief organisations. These have special value, as they were not asked for, but were supplied spontaneously.

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Any attempt to compare the health conditions of children in working and non-working families has to meet two chief

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1 The " Hort " is a place where school-children who have no supervision at home come after school-hours to do their lessons and play ; very often, school lunches and tea are served in the " Hort ".

initial difficulties. The first is that there are hardly any statistics on the physical condition of these two classes of children considered separately. The few studies made on these lines cannot be held of any general value. The second difficulty is that the apparent standard of living in an unemployed family is not necessarily lower than that of a family where the bread-winner is still at work. Duration of unemployment very largely influences the economic situation of the family. The apparent situation of a family whose head has only just lost his job is often much better than that of a short-time worker, (i.e. a man who works only a few hours daily, or has worked one or two days only a week for quite a long time perhaps), an artisan, a small dealer, or a badly paid employee or functionary. The progressive curtailing of wages and salaries in Germany has brought about such a lowering of the general standard of life, that from the purely economic point of view the situation of the unemployed family are, as a rule, not necessarily worse than that of a family still at work. In the reports received by the Deutsche Zentrale on the health conditions of children in unemployed families, the fact is constantly emphasized that a great part of the observations made are true for all children of the poorer class of the population. But as unemployment is the decisive factor in the life of the individual family, as well as in that of the German population as a whole, it is reasonable to conclude that the deplorable state of the children's health is due in the first place to unemployment.

Unemployment has a direct and indirect effect on child health. The longer it continues, the more the children suffer from increasing economic stress. At the outset, the unemployed cut out the greater part, or even the whole of their expenditure on bodily and intellectual comfort. Very often they move to smaller quarters, a step that in itself has usually a bad effect on the child. No new clothes or under-clothing can be bought; and later on the quality, and finally the quantity of the food is diminished. Careful observations made by physicians in many cases of underfeeding and its fatal consequences show that the unemployed parents have exhausted all possible resources and that acute poverty has set in.

But the children of families still in work are already indirectly yet gravely affected by prevailing unemployment. The financial situation of municipal and provincial administrations has, during the last year, become really critical. This is due not only to the large increase in the cost of maintaining the assisted unemployed, but also to vanishing revenue. On November 1, 1932, 1,849,768 unemployed were supported by the Reich, and 2,046,537 by municipalities and districts. Even were the numbers of the unemployed in Germany to remain stationary, no immediate improvement in

the financial situation of the municipalities could be expected, as the taxes continue to bring in less and less; some of these taxes produce no revenue whatever, or at best half. In order to guarantee to the assisted unemployed the minimum allocation necessary, in quite a number of municipalities and country districts to reduce, or even cut out entirely all votes for preventive health and child welfare work.

In the spring of 1932 the Association of Municipal, School and Poor Law Officers of Health (Verband der Kommunal-, Schul- und Fürsorgeärzte) made an enquiry into the effects of these economy measures on health conditions in urban and country districts. This study included 43 cities and 44 country districts, and in all of these social-hygienic measures had been reduced. The number of infant and pre-school child welfare clinics had decreased, the hours of opening were reduced, and medical assistants were substituted by lay persons. Free distribution of milk, cod-liver oil and medicinal foods to especially needy cases have been cut down; in Berlin free milk distribution has been reduced by 50 per cent.

School medical examinations, which used to take place four or five times during the school-life of the child, are now often carried out once or twice only or have been entirely abolished.

In the fight against tuberculosis budgets have been sometimes cut by half, milk and disinfectants can often no longer be distributed; in many places admission to sanatoriums is being refused; and the work of dispensaries is seriously compromised. In the post-war years the placing of weakly, convalescent and sick children in homes and sanatoriums proved one of the best means to improve the children's health. A backward trend can be observed in the following statistics, prepared by the Verein Landaufenthalt für Stadtkinder (Country Holiday Fund) :

Number of children sent to recovery homes :

April 1-Sept. 30 1930	215,656
April 1-Sept. 30 1931	176,026
Jan. 1-Nov. 23 1932	128,652

The Ordinance (Notverordnung) of July 26, 1930 for the relief of financial, economic and social needs imposes a payment of 50 pfennigs on all members of sickness benefit funds, whenever they require medical advice or a bottle of medicine. This and other restrictive measures in the ordinance, such as reduced facilities for the members of the insured person's family, are a danger to public health, since they encourage people to put off calling the doctor as long as possible.

Dr. Rosenhaupt, of Mayence, states in November, 1932, that in this town children are not brought to the doctor until their state of health is serious because the parents are afraid of the expense involved. Professor Gastpar, of Stuttgart, writes that the health authorities receive belated notification of contagious diseases, (scarlet fever, diphtheria) or even none at all.

Public health work suffers greatly from economy measures. In many cases social workers (1) (Fürsorgerinnen) are still employed, but they have so much to do with enquiries into the economic situation of families applying for relief, that they are quite unable to pursue their proper social and hygienic tasks; another drawback of this new work is that it shakes popular confidence in the social case worker.

The curtailing of preventive measures has, of course, a serious effect on the health of the people, and especially of the children, — the more so as in over 40 of the places mentioned the bad effects of the crisis have already been observed on the health of the children.

This enforced reduction, together with the increasing poverty of families unemployed for a long time, will undoubtedly in the course of the next months produce a disastrous effect on the German children's health. If, up to now, doctors could still report fairly good health conditions among the child population, this can be attributed to the valuable and efficient public health system that has operated until recently, and also to the fact that the unemployed families have made use of all their resources.

Dr. Stephan, of Mannheim, writes in November, 1932 :

> The supplementary food (breakfast, midday dinner) given, as well as the country holidays, which we have been able to maintain until now, have certainly prevented the children feeling the full stress of present economic difficulties.

Dr. Klesse, Chief School Medical Officer in Berlin, writes also in November, 1932 :

> Most probably the bad effects of unemployment would show much more in the children if country holidays and free meals had not reacted favourably.

The same observations have been made by a number of experienced doctors all over the country.

Dr. Gastpar believes that the observations made among the school children of Stuttgart as a whole ought to be taken as a warning by all who propose reductions of public health budgets.

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[1] The German social worker does preventive health work as well as purely social case work.

In the actual state of affairs, one of the most important assets in Germany, besides the family reserves mentioned above, is the present system of well-organized public health work, with an efficient medical service dealing with the care, feeding and education of the infant, the pre-school child and the school child. Proof of the real or apparent private reserves, either exhausted or still available, may be seen in the very slow decline of the general health standard. The value of small allotments, where vegetables, fruit and potatoes can be grown, is considerable. These advantages compensate the winter discomforts of the small huts built in these allotments : space restrictions, bad lighting, inadequate heating, etc. During many months in the year they give the children the possibility of living and playing in the open. Many city families have developed contacts with country relatives and friends. Private organisations and neighbours help now and then. Any belongings of value are pawned. The most important reserve, however — and the complete consumption of which is vitally serious — is the mother's physical and moral stamina.

Maternal self-sacrifice during times of unemployment and poverty is not acknowledged as it should be. Infant welfare clinics are better informed, since they are applied to by worn-out and prematurely aged mothers, who ask for advice because they cannot breast-feed their babies. The steadily increasing number of reports concerning women who cannot breast-feed, as well as the distressing observations made on the hopeless cases sent to Mothers' Rest Homes, afford much matter for thought. Besides giving their children the greater part of their own food, these women spare no effort in trying to eke out the family resources by accepting underpaid employment as charwomen, factory-hands, or by doing home work. Twenty-two kindergartens in Thuringia report these forms of maternal employment. The mothers do washing, charing, field-work, factory-work (in glass-works, cigar factories, and so on). The unemployed man is not always ready, or even able, to do his wife's work in the house. Often, more especially in the middle class, wrong notions about the value of the different kinds of work induce the wife to prevent her husband from doing domestic work. Her health is consequently often seriously affected. This is true of the wives of the part-time employed, as well as of those of the unemployed. The condition of the children in both types of families ought therefore to be theoretically the same. If, however, social workers, teachers, and other experienced witnesses agree that the child of the unemployed is exposed to greater risks and more serious harm, one of the chief reasons is doubtless that among the un-

employed, to use the illuminating remark of a teacher in the Saar, " the whole rhythm of life is totally disturbed ".

The study made by the Deutsche Zentrale also shows the indirect effects of the father's unemployment on the child, as well as serious psychic effects, which will be dealt with later.

From medical reports, we gather that, until recently, no lowering of health standards could be observed among children, contrary to observations made during the war, when the consequences of immediate lack of food were speedily evident. But to-day nearly all doctors agree that the normal rise in the standard of child health has come to a dead stop, or has fallen.

Question I. — Illness.

Have you observed an increase of morbidity among the children of the unemployed as compared with the children of families in better conditions?

To this several doctors answered that they had observed in children of unemployed families an increase of benign illnesses due to cold; this was especially true of the poorer classes. Close and inconvenient living and sleeping accommodation inevitably favours infectious diseases. These conditions are also one of the causes of the slowness of convalescence among the unemployed.

> The children recover slowly from infectious diseases, and this recovery is complicated by fatigue and irritability (Dr. Schohl, Pirmasens).
>
> With regard to physical conditions, the scales are just level; but the children no longer have sufficient reserves of strength which are necessary to react energetically against illness (Dr. Jüngling, Sagan).

Of course many hold that no such observations can be made. As a rule, school and public assistance doctors have less opportunity of observing these facts that has the family physician, but the latter is now less called upon by needy families who wish to economize. Teachers are, in this respect, in another position; many of their reports mention repeatedly the growing number of cases of illness, especially sickness due to cold.

Particularly careful observations have been made in this respect in Breslau by the Central Relief Office of Women Teachers in Prussian Elementary Schools, (Zentralstelle für soziale Hilfsarbeit der preussischen Volksschullehrerinnen). Hospitals report that older convalescent children try to prolong their stay; they beg the doctor and the nurses to keep them. When they are asked why, they answer :

> " Father has been out of work for such a long time! He's always cross because we can't make ends meet. "

" I can eat as much as I like here. "

" I have put on four pounds, and if I stay a little longer I'll certainly be able to get taken on as apprentice. "

Prolonged unemployment of the parents shows its effects on the physical development of the children. They are pale and anaemic, often nervy, and are apt to fall ill quickly. (Verband evangel. Kindergärten und Horte, Breslau.)

Question II. — Rickets.

Have you observed an increase in rickets among the children brought for the first time to the child welfare clinics or out-patient departments?

Ten of the twenty public assistance and hospital doctors to whom the question was put answered affirmatively. Such an answer is unusual in Germany, where public health assistance is fairly well organized. Rickets as a result of improper care had indeed almost disappeared, wherever infant and child welfare clinics were at work. Several cities (Berlin, Cologne, Stuttgart, Halle) report an increase of less serious cases; but in other places an increase of serious cases has been noted, of which the cause is often said to be bad housing conditions and maternal over-work. Dr. Trüb writes that mothers cannot buy essential supplementary food. Quite a number of places report an increase in the number of serious cases.

On public vaccination days we noticed an increase in serious cases of rickets and skin disease. (Prof. Gastpar, Stuttgart.)

According to Dr. Meyer-Delius, of Hamburg, this increase is due to the cutting-down of preventive measures. In Hamburg, enquiry into the economic needs of the family takes up so much of the social worker's time, that very little is left for preventive work.

Dr. Krieger (Berlin) fears that rickets will increase as the distance increases between the clinics and the allotment suburbs in the North of Berlin, as people cannot pay the fare; in certain places transport facilities even are lacking.

Question III. — Illness due to cold — Clothing and Shoes.

Have you observed an increase in illnesses, caused by cold, and do you think this is due to inadequate clothing or bad shoes as an effect of unemployment and the resulting poverty of the family?

As a rule children are brought to the doctor in clean and tidy clothes. No self-respecting mother will bring up for examination

a child in dirty or ragged garnments. The fact remains that public assistance doctors now report that clothing is getting gradually worse, underclothing is poor and torn, and shoes inadequate, and that this state of things, as well as badly heated or unheated dwellings, is the cause of the increase in illness due to cold among infants and toddlers. We must accept this statement as a sad proof of increasing suffering among the child population.

The Magdeburg Health Office deduces an increase of such illnesses from the number of specific prescriptions made up for persons benefiting from Public Relief.

> The extraordinarily poor clothing of the children must be mentioned. Every day we see boys in girls' underclothing (chemises, drawers, etc.). Worn outer clothing is put on as underclothing, whenever possible. Shoes are in a very bad state. (Dr. Jüngling, Sagan.)
>
> The increase of the number of relapses among enuretic children of the assisted unemployed is certainly due, quite apart from the usual home and neuropathic factors, to inadequate clothing and shoes. (Dr. Schohl, Pirmasens.)
>
> That there is an increase in illnesses due to cold is certain, and this increase is definitely due to inadequate footwear. (Dr. Drucker, Berlin).

We could quote many more statements to the same effect, which lead to the conclusion that these particular observations may to a certain extent be generalized. If in several districts the doctors have not emphasized the fact that shortage of clothing, heating and bedding is the cause of the increase of illness due to cold, this is no evidence against the unhappy effects of such shortage, any more than the statement, made in certain quarters, that " private relief has been able, up to the present, to deal with the worst of the situation ".

Teachers have nearly every day to deal with cases of insufficient foot-gear. Here are a few examples from Central Germany :

> (1) In one school at L., from Easter to September 20, 1932, 34 children missed a total of 84 school-days through want of shoes.
>
> (2) Among the reports sent in by 40 schools at D., 28 mentioned absence from school through lack of shoes; in one school there were 20 cases, in another 19, in a third 13, and in a school for backward children 24.
>
> (3) A town in Central Saxony reports :
>
> Last winter a special problem was absence through want of shoes. In each case the police were sent to the home to verify the statement, and all cases were found to be true.

Teachers also complain of the inadequate clothing of many children.

A girl in the last standard, whose father has been unemployed for quite a long time, came to me in tears and said that she could not take part in the school closing celebrations, because she had no proper dress nor shoes.

A small boy, one of a large family of unemployed, came to me during gymnastic class and whispered : " May I keep my coat on to-day? Mother has taken my shirt to wash it ".

Children often come to school with jacket and knickers only — no shirt.

In many places gymnastics and games, as well as school tramps, although so important for health, have had to be abandoned because of lack of shoes and clothing.

In close relation with the matter of clothing is the following.

Question IV. — Lack of Cleanliness.

Have you observed among the children of the unemployed an increase of illness due to lack of cleanliness?

This question has been answered affirmatively by 21 out of 38 public assistance doctors in quite differents parts of Germany. Nearly all of them report an increase in impetigo and impetigo-like eczema, as was common at the beginning of the War. The causes are said to be : mothers have no time; bad feeding; lack of underclothing, soap and hot water.

The love of cleanliness is there just as before, but the children, as a rule, appear badly cared for; bad and inadequate clothing and underclothing explain much. There is no mending material; boot polish cannot be bought; shoes cannot be repaired.

Question V. — Sleep.

Has reduced living and sleeping accommodation among unemployed diminished the physical resistance of the children (tiredness, lack of enthusiasm for games, less power of concentration, etc.)?

In spite of the fact that much more exhaustive observations have been made by teachers and others interested in education and social work, those sent in by doctors deserve special attention. Statistics and specific evidence are not available, but twelve out of nineteen doctors answered unreservedly in the affirmative.

Increasing nervous insomnia among small children and greater irritability due to overcrowded living and sleeping rooms. (Dr. Drucker, Berlin).

Bad effect of the unemployed father's jumpiness on the psychic attitude of the child. (Dr. Klesse, Berlin).

More tiredness and less concentration. (Dr. Hoppe, Berlin).

Latent psychopatic tendencies are now making their appearance. (Dr. Nassau, Borgsdorff).

Increase of headache in school. (Magdeburg Health Office).

Excessive touchiness. (Cologne Health Office).

Rapid tiredness. (Dr. Schohl, Pirmasens).

Weakening of mental resistance. Careful study of 153 children of the unemployed showed that in 58 cases there was less ability to concentrate. (Mayence Health Office).

Increase of infections, from the most innocuous to tuberculosis. (Liegnitz Health Office).

Dr. Schneider writes that in Halle from 24.8 to 62.6 per cent of the elementary school-children have no separate beds.

Dr. Krieger, in Berlin, stresses the absolute necessity of providing sleeping facilities for children in kindergartens and day-homes, as they cannot have proper sleep at night.

School-teachers, by their greater and longer experience of children, are of the same opinion.

In a large number of cases, unemployed families have had to move from new and healthy apartments to older and smaller ones. Narrow quarters in the home are aggravated by the constant presence of the unemployed father and older boys. The undoubted increase of nervous symptoms among school children of this type can be partly traced back to worsened living conditions, and especially to lack of separate beds. In many places 25, 30 or even 40 per cent of the children have no bed to themselves. Children are especially in danger owing to insufficient and improper accommodation in the emergency dwellings built by the unemployed themselves. (Teachers' Union of Saxony — Sächsischer Lehrerverein).

The general health of the class, with a few exceptions, seems very poor. Very many children cannot profit from their lessons because of their nervousness and want of sleep. (Silesia).

Memory and attention weakened; decrease of sustained mental effort. (Social Committee of the Provincial Association of Women Teachers, Berlin. — Prov. Verein Berliner Lehrerinnen, Sozialer Ausschuss).

In kindergartens and day-homes it is increasingly noted that even small children are nervous, tired and touchy, because they do not get enough sleep and rest at home.

There is food for thought in the sight of a small boy, set to build a toy house for himself, who puts in a few blocks to represent his bed, and says that he will go to sleep there all by himself, because his four brothers and sisters never leave him alone at night, and every night his little brother wets him. (Kindergarten in Eltville, Rhine).

Mental capacity, especially concentration and perseverance, is diminishing. The children are more and more excitable and irritable. The cause is irregular sleep. (Day-Home in Weimar).

We have not enough deck-chairs for the school children. Formerly the older ones never wanted to lie down after lunch; now nearly all of them do so because they have no separate beds at home, and no quiet so as to sleep properly. (Day-Home in Berlin).

Question VI. — Undernourishment.

Have you observed undernourishment or bad consequences of irregular and faulty feeding due to poverty rather than to bad house-keeping ?

The bad effects of faulty feeding due to unintelligent housekeeping are certainly more frequent than the cases of insufficient feeding. Very often in Germany a relatively expensive diet is advised for children — even by doctors — which modern dietetics says can be replaced by cheaper food-stuffs. It is unfortunate that in many cases the wives of the unemployed, when handling their inadequate funds, do not know how to get a hundred per cent nutritive value for their money. But even allowing for that, when fourteen out of twenty doctors state emphatically that the children of the unemployed suffer from undernourishment due to lack of food, we must conclude that the situation is very much worse than was hitherto supposed. Just as during the War, infants are the least affected, except in cases where, as already mentioned, there is greater inability to breast-feed.

According to a Memorandum on health conditions of children in Prussian elementary schools (Preussisches Ministerium für Volkswohlfahrt, 1932), a falling-off in the nutrition of children has been observed only since the autumn of 1931.

Height and weight measurements, fixing an average standard for children of different ages, have certainly no more than relative value, since constitutional factors cannot be sufficiently taken into account, thus introducing an important element of error in all calculations. This point of view is shared by Dr. Krieger (Berlin), Dr. Meyer-Delius (Hamburg) and Professor Rott (Berlin), who carefully avoid basing their reports on height and weight measurements. Systematic observations, founded on a general examination of children divided into three groups : good, middling and bad, are certainly more valuable. Thus Dr. Schnell, Director of the Municipal Health Office in Halle, reports that in 1932, for the first time, he observed an increase of the middling and bad at the expense of the best group. Dr. Schneider (Halle) concludes that

about 30 per cent of elementary school children of unemployed families are certainly in poorer condition than the others. Those who are worst are the children of unemployed receiving poor law relief. And since in various German cities the regular examination of all school children, especially of those beginning school, proves health conditions to be growing worse, we may properly conclude that the general health standard is falling.

School and public health doctors say that many children suffer from oedema. These observations are often confirmed by convalescent homes and sanatoria. Professor Gastpar reports that the upward trend in child health in Stuttgart has come to a dead stop, that there is a marked fall in the nutrition of new pupils, and that active tuberculosis has much increased among school children since 1928.

> Cases of positive tuberculin reaction are certainly more numerous among the children of the unemployed than among the others. (Dr. Scholz, Landshut).

Several centres in Berlin believe that tuberculosis among children is increasing. In Pirmasens the extreme pallor of the children has been remarked, as also their low hemoglobin percentage (55-65). The following facts have been observed : in Mayence, the inferior quality of food; in Magdeburg, the malnutrition in unemployed families living in relatively expensive new apartments; in Munich, (Dr. Koschella), symptoms of pre-puberty among particularly delicate and sensitive children of the unemployed. More favourable reports have been received from the country, where the unemployed can improve their diet with farm produce, either bought or obtained from land they have leased; but the like is not the case in industrialized country districts. The children in small cities and country boroughs with a predominantly industrial population are often anaemic and underfed.

Many school teachers, kindergarten teachers and social workers call attention to the growing hunger of the children and all its consequences.

> The children are always hungry. (Kiel).
>
> Absence from school is now more frequent, because the pupils have nothing to eat, particularly on the days just before payment of the dole. (Saxony).
>
> The unemployment of about 42 per cent of the fathers and the consequent underfeeding of the family have a marked effect on the learning capacity of the children. As a rule they are tired and slack after the third hour of class, and this is certainly due to inadequate feeding. (Breslau).
>
> The physical standard of my pupils has seriously declined during the past few years; they are not stunted as they were

during the war, but they bear the marks of inadequate feeding — pale and sometimes swollen faces; rosy cheeks are the exception. (Liegnitz).

The mental and physical stamina of the children of the unemployed is lower. They come to school with empty stomachs and are unable to do any mental work. (Essen).

I have observed underfeeding and consequent mental fatigue. (Gütersloh).

Kindergarten teachers make the same observations with regard to children from two to six years old. At a meeting of kindergarten and day-home teachers of a Berlin district where the majority of the population is unemployed (Prenzlauer Berg), the general opinion was that in most of these institutions the children lived on the free meals and hardly got anything at all to eat at home. Quite often the mother recommends them to eat as much as possible in the kindergarten; in many cases this brings on indigestion, the real cause of which is not always clear.

Reports from day-homes, kindergartens, institutions and schools :

The majority of the children have nothing to eat except what is given to them in the day-home. Many mothers beg us to give them something to eat at once, because there was no bread to give them at home. (Berlin).

We have never anything left over; only a third of the children get anything at home at night.

We have families who do cooking only on the day the dole is paid.

A third of our children never get any milk at home. (Gotha).

Many children are visibly underfed; the lunch they bring from home is pitiable. (Gräfenhaina).

The voracity of the children is quite startling. (Ruhr).

The physical standard of the pupils has naturally gone down as a result of parental unemployment and consequent underfeeding. (Stettin).

Increases of 10 or 12 pounds in weight during a stay of four weeks here are significant. We believe that underfeeding is again undoubtedly prevalent. (Convalescent Home, Sondershausen).

Many children come to school without having had breakfast. (Küstrin).

The children are playing with puppets. Punch wants his mother to give him bread. She answers : " No, Punch, I cannot give you anything; yesterday we got eleven marks only, and with that I have to pay rent and coal ". (Döpel, *Arbeitslosigkeit und Kindergarten,* Weimar).

Hundred of reports on individual cases state that children lack the bare necessities : food and sleep, clothing and linen. To these material needs must be added the burden of all the cares

which the child of the unemployed has to bear, and whose consequences act more rapidly and more seriously on its working capacity, intelligence and social reactions than on its height and weight.

Changes in the general appearance of the child and its mental and moral attitude are more obvious to the school and kindergarten teacher and social worker, than its physical condition to the doctor engaged in a scientific examination of the body. The observations made by teaching and social staffs, however, render the physician more sensitive to and more keenly aware of the downward trend in life conditions, taken as a whole, among the child population of Germany.

II. Mental Development and Working Capacity

German medical experts have not yet arrived at a unity of views on the unfavourable influence of parental unemployment on the health of the child. The ill-effects of unemployment do not appear everywhere with the same rapidity, because family resources vary largely (garden plots; relations in the country; remunerative employment of the mother; clandestine work), and also because the length of unemployment is an important factor. The proof that ill-effects have greatly increased during the past two years can be found in the answer given to the Deutsche Zentrale by a large number of doctors who have experience among the unemployed. Contrary to the medical inquiry, the one made among a very large number of teachers of all denominations and political views, kindergarten teachers, heads of day-homes, social workers and leaders of child welfare organisations, has stressed the fact that educational conditions are far more serious in the unemployed than in the working family.

This subject has been treated abundantly and from many points of view in German books and periodicals during the past few years. But it is only after studying the large quantity of first-hand reports on individual cases from all parts of Germany, and carefully considering the pictures drawn by people who live in daily contact with the children, that we can gain a clear idea of the spiritual as well as the material needs of the child of the unemployed, and of their effect on its mental capacities and social reactions.

All age-groups, save the infant, are affected; and even the baby can suffer from nervousness and lack of mental balance in its surroundings. Among children of pre-school and school age, the damage caused is already so obvious that the united efforts of all public and private child welfare organisations are needed to ward

off further and serious evil from the young generation. In many cases it is already impossible to repair the damage done. We must here take very serious exception to the view that the effects of poverty are identical in all families, whether they are unemployed, or working for insufficient wages that are scarcely better than the dole. Even when resources are reduced in both cases to a pittance, the rhythm of life is entirely different in a family whose members are idle. In an article published in the German Red-Cross Review (1), Professor Rott states that the mental balance of the unemployed is seriously disturbed :

> Increased neurosis is perhaps the most serious danger to health caused by the present crisis. This increase is not sufficiently taken into account, because it is not easily recognised.

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As far as the child is concerned, there is no doubt that the physician is, as a rule, far less able to note these effects than the school or kindergarten teacher. For the latter witnesses daily and hourly how the child reacts, as family life becomes, mentally and materially, more and more restricted.

For the toddler and pre-school child this restriction means a dwarfing of all its capacities, even before they have an opportunity to develop normally. The pre-school child suffers especially from the narrowness of the home, which denies him the vitally necessary space to play and move about in. It is remarked everywhere that unemployed families remove from already small lodgings to even smaller ones, or into the shanties built on their garden plots; that they take in lodgers, so that the space left to the family becomes unbearably curtailed. This is not the case among the poorest class only, but also among the lower middle class, especially among the independent artisans who want to keep up their workshops at any costs; they must find the rent for them, so as not sacrifice the chance of making good when circumstances improve, and therefore expose their families to great privation.

The pre-school child, at his most impressionable age, experiences the whole gamut of domestic poverty : irritability, lack of control, and despondency of his elders; the child's imagination and games are possessed by what he sees and hears. In 1931, the Ministry of the Interior and of Economics in Thuringia ordered a study to be made into children's games in all the kindergartens of Thuringia, with a view to ascertaining the effect of parental unemployment on the children's play. The publication of the

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[1] Wirtschaftsnot und Volksgesundheit. *Blätter des Deutschen Roten Kreuzes*, Berlin, December 1932.

results were used not only in Thuringia but throughout Germany as valuable evidence for the need of maintaining kindergartens as an essential educational agency.

The accuracy of the Thuringian observations is now confirmed by the answers to a questionnaire received from all parts of Germany by the Deutsche Zentrale, the sole difference being that kindergartens in large cities report facts even more disquieting than those noted in the small Thuringian country towns.

Heavy indeed must be the mental pressure of family difficulties on the young child, when unemployment, its correlated manifestations and its consequences are the main ideas in its play. It is true that the young child repeats a great number of things he does not understand, but he does learn to understand very quickly when all the ideas and talk of adults refer invariably to the same subject.

Reports from kindergartens :

The children play at being father and mother. Father cooks the dinner, because he has nothing else to do. (Lauscha).

All the girls want to sew shirts and clothes, because mother has no money to buy new ones, or no time to mend old ones, as she has to go out to work because father is unemployed. (Gotha).

In the games there is always a father at home, and he is very cross. A little boy wants to be the father, because then " I'll be able to grumble the whole time. " (Rudolstadt).

From a conversation : " My father does not work, but he brings money home all the same. When I grow up, I shall also be unemployed ". — The children play mother and father : " Father, please wash the children; I must go out to work ". — " Father, it is already very late, and you're still lying in bed : you *must* go to have your ticket stamped ".

The children sing :

" A clever boy is Master Bob,
In summer time he does a job.
But if he thinks the job too thick,
He knocks off and says : " I'm sick ". (Weimar).

As the unemployed have several times burgled houses, the children pretend to be burglars and beggars. Penalties are imprisonment or whipping. (Pfiffelbach).

" Auntie, can't you give me some work for father? " (Jena).

" One, two, three, four,
Only fools work any more ". (Ostheim v.d. Rhön).

The children tell all sorts of fairy tales about their homes, so as to deceive themselves (Kassel).

Money already plays an exceptional part in children's minds. (Bremen).

Rent plays a great part, as well as the payment of the small fee for the daily meals (five pfennigs for the children of the unemployed). Games always refer to adult life. Going to have tickets stamped is a favourite. Children walk round the playground singing and pretending to play the fiddle; they say that they are singing in courtyards to get a little money. — They are greatly alarmed when they tear their clothes : " Father will whip me; we have no money to buy new things ". When by any chance they wear something new, they are immensely pleased, and all the other children are called to admire. (Berlin).

The children tire very quickly, except when they play in the open at games of their own choice. They seem to be trying to find refuge from present unrest and the painful reality of home life, in a little world of their own, which they find in the kindergarten with other children of the same age. (Eisenach).

We see how the everlasting lack of money weighs on a small child when a doctor advises a slight operation. The child does not ask : " Will it hurt? ", but " Mother, how much will it cost? ". — Or they say : " When we have a lot of money again, I shall get shoes "; or " Auntie, we couldn't buy anything yesterday, mother had so little money ".

Coming from such poverty-stricken homes the children hurry eagerly to the kindergarten, which is nothing less than Paradise; and when the time for leaving comes, many a poor mite clings to Teacher and will not let go, because it is afraid to go back to " that hole at home ".

How overcrowding and other grave economic worries weigh on these tiny souls is shown by the games which lay bare their longings and inmost sensations. In the kindergarten they find a ready cure by the building of houses " with a great many rooms ", or " large factories " to provide work, or " enormous dining-rooms for the unemployed ". But when some child wants to build a machine, the others object on the ground that " father will be dismissed ". (Weimar).

In many kindergartens it has been noticed that parents, who before the crisis were quite able and anxious to bring their children up carefully and lovingly, are now so blunted by poverty in their educational ability that they treat their offspring unjustly, or even neglect them. Such children come timidly to the kindergarten; they are afraid of touching, or even doing anything, for fear of making a mistake and being beaten or scolded. It is very difficult to make them talk; they suffer from an inferiority complex, and are quite unimaginative, both in play and work.

Speaking generally, I am greatly struck how the children in my kindergarten suffer from present conditions. They are not as happy and care-free as children ought to be. It

is significant that this is seen not so much in the kindergarten itself, because the children nearly all belong to unemployed families. But when they are compared with children of a family in financially and socially better conditions, we note that our children are far too serious and take too much interest in unchildish things.

This struck me particularly when we took twenty children to our country home for a month. A little boy of four who had nine brothers and sisters, and had to share his bed at home with two older children of school age and a brother of five, became quite a different being. During our walks in the wood, he who used to be so quiet, developed a habit of singing to himself with an expression of intense happiness : " The world, it is a glorious place ". And now I am almost frightened, for since we have got back to Berlin, I have not once heard the little song I heard daily, almost hourly, in the country. When he is quite happy, walking with us or playing with dolls, he sings some other doggerel which the children learned in the country, but I have never heard again " the world, it is a glorious place ".

The influence of paternal unemployment on the mental capacity is even more remarkable in the school child than in the pre-school child. We must of course remember that many other important factors may have coincided with the father's being out of work. Constitution, mental development, material changes in school organisation — departure of teachers, combination of classes, etc. — play a certain part, but good physical health is of essential importance to the child's mental capacity. The first part of this report showed how the health of the child suffers from insufficient living and sleeping accommodation, lack of linen and clothing, inadequate and insufficient food and bodily care. Nearly all the teachers who replied to the questionnaire of the Deutsche Zentrale believe that the mental and moral elasticity and energy of these children are weaker than in children whose fathers are still at work.

Some parents are certainly endowed with sufficient educational ability to resist the influence of poverty, and their children are not submitted daily and hourly to unpleasant impressions at home. In this respect also, conditions in small towns or in the country are as a rule more favourable than in large cities. Nevertheless conditions are very adverse in districts like the Thuringian Forest, the Erzgebirge, etc., where children are largely engaged in industrial work at home.

It is a tragic fact that at a time when millions of adults cannot find work, child labour is increasing. Cases are known where a school child is the only wage-earning member of the family. Regular employment of children in industry has not increased, but blind-alley jobs are more common, with all their unfavourable

train of consequences, which outweigh temporary economic advantages.

> Unemployment and child labour describe a vicious circle. When the parents are out of work, the smallest gain of the child is important. (Dr. Helene Simon).

In February 1931 it was stated in the Prussian Parliament that the number of wage-earning school children in Berlin had increased in the space of one year from 8802 to over 9000. In the annual report of the Children's Bureau of Plauen (Saxony) for the year 1930/1931, the principal cause of the large increase in child labour is attributed to the critical situation of parents who cannot, or will not, do without the children's wages. The Children's Bureau of Halle reports that parents prefer their children to earn something than to attend a day-home or receive meals at school.

> Their own unemployment leads many parents to allow their children to do illegal work; in present conditions this state of things is very difficult to remedy. (Inspector of Factories, Liegnitz).

Examples are given of children chipping old stones for a building contractor or working in brick-fields :

> We do not know exactly how many industrial accidents, some of them serious, particularly affected the children of the unemployed. But we may presume that the increasing employment of young children of out-of-work parents is one of the reasons for many of these accidents. (Dr. Mende, Deutsches Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt).

At the Conference of Saxon teachers, in September 1932, members from different part of the country reported that large numbers of children are sent out to peddle vegetables, pretzels, herrings, soap, sand, cocoa and mushrooms.

The director of a holiday-home of the *Arbeiterwohlfahrt* in Thuringia reports in October, 1932, on 105 boys, mostly from unemployed or part-time working families, whom he had to look after during a holiday of several weeks :

> Child labour is considered quite natural in the forest villages. The children are compelled to help in the work when the family has to scrape for a living. As long as the economic situation of the Thuringian Forest is not changed by a revival of industry, by new opportunities for work, etc., we shall see even worse examples of children labour, and the last spark of joy in child life will be put out... For these children the word " forest " means only " work ". They know the forest only from its connection with gathering wood and fir-cones, berry-picking, etc. To-day, they see the woods from quite a different angle when we go there for walks or games.

It is not only parental authority that drives the children to look for work; in many cases, they themselves insist on contributing to the family income.

The *Quelle*, a group of " Children's Friends " (Berlin-Neukölln) reports :

> A young boy delivers papers morning and evening; he got this job only after long and strenuous efforts. Another delivers milk, for which he gets a litre per diem and 80 pfennigs a week. Many others earn a little through running errands.
>
> Children do lengthy errands so as to earn something to eat. They help also in collecting horse dung and work in the fields, gathering potatoes. They also fetch wood in the forest, and deliver papers. (School nurse C., Silesia).
>
> A mother with nine children boasts that her eldest son, eleven and a half, is employed on five different jobs outside school hours. He carries shoes for a shoemaker, parcels for an office, and so on; he hands over all his earnings to his mother. In another family of six, a girl of ten earns her midday meal by taking a baby out every day for an airing. (Fräulein H., child welfare worker, Berlin).
>
> R. is ten years old and collects old tins, which he sells to painters for a pfennig a piece. He earns per day as much as 30 to 50 pfennigs, with which the father buys bread. (Teacher B. in D.).

It is not surprising that these children come to school very tired and listless and are unable to do their share in the lessons. Again and again teachers report that the children are much preoccupied with home difficulties and cannot concentrate sufficiently on their school work.

> Hans is a hard-working twelve-year-old, but he cannot concentrate for long on his task. His thoughts wander; his mind works by fits and starts and he is oblivious to what is happening at the moment. He thinks only of home, and is mortally afraid that the rent cannot be paid on time...

Most teachers complain of insufficient attention and rapid tiring of the children of unemployed parents, as well as of smaller powers of assimilation and bad work in theoretical subjects.

> The stamina of many children is less. The younger ones especially are easily tired, but I have also noticed even in the fifth standard how exhausted the girls are after a written task. (Elementary school, Breslau).
>
> I have noticed that mental development has come to a standstill, that the capacity for theoretical study has sunk. Attention, memory and application are not as they ought to be. (Stettin).
>
> It is obvious that the bodily, mental and moral weakness caused by unemployment must have its effect on lessons. As

a rule, bad effects show themselves more in the higher standards than in the lower, as children in the former are more involved in present-day happenings... Attention, memory, concentration are certainly weakened. " The children are nervous ", they are less able to put their mental capacities to some definite purpose, it is remark that can be made everywhere. (The Roman Catholic Teachers' Association, Wuppertal).

E. is eleven years old. She thinks constantly of the unemployment of her parents, and therefore cannot concentrate on her work. Family poverty has changed her into a silent little thing.

The prevailing unemployment makes itself unhappily felt in the school : frequent cases of absent-mindedness, depression, despondency. (Rüningen, near Braunschweig).

Many teachers in various parts of Saxony believe that parental unemployment and poverty contributes largely to the change in the children's attitude. The principal effects observed are rapid fatigue, listlessness in class, exhaustion, lack of concentration, general inattention and absent-mindedness, general bodily unrest, slackness in home work and noticeable falling-off of class work. (Teachers Union, Saxony).

Such examples could be multiplied ad infinitum. Reports and remarks from teachers in the most widely separated parts of the country are sometimes practically identical. The complaint is frequent that children of the unemployed cannot for financial reasons continue at secondary school and must return to the elementary school. Twenty-two schools in one large city report 73 such cases. Application for transfer from elementary to secondary of talented children are often withdrawn owing to unemployment. Children of the unemployed usually lack the necessary books, writing material, etc., and this is often given as one of the causes for the lowered standard of school work.

Very often parents have no money to buy the necessary copy-books, readers, pens, etc. The children cannot take part in the special features of school-life : cinema, excursions, etc. Technical and drawing lessons suffer particularly, since the parents cannot buy the necessary material. A child that used to work keenly in third standard appeared very depressed; the reason was that the father's dole did not allow for the buying of a new Arithmetic. The school supplied this, and the child again took an active part in lessons. (Lauban, Silesia).

In such circumstances the children obviously take less pleasure in their work, and results must consequently be lower. They become indifferent and apathetic as they cannot keep up with others in better circumstances. They fall back on themselves, and rarely speak. The home work is also of worse quality, the cause being very often that the children have no proper place to work

in, not enough light, no quietness, and that it is therefore quite impossible to learn anything by heart. There are, of course, parents who make use of their enforced leisure to pay more attention to the education of their children; they look after the home work in a way they were not able to do formerly. But on the whole, a teacher in Delligsen is right when he says :

> Unemployed fathers could help; but losing his job makes a man restless. They cycle a long way, up to 60 miles to look for work. The father who has just lost his job is therefore no help, and the father who has been out of work for a long time grows indifferent and apathetic.

In many cases there are complaints that children are disturbed in their work by a nervous and excitable father. He looks after their home work because he has nothing else to do, and in many cases this supervision ends in scoldings, blows and tears.

The Teachers Union of Schleswig-Holstein writes :

> The problem allows of no solution. Unemployment is now permanent, and to many it appears as normal. A great number of the parents have been unemployed for four or five years, and we can no more remember clearly what former conditions were at that time; therefore comparisons are difficult.

During the year 1931-1932, A. Busemann and H. Harders (1) carried out, in the elementary schools of Kiel and other smaller towns of North Germany, a comparative study of the school work of children of unemployed and of working families. They came to the following conclusion :

> Comparing similar age-groups, we conclude that unemployment of the father has, as a rule, a marked effect on the school work of the children, more marked in girls than in boys. After the parents lost their jobs, the percentage of good marks fell among boys from 53,7 to 42,8 per cent and among girls from 52,0 to 35,5 per cent. About half of the children formerly marked " good " have lost this mark since their father has been unemployed.

Here we must not forget that through the fusion of schools, with consequent overcrowding and inadequate airing, and other measures of economy, school children have been generally affected in a great number of places, and show symptoms of fatigue and lessened ability. Professor G. Hinsche, writing on " Overwork of the School Child " in the *Kinderärztliche Praxis*, demands that the number of subjects be reduced, the total of school hours lessened, and home work limited, especially for the younger pupils, who then should have more whole or half holidays. These

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[1] Die Wirkung väterlicher Arbeitslosigkeit auf die Schulleistung der Kinder. (*Zeitschrift für Kinderforschung*, Vol. 40. No. 1. 1932).

demands must be emphasized as soon as we take account of the terrible burden laid by parental unemployment on the minds and souls of hundreds of thousands of German children.

III. Personality and Social Reactions.

As will have been noted, it is difficult to estimate the general effect of unemployment on the health of the child and on its intellectual development. Too many other factors have to be taken into account if we wish to arrive at strictly accurate and impartial results.

In the precedings chapters we endeavoured to show that since in many parts of Germany physical and mental damage has been noted among the children of the unemployed by many observers of varying professions, it seems that generalisation, based on these individual reports, is quite justifiable. But it is far more difficult to establish proof of the unfavourable effects of unemployment on the character and social reactions of the child. In rare cases only is the child directly affected in its subjective attitude, for the effects of unemployment, in most cases indirect, are often very slow, being bound up with the general decline, or even the destruction, of the family as an educational factor.

Natural dispositions remain, of course, the predominant element in most situations of the child's life; but how unfavourably changes in environment react on the social attitude of the child can be observed by anybody who has to do with children of impoverished families.

Three factors are, on the whole decisive in the mental reaction of children to unemployment and its consequences : 1) the child's own individual disposition, 2) the educative capacity of the parents, and 3) the educational help afforded by schools, day homes, youth organisations and other groups. We must take the child's individual disposition for granted. Weak places and critical spots in the child's character can, of course, present just as much danger for its moral being when environment is bad, as physical defects for its normal and healthy development.

Parental power of resistance to the moral effects of unemployment vary greatly from one family to another. They depend not only on external factors, but also and chiefly on the moral forces of the individual, and especially on those of the mother. Here the general outlook plays an important part; religious beliefs and political convictions greatly influence the individual reaction to untoward happenings. The child cannot but be influenced by parents who are a prey to bitterness and despondency, or to resignation and apathetic acceptance of growing poverty; who resort

to illegal devices, or who give proof of their courage and activity, and in spite of insufficient means, endeavour to bring their children up properly. To be successful, these laudable efforts need, as a rule, to be supplemented by those of the school or day home, by youth organisations, and other educational factors. The best means of preventing the disruption of the family is to prop up its failing powers by material and educational support.

Children of the unemployed react to prevailing conditions in many different ways; but in general, schools and youth organisations concur in saying that these children, young as well as old, seem to be weighed down by a heavy load.

> The innocent joyfulness of childhood is dimmed. The children suffer more and more from the unrest of their own small world, as well as from that of the large one : poverty and want with all their disruptive consequences, fits of despair and exasperation, evictions, suicide, and political strife.

Many children, who have not the mental strength to support these conditions, take refuge from reality in an imaginary world of fantasy and dreams. They become apathetic, introspective, self-centred, and silent; are quite uncreative in community life; and grow embittered, and jealous of their fellows in better case. Teachers struggle in vain against absent-mindedness during lessons. A number of teachers report that home poverty not only robs many children of every amusement (sweets, walks, visits to the cinema, etc.), but that it also precludes the purchase of decent and clean nothing, necessary school books and utensils, and small subscriptions to school funds. All this drives the children to a state of passive resignation, unless a strong will to live and outside help come to their rescue.

Children with psychopathic tendencies suffer especially by these conditions :

> In most cases a lively desire of self-help is there. But the conscience that this is not enough to enable them to realize their wishes leads usually to a state of resignation, which is evidenced by a lack of interest in work and an indifference towards all daily happenings.

On the whole, the impression may be gathered from the study made by the Deutsche Zentrale that children of unemployed families mature more quickly than do others, and that they acquire premature habits of independence and decision. Even pre-school children form perfectly sound judgments on matters that have usually no meaning for children of that age. Children of nine or ten know the exact difference between various kinds of insurance and relief for the unemployed, and what is meant by emergency (" made work ") and relief-work. Many children between ten and

thirteen take energetic decisions for themselves. They try to earn money so as to pay their day-home fee, to buy boots or clothes, or to be able to spend a little on their own pleasures. The more the family maintains its educational value, the more the children try to help the parents, either by work in the home, or even by bringing in small earnings from outside.

How sensitive children are to any change in their parents' moods, may be seen in essays sent in by various schools.

> Father was always ready for any prank, but he has changed a lot in the last two years. One day he came home very depressed. Mother saw at once what had happened; he had lost his job. During the next few days he was very sad; there were no more pranks, so I went about very quietly. So it continued for a year, and then he got work again. How happy we were! I remember how proudly he laid his pay on the table... But year after year, work was more difficult to find, and one day father was out again. And from then on it meant going " stamping " every day. He has now been unemployed for over three years. At first we thought he would get a job again, but now even we children have given up all hope. (Anna S., fourteen years, secondary school).

Precocious experience and anxiety can be discovered in the following :

> At first Father went " stamping "; then he got the special allocation; and as his time was up, he had to go to the Poor Law Board. We have not enough to run the home. We have often seen how mother racks her brains to find how she can feed and clothe the six of us. We live in an outlying suburb, which is very helpful to father; otherwise he might have gone to the bad, like so many others. (Margot L., thirteen years).

> Father was a tailor. He has not had regular work for nearly three years. What great joy when an order comes in! Father and Mother look relieved and say : " A last we shall have a little money in the house ". They plan what has to be paid : gas, light, rent, school fees. One day father says he cannot pay the rent as his earnings are barely enough for food. Day and night he worries, but finds no way out. The landlord wants his money, but he has to be patient. Father does not know what to do; at last he goes to the Assistance Bureau to ask them to be responsible for the rent. After many visits they agree. His mind is relieved from a heavy load. Now it will be easier to raise what is needed. He tried for a job to play the piano in a dance-hall, and found one at last. Every Saturday and Sunday he travels to Neumünster to play. On Monday mornings he comes home tired and exhausted. My sister and myself are terribly sorry when we see him so spent, for he must work himself to death to pay for our keep. Sometimes, at dinner-time, Father tells Mother all his troubles, and then she says : " Please tell me all that when we are finished; I don't want the children to hear so much about our worries. " But I know as well as my sister does, what difficulties Father has in providing for us.

> So we both try to please our parents and bring joy to the home, but without much success, as worries increase all the time. At night I have very often heard Father turning from side to side in his bed, and next morning he looks tired and worn. If somebody asks if he is ill, he says : " Oh! it's only my worries. Things will get better soon, I hope ". Everybody hopes the same : if not, it will be the end for lots of people. (Ursula F., thirteen years).

It is natural for children to try to help their parents in times of need, just as it is natural for parents to try to give the child everything it is entitled to have for its physical and mental well-being. In many unemployed families parents and children hold more together since poverty has come; indeed, children make strenuous efforts to help. In this connection the Federation of Protestant Child Care Societies (Verband Evangelischer Kinderpflegerverbände) writes :

> The wish to help is born, and it is evidenced in real work, and also in dreams of the future. Without being asked, children gather branches and fir-cones in the woods, so that Mother does not have to worry about buying wood. With an application, a perseverance and a seriousness that are far beyond their years, they help in the potato patch, in the kitchen, and so on. Their dreams always have one end : " When I grow up, I'll work, and earn lots of money, and father needn't go " stamping " any more ".

School kitchens report many cases of children wanting to take their fruit home, saying that they would like *once* to give their mother an apple or a banana. Children give up their games and free time so as to help the mother, to run errands for her or do other small jobs; and when they do little paid jobs for others, they run to her with their earnings. In families where the children do this the parents are still an effective educational force — especially the mother.

But there is no doubt that numberless conflicts between man and wife in unemployed families are so acute, and the sentiment of unmerited poverty is so bitterly felt, that the children are considered either as a burden, or as an object on which to vent irritation, bad temper and anger. The educational situation in these families is certainly worsened by the fact that the man, in spite of his best intentions, is a helpless victim. Unable to grant his wife the means to keep up the most modest home, he cannot even give his children an example of diligence and perseverance. In many families paternal authority is diminished, especially when the mother blames her husband with being out of work. The children see daily how the mother must exert herself so as to get the utmost out of the dole, and they reproach the father because he cannot give enough to the mother. The mother is the family

treasurer : at the best of times the father receives a little pocket-money. And the child is dependent on the mother, and not on the father, for the gratifying of every wish. Respect fades away and changes to aversion and contempt when the father endeavours, by brute force, to maintain or regain his authority.

Here is a report from the day-home of the Red-Cross at Eltville (Vaterländischer Frauenverein vom Roten Kreuz, Eltville am Rhein).

> The mother is more and more the head of the family; we mean " head " in the sense of responsibility for the welfare of the children. The father is sensitive and nervous, generally looks upon his children as a burden, and is more dreaded than loved. This is frequently the most tragic element in the children's life, and it sets a great problem for the day homes, a problem that becomes more difficult every day. How often do children go home depressed at night, because at midday there had been a scene. — Once, last year, during a talk, I asked the children what they would buy at the fair if they got a little money. A nine-year-old answered : " *A knife to kill father.* He is always beating mother and me ".

Quite often when the father losses his headship, one of the children takes his place, and becomes protector of mother, brothers and sisters. Reports by teachers and day homes quote a great number of cases where boys of 12 to 14 act for the family with energy, decision and independence. There have always been such cases, but they increase in times of unemployment such as these :

> A. M. is in the last standard of the elementary school in L. The father was a maker of instruments. Out of work he took to loafing and drinking. According to the mother he does not trouble any more about his family, which has suffered greatly from the fact that for a year he has kept nearly all, or even all, of his dole. The mother was very patient, and it took a long time to bring her to speak to the Unemployment Office. She did not want to discredit her husband, but there came a moment where no other course was open to her. To protect herself from his anger, she left home on the advice of her 13 1/2 year old son. She took the smaller children with her; the older ones remained. The mother privately leased a large field from an understanding neighbour, and there A. began to build a one-roomed stone dwelling. He took advice from friends and from his older brothers, and he worked through the whole summer. The mother, who is 46 but looks very old and miserable, wheeled the stones for him in a barrow. With the help of some adults, A. — 13 1/2 years old — built an emergency home for his mother and younger brothers and sisters, and there he is now, happy and comfortable, with his " family ". The boy is talented and persevering, and whatever he does is a clean job. In spite of difficulties, and even during the building of the little house, he

did his regular home school work, even when the teacher allowed him not to do it. (Saxony).

In an unemployed family the woman, as wife and as mother, is confronted by the task — the importance of which is not everywhere recognized as it ought to be — of maintaining by all possible means her husband's self respect and the children's respect for him. Her understanding of his undeserved helplesness in face of poverty and family suffering is the cement of the family's life. She ought to spare no effort to busy him about the home, to make him play and work with the children, and to be interested in the work of the day home and other welfare institutions, whenever he can usefully do so.

Whatever be the relations between parents and children in times of unemployment, those between brothers and sisters are much closer. This fact has been noticed by practically all kindergartens and day homes, and is confirmed by teachers and social workers. The children hang firmly together; they face the storm as a compact unit, and are always ready to help each other and to make sacrifices, especially the older ones for the younger. Here is an example :

> Hans G. belongs to an unemployed family of seven. Conditions at home are deplorable; work at school is getting bad; the boy cannot satisfy his least wish; he has grown introspective, and silent, and is much depressed by home conditions. On Thursdays and Fridays he comes to school without breakfast. When asked why, he answers : " Every Friday afternoon we buy bread for the whole week; I cannot eat to-morrow because otherwise my younger brothers and sisters would have nothing. I am older, and can better go without ".

Clannishness between brothers and sisters is sometimes so strong that they get exclusive and adopt an unfriendly attitude towards other pupils at school or in the day homes. They become selfish and non-social, except with regard to their own brothers and sisters. They are a drag on community life, because they cannot take their proper place. Their own idea is to get things for themselves and for their brothers and sisters, and they do not care if this entails suffering on others or damages common property (day home or school class). Without scruple they steal fruit, food or toys for their younger brothers and sisters.

Schools, child welfare and youth organisations have here a serious task. These children must be incorporated in the community life; they must find help there; they must learn to care for everybody, and not merely for their own flesh and blood.

A teacher in the Lausitz has been successful in developing community feeling in his class :

> In my class (industrial locality, 90 per cent working-class children, last school year) the community spirit has not suffered; on the contrary, more tolerance and true comradeship have developed. There is sympathy with poorer children, and a desire to help them. The children have lost their timidity; and there is no false shame either about offering or accepting a gift.

Organised children's groups, whether on a political or sectarian basis, can help by undertaking the important task of educating egocentrics and developing their community spirit.

To many children unemployment means isolation and social stunting. School and kindergarten teachers report frequently how helpless they feel when confronted with a growing anti-social attitude among their pupils.

> Children of an out-of-work feel ashamed when they cannot get the necessary money in time for their school books or for a class excursion... When other children hand in the fee for the day home, these children crowd into a corner, ashamed, like their parents, that their fee should be paid by the Public Relief Board.

Nowhere else do political and religious convictions come so sharply to light in the answers to the questionnaire. Has the unemployed a moral right to be helped by society, or is such help mere charity, for which he must beg and which humiliates him? Adult differences, which take their source in the various answers to this problem, are reflected in the world of the child. The child's own attitude is dependent on that of his parents, of his companions, of the adult teacher and leader, and has a strong bearing on the development of the future grown-up's character. Indeed, it is one of the factors that will influence the child to become an egoist or a proud, self-reliant and responsible man.

B. — The Effects of Unemployment on the Young Unemployed.

The problem of the young unemployed in Germany must forcibly strike the foreign visitor who walks with open eyes through the streets of the large cities, observes life in the smaller towns, or motors along the highways. Everywhere young people, mostly between 17 and 28, beg openly in the streets of the cities, or solicit the passers-by to buy things of little value (matches, boot-laces, sewing cotton, etc.). On the high roads they wander about in small groups of two, three or four, but taken together they make up a large army of thousands, marching from village to city, from city to village, looking for work and slowly deteriorating.

How do all these youths live, who at the most hopeful and creative period of life are condemned to a vegetative existence without purpose, without aim? How about their physical health, their mental and intellectual outlook? Their attitude to other people, their reaction to circumstances?

The Deutsche Zentrale has asked a number of those who deal professionally with the young unemployed to answers these questions. In many cases the experts asked the young people themselves to reply either verbally, by letter, or otherwise. Information was solicited from various regions of Germany; for instance in North Germany : from Berlin, Hamburg, Hanover, Kolberg, Stettin; in West Germany : from Bielefeld, Frankfort on the Main, Cologne; in South Germany : from Mannheim and Nuremberg; in East Germany : from a group of small and large Silesian towns. The questions were submitted to experts in Labour Offices and Labour Exchanges, to Children's Bureaux, Youth Organisations, Probation Officers and Professional Schools, to Homes, Work Schools and Centres for the young unemployed. Specialised books and reviews were also consulted.

From the many detailed descriptions received, it is not possible to put together a clear and definite composite portrait of the young out-of-work. Faced with this age-group, we are more or less helpless. Many young people between 17 and 20 try to make up for the inexperience of their interior and exterior life by cheeky and impudent manners, and bombastic and pretentious talk. Their only contact is with others of their own age; they build a fence between themselves and the adult world, and keep the latter at bay with all the unpleasant and repulsive elements they can find in their own characters. The physical and mental constitution of the young person is however much more formed than that of the child. The youth embodies already the combined effects of education and environment. His reactions to the exigencies of life are therefore much more individual than those of the child. His present situation as an unemployed makes him react in a great variety of ways. One of the great difficulties encountered in trying to draw a real picture of the mental constitution of the young unemployed and of his contacts with the world at large is the fact that only a fraction of the one million young unemployed (up to 21) comes into touch with any office. Most of them attain their majority and possess all the rights of citizens without having ever been trained systematically to work at a regular trade or profession; without having ever acquired from the external regular rhythm of life any degree of personal discipline; without having ever had an opportunity of associating with other young people through professional, labour, educational or

athletic groups, for many young unemployed lack the small sum needed for membership of such associations.

We read the following in the minimum programme for Child and Youth Welfare, published in 1932 by the Home Office (1) :

> A growing number of young people have no idea of work as an essential part of life. This new generation, in a few years' time, will be the workers of Germany; on the shoulders of their age-group will rest the whole burden of responsibility for the economic, social and political life of the country. This burden will be particularly heavy, as a minority of able-bodied young people will confront a larger number of middle-aged and aged men who have been prematurely excluded from productive professional work.

Bearing these facts in mind, a few specimen results of the present enquiry into the life and existence of the young unemployed acquire some importance.

I. *Health Conditions of the Young Unemployed.*

We have extremely little information concerning the health conditions of the young unemployed between 14 and 21. Mortality and morbidity statistics furnish no data at all for this age-group. Regular medical examinations and control exist even less in this case than for the pre-school child. Medical examinations are systematically conducted in a small number only of German professional schools (for 14 to 17 year-olds). The older youths who have outgrown the professional schools are followed up, to a certain extent only, by sickness benefit funds. We must add that, just as in the case of the child in the unemployed family, the payment of a 50 pfennigs fee for an illness certificate prevents many young people from calling in the doctor in time. Only in certain places are the young unemployed freed from paying this fee. We cannot therefore obtain a proper idea of the morbidity rate even of insured young persons.

The welfare of the infant and the pre-school child is dependent on the physical care given by the mother, on regular and appropriate food, on a well-adjusted programme of rest and exercise. For the school child, environment, and mental and intellectual reactions are of major importance; for the young person they are decisive. And apart from that, there is certainly an increasing number of young unemployed who are underfed, and whose physique is otherwise affected.

The medical profession was unable to give any information of value on this subject. It is widely known that the poorer classes are also affected in their health. The young worker and

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[1] Prepared by the Deutsche Zentrale für freie Jugendwohlfahrt.

the young unemployed have lower averages of height and weight than have young people of the same age belonging to classes in easier circumstances.

Professor Gastpar writes :

> Our young people are in about the same condition as our school children. They are subject to school medical examination in continuation classes, technical and commercial schools and all higher schools; we are therefore well informed as to their physical condition. In high schools these conditions have always been better than in the others; commercial schools came second, then technical schools, while conditions were poorest in continuation classes. The same differences are to be observed to-day.

There are abundant reasons why the young unemployed should be subject to medical supervision and better protective measures. The new regulations for the Voluntary Labour Service have taken this fact into account, and prescribe medical care for the young people enrolled. Labour exchanges and youth organisations report that the physical appearance of the young people is growing worse and worse.

> We could only make a general estimate of the physical condition of the young people. Their appearance is certainly worse when we compare it with that in the winter of 1931. We see pale and unhealthy faces. Many have lost weight. Among girls there is a growing number of neurotic cases. We cannot give more precise information as we have no regular medical inspection. (Labour Office and Technical School, Kolberg, November 16, 1932).
>
> The health of the young people varies greatly. It is good among those whose father is still at work; it is very bad among those whose families are unemployed and where there are a great number of children, and among girls who live by themselves. (Central Association of the Roman Catholic Young Women's Unions, Cologne).
>
> Health conditions are specially bad among the girls. We have observed the consequences of underfeeding. (National Association for Home Missions, Dresden).
>
> Health conditions are as a rule not so bad as might be presumed, but the number is growing of those who at time really look famished. (Youth Secretariat, Stuttgart).
>
> Our attention was drawn to the physical condition of the young unemployed received at our Young Mens' Club, and therefore we had them all medically examined. The examination showed that all these young unemployed had been underfed for a long time. (Children's Bureau, Prenzlauer Berg, Berlin, Nov. 1932).

Up to now the Deutsche Zentrale has not received any reports alleging serious consequences to health due to unemployment. Indeed, many reports mention the fact that young people, being no longer exposed to industrial maladies or injuries, enjoy better

health. In Germany the economic depression is often responsible for aggravated working conditions for the young still remaining at work : longer working hours, shortening or even suppression of holidays; and reduction of wages in respect of time spent in technical schools. The young unemployed are not exposed to these disadvantages. When they are able to use their leisure time to improve their physical health (games, gardening, walking) and have sufficient food, the effects on health of unemployment are rather favourable than the reverse.

II. *Intellectual and Moral Effects of Unemployment on Young People.*

We have already alluded to the helplessness of the adult faced with the problem of the young and especially of the young unemployed. This attitude is reflected very clearly in the various endeavours made to group the young unemployed into definite categories and to attribute precise characteristics to each of these divisions. The endeavours evidence a keen desire to understand the young people and their troubles. Distinctions are drawn between one group : the resigned, the discouraged, the hopeless, the apathetic, and the weaklings, and another group : those who " protest positively against their exclusion from working life and against the refusal of society to utilize their strength and capacities ". The head of a home for young unemployed, in Berlin, writes on the attitude towards life of the first group :

> They see the ineffectual efforts of mothers, brothers, sisters and friends to escape from poverty and depression — a never-ending struggle, always painful and usually futile. They see this perpetual chasing around for work without hardly ever any result; they see the intensity and rapidity of work demanded, and believe that those who have been shut out of professional life cannot meet these demands. For such young people it means an extraordinary effort to make a few feeble endeavours at finding work, and every failure discourages and convinces them that all their attempts must be doomed to failure.
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> To avoid such constant defects they build a kind of protective wall about themselves; they gradually give up reacting to what is happening round about them and become wholly indifferent. They do not even try to find a chance of using their strength; they expect nothing from life, and so they drift. They are passive, even when considering their own condition, which is frequently unhappy and miserable enough. They prefer to put up with everything and take everything as it comes, rather than seize any opportunity that offers of self-help or summon the energy to profit by it.

These young people have not even the energy to keep physically fit. They neglect themselves; they look unhealthy and untidy,

slack and discontented. They are isolated, detached, without any interest in their parents or their brothers and sisters, for whom they are no more than a burden. Psychopathic tendencies thus develop and preclude contact with groups whose influence is worth while. These young people are thus in special danger of deteriorating; they become members of extremist political parties or of " gangs "; but even there they do not take root, they are moved only by external influences. For girls of this type, prostitution is a great danger.

> A few friendly words, a little coaxing, the feeling of being no more alone; physical contact, warmth, music, in the dark of the cinema or in the blinding light of a dance-hall : that is the one precious thing, pleasure and happiness for the majority of these young people, who give themselves up to it whole-heartedly. Entirely satisfied, they make no plans for the future; they have no other desire. (Welter, Berlin).

How these young people suffer from the hopelesness of all their efforts to find work is shown clearly in hundreds of reports and letters. Resignation does not appear only among those who have tried unsuccessfully to get an apprenticeship or a job; it is already to be noted among children in their last school year. " The 13 and 14-year-olds express no special wish about their future; such wishes are spoken of only by younger children, not so well informed of economic conditions ". This statement by a teacher is confirmed by many others. The chief things is to earn as quickly as possible. Therefore there is, as a rule, very little inclination to take up an apprenticeship.

> Young people repeatedly argue that to train is nowadays useless, because after the training is over they will not be able to get work. If we consider present conditions, we can hardly blame them for that point of view. (Schürmann, Bielefeld).

> " It is useless to learn. We learn... and we have no work. Why lose three or three and a half years salary? " Such is the attitude of many towards vocational training. To earn as quickly as possible, and not to risk being exposed to unemployment is more and more the general desire. Plans for the future do not aim at professional capacity, but at salaries. The longer unemployment has prevailed in the family, the less they believe in their own success, and the less trouble they take. " It is not worth while. " In 1931, Instruction Centres counted up to 50 per cent voluntary members who hoped to acquire knowledge and practice of their trade and so get jobs more easily; this year, disappointment and indifference are such that the number of voluntary enrolments is very small. In conclusion we may state that every month of unemployment saps the strength and the desire of the young person to plan for the future — to such a point indeed that,

at last, he wrecks his present; he vegetates, he is hopeless, he believes in nothing. (Labour Office, Kolberg).

The army of apathetic young people is increased by the steady flow of those leaving school with a desire for active life and for work, and who are paralysed more or less speedily by unfavourable conditions.

It is remarkable that only in the beginning do young people react against their unemployment; they get used very quickly to idleness, even to a certain extent the healthy and active. (Kay, Berlin).

The normal and healthy young person protests against undeserved unemployment. Conscious of his strength and ability, he refuses to go under. His desire for activity seeks expression. It depends on character, personal relations, and last but not least, on length of unemployment and certain external factors whether the young man is able to use his energy and power in fashioning his life, or whether he sinks downwards into the group of the apathetic, the hopeless, the degraded.

In most cases the young people are compelled by home conditions to look out for themselves. At the outset of their unemployment they are tolerated at home; after a time, they are regarded merely as so many superflous mouths. The difficulties arising from their very age aggravate misunderstandings in the home. If the father too is unemployed, conflict is inevitable in the unbroken contact of the congested home. If the father is still at work, he blames his children for being unemployed, and looks upon their resignation as sheer laziness. The young people are ashamed of their unemployment, and are depressed by the domestic poverty to which they are a contributing factor. In increasing numbers they leave the family, hire a bed somewhere, live in homes and hostels for the unemployed, or take to the road. The fact that their allocation is higher if they live by themselves instead of with their parents is also a valid reason for drifting away. This holds good more for young men than for young women. The unemployed girl is more a help than a burden at home, and she more easily obtains a little outside employment. As a rule, boys do not help willingly in house work.

What they cannot bear is to do little things about the house; they prefer to go in small groups to gather wood, pick up potatoes, look for coal, etc. Such tasks give them more of the feeling of doing something for the home than do little things in the house itself, which they often disgustedly refuse to attempt. (Youth Organisation, Brunswick).

In many unemployed families brothers and sisters hang very closely together; but in many cases these natural ties cannot stand the strain and yield to conflicts and jealousy. Many young

people leave home because they hope to be able to do better for themselves, and in cases where the family spirit is still strong, to help the family more by their absence than by their presence.

> Even when relations with their parents are good, young people leave out of consideration for the family, because they feel that the reduced family means do not suffice to support and feed a strong young fellow. Of course, many have a hope of bettering themselves by tramping. Correspondence with the family is a safeguard for the young people against the dangers of the road and of hostel life. (Children's Bureau, Halle).

It must be noted that the dangers of the road, especially the contacts with older, antisocial men, are enormous. Experts state that about 92 per cent of the wanderers are healthy, normal unemployed. The percentage of minors is very high. Hostels and homes are unanimous that the majority of these wanderers are still normal at bottom, — not as in former times, when the majority were older and antisocial.

The desire to escape from economic stress expresses itself very variously. They form business groups (peddling, singing in court yards, making and selling various articles), or try to earn individually; they join the Voluntary Labour Service or seek jobs as seasonal land workers. In these cases racial characteristics, as well as personality and character play a part. Young men from large cities are more handy and adaptable, and have more of the spirit of adventure than, say, those from industrial villages in the Thuringian Forest. The latter, even with a real will for work, and in spite of the fact that glass and china factories suffer greatly from the depression, are difficult to persuade to accept a job elsewhere. Love of their own country-side and of their family are in these cases serious obstacles to economic betterment.

> The Low German race, such as we meet in Pomerania, is somewhat distrustful of anything new, progressive or unknown. The Pomeranian has therefore little initiative. The Vocational Guidance Institute observed last year that among young people initiative was very weak. It needed a strong outside impulse to make them move. (Labour Office, Stralsund).

Youth organisations have a very serious responsibility in such times as these. They are in many cases a greater help than is the family, for they give a sense of security and courage, a feeling of comradeship and hope. Undoubtedly they group only the better elements, to whom also each fresh month of unemployment means a new danger.

> Youth has not gone wrong yet, but it is in a bad way. Let bad conditions continue much longer, and youth will go wrong. (Hans Weicker, Merseburg).

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The Effect of the Economic Crisis on Welfare Work for Children and Young People

by

GERTRUD BÄUMER.

The effect of the economic crisis on the working of the German system of Public Assistance is twofold. Firstly, the crisis increases in unprecedented fashion the numbers of the indigent; secondly, it diminishes in an equally unprecedented manner the revenues produced by taxation, and consequently the means of action of both State and municipalities. For two reasons — the number and distress of those requiring help, and the reduction of available funds — the task of the Public Assistance service is now an insoluble problem.

The way in which assistance to children is affected by this fact depends, firstly, on the Public Assistance system in general, and secondly on the precise place within this system and the organisation of Child Welfare.

General Public Assistance in Germany has become exclusively an organ for Unemployment Relief, all other functions having been thrust into the background. It has thus assumed, by sheer compulsion, a definite form and a definite purpose. In the German system of Unemployment Relief — a combination of Insurance and Public Assistance — the unemployed now enjoy insurance benefits during a relatively brief period only; during the following period they still draw insurance benefits (paid by the State), but subject to the means test; and after that they come on Public Assistance, for which the municipalities are responsible. During all these critical years the municipalities have thus had to maintain a steadily growing army of " assisted unemployed " (Wohlfahrtserwerbslose), — a task of increasing anxiety, since the means required regularly exceed the income resulting from taxation. As a consequence of the immense numbers of unemployed and the slenderness of available funds, the only way out of the difficulty, especially for the larger towns, was to adopt a purely theoretical scale of grants. This scale, applied day after day to hundreds of cases, creates in the minds of the population the belief that they are being equitably treated, and permits the small number of officials to deal with their overwhelming task. It naturally takes account of the number of children depending on the principal beneficiary of the grant.

Since this elementary and generalised form of relief to families is a severe strain on the resources of the municipalities, it is obvious that all other forms of assistance must needs be crushed out of existence. On the one hand, it is practically impossible to

treat any single case on its merits. The more specialised forms of social assistance are paralysed by reason of the immense number of cases and of the strain on the workers who have to deal with them. On the other hand, all the off-shoots of social assistance are withering away : health institutions of all kinds, convalescent homes, the care of special categories of children and adults, and so forth.

It has become clear that child and youth welfare work is particularly threatened by the new conditions. The chief instruments of social relief in Germany have in the first place to deal with adults. Social insurance and, in particular, sickness insurance apply to the workers : the non-working members of the family are only indirect or additional beneficiaries.

An exact place has been assigned to Child Welfare in the general plan of Social Assistance by the Child Welfare Act (*Reichsgesetz für Jugendwohlfahrt*), which has established Children's Bureaux attached to all local government authorities. These Bureaux were called upon to deal with all matters of Child Welfare; owing, however, to the close relation of the child and the family, everything which concerns the economic relief of the child has been taken from the Children's Bureaux and entrusted to the Public Assistance Offices. Consequently the funds at the disposal of the Children's Bureaux are now comparatively small; they are generally earmarked for special purposes, such as the opening and upkeep of Nursery Schools, Children's Homes, Open Air institutions, as well as for the care of problem children, and so on.

Further, in the great majority of towns, the Children's Bureaux have been set up as departments of the Public Assistance Offices, and this fact leads often to greatly reduced liberty of action and considerable curtailing of their independence. The pressure of unemployment on Public Assistance Offices is now such a burden that their work must concentrate wholly on general economic relief.

These are the main lines along which things have developed. It must, however, not be forgotten that here and there a certain number of child welfare institutions have carried on, or after being suppressed, have recommenced their work. On the whole, however, the picture is one of stringent reduction.

This fact is the more tragic since in the present chaos, the child needs not only visible material help, but still more, intelligent moral care. We need scarcely repeat here — for this whole pamphlet is devoted to stressing the fact — that life in an unemployed family inflicts the severest mental burden on the children, and often exposes them to real moral danger. Outside help must relieve the family, so as to preserve its educational possibilities, and must supplement these in case of default. We may confidently say that all summary and systematised methods of social assistance increase the children's need of individual care and protection. The inevitable systematisation of relief calls precisely for a complement in the form of intelligent educational help, which can intervene at the proper time and on the strength of observations made by teachers and child care workers.

To-day, unfortunately the Children's Bureaux are too impoverished, and schools are too heavily burdened with overcrowded classes and other consequences of forced economy. We

therefore look to private action. But private action naturally suffers also, and in no slight degree, from the general pauperisation of the people. Its resources are now extremely reduced. And perhaps, also, we were all too ready, in more prosperous times, to favour the forcible incorporation of private assistance in the general plan of Public Assistance. For example, we imposed on the personnel of private organisations, e.g. of children's day-homes, a kind of training which could no doubt be justified but which has had the simple result of preventing the founding of new institutions.

Thus the present situation of child care work in Germany is urging us, at ever-increasing speed, towards some critical decision. If we refuse to resign ourselves to things as they are, there is only one course to follow — we must make a wholly new start. We must admit that the child is the most precious heritage of a people, since it is the bridge leading to the future. And if it be impossible to offer effective assistance to all who are in need, available forces must be rallied round the child. We do not mean that the child can be treated as a distinct entity which can be assisted and cared for separately from the rest of the family. What we do mean is that, in all forms of family relief, the case of the child should be considered first, and that the material and moral forces of the Nation should be concentrated on its care, its support, and its preparation for life. The School and the Children's Bureaux must collaborate more closely. The action of official Child Relief must be strengthened and intensified, while private action in this domain must be systematically encouraged and its co-operation solicited, as indeed is already provided for in the German Child Welfare Act. In the future, perhaps more than in the past ten years, we shall have to make increasing calls on private charity.

Those who, for the past twenty years, have helped to improve the life of the German child population and the conditions caused by the War and the post-war period, cannot abandon the hope that means will be found, even in the present and still graver crisis, to safeguard the lives of the younger generation.

Relief Measures for the Young Unemployed

by Walter Friedländer,

President, Deutsche Zentrale für freie Jugendwohlfahrt, Berlin.

The development of the rising generation shapes the destiny of a people.

In Germany, after the war, when the demobilised troops returned to civil life and filled the places that had been occupied by women and adolescents, a great number of young persons were thrown out of work. The problem of affording some particular kind of the assistance to this category of the population had to be faced for the first time; it could not be avoided, since undoubtedly the young person, on account of his mental and moral development, is more exposed to unemployment than the adult. The same problem arose once more in 1924, after the periods of inflation and stabilisation of the currency. Since 1929, Germany, like so many other countries, has suffered, and suffers increasingly, from the grave world economic crisis, and the problem of unemployment has become one of the most important questions in the domain of the Protection of Children and Young Persons.

Here we shall mention such relief measures only as experience has proved to be particularly successful in the case of young unemployed, leaving aside the question of economic relief afforded to out-of-works in general, of labour exchanges, and of suburban or rural settlements.

The three principal groups of relief measures for young persons are as follows :

(1) Intellectual training on the lines of popular education;
(2) Additional technical training;
(3) Provision of work or occupation.

1. — Intellectual Training on the Lines of Popular Education.

The total number of young out-of-works has risen in Germany in recent years to one or one and a half million. It is therefore obvious that all institutions working for the protection or education of young people have had to be called upon.

The different organisations dealing with the moral well-being of young people — Children's Bureaux (*Jugendämter*) and Popular

Education Offices ; trade unions, professional and corporative organisations; people's high schools and homes; popular education societies, etc. — have done their best to arrange for a wide programme of *lectures and courses*, to help the young unemployed to turn his enforced leisure to the best advantage. In most cases, the questions discussed in these courses or study-groups, at one session or at several, have been those of immediate common interest; a frequent topic has been the situation of the young out-of-work and possibilities of employment and additional professional training. The standard of general knowledge has been raised and school instruction completed. Law, labour regulations, economics and politics have been discussed, while art and civilisation have not been neglected. Attendance at these meetings and lectures has not been everywhere equally large and regular, but, on the whole, trade unions, children's bureaux and labour exchanges register their real success. Protracted unemployment, however, very often leads to diminished interest among the pupils, who then need very special encouragement and stimulus.

Instruction Centres have sometimes been opened — particularly by children's bureaux and labour exchanges — with day or evening lectures, courses, etc., each week-day. These have been run in conjunction with luncheons, teas and suppers supplied free or at very low price. These are often the only chance the pupils have of getting a hot meal; they are greatly appreciated as an essential preliminary, and form a useful social adjunct to educational work. Indeed, the pupils could not otherwise follow the lectures and lessons — who can study on an empty stomach?

Apart from the foregoing, gymnastics, games and physical exercises of all kinds have been arranged. The various sport and gymnastic societies, the junior groups of trade unions and of youth associations have got up athletic meetings, excursions, etc., to which the young unemployed, even when non-members, have been invited. Municipal authorities have granted the free use of their stadiums and play-grounds, gymnasiums and public baths, and have even supplied trained instructors, and suitable costumes for those who had none. The newly constituted Board for Juvenile Physical Training will certainly support this work. During " tramps ", the hikers pass the night in youth hostels, and often in tents, or in barns.

Perhaps the most successful attempt has been the *Recreation Centres* for the Young Unemployed, frequently organised by trade unions and young people's associations. Each centre groups some twenty or thirty young folk during a fortnight or a month, in youth hostels, schools and People's High Schools. These Recreation

Centres have been very popular, but have not been developed as much as might be, as they entail considerable expense.

In Germany, as in other countries, it was proposed to add a *ninth year* to the ordinary school course, with the idea of retarding the entry into professional life of a specific age-group, and also of developing the general knowledge of that group. This ninth school-year might be taken as a last year in an elementary school or as a first year in a training or technical school. The suggestion, which received the warm support of teaching and trade union circles, has been allowed to drop, since the necessary funds are lacking.

2. — Additional Technical Training.

The greatest danger to which the young out-of-work is exposed is undoubtedly his exclusion from all economic and labour activities. This suggested the idea of providing for *supplementary instruction and training*. Having regard to the state of the labour market, the " Reichsanstalt für Arbeitsvermittlung " (National Employment Bureau) granted subsidies to all attempts at educating young people for other professions or improving their chances of getting work. These measures are intended to develop technical knowledge and abilities, to keep alive the sense of pleasure and purpose in work, and to make the pupil better able to shift for himself. They have been arranged chiefly by labour offices, professional and technical schools, trade unions, youth offices and private child welfare organisations. During the long years of persistent unemployment, these efforts have developed into systematic courses of four to twelve weeks. Apart from theoretical instruction, they lay great emphasis on practical work, in workshops if possible. Young people flock by preference to popular trades, such as motor-car building and repairing; but on the whole, the courses have been well attended, even when they deal with subjects that offer less chances of employment. The pupils have mostly been young men, girls not having the same needs. In these courses the endeavour was made, apart from refreshing technical knowledge, to give the young people — especially to those having finished their training, and to apprentices thrown on the streets before their final examination — experience of new methods and new machinery; the object was to keep the pupils fit for placement and adapt them to modern labour conditions. For instance, young metal-workers have been taught up-to-date welding processes, drawing and modelling; young members of the building trades — painters, masons, carpenters, paper-hangers, etc., for whom it is at present most difficult to find work in Germany —

have been taught drawing and modelling, stone-flooring and instruction in cement technique and stresses; while carpenters and joiners acquired knowledge of different works and new techniques, such as mortising, marquetery, staining and polishing. Commercial classes — shorthand, typing, correspondence and foreign languages — have also been popular, although little could be hoped for this class of worker. On the whole, practical work interested the young people more than theoretical study. The important thing was to furnish some useful occupation which would counteract to some extent the bad effects of enforced leisure. Moreover, during the first years of unemployment at least, pupils who benefited by these courses had a much better chance of finding a job.

Complementary instruction of the unskilled presents special difficulties, as there is little or no ground on which to build. For such pupils the courses were limited to simple work — e.g. making up of parcels, office-work, simple correspondence, filling in printed forms, etc. — preparing a youth to fill a post as messenger in an office or factory. In large cities and industrial regions, many pupils were taught to work on the land, with a view to preparing them for farm-work or for settling in garden-cities or semi-rural suburbs.

In many places, *special courses* were organised *for apprentices* dismissed before their training was complete, and who would have been unable, without extra assistance, to compete with the skilled or unskilled worker. In other cities and country districts where special workroom lectures could not be organised, the classes in technical and training schools were extended from six hours a week to eighteen. But here also it was not easy to interest the unskilled worker, while the skilled profited by every opportunity, without, however, wholly escaping the depression which is the consequence of prolonged idleness.

In the first years of the crisis it was hoped that by teaching the young people a *second profession*, they would have better chances, but as time passed all occupations became in fact equally hopeless : that is why to-day no training in new branches is provided, except, and on a small scale, in agriculture.

The question has been frequently discussed whether these educational and professional courses should be purely voluntary or made compulsory. Professional courses can be made compulsory, for the Labour Offices possess legal powers to stop the dole for a period not exceeding six weeks, to young people who decline without sufficient reason to follow a course. In practice, however,

compulsion is but rarely resorted to, as in the large majority of cases voluntary participation works well.

A particular variety of complementary training for those who have just left school and cannot find an opening as apprentice, is the " *pre-apprenticeship* " which has been recently tried at the suggestion of large industrial concerns. Few employers want to indenture apprentices during the crisis; but the system of " pre-apprenticeship " permits young people to be taken on for a specified number of months on the same terms as the ordinary apprentice, but without indentures. They thus obtain a certain amount of technical training, and may hope, if they give satisfaction, to get their indentures later, when, if possible, the time passed in the " pre-apprenticeship " period will count.

Work Homes (Werkheime) for the young unemployed have turned out to be one of the most effective forms of educational and technical training. These institutions afford groups of unemployed the opportunity of forming a community under intelligent leadership. This system furnishes some kind of serious occupation as a substitute for regular economic employment, thus taking the young people out of the depressing home atmosphere and bringing them into contact with congenial companions. These Work Homes have work-rooms for joiners, metal workers, bookbinders, tailors, bootmakers, saddlers, mechanics, etc.; with home economics, cooking, tailoring and sewing for girls. These Homes cannot naturally replace the regular technical training course, since their pupils form a floating population; but by providing definite practical knowledge, they strengthen the will to live and to work. Community life is one of the best means of combating the social evils already mentioned : bad housing conditions, family dissensions, and the attraction of prostitution and crime. The Homes provide meals and a quiet place for reading or games, and thus lighten the burden lying on young shoulders. Occasional lectures, etc. are directed to the improvement of general education and physical health. Practical work is devoted mainly to charitable purposes (child welfare centres and charity organisations), and to the needs of the inmates themselves. Professor Lederer recently suggested that these Work Homes and their shops might be made producing centres, " self-help agencies ", so as to meet the urgent needs of the unemployed family : dilapidated apartments could be refurbished and repainted; beds, mattresses, furniture and other household articles repaired or replaced, and clothing and linen mended. Development on these lines presupposes sufficient capital for workshops and material, and could probably not be restricted to the young unemployed only.

3. — Provision of Work or Occupation.

The best cure for all the evils caused by the unemployment of young people would be, of course, regular work; but as long as the crisis puts that out of the question, efforts have to be made, and are being made, to provide temporary employment at least. The most important effort of recent years has been that called Voluntary Labour Service (Freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst).

In the past attempts have been made to carry out *emergency relief work*, on the basis of the Public Assistance Ordinance (Fürsorgepflichtverordnung, par. 19) thus giving the young unemployed at least 25 to 32 hours work per week.

The wages paid vary greatly. Sometimes they take the shape of regular trade union rates; sometimes of a weekly supplement to the dole, or of free board and a premium on the amount of work done. The increasing stringency in municipal finances have however led to a serious curtailment of these relief works.

The terms of the Unemployment Insurance and Re-employment Act (Gesetz für Arbeitslosenversicherung und -vermittlung, p. 91) provide for *obligatory work* for the young up to 16 hours weekly, and make the receipt of a dole conditional on the execution of this task. This measure has seldom been enforced, and only in cases where it was suspected that a young fellow was really unwilling to work. And as there was great difficulty in finding suitable tasks for this form of compulsory labour, the system has been almost entirely replaced by the Voluntary Labour Service.

Relief and emergency work was mainly directed to the opening and maintenance of playgrounds, stadiums, public parks, and similar tasks that offer some interest to the young out-of-work, and also to child welfare ends, such as the building and repairing of youth hostels, convalescent homes, holiday homes, sun baths, air baths and swimming pools.

The most important means of employing the young is the *Voluntary Labour Service*, the legal basis of which has been modified several times. The Service has met with an enthusiastic welcome from a large section of the organised youth (though not from all); indeed it originated in their genuine desire to escape from idleness and to do some practical and useful task. The avowed object of the Service is to give young people an opportunity of being useful to the community by co-operating in some voluntary and serious job, and also to keep them physically, mentally and morally fit.

The voluntary principle has been maintained in the face of many opposing influences. In no sense is the employment provided obligatory, and refusal to enrol cannot be taken as a reason for

non-preferential treatment; nor is enrolment affected in any way by considerations of profession, social standing, religion or politics.

At first, supplementary allocations were granted only to the unemployed drawing the dole. The latest regulations allow all workers and commercial employees, labourers, shopkeepers, teachers, students, secondary school pupils, sons of farmers and artisans under the age of 25, to find work in the V.L.S. The Service is a purely voluntary occupation, and is not contractual employment. The Reich and the National Employment Bureau pay a grant of 1.40 to 2 marks daily per capita for a period of 20 weeks; for work of economic importance, this period may be extended to 40 weeks.

The general responsibility of the Service is carried by public authorities, social organisations and foundations — the Reich, national governments, the National Railways, provincial, urban and rural authorities, building corporations, parishes, welfare organisations, athletic and youth societies. These bodies receive the per capita grant; if it does not cover the cost, they have to find the difference.

The groups that have the general responsibility, in particular the Youth Welfare organisations, also undertake and direct the actual job. To this end, they must have a special authorisation from the District Commissioner, who is, as a rule, the chairman of the State Labour Office. One of the Conditions required is, first, that the group should dispose of a sufficient number of members able and willing to enter the V.L.S., and next, that it should be capable of carrying out the proposed job.

Actually, there are two methods of getting together volunteers : (1) an original group of young people belonging to the same society accepts non-members, whose views or social outlook may be different, to form what is called a People's Camp (Volkslager); and (2) camps to which are admitted only those young people of the same trade or outlook. The National Commissioner approves the first type more readily, as it makes for better social understanding.

For definite work undertaken by the V.L.S., such jobs are chosen as need little material, no machinery, and as can be largely handled by non-technical workers. In the hours not filled by the job, stress is laid on physical exercises, gymnastics, and tramps, and a systematic effort is made to promote general culture by popular music, amateur theatricals, lectures, debates, libraries, etc., but up to the present results have been indifferent. Recently, greater stress has been laid on " closed " camps, — i.e., camps generally at a certain distance from cities — thus facilitating

their management. " Open " camps, especially for girls, where young people come only for the day and sleep at home, have proved useful in cities and industrial regions.

A special Voluntary Labour Service for girls has been developed recently. The girls are also required to work methodically, for the Service is not content with purely domestic or agricultural training. Official subsidies are justified only when the proposed job is sufficiently prolonged, intensive and productive. The object of the Girl's Voluntary Labour Service is mainly to assist the destitute. The activities are of a social character, and must contribute to provide for what the assisted groups cannot afford out of their limited allocations. In their free time, the girls read aloud, play games, sing, practise gymnastics and go for tramps, and as in the case of the boys, emphasis is laid on the creating and strengthening of a community feeling.

But the V.L.S. is a merely temporary occupation; it does not replace genuine professional activity, and it does not solve the anxious problem of what is to happen to the volunteers when the 20 or 40 weeks in camp are over. Our experience of the V.L.S. is too short to show whether it can be looked upon as a permanent help for the young unemployed. In spite of its real success, the Service must still be improved in many respects, especially with regard to health and sanitary arrangements, and medical supervision. The danger of aping military methods must be avoided, while courses of lectures and study groups must be systematically developed. Another question not yet satisfactorily answered is that of the admission or exclusion of undesirable elements.

Herr Hermann Maass, director of the National Committee of Youth Organisations, recently suggested the transformation of the V.L.S. into a National Emergency Service (Reichsnotdienst), incorporating all young Germans between 18 and 25. The term would consist of a period of preparation and a period of actual service. This new form of service would undertake public works on a large scale, and while stimulating self-help among the unemployed, would provide working clothes and tools.

In conclusion, German experience shows that while various kinds of measures have proved useful, no single one of them is a panacea for the unemployment of young people. The type best suited to each district must be chosen with due regard to local conditions, to technical possibilities, and to the leaders whose co-operation is available. A comprehensive relief organisation, on popular education lines, is still required in Germany to co-ordinate present measures, which are often adopted singly and without due consideration for the problem as a whole.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Effects of Unemployment on Children and Young People

According to estimates, the United States of America are one of the countries, if not the country, where the absolute and relative number of unemployed is highest. Out of a total population of 120 millions, and a working population, in normal times, of about 40 millions, there are at present 10 to 12 million unemployed. Unemployment insurance has been practically inexistant until quite recently, and only a few States have a well-established system of Public Employment Bureaux. Thus is explained the difficulty on the one hand, of establishing the exact number of persons out of work, and, on the other, the lack of organised public relief.

Public Poor Relief throughout most of the States had followed precedents established by English Poor Law Administration. Its antiquated methods and its inefficiency have been much discredited by the emphasis laid on social case work by the Charity Organization Movement during the last forty or fifty years. Public Out-door Relief had even been completely repudiated in some urban communities. During the years immediately preceding the depression, family relief in certain sections, influenced by psychiatry as practised in Mental Hygiene and Child Guidance Clinics, emphasized personality adjustment and minimized economic considerations. The shattering experiences growing out of widespread unemployment have sharply changed this emphasis, compelling attention to economic problems and forced coordinated planning of both public and private agencies to meet the needs of the whole community. The growing inability of private funds to meet relief requirements, successful experience in the administration of public aid to mothers with dependent children, and developments in state and local welfare administration have recently led to a marked shift in emphasis from private to public relief. This trend has been accelerated by the great increase in unemployment within the past two or three years. It may well be imagined that this increased burden of care to necessitous

persons has affected standards of case work and adequacy of relief.

The reports of the Senate Committee Hearings on Unemployment Relief tell the story of progressive decline of standards of relief to the point, in many communities, where even a decent minimum of family health and well-being is no longer assured. Relief agencies have been unable to pay rents; as a result, evictions and instances of overcrowding are numerous, and many landlords are suffering. Food budgets have been reduced below the minimum necessary to maintain health. Mass feeding through commissaries, school feeding, or other substitutes for individualized home relief grants are common. Throughout the country private resources and local public funds and credit are rapidly reaching the point of exhaustion. Relief agencies are attempting to cope with problems of inadequate income and mass suffering with insufficient funds and staffs, so that standards of service have fallen. Nevertheless, demands for relief are diverting funds from other types of social agencies and seriously crippling their work. Many rural areas, which are generally without private relief agencies are suffering from equally or more distressing conditions (1).

Local responsibility has proved utterly inadequate to meet an unemployment involving at least 25%, and in some communities as much as 40%, of the wage-earning population, as the ability of people to support local charities diminishes as fast as the number grows of those seeking relief. In the last two years eleven states have enacted legislation providing some form of state aid for Unemployment Relief and there is also some talk of Federal aid. In the meantime, men, women and children are suffering all the more intensely as the soundness of American economics had become an article of faith and the greatest part of the population never gave a thought to the possibility of hardships such as those under which it is trying to live to day.

That these hardships are pretty general can be deduced from the enormous increase in relief expenditures. According to reports sent to the Children's Bureau by 976 agencies and divisions of departments in 125 cities of 50,000 or more population, located in all sections of the country, general relief expenses amounted in March 1929 to $1,700,000, in March 1930 to $2,900,000, in March 1931 to $7,000,000 and in March 1932 to $12,600,000 (2). These expenses dropped after March 1932 to $9,800,000 in July, but this is most probably as much due to exhaustion of the funds of many private relief agencies as to seasonal betterment of conditions.

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[1] See List of References on p. 92.

In fact, the very stopping of relief in cities like Philadelphia, where 52,000 families who had been helped did not get anything after June 25, made possible a study of how these families managed to keep alive through the summer. An enquiry (3) was made into the conditions of four hundred families with a total of 2,464 persons. The great majority ranged from five to eight persons per family. There were many mothers with young babies and a number of pregnant women. 272 families had no income whatever. Wages were reported in 128 families, but the great bulk of them was below $7 a week; and for the whole 128, the average wage income was only $4.16 a week. Savings were long exhausted, even when they had amounted to a few thousand dollars. Help from relatives, which could be relied upon in the early days of depression, was benefiting in some ways only thirty-three of the four hundred. Credit was exhausted, the average indebtedness being $120.78.

> Thus, then, the picture of the four hundred families shaped itself : generally no income, such as there was slight, irregular and undependable; shelter still available so long as landlords remained lenient; savings gone; credit exhausted.
>
> But what of food, the never-ending, ever-pressing necessity for food? In this emergency the outstanding contribution has been made by neighbours. The poor are looking after the poor. In considerably more than a third of the four hundred families the chief source of actual subsistence, when grocery orders stopped, was the neighbours. The supply was by no means regular or adequate, but in the last analysis, when all other resources failed, the neighbours rallied to tide the family over a few days. Usually it was leftovers, stale bread, meat bones for soup, a bowl of gravy. Sometimes the children are asked in for a meal. One neighbours sent two eggs a day regularly to a sick man threatened with tuberculosis. This help was the more striking since the neighbours themselves were often close to the line of destitution and could ill spare the food they shared. The primitive communism existing among these people was a constant surprise to the visitors. More than once a family lucky enough to get a good supply of food called in the entire block to share the feast. There is absolutely no doubt that entire neighbourhoods were just living from day to day, sharing what slight resources any one family chanced to have. Without this mutual help the situation of many of the families would have been desperate.

Street begging and petty thieving of eatables were only occasionally resorted to. A common source of supply for one group was the docks, where fruit and vegetables are sorted for market.

> There is little doubt however that gifts of food from grocers, reported by a considerable number of families, were usually obtained by a form of begging. Children, it seems,

had the habit of going to a store and by pleading hunger inducing the grocer to give them a little food. Children ran errands for grocers, watched pushcarts, did anything in exchange for fruit or vegetables. The myriad ways in which a family, its entire attention concentrated on food, just food, succeeded in obtaining it, constitutes abundant evidence of the ingenuity and perseverance of these people.

As a result of all these efforts, what did these families have ? What meals did they get and of what did these meals consist? About 8% of the total number were subsisting on one meal a day. Many more were getting only two meals a day, and still others were irregular, sometimes one meal, sometimes two, occasionally by great good fortune, three. 37% of all families were not getting the normal three meals a day.

When the content of these meals is taken into consideration the facts are still more alarming. Four families had absolutely no solid food whatever — nothing but a drink, usually tea or coffee. Seventy-three others had only one food and one drink for all meals, the food in many cases being bread made from Red Cross flour. Even in the remaining cases, where there were two or three articles of food, the diets day after day, and week after week, consisted usually of bread, macaroni, spaghetti, potatoes, with milk for the children. Many families were getting no meat and very few vegetables. Fresh fruits were never mentioned, although it is possible that the family might pick these up in the streets occasionally.

After a glimpse at the conditions in a large city like Philadelphia, we must have one at those in more rural communities.

The coal-mining communities are in the States among those where unemployment has been during the past few years and still is the most prevailing. At the request of the President's Emergency Committee for Unemployment, surveys have been made by the Children's Bureau in the mining areas of Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and West Virginia (4).

Mining towns are usually situated in a rural country and are often remote and inaccessible. Opportunities for employment in industries other than mining usually decline when production at the mines falls off. Without a radical change in his place of residence, a change of occupation is usually impossible for the miner...

The fact that the miners were accustomed to periodic unemployment and that home-ownership was general in many sections, as well as the traditional unwillingness of miners to take up other work, had all operated to keep a large number of unemployed men in the mining towns before the market crash of 1929.

In the autumn of 1931 the reports received in response to a questionnaire sent out for the Governor to the schools of the state of Pennsylvania showed that 4,104, or 31%, of the parents of school children normally employed in one county were out of work.

Extracts from the report of the Bureau's investigators present the picture which is behind these figures :

...Many of the small communities are half deserted. Both private and company-owned houses (there are not a great many of these) are, as a rule, in very bad condition — sagging porches, glassless windows boarded up, everything in a state of general decay. Some families are living in hovels that had been abandoned as dwellings long ago. The general impression of decay and ruin is felt even in the larger towns. It is reflected in the attitude of the people, business men, church workers, petty officials, miners — who feel things are going from bad to worse. They readily admit that many people are suffering a slow form of starvation, because even the partially employed men cannot earn enough to feed their families adequately. But the towns are too poor to do anything about it. ...The fact that many of the miners, about half of whom are American, own their own homes has enabled them to survive. Most of these homes are too valueless now to be mortgaged, even if the banks loaned money on them, which they do not. Many who mortgaged their homes several years ago have lost them. While the soil is very poor, garden stuff can be raised in some sections. In the northern part of the country, some miners own very small farms which they work in summer. In 1931 they were hit by the drought.

The number of unemployed, or the extent or degree of underemployment could not be accurately determined as... a great many men may get only an occasional day's work in a month or more. No one seems to know how they exist. Mine managers, town officials and business men say that a large proportion of the coal miners and their families live in a semi-starved condition most of the time.

...What this unemployment means in terms of the individual family could be learned only in general terms. It was agreed that the families waited until conditions were very serious, or their need was accidentally discovered, before they asked for assistance. For example, the members of the Emergency Committee in the county seat " feel that because of the intense pride of many of the miners, many families in need are not asking them for help ".

The Children's Aid Society of another town made a similar report, giving this case as typical :

...A man had appealed whose wife was about to be confined. Three small children were found playing in the half-empty four-room house, the mother in bed, and nothing in the kitchen but some stale crusts. They had had nothing but crusts and black coffee for three days. The man broke down and sobbed because of the fact that he had to accept charity. He had put off applying until the last possible moment. He had had no work of any kind in four months and before that worked only a day or two a week for about a year.

The principal of the schools in another town reported, speaking of the experience of a local relief society :

... People do not appeal to them until they are literally without food or resources for getting it; probably one-third of the families in the town are living on starvation rations.

Another proof of the widespread need in the United States is to be found in the increasing dependence upon clinics for medical and dental care, shown consistently in the reports received each month from the 41 metropolitan areas included in the Children's Bureau's social registration project. Recently, however, there is indication of a strong tendency toward a lessened rate of increase, due apparently to the curtailment of clinical service by agencies operating under reduced budgets.

In all areas both the actual and the relative number of days' care in hospital and related institutions to free cases increased each year. In 1929, 42.8% of the days' care in the entire group was to free cases. In 1930 the proportion was 46.0 %; in 1931, 52.2% (16).

Many cities report that free care by visiting nurses is increasingly required (7).

> In Minneapolis, the first half of 1931 showed a 45% increase in the number of visits made by nurses as compared with the same period in 1930. 37% of these increased visits were free. There was no great epidemic or widespread increase in sickness, but the increase was explained to a great extent by the economic depression. Unemployed wage-earners and exhausted family savings mean that many people when ill stay at home instead of entering hospitals. They require the free nursing care provided by the Visiting Nurse Association instead of the private duty, hospital, or paid visiting nurse service which they could formerly afford.
>
> The Community Health Association of Boston reports that its nurses cared for 3,417 more patients in 1931 than in 1930, and explains that this increase in a year of good health is caused by the fact that many people who in normal times employed private nurses, or went to the hospital for care, could not afford either in 1931, and used the visiting nurse instead. Month by month more persons could not pay for the nurses' services. 41% of the year's work was entirely free, and in 4.7 % of the visits patients were able to pay part only of the costs.
>
> Detroit says : The distress of many families was reflected not only in the additional free nursing service used, but also in the extra amount of time spent by nurses in welfare work. In addition to the 40,000 patients, 5,000 individuals called at the 15 Visiting Nurse Association offices for advice and aid in their family problems, such as where to find work, how to secure food, clothes, how to obtain free medical care. Attention was given to each one's trouble and an attempt was made to connect him with the proper source for help.

In her study of " Needs and Resources for Unemployment Relief in Maryland (1932) ", Mary Bogue reports that a number of rural county health departments mentioned the increased inability of parents to pay for medical service, the inadequacy of medical facilities, and the large numbers of children in need of

the correction of defects who consequently went without necessary attention. " While it is true that this condition exists in normal times the difficulty is... more pronounced in times like the present because of the greater financial strain on families of unemployed men and on hospitals and clinics, which find their funds limited or curtailed at a time when the demands for this service have greatly increased. " (10).

To an enquiry made by Dr. L. I. Dublin through the American Public Health Association some 200 replies from every section of the community, state, county and city organisations were received. In 33 of the organisations which replied, the health budgets had not been settled; in the remaining 167, the budgets had been reduced, and in several further cuts were contemplated. The cities, particularly the larger ones, suffered more than the counties or states (32).

Medical Care is very inadequate when conditions such as these are reported from the soft-coal area :

> The county Red Cross employed two nurses — it had formerly had four — and the Tuberculosis Association had two. Medical charities suffered from complete disorganization. The county refused to pay for medical care, and the doctors attempted to force the issue by agreeing to refuse to give free service. Undoutedly the paid practice of the doctors was reduced to almost nothing, and it was quite unreasonable for the county to refuse payment for medical service when it paid for other vital services. The calls for the nurses had so increased that they were unable to keep up with them, and in the absence of medical supervisors were reporting informally on symptoms to the doctors and getting advice in this way (4).

What is the effect of such conditions on the health, welfare, education and happiness of the children?

Prof. J. M. Williams, of Hobart College who made a study on the effects of the depression on children begins his booklet (5) with the following statement.

> The earning of families in the cities studied had permitted many of them to begin payments on homes, and to set aside money for the education of their children and for emergencies and old age. The savings have been used up. Homes have been mortgaged to the limit, and many families have lost their home. Life insurance policies have lapsed. Many thousands of children will have to go without their education and try to get work instead. The old folks will have to give up their dream of independence in old age and fit into whatever kind of home the son or daughter can provide, if any.
>
> Temporarily mothers have secured employment where possible; families have crowded in with relatives and friends; they have not been able to get necessary food; they have gone into debt to the limit for food, rent, fuel, medical attend-

ance and other necessaries. For years after the breadwinner secures work again his wages will have to be divided between the purchase of the necessaries of life and the payment of debts. The pessimism of a period of depression is, therefore, not merely an emotional state of investors who contemplate their paper losses. It has a solid basis in the blasted hopes and the plight of the unemployed masses, and their children are heirs to these blighted expectations.

Prof. Williams summarises his findings in the following way :

> First, children have suffered from lack of food, from cold, from evictions, from lack of medical care. Second, school funds have been reduced in a time of unprecedented need of such services. Third, bright boys and girls have had to leave school with a lifelong handicap of lack of education. Fourth, working boys and girls have been thrown out of work in larger numbers, probably, than any other age-class of workers under sixty. Fifth, boys and girls have been hired to do the work of adults at low wages. Sixth, where adults have been out of work and the relief for the family has been inadequate, a heavy burden has been thrown on the youth. They have been driven to do anything they could to help support the family, and many of them have sunk under the load. Seventh, families have been entirely broken up and the children scattered. Eight, whether relief has been adequate or not, the long period of uncertainty and idleness has produced tension in families which has resulted in nervous troubles and in behaviour difficulties in children.

I. The Health of Children

Up to now, no information on Child Health can be deducted from mortality and morbidity rates. The infant mortality rate continues to fall. In the 860 cities of the Birth Registration Area, the rate was 62.2% in 1930 and 61.2% in 1931 according to a preliminary report issued in August, 1932, by the American Child Health Association (10).

For instance, Dr. S. W. Wynne, Health Commissioner of New York City, declared on Dec. 10, 1932 that both the general mortality rate and the infant mortality rate for the year 1932 would be the lowest recorded in the City. But he went on :

> It is important that we do not allow the very gratifying mortality rates recorded this year, to lull us into a false sense of security. The very unfavorable economic conditions of the past three years do not show their effects on death rates as quickly as they do on other indicators of the public health. Thus, in the borough of Manhattan we have had a distinct increase in the number of new cases of tuberculosis, and there has also been a significant increase in the prevalence of malnutrition among school children (12).

Dr. Hugh Chaplin, Professor of Pediatrics, Bellevue Hospital and Medical School, New York City, speaking also of the unusually low death rate in New York City during the past two years, said :

> There are at least two explanations for this — a fortunate freedom from severe epidemics and a very general spreading of the best scientific information available as to the most economical types of food which are essential to maintain good nutrition and health. But in spite of this excellent advice many simply have not *enough* food to maintain their nutrition. Physicians working with these unfortunate people realize that their nutrition is already suffering (8).

In a report to the Massachussets Conference of Social Work, October 1932, Katharine F. Lenroot, Assistant Chief, U.S. Children's Bureau, stated that :

> The question of what such drastic reduction in standards of living means to the children and youth in the family cannot be answered in statistical terms. Decline in infant mortality, which has been evident during the past 15 years, continued in 1930 and 1931 at about the expected rate. This continued decline, which is undoubtedly an indication of the effectiveness of public health work, especially popular education in prenatal and infant care, and the absence of serious epidemics are encouraging aspects of our present situation. Reports, however, have come to the Children's Bureau from communities and agencies of different types, indicating the toll of the depression in terms of the health of children. From communities in several States has come evidence of decreased consumption of milk, the most important single food in the diet of children. The extent of malnutrition is extremely difficult to measure, but unmistakable indications of its prevalence come from many sources. Certain so-called deficiency diseases, such as pellagra, have been reported in some parts of the country. Regarding the effect of the depression on child health, Dr. William H. Welch has said, " Too great economy as far as health is concerned, because of the current depression, is particularly dangerous to the welfare of growing children. Under-nourishment of children, for example, is not likely to show itself immediately, but is bound to show its effects later, when it is probably too late to remedy. The ground lost by under-nourishment in childhood may never be regained. "

A. Underfeeding.

Malnutrition is becoming more prevalent among the school children of the city of New York according to a survey just completed by the Department of Health (11). The condition is particularly acute in Manhattan and the Bronx, and Commissioner Shirley W. Wynne declared on November 22 that the situation was such that it called for the liberal support of all welfare agencies now dealing with relief for the victims of the depression.

In the first nine months of the year 1932, 227,366 school children were examined by the school medical inspectors and 40,290 of these, or 17.7 %, were found to be suffering from malnutrition. This is one third higher than during the years 1927, 1928 and 1929, when the rate was 13.5 %.

The increase began promptly in 1930, the first year following the beginning of the present economic condition, the rate rising to 16.1 %. The following year it jumped up another point to 17.1 %.

The figures for the first nine months of the year 1932 show that the increase continued, and that in Manhattan over 25 % of the school children examined were found to be suffering from malnutrition.

> The general health of dependent children received for foster care has been definitely under par. The results of deficient diet and lack of proper care at home are revealed in malnourished bodies, defective teeth and predisposition to tuberculosis. (Catholic Charities of New York) (10).

Dr. Theodore B. Appel, Pennsylvania's State Secretary of Health, when speaking in January 1932 of a survey made during the summer of 1931, stated that :

> Malnutrition among children shows a definite increase in 48 counties, none or slight in 18 (Philadelphia not included). The rates of increase in the counties range from 10 % to 30 %. In one county, from a recent school census covering 6,000 pupils in one district, pupils show an increase of from 300 in 1930 to 900 in 1931 undernourished, and a fair average would probably be 25 % for the whole State. Apparently the younger children are most affected — chiefly due to lack of milk supply.
>
> A census of undernourished children reported by our school examiner in a normal year (1929-30) showed 18 % undernourished or approximately 140,000 children in the State out of a school population in these districts of 768,000. Incomplete reports so far received this year from a sufficient number of schools to give a fair estimate show that the percentage of undernourished children has increased to 27 %, indicating in the school population in the fourth class districts of 800,000, about 216,000 individuals in this class.
>
> As these data cover only children in the public schools, and as it is a recognized fact that when undernourishment is present in a family it is more marked among children of pre-school age, it would be safe to assume that the percentage of undernourished pre-school children is definitely greater than the figures given. Added to this it is easily appreciated that in the average family sacrifices will be made by the other members in order that the children may receive proper food, and with these two points in view it would be safe to assume that there are from 25 % to 50 % more persons suffering from malnutrition in the State at the present time than in former years (13).

As a matter of fact, in Pennsylvania in 1932, there has been an increase both in the number of cases and in the mortality in typhoid, diphtheria, measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough and tuberculosis. Dr. Appel attributes this increase to lowered individual resistance and, in the case of diphtheria, to the slowing up of the campaign of prevention by the use of toxin-antitoxin due to lessened financial resources. During that year, the estimated number of undernourished children has gone up to four or five hundred thousand (31).

In the bituminous coal area (4) the general consumption of food and milk had declined. In a county seat, in January, 1931, 3,000 quarts of milk were sold, which was 6,100 quarts less than in January, 1928.

> " People around here seem to be living on beans and hominy ", one grocer said. A butcher reported that he had lost about half his customers in the last year and a half, because they could no longer afford to buy any meat. " Half the children in this town don't know what a piece of meat looks like ", was his comment.
>
> In another town... the postmaster and storekeeper said that half the people in the town were living on beans, bread and syrup. He has little call for anything else.
>
> An independent grocer reported : People are buying only bread, coffee, potatoes and oat-meal.
>
> In a mining town in another county... five children were taken sick in school, and it was found that they had not had food for several days. Later it was found that other children in school were in the same condition.
>
> A mine official in one camp reported that although the men talked little and complained little, in his official capacity he had been into house after house and knew that they were practically living on bread and water gravy (made with lard and thickened with flour).
>
> A local representative of the Red Cross said that ...she really did not see how people were managing to exist. Her next door neighbours (a family of six) were living on nothing but beans because " they liked beans better than taters " (implying that they could not have both). They bought 25 cents worth of white beans one day, 25 cents worth of red beans the next, and mixed them on the third for variety.

The health officier who examined the school children estimated that he found from 20% to 25% more children seriously undernourished during the 1930-31 school year than the year previous.

As to the milk the children were receiving, no estimate could be made.

> ...In nearly every camp there is at least one cow, and usually two or three. Frequently, however, they were dry or so poorly fed that they were giving very little milk.

But in one of the three counties visited by the Delegates of the Children's Bureau, the health officier estimated that malnutrition had increased about 10 %.

In one of the other counties

> ...The county health unit has not compiled any figures showing the number of school children found to be underweight, but the health unit physician stated that it was considerably larger this year than in other years. In several school districts during the winter almost every child was underweight, and remarkable improvement was noted in their condition after school lunches were inaugurated by the Red Cross. In two towns every child in school was given free lunches, so universal was the need, and teachers reported that there was no doubt at all about their being really hungry. Before that many children came to school without any lunch and others shared what they had with them. The community is extremely proud of their improvement after lunches were served, and of the fact that some of those who started by being undernourished ended as blue ribbon children. Scholarship, too, improved along with their physical improvement.

In the autumn of 1931, as unemployment increased, with the help of the Friends Service Committee lunch was served daily to 10,000 children during the winter. This was 40% of the children attending school in the mining towns, selected as especially in need of assistance. In some of these schools, the proportion of underweight children was as high as 90%, and each child was at least 10% underweight.

Miss Ruth Louise Parker, who worked in the West Virginia coal fields with the American Friends Committee, writes in " Mountain Life and Work " (14) :

> During this last winter (1931-32) their families lived chiefly on beans, potatoes and corn bread. Early in the season they had some canned fruits and vegetables from last summer's garden. A wife of one such miner remarks that if she could have got more cans, she would have put up more. With a little laugh, half rueful, half apologetic, she adds that the children are now " almost starved and plumb naked "... It was something to see the youngsters stowing away with enthusiasm what for many was their one good meal a day. Indeed we found that at many homes those who were fed at school were sent off in the mornings with no breakfast.
>
> Most of all I am haunted by the memory of a woman with whom I talked across a fence at the close of a beautiful spring day. It was late in the afternoon, and all day long she and her children had been without food. It was the day when the local Red Cross might be expected in its distribution of rations for families such as here, where there is no breadwinner. These rations are the same for all sizes of families. Said the woman, while she anxiously scanned the road : " Last night I lay awake until the turn of the night, thinking and studying and praying and wondering whether there were

> any others in the same fix we are and what they are doing to get out of it ". Then she added with a heart-breaking simplicity, " You don't know how it feels when your own children are hungry and you have nothing to give them ".

A State district health superintendent who covers four Illinois counties reports that he has noticed a larger degree of nutritional disturbance than usual among children. He says :

> My contact with a great many pre-school children, and observations of them as to weight, color, skin, activity, playfulness and all that goes to make a well child, leads me to believe that a great many little fellows do not receive milk, or a well balanced diet... many of them are not ill enough to cause alarm to their parents, so no physician is called in to see them, but I fear the condition will tell on them in the future (8).

Dr. H. F. Warthen (10), director of the Bureau of Child Welfare of the Maryland State Department of Health, stated that in his opinion and in that of his associates in the preschool clinics, malnutrition among preschool children was about the same or had slightly increased, while rickets showed a decided increase in 1931 and 1932 over 1929 and 1930. He also noted the need of more milk for the pre-school group.

> Dependent families in Pittsburgh and Alleghany County are receiving an average relief rate of 4.50 dollars. It is impossible on this small amount to give children properly balanced diets of milk, fruit, vegetables, etc. One family in a neighbouring coal-mining town has been living for weeks on black coffee, potatoes and beans. One of the children is a baby of two, another a little girl of five and a boy of eleven. The latter is ill, has had no medical care and cannot eat the meagre food which is provided. The family has no oil for its lamps.
>
> No authentic information is available on the effects of malnutrition among children, because we have no sufficient scientific data covering a continued period of time with which to compare the present statistics. Some social workers maintain that the food which is provided by relief agencies is varied enough to maintain health. Other social workers point to the increasing number of cases of rickets and nervous disorders as indicative of the effects of improper and insufficient diet. The state health-car doctor reports that in whole sections where unemployment is rife, malnutrition is tragically evident, while in other more fortunate sections underweight and major defects are less noticeable (33).

A letter sent to the United States Children's Bureau by the Director of the Maternity and Infancy Division of a State Board of Health contains this statement (8) :

> We are receiving numerous letters of appeal from time to time from expectant mothers whose husbands are out of employment, who have large families, and who are receiving

very little in the way of material relief adequate for the needs of themselves and their children. The physicians on the prenatal consultations report that almost every other woman coming to the clinics reports unemployment and shows evidence of getting, not such an inadequate quantity of food, but an insufficient amount of essential foods — insufficient milk, meats, eggs, and vegetables. Many families report that they are subsisting almost entirely on potatoes. In the case of young children there is not so much evidence of loss of weight, because this diet seems to keep it up pretty well, but their colour is very poor, they are listless, and in some cases show an accentuation of evidences of rickets.

Summer Camp Directors :

" The children look pale and thin, and black under their eyes when they arrive, much more so than in any year before ".

" A good hike leaves them so tired they cannot sleep. The boys tire more readily in swimming and playing games. "

" We found it hard this year to build up our menus to a high protein content (as in meat or eggs), because the campers were unable to assimilate the usual quantities of protein. There were frequent complaints of headaches. "

" Our programme had to be remodelled to meet the children's lower capacity for exercise. Hikes were not enjoyed. Swimming periods had to be shortened. "

" There was evidence of definite increase in fatigue and lack of energy, and difficulty in helping the children forget their home situations (10). "

Happily such conditions do not prevail everywhere in the States. In California, for instance, the year 1931 has showed nothing abnormal in the rate for children's diseases. The medical staff of the Bureau of Child Hygiene, which makes about 2,000 examinations of well children of pre-school age every month, reported no increase in malnutrition, and are generally of the opinion that the health of the children is being safeguarded by the local community through material relief to the families (15). The California State Unemployment Commission does not, however, share this view, and believes that health conditions are not as good as they appear from generalized mortality and morbidity statistics (35).

B. Clothing.

In many of the reports cited, lack of proper clothing and shoes is mentioned. The need in this respect is greater in rural communities than in cities where second-hand clothing has been distributed on a large scale.

The teacher of a Kentucky school that served three camps with an enrolment of 380 estimated that about one-third of those attending did not have adequate clothing. Last

winter the children came to school barefoot long after heavy frosts were on the ground, and began again much earlier than usual this spring.

A Red Cross worker reported the case of a child born to one of the families in this camp. There was no money for either physician or midwife, and the mother confided to the Red Cross visitor that, even had a doctor been willing to come without fee, she would have been ashamed to send for him because of the condition of the house. Their only mattress was a bag filled with dried grass, and their bedding was inadequate and soiled. She did not have the strength to wash it herself and no money for sending it out. She had no clothes for the baby — she had wrapped in it rags — and no stove of any kind (4).

In certains sections of the city and in coal-mining towns adjoining Pittsburgh, families are living in holes in the ground with canvas covering, and the women and children are going about barefooted. Families are suffering greatly from lack of blankets, warm clothing and shelter (33).

C. Child Labour

When a family is in distress, the small earnings of a school child are not to be despised. Work of school children — mostly running errands for stores — is mentioned among the sources of revenues of the Philadelphia unemployed (3).

The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, New York, recently published a document called " The Breakdown of Industrial Standards " (34), from which we quote the following :

In some districts in Pennsylvania more children are employed now than ever before. A recent survey of 150 plants manufacturing clothing showed that 75 employed 14 and 15-year-old children. Of these, 800 were engaged in manufacturing processes. In some factories over 25 per cent were under 16.

Courtenay Dinwiddie, General Secretary of the National Child Labour Committee, points out the prevalence of the exploitation of children, as given by the labour officials of certain states. He says : " Widespread abuse of children in sweatshops have been reported in Connecticut, Massachussets, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, were children are employed, often illegally. "

In 53 cities, 1,740 children apparently under 14 years of age were found selling newspapers on the streets between eight p.m. and two a.m.

It is said that in New York State the jobs now open to boys and girls between 14 and 16 years of age offer practically nothing worth while from the standpoint of either training or earnings. Miss Frances Perkins, New York State Industrial Commissioner, stated that 35 per cent of the jobs now open to children under 16 years of age are for housework, for

which the hours are long and the pay rarely more than $2.50 a week; 19 per cent are factory jobs of a monotonous nature, such as folding and packing; 17 per cent are for temporary work, of about a week's duration, such as distribution of circulars or addressing envelopes.

In Chicago it was stated that although child labour is on the decrease there was a shifting of children from mechanical pursuits and clerical work to street trades and domestic service, which are unregulated. Downstate the situation is practically the same — children employed in domestic work, on farms, as newsboys, and a few as messengers, in stores and a small number in factories, but for the most part in unregulated occupations.

For boys, one of the objectionable developments during the depression period is the growth of commission jobs. Always precarious from the occupation standpoint, they are in certain cases very close to fraud. Some firms which sell by house to house canvassing, seek children to sell their goods, first coaching them in " hard luck " stories about sickness and unemployment in the family. Sometimes the story is supplied by the employer, such as that of a father in the hospital for six months and nine children at home; sometimes the child is left to his own ingenuity to invent a tale which will appeal to the buyer's sympathies.

The records of vocational placement bureaus of city schools in California show that over 80 per cent of the children applying for work-permits have able-bodied and employable fathers. In spite of the restriction on work-permits granted to school-children, child labour is reported to be on the increase. Exploitation by industry is most frequently said to be the reason for employing hired children instead of their parents (35).

The following excerpt is taken from the Children's Bureau report on the coal-mining districts (4).

> Evidence of the industrial maladjustment which makes it possible for children and young people to get work when their parents cannot, was reported in a small town in County B, where a shirt factory, which was running full time, seemed to give preference to young girls and, as a result, girls in families where fathers and brothers are unemployed apply for work certificates as soon as they have reached the required age and go to work in this factory. In many instances mothers have applied to the school authorities to have their girls excused from school even before they have reached the age of 14. Since August 8, 1930, work certificates have been issued to 8 boys and 26 girls. Forty families in this town are living on the wages of one girl's work in the family.

II. School Work

Such conditions as those described in the preceding pages cannot but interfere with the children's learning. As the priest in charge of one parochial school remarked, the children began

to droop and were so tired that they could not apply themselves (4).

Where carefully selected food was served to the school children a prompt improvement was noted in their mental alertness (4).

In the coal-mining areas, the whole school system is endangered by the cutting down of budgets. Boroughs have had to ask and receive help from the State in meeting the expenses of the schools (4).

> In certain districts the school term provided for by the county is only seven months, but the coal companies, anxious to have the best schools possible, make a cut in the miner's wages to pay the salaries of the teachers for an extra two months. In several of the districts visited the school cut, though ordinarily insisted upon, was discontinued within the year because of the irregularity of work. This usually meant a shortening of the school term, but one camp was visited in which the superintendent had personally donated $150 to make up the deficit and prevent the school from closing (4).

In Kentucky where, under the law, all the necessary book and school supplies must be purchased by the parents of the children whose clothing enables them to attend school, these facilities were lacking (4).

In a report already cited (14) we read :

> In one especially forlorn camp we managed to get back into school some children who had been out all winter for lack of clothes, some of whom indeed had never before been able to go to school. To our dismay we later found them sitting idle, having neither books nor paper with which to work. The teacher remarked that all winter she had had to pay for these necessities for many of her pupils. As a mother said wistfully, to me, " It takes a right smart to buy books ".
>
> The coming winter looks very dark in the coal fields. Recently I received a letter from a principal of a school in Tennessee saying that only about one-fifteenth of the one hundred and eighteen children in her school had books.

In the booklet entitled " Childhood and the Depression ", which was published in November 1931 by the National Education Association (18), we find tables which show that already at that time, a certain proportion of teachers had to expect either a definite decrease of salaries or an indirect one, that is to say the salary schedules would not be followed. (On the whole, the salaries of teachers amount in the States to about 70% of the average income of all gainfully employed persons).

> Of the reporting 1,461 cities 90% expected to maintain or increase salaries, but only 63% of the 1,136 cities which have regular salary schedules expected either to maintain or

> increase these schedules. Cities which expected to either reduce or withold increments constitute over three-fourths of those given as maintaining salaries. Looked at another way, we may say that 485 cities, or one-third of all reporting, expected either to cut salaries or to deny the increments promised by the salary schedule.

Among economy measures, we must mention also postponing payment of salaries, reducing the number of teachers, thus increasing the pupil-teacher ratio; shortening of the school-year, reducing the instructional services :

> Night schools will be closed, kindergartners will stay at home, special subjects will be dropped, supervision, will be reduced, principalships will be combined, teachers' colleges will be abolished, summer schools will be eliminated — these at home, special subjects will be dropped, supervision will be limited in some cities to meet decreases in school revenues.

There is no doubt that the weakened physical and mental resistance of children requires the very special attention of teachers. How can this special attention be given when the teachers work under the strain resulting from the conditions described above?

Both in city and country reports, homage is paid to the spirit of self sacrifice of teachers, going on without salary, feeding children at their own table, cutting them clothes out of their own dresses and coats.

III. Moral Effects of Unemployment

Professor Williams (5) summarises in the following way the effects of the parents' unemployment on the personality of the child and its attitude towards family and society.

> While a family runs along on a regular income, things go fairly well, though the income may be small. But when income stops or is greatly decreased, the margin is so small that very many families are in straits. What actually will happen depends in a mesure on the attitudes that have been fostered during prosperity. Where the father and mother have built up loyalty in the children, this may be intensified in depression. The experience may bring the family closer together, at least for a time. They talk over and agree on one sacrifice after another. But long-continued unemployment becomes very disturbing in all families. Loyalty merely increases the anxiety, for the loyal one feels the suffering of the others and it may become too poignant to be borne.
>
> " Furthermore, prolonged hunger and anxiety, loss of sleep and daily disappointments wear men and women down into a neurotic condition. The father may sullenly give up

the effort to find work and appear indifferent to it when it comes. His sitting around the house may irritate the mother. She may nag him, for instance, forbid him to discipline the children, inasmuch as he is no longer a breadwinner. He may go out and chance to earn a little money and get drunk. A man of formerly high character may get a police record. Children are victims of the tension and the family may break under it.

...Depression increases tension and tension causes emotional instability in children. This has various results. To escape the tension, older boys and girls sometimes leave home and are not again heard from. Among others there are these two wide-spread effects : first, personality defects and, second, misbehaviour. The two are scarcely separable in many cases, but some children have personality defects without deliquency; while others are delinquent without defects, for instance, the boy who is led away by older boys.

First, let us look at the personality defects. The home is for the child the place of security whither he retreats when sick or afraid or disappointed or anxious or just tired and ready to rest. A sense of security is essential to emotional stability. Children in the homes of the unemployed lose their sense of security. They cease to feel that they can depend on their parents. Some young children may not be affected in this way. In going through the records we occasionally find such statements as this : " There is no apparent change in the attitude of the children, although they are keenly alive to the feeling of discontent that prevails in the home ". On the other hand, we find many statements like this : " The bitterness engendered by unemployment in the father will probably be a lasting impression. A definitely anti-social attitude is evident in one of the little boys. This is possibly an echo of the father's repeated bitter statement that the country should provide work for a man who is willing to work and does not want charity. It is hard to say what this attitude may do to this little boy later in life. It is possible that it may make him a problem child. " So this little boy is paying for the depression. It is costing him a normal personality, as it is in tens of thousands of other children. Society in turn will have to pay for these children's deformed lives. The child may get his father's resentment, or he may develop an attitude of fear and shrinking because his father has changed from a kind parent into an ugly animal. So we find in the records such statements as " The children cling to their mother and are afraid of their father ".

...First, sexuality is a vent for pent-up emotion, and even little children are affected in this way. A young lawyer, whose practice included a good many " wayward minor " cases, told us of a certain section of a city where the sexuality of the children was open and unabashed — " a bad situation " was all he understood about it. We found that all those children were members of families under stress of unemployment. This is not saying that unemployment caused it. Unemployment increases family tension and that causes emotional instability in the children, which finds expression in sexuality.

...Most children brought into a juvenile court are arrested for stealing. There are three causes of stealing : First, children steal because they are taught to do so by parents or older children. They go to market in the early morning to steal for the family. Unemployment has stimulated this form of stealing. Second, children steal for adventure. The thirst for adventure is increased by emotional instability, and the depression has encouraged stealing with this as the motive. Third, children steal from a sense of inferiority, that is, to prove their daring, or to compensate for some failure, or to become a full-pledged member of a pilfering gang. The depression has fostered this kind of stealing. Children are thrown on to the streets and their sense of inferiority is increased by home conditions. Fourth, a stealing episode is often tied upon with a sex experience. Sex misbehaviour causes an excited state of mind, and this inclines boys to go from one kind of immorality to another. They want to be " a divil ". Sexuality is stimulated by depression and so stealing increases. Fifth, many children well brought up steal to supply the needs of the family. Needs becomes an excuse in their minds. In some family situations before us it would appear as a valid excuse to any reasonable person. In others the stealing is not excusable to a reasonable person, but from the point of view of the child with his childish reasoning and in his situation, the stealing is inevitable.

These observations are confirmed by many others. For instance, Rosemary Reynolds, of the Philadelphia Family Society :

When a man is unable to work he finds himself out of rhythm with life about him. He lacks a unifying purpose for his days. He misses the companionship of his fellow workers and the individual interest of his employer. The family misses the outside interests the wage-earner brings back into their lives. Soon the family's whole life is permeated with a great sense of insecurity; the children feel they are different from their playmates whose fathers work daily; the wife knows her relatives and neighbors look askance at her unemployed husband; and the man begins to think of himself as cut off from family and friends. He is unable to justify to himself his reason for being alive, and often he seeks relief from this feeling of guilt in illness or drink.

Discussing the benefits of made work, she writes further :

1. A number of families whose only need was for steady work had begun to develop personality difficulties after months of unemployment. These problems had remained dormant until the strain of unpaid rent and half-fed children drove the wife to nagging and the husband to violent rages or deep depression. As might be expected, this friction lessened as soon as the man was again supporting his family.

2. Five men have regained their status in their homes through made work. Although the family will never be completely adjusted, still the tension has lessened enough to prevent the man from deserting again. The children are profiting by the pleasanter relationship between their parents, so there is less truancy and other deliquencies among them (19).

Many women who in normal times are not the breadwinners are forced into industry today to supplement a very inadequate income or provide the only revenue. When an able-bodied man looks constantly, yet hopelessly for work, his wife becomes either suspicious of his efforts or slightly contemptuous of his helpless state. When the wife on the other hand becomes a successful wage earner, the strain on their marital relationship is intensified. Changing values attach to the various members of the household. The husband's previous primary function as provider no longer exists. He must find a new place for himself in the family group or must resign himself as a repeated failure.

Frequently sons or daughters in their teens become the main or only wage earners. This elevates them to a position of authority which frequently undermines the position of the parents. The parents feel themselves inferior, and are often forced to succumb to the less mature judgment of will of their children, thus creating additional instability in the home (20).

Adolescent children lost the sense that they should depend on their parents. Those who were working, or who unwillingly left school to find work, resented the burdens put upon them. Sometimes a boy or a girl was the only, or the chief, wage earner. Frequently they resented the necessity of foregoing recreation and new clothes. They became quarrelsome and sulky and disrespectful. Parental authority was inevitably weakened. A father dependent on his son or daughter for shelter and food could not easily enforce discipline. Even little children were affected by the nervous tension and depression in the atmosphere. When mothers who were needed at home went to work, or spent their time looking for work, the health and habits of the children suffered still more (21).

In many homes where the children assume financial responsibility, the control of the home is broken and the authority is reversed. " I am supporting my father, why can't I tell him a few things? " — " If I have shown that I am financially independent, why can't I do as I see fit? " — " He doesn't dare to cross me... he knows where his bread comes from ", are only a few comments made by young breadwinners.

In other homes a fine spirit of cooperation and loyalty is manifested. Family unity becomes more firmely cemented when confronted with urgent problems. A sacrificing attitude for one another arises. But the idleness of the father, accompanied by strained mental attitudes, and the tension of young children at work, interfere with the harmony of the home (35).

In many homes the children live in a constant atmosphere of worry, anxiety, hopelessness and bitterness. These morbid feelings are transferred to the children. School teachers report that many of the older pupils question the purpose of education. " What's school going to do for me when educated people walk the streets? " Many youths are cynical and soured on life. What they once considered essentials — radio, automobile, the family house — are sold; and now even the bare necessities of life are lacking. School teachers and

officials remark : " Scores of the finest young people in our schools are too proud to admit their present standard of living and will not accept a free meal at the school cafeteria... We do not want to break down this pride and self-respect, but we can't allow them to starve... Often it is very difficult to detect need. They still dress in their former finery. "

School officials are in general agreement that a growing restlessness is pervading youth : " They question law and order; they attack the constitution of the United States ". One principal tells how she reprimanded a group of senior high school students for their apparent lack of patriotism, and the group shouted at every side : " Patriotism to a country that has the right to take away work from our fathers? Love to a country that has no obligation to the working people? To those lower down? "

In a special survey made by some fifty different public schools scattered throughout Los Angeles City to ascertain the effect of unemployment upon the school child, the following typical reports were secured :

" Children suffer from slower mentality. Appear worried, unhappy, hungry. "

" A feeling of compromise disturbs them. "

" Marked destruction of self-confidence noticeable. Discouraged and fearful future. Broken in spirit. "

Such statements repeat themselves in report of schools even in the high-rental districts. There is common agreement that because of economic stress in the home there is a noticeable increase in behaviour problems among children, in health problems of both parents and children, in broken spirits and domestic difficulties.

There are records of boys who started a criminal career the day the parents were evicted from their dwelling. " What's the use of going straight when the next fellow takes advantage of you just because he can? " philosophizes a 13-year-old boy.

Behaviour problems of children who have generally defied law and parental authority are now greatly accentuated by the tense atmosphere in the home and the slackening of discipline. A deputy sheriff observes that " the youthful offender has hardened; there is little that moves him to repentance " (35).

One of the most disturbing effects of unemployment is the quantity of homes it wrecks. A few day nurseries report a decrease in the number of attendances because parents have more time or because they lack the money to pay the fares to the nursery, which is located perhaps near their former place of employment but far from home. On the other hand, mothers who formerly stayed at home have had to take at least part-time jobs outside (22).

Among the findings made from a study of St. Paul nurseries, the following are reported :

Of the short-time placements, 39.5% were recommended where, because of inadequate income or unemployment of the father, it seemed desirable for the mother to become the

> wage earner. In 97.2% of the placements, where the mother worked as a substitute for her husband's unemployment, they were for this short-time period. The fact that 71.6% of these short-time placements were in 1930 or 1931, bears proof of the part the local nurseries have borne in the present unemployment crisis (23).

Nearly all institutions and boarding-out agencies report an increasing number of dependent and neglected children to be cared for.

According to the Children's Bureau, the number in May 1932 was more than one-fourth greater than the 1929 average (17).

One hundred and forty-five child placing agencies, members of the Child Welfare League of America, had 70,464 children placed away from home under their care on July 1, 1932. On January 1, 1932, they had about 39 per cent more children under their care that a twelve-month before. The rate of increase slowed down during the first six months of 1932, and this because funds had been exhausted or had been reduced, forcing agencies to refuse any new child, or even to send some of their protégés away (30).

Miss Louise Cottrell, Executive Secretary of the Oregon Child Welfare Commission (22), has noted these social results of unemployment on child care, stating there has been an increase in the number of broken homes and desertions. Intelligent parents, who will not accept help from agencies, are giving children away. There has been a steady increase in the population of children's institutions. There has been a decrease in the number of free foster homes available, and parents are able to pay less, or nothing, for care of children in institutions. Children often become entirely separated from any relative, which brings to mind that the main purpose of the Day Nursery is that of helping parents to keep their children with them.

> Psychiatrists, social workers, teachers and others have found dissension, strife, rebellion, and other hostile family reactions. Criticizing, resentful, sullen husbands; nagging, railing, contentious wives; hypercritical, unsympathetic attitudes on the part of other members of the family toward one another; harshness and sterness with the children; bitterness, cynicism, and antagonism against society and the Government — such are some of the human costs of the depression. Each one of these reactions carries with it a threat to the mental health of the individual and of the community (Drs Leroy and Maeder, Mental Hygiene Committee, Public Charities Association of Pennsylvania (9).

> Mrs McDowell, of the Renters' Court, has found children deserted by both father and mother with the conviction that the children would be given better care by the social agency than it was in their power to give...

There are alarming statements already about the increase in prostitution. The Committees of Fifteen in New York and Chicago call attention to the marked increase in street solicitation, but I have made no study of Juvenile Court figures to see if those who solicit are young girls (21).

III. The Young Unemployed.

According to the Children's Bureau and the National Child Labor Committee, there are fewer children under sixteen at work now than in past years — as compared with 1929. In 1930, about a third fewer children of 14 and 15 got employment certificates — although many children who, in normal times, would have gone on with their schooling, are forced by the economic stress of their family to look for jobs (18, 24, 25). These young people become the competitors of older men who are often heads of families (20), and it does not mean that because they leave school, they get regular and well paid employment. The Cincinnati Consumers' League, in the spring of 1931, made an investigation to discover what was happening to 100 boys and girls of 16 and 17 who had left school for work : 20 were continuously unemployed from 3 weeks to 10 months, half of them for 5 months or more; 32 of the 100 were unemployed 4 months or more, or more than half the time they had been out of school; 14 had been employed part time only; 23 were continuously employed for periods of 3½ to 7 months; only 5 of the children unemployed when interviewed returned later to school (26).

When children get jobs, these in most cases are not satisfactory; the conditions are bad, they are badly paid, and offer no future. Great efforts are made by all responsible people and organisations to keep young people in school, or make them come back to it (27). This back-to-school movement has been fairly successful (18), but still hundreds of thousands of young people are neither at school nor at work. What is their fate?

Effects of Unemployment

a) on the young people's physique :

We have not been able to get any definite information on this point.

b) on the young people's morale :

If we lack information on the young people's physique we have more on their morale.

The Minneapolis Placement Counselor reports (28) that :

> Some of the unemployed young people are getting extremely discouraged. With clothes getting threadbare, and shoes that are thin, and with nothing to do day after day, it is hard for them to keep their self-confidence and realize that it is the times and not the individual who is at fault. The problem of the girls is not as serious as that of the boys, for the girls keep themselves busy at home with household tasks. The boys, however, have no such outlet. They spend their time on the street corners, and the wonder is that more of them do not get into serious difficulties.

Joseph Siegler, Judge of the Juvenile Court of Essex County, N.J., adds his word :

> Greater than the physical is the psychological toll which unemployment is levying upon the family group. Greater, because the psychological effects are more enduring, and because there is no organized effort to remedy them, as there are agencies to relieve physical distress. In countless homes today the economic situation has created a mental attitude which is of incalculable harm to the parent, to the child, and ultimately to society (28).

> A Southern Y.W.C.A. reports that out of 289 applicants for work, only 40 could be placed by the Employment Department. " Some are desperate and threaten suicide, but on the whole there is a great deal of pride and brave endeavor to keep up morale ".

> We are dealing today with the most acute mental suffering on the part of many young girls. Utter discouragement, loss of self-confidence, desperate hopelessness about the future, fear, anxiety, loss of morale, a feeling that " it's no use ", with the tendency to throw over standards and restraints — these are some of the psychological effects of the present situation with which we are faced daily. They are becomingly increasingly acute and baffling (6).

> Employment and vocational guidance bureaus frequently find boys and girls of working age who, because of inability to secure a job and because of the rebuffs met in the search for one, grow discouraged, shy and develop a sense of inferiority mixed with a fear for work. A vocational counsellor remarks : " There is grave danger that many such young individuals, in spite of their excellent potentialities, will have to be supported for the rest of their lives; or, at best, will never utilize their resourcefulness and ingenuity " (35).

Mentions of juvenile delinquency are infrequent. We can, however, quote the following :

> The records of the Los Angeles County Probation Department show a decrease in 1931-1932 over 1928-1929 in what might be termed minor offences by juveniles; such as refusal to obey, refusal to submit to parental authority, petty theft, but show a decided increase in the more serious offences, such as grand theft, burglary and robbery. The number

of the last three offences charged against juveniles by the Los Angeles Probation Department during the period of four and a half years (1928 - June, 1932) shows a marked increase, 35.2 per cent. There were 999 charges of this nature against juveniles in 1931, as contrasted with 739 in 1928.

It is at times pointed out that juvenile delinquency has on the whole decreased in 1931. This is not true if we exclude traffic violations, which decreased from 1,346 to 684 in 1931 (35).

One of the greatest problems to-day in the United States is the large army of transients hiking about the continent and of which a high proportion (about one-fifth) is under 21, according to a special report of the Children's Bureau from which the following information is cited (29) :

> In autumn, winter, and spring, the migratory army of men and boys flows toward Florida, the Gulf States, the Southwest, and California. From first-hand observers, from local police, and from special agents and other employees of the railroads, come estimates that seem to indicate a problem beyond the knowledge of most of the country's social workers. Men and boys swarm on every freight in such numbers that the railroad police would be helpless to keep them off. Along the route of the Southern Pacific many small towns in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona reported the daily passing of about 200 men and boys during the winter and spring. The Santa Fe and Albuquerque averaged 75 a day. From September 1, 1931, to April 30, 1932, the Southern Pacific, with 9,130 miles of track, recorded 416,915 trespassers ejected. This figure contains some duplications, since a man might be ejected at more than one terminal, but it also falls far short of the total, since, as all railroad police testify, only a portion of those beating their way on freights ever come to the attention of the officers. In Kansas City in May the railroad men emphatically stated that a conservative estimate of the men and boys riding the freights through that city at that time was 1,500 per day...
>
> In Phoenix, Arizona, during the three and a half months ended April, 4, 1932, the Volunteers of America report feeding and lodging 1,529 different boys under 21. Phoenix is on branch lines of the railroads. Yuma, which is on the main Southern Pacific Line, fed approximately 30,000 men and boys at its " soup kitchen " from November 1 to March 15. At El Paso, Texas, during April and May, the Salvation Army reports feeding and lodging 9,551 men and boys, of whom 2,059 were under 21.

Most cities are quite unable to deal with this flow of transients and encourage them to move on, giving them merely one or two meals and allowing them to rest one night.

> ...Boys from unemployed families will be driven to the road in communities that provide no relief or relief that is hopelessly inadequate. The boy's desire to decrease by one the number of hungry mouths to feed will be urgent if he

sees his younger brothers and sisters without enough to eat. One 15-year-old boy in the " jungles " in Utah could hardly have been dissuaded by words, however well intentioned. He came from a family of nine, in an Eastern industrial area — the family reduced to living on county relief, which amounted to $3.20 a week, with a prospect of further reduction as county funds dwindled. Moreover, on the road are many boys too proud to remain in the community where, for the first time, and inconceivably to them, their families are reduced to accepting " charity ".

...Shelter facilities range all the way from a basement jail devoid of sanitary arrangements or from permission to sleep in the sand-house on railroad property, where the warmed sand lends some degree of comfort on a frosty night, up to a well-regulated lodging house, with beds equipped with fresh linen, and with bathing arrangements and a place to launder soiled clothing. In cities where conservation of resources is a primary consideration, the food given the transients has sunk to a dead level of monotony. Coffee, bread, beans and an occasional vegetable stew constitute the menu at station after station. Occasionally persons with imagination and initiative have found ways to vary this diet at little increase in cost. Riding freights and hitch hiking are hard on clothes and shoes. Cities are now providing little help in this line to non-residents. Medical care for those sick as a result of exposure or hardship is practically not to be had until the sufferer is in a obviously serious condition. Except in a very few of the larger cities no case work, even of the most rudimentary character, is attempted. In most places a simple form of registration, varying greatly from place to place, is all that is undertaken.

There is much testimony to the effect that these boys come from substantial American families. A study of 5,438 transient men and boys, served by the Salvation Army in Atlanta during four winter months, showed that 194 had been in college, and 1,641 had attended high school. The Salvation Army in Washington, D.C., registered 7,512 transients during the first quarter of this year. Among them were 258 who were college trained, 2,060 who has been in high school, and 1,866 who had an 8th grade education. Social workers, police, and railroad men, who are in constant touch with these boys, assert their belief that the overwhelming majority of them are young men and boys who would normally be in school or at work; that they are " on the road " because there is nothing else to do — sometimes because sheer pride will not permit them to sit idle at home, sometimes because support for the whole family came from a relief agency and was wholly inadequate properly to feed the younger children; that they are, on the whole, not of the habitual hobo or criminal types.

...Boys accustomed to decent standards of living find themselves going for days at a time without taking off their clothes to sleep at night, becoming dirty, unkempt, a host to vermin. They may go for days with nothing to eat but coffee, bread and beans. In winter they suffer from exposure. Last winter in one Western city 35 young men and boys were

removed from box cars, seriously ill, some in an advanced stage of pneumonia. Freight yards are policed. Hence trains must be boarded outside the yard limits while the train is in motion. One railroad alone reported more than 50 young men and boys killed and more than 100 crippled in this way last winter. It is no longer possible to pick up old jobs here and there. Communities jealously reserve even the occasional short-time job for local residents. Therefore the unwelcome non-resident boy must either depend on the bread line or soup kitchen, or he must beg or steal. In the box cars, in the " jungles ", as the camping sites adjacent to the railroad yards are called, or even in the municipal shelters, he will meet men whose entire influence is destructive — criminals, fugitives from justice, planning new " jobs " and looking for clever new recruits — degenerates and perverts eager to initiate new boys into evil habits and to teach them how they can pick up a few odd dollars in any big city. Such men are in the great minority, but one or two can do an incalculable amount of damage. Worst of all, perhaps, because it is so contagious, is the workless philosophy, the " getting-by " attitude everywhere encountered and very easily acquired on the open road. To this species of demoralization the " keep them moving " policy, universally in vogue, not only offers no opposition, but in fact contributes.

The only thing to do is to persuade boys to stay at home, to keep up their morale by well organised leisure time activities. Reforestation and agricultural camps have also proved valuable.

...Despite all efforts of a preventive character, many boys will continue to take to the road. For such boys, who find themselves stranded in an alien town or city, protection from as many of the physical and moral hazards of the road as possible should be afforded. In general within a local community, protective action will take the form of provision for (a) shelter and food of acceptable standards, (b) registration and interviewing, and (c) a training programme to provide for those who can not be sent home and who should not be passed on.

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BELGIUM.

Unemployment, Children and Young People

Reports prepared by the Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance, Brussels.

A. — THE CHILD

Unemployment in Belgium is of too recent date, it seems to us, to allow of a serious study being made of its effects on children.

On the other hand, the organisations created or subsidised by the Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance, the local or regional institutions and the private organisations are so numerous, and their work is so systematically planned, that one may hope to be able to prevent, or to palliate, the effects that the unemployment of the parents may have on the physical and mental development and the moral and social attitude of the children.

If it can truly be said that the economic crisis affects the great majority of families, it may, nevertheless, be averred with confidence that, even in those families with which the Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance deals from day to day, the effects vary in kind and in degree.

No comparison can be made between the distress caused by the present economic crisis and that which followed on the War — and which struck all families to an equal degree — since a very great number of factors bear upon the economic life of the people affected : partial or total unemployment, trade, length of the period of unemployment, unemployment insurance and relief, number of small children in the family, etc.

To the diversity of distress corresponds an equal diversity in the relief supplied. In fact, if unemployment insurance is to all intents and purposes on the same scale throughout Belgium, the unemployment relief granted to non-trade-union workers varies according to the financial resources of the Public Assistance Committees (Poor Law Boards) which deal with these cases. And, finally, it must be confessed that the organisation of relief is less well done in the rural districts than in the cities and industrial centres. To these factors must be added the diversity of the relief actions undertaken by private organisations.

Infants. — From enquiries made among child welfare organisations, and from answers given by doctors and nurses, it would appear that, on the whole, the baby lacks for nothing — the baby is well cared for, because the parents are intelligent enough to make sacrifices for it. Child welfare propaganda has taught the parents how to keep their littles ones in good health and to give them what they need, even at the price of personal discomfort.

This must not lead us to conclude that in Belgium no infant suffers through the weakness of the nursing mother or through the impossibility of giving it a prescribed diet. This is often the case, particularly among families already in straitened circumstances before the economic crisis and that the crisis has reduced to dire poverty.

The Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance notes a steady increase in the number of children cared for by its Child Welfare Centres and its Home-Visiting Service. The figures have increased from 61.441 in 1929 to 78.064 in 1931. It would be a serious mistake, however, to attribute this rise to parental unemployment — at least, up to the present time; it is the result rather of child welfare propaganda. Indeed, it is legitimate to hope that the extension taken by child welfare work will permit of forestalling the effects of unemployment on the child.

Children of pre-school age. — These children, from two to five years old, include two categories : those who attend Nursery Schools, and those who do not. The latter, even in normal times, are not touched by the organisations; they are the " little unknown ", who are no longer babies because " they eat everything ", who have to be pleased with what is given them, and who have no means of voicing their troubles.

The following observation, made in one of our big provincial institutions, throws light on the situation of these " in-betweens " :

> They are brought to us in the belief that they are ill : they are only badly fed. It is sad to hear them crying, because, after all, we must let them go back to their family. And the parents again give them the same food as the older children, and which is not suited to them at all. There is no compensation in the sacrifice of the parents, who give them a copper or two to buy sweets to make up for an unsuitable meal.

Children of school age. — Among older children the situation is less serious. There are, of course, many who lack the supplementary food (weakly children) or the substantial nourishment (children of a large family) they are in need of, but such cases are known and supervised. They are given meals by school

organisations, who are doing really excellent work. School kitchens function in most important centres, but it is none the less true that the weakly and the undernourished must be sought out. Such children exist, not only as in the past among the population customarily dealt with by the Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance, but also among families that never thought they would one day be forced to appeal to a charitable organisation and that only resign themselves to do so when they are at the last gasp.

The children of school age benefit by school holiday camps, both at the seaside and in the country. In 1931 the Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance received into such institutions 6592 children, totalling 514,476 days' maintenance.

In 1932 the Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance paid particular attention to applications made by out-of-work families. Out of a total of 9,884 children admitted into its various institutions (up to October 1), 1,057 were children of the unemployed, chiefly from Brussels and the provinces of Hainaut and Liége.

Social relief. — Families where the mother is a good housekeeper are not so seriously affected. But even these are often forced to spend the whole of the family earnings on the provision of food and heating, and are quite unable, when unemployment is prolonged, to buy new clothes, linen and bedding.

> Observations made by our Visiting Nurses and Workers show clearly the usefulness of our social service; the increasing number of appeals made stresses this fact. The full benefit of the work of the Centres and of the Home-Visiting Service can be secured only when the Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance treats the family as a unit, since the material and moral condition of the family taken as a whole has a great influence on the well-being of the children.

The number of inquiries made in answer to appeals for relief increased from 6,423 in 1927 to 8,545 in 1931; and out of 6,140 appeals for relief received in 1932 (up to October 1), 911 were unquestionably due to unemployment.

In all cases where the need is evident the Œuvre Nationale de l'Enfance either supplies direct relief to the family, or calls upon some one of the numerous official institutions or private organisations to do so. In 1931 it spent a total of 264,113.31 francs in emergency relief.

Relief must be adapted to each individual case, since on the one hand the needs do not seem to be everywhere the same; and on the other hand, the importance of the relief given varies for the reasons previously mentioned.

What can be done then, while still following the generally accepted scheme of Child Welfare?

Proposed Relief Measures.

Infant Welfare Centres. — The situation being good on the whole both in the cities and in the rural districts, as a consequence of the work done by the Committee of the Œuvre Nationale, only two systems of distributing relief have to be considered :

(1) Allottment, during the two winter quarters (the last quarter of 1932 and the first quarter of 1933), of a lump sum, determined on the merits of each case, and to be applied solely to providing children and nursing mothers with the necessary foodstuffs — milk, baby's food, etc. — supplied by the Purchasing Centre of the Œuvre Nationale.

(2) Report by the committees on individual cases specifying the diet ordered by the doctor; on this report the Œuvre Nationale would grant the relief asked for.

The expense of this system is difficult to estimate. This plan could not be applied to large towns; it has, nevertheless, the great advantage of taking better account of individual needs.

Children of 3-6 *years and* 6-14 *years.* — The canteens for weakly children, which have been closed for financial reasons, can unfortunately not be reopened. The work of these canteens would frequently overlap that of the school kitchens already established in a large number of communes. In the rural districts, such canteens would be quite useless. However, there are now more children, both in urban and rural districts, who do need to be cared for : children seriously enfeebled, in large families, those of the silent poor, convalescents, etc.

The most effective means of bringing relief to these classes would be to take them during the winter months into the colonies of the Œuvre Nationale.

In schools, these children can be easily identified; it is more difficult to discover the children of the silent poor. But here recourse may be had to the papers, which would advertise the measures taken and stress the fact that children of from three to six years would be accepted on an equal footing with those of from six to fourteen years.

B. — THE YOUNG UNEMPLOYED

A. GENERAL VIEW

I. Number of Young Persons Unemployed in Belgium.

At the last census (1930) the total number of industrial workers was stated to be roughly 1,800,000. In August 1932, 832,000 industrial workers were registered on the books of Unemployment Insurance Funds (1). Among these, the number of adolescents is small : indeed, the majority of young persons do not belong to any insurance fund, either through their own negligence — more often, through their indifference — or through the refusal of their parents to pay the necessary contribution.

From June 1930 to May 1932 the number of unemployed of all classes rose gradually to 150,000 for whole time unemployed and 170,000 for part time.

The French-speaking section of the Christian Young Workers (Jeunesse Ouvrière Chrétienne — J.O.C.), at Brussels, states that there were five to six thousand young unemployed in the capital and its suburbs before July 1932. But the close of the school-year saw about 3,000 young people leaving school, of whom probably 1,500 followed additionel courses, whilst the others went to swell the ranks of the unemployed.

For the whole of Belgium it is estimated that over 50,000 young persons between 14 and 15 years of age enter commerce, industry and agriculture each year.

It should also be noted that most of the big factories and workshops are taking on no more apprentices, since their training means for the employer loss of time and output; the unemployment crisis is thus accompanied and complicated by an apprenticeship crisis.

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[1] In Belgium, unemployment insurance is not compulsory. Voluntary insurance is generally done through a trade union. If the worker loses his job and draws his insurance benefit, the State contributes for his wife and children certain specified sums as long as the insurance benefit is paid. When the latter is exhausted, the State assumes responsibility for all payments, which are continued indefinitely. Thus the system is not really one of insurance ; it is half-way between insurance and poor relief.

The Socialist Trade Unions have arranged for a special form of insurance applicable to boys of school age, who on payment of a small premium, are insured against unemployment. As soon as they obtain their leaving certificate, they receive unemployment pay like their elders.

Unemployment seems to be more serious for the young men than for the young girls; for wherever the kind of work permits, the young girl is preferred, since she accepts a lower salary, does equally good work and is often quicker and more accurate than the young man.

II. The Effects of Unemployment on Young Persons.

Inactivity and waste of compulsory leisure have a more serious effect on the unemployed young person than on the adult, since the former is at a period of maximum physiological and psychological development, and thus reacts more keenly, both in body and especially in mind, to the disorganisation of family and social life.

From the technical point of view Belgian Labour, which is highly valued abroad, runs very great risk of depreciation through enforced idleness (Report on Industrial Unemployment by M. Pastur, Permanent Deputy (1) for Hainaut). As the Belgian worker is almost wholly employed in finishing imported raw materials, this problem is of absolutely vital importance for our national economy.

Our young workers are running the risk of forgetting what they learned at the technical or professional school.

The Belgian colonies, which formerly attracted so many young men, offer to-day no opening whatsoever : indeed, many are being daily discharged who hoped to find permanent positions. Neither is it possible now for a young man to enlist in the Army or Navy. Although no definite or even approximate figures can be given, the Recruiting Office of the Ministry of National Defence states that all ranks are now filled. In ordinary times the ranks are always about 400 below the official figure, and this shortage has been progressively filled as unemployment increased. The waiting-list is now longer than was ever the case before.

M. Wets, Judge of the Brussels Juvenile Court, states that there is a distinct increase in juvenile delinquency. This phenomenon is not particular to Brussels, where unemployment is less severe than in the industrial provinces of the country (Hainaut, Liége), but is met with all over the country. It is partly due to the cuts in the State subsidy, which compels the Court to reduce general expenses and, consequently, the number of proceedings. It seems very probable that juvenile delinquency, even if it be not increasing, has certainly not diminished.

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[1] In Belgium, each Province is administered by a Governor, a Permanent Deputation, and a Provincial Council.

B. MEASURES AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

I. Suggestions made.

a) Special courses of instruction and extension of the school-age.

The Socialist Workers' Central Council has suggested the opening in every library of a special reading-room, the arrangement of debates, study groups, courses of lectures, walking or cycling tours, visits to industrial, social and educational institutions, as well as local study weeks or fortnights. The Trade Union Federation of Charleroi has established additional training classes.

M. Renard, Permanent Deputy of Brabant, suggested an extension of the school age, or at least, attendance at regular technical courses for pupils about to leave school. For apprentices proper, who are already on the dole, attendance would be compulsory and a return for cash received.

M. E. Veuchet, Inspector General of Technical Education, province of Hainaut, proposed that the worker should be taught trades similar to his own, especially the small jobs of every-day life, the original trade remaining of course the main object. The unemployed of overcrowded branches could be taught trades which are less popular.

M. Damoiseaux, Governor of Hainaut, and M. Pastur proposed, in addition to a policy of public works absorbing large numbers of unemployed, the extension of the school age to 16 for both boys and girls attending elementary, technical and domestic schools; and for young persons between 16 and 19, attendance at special technical courses.

In 1930, Mme Plasky, Principal Inspector, Ministry of Justice, Labour and Social Welfare, suggested forbidding factory work for girls between 14 and 16, and introducing compulsory apprenticeship in sewing, dressmaking or house-keeping.

These interesting suggestions led to the drafting of two bills laid before Parliament by M. Masson in 1931. The first proposed that girls of 14 should have two additional years of domestic economy ; the second provided penalties for infractions of the law (to be voted) forbidding the employment of women and children, and also of that forbidding factory work to young girls before the end of their period of domestic training. Serious opposition was raised, the chief argument being the need for female labour in certain industries.

In order to encourage the communes and professional schools to arrange for temporary courses and lectures, the Permanent

Deputation of Brabant offered special subventions, up to one-half of the funds needed. At present one commune only, namely Louvain, has accepted the proposal. Other communes have examined the matter, but so many difficulties arose, mostly financial, that the attempt has been temporarily abandoned.

M. Renard, Permanent Deputy of Brabant, suggested a meeting of the delegates of employers and workers associations, heads of schools and communal delegates, to work out a general plan and arrange for :

(1) General and technical lectures for unemployed adults, and

(2) Systematic and compulsory courses, eventually supervised by the trade unions, for unemployed apprentices.

b) Special and Temporary Unemployment Commission.

M. Max Gottschalk, correspondent of the International Labour Office for Belgium and Luxemburg, proposed the nomination of a special and temporary Unemployment Commission, with the following duties : (1) to take such action as the situation demands; (2) to make the necessary enquiries; (3) to draw the attention of Government Departments to solutions already carried out elsewhere; (4) to ensure the immediate execution of governmental decisions.

Among remedies proposed by M. Gottschalk are included public works on a large scale. With a view to lessening the effects of unemployment, he recommends arranging special courses for young persons who have just left school, the granting of allocations for children between 14 and 16, and grants to young persons over 16 whose attendance at technical courses is regular.

Such courses have to overcome several difficulties : the classification of the pupils and especially the recruiting of the teachers, who cannot abandon their present duties, and the incapacity of the State, the provinces, and the communes to pay salaries, rent of class-rooms and cost of teaching outfit.

A circular issued in August 1932 by the Inspector General of Technical Education of the province of Hainaut, to the heads of technical schools says : " Instructional courses for the unemployed must always and in every case take into account existing possibilities and aim at practical results, without regard to the methods and curriculum of our present system of education. Firstly, the number of unemployed to be dealt with should be considered. They may then be classed as follows :

(1) Young people who have just left elementary school;

(2) Apprentices;

(3) Unskilled and semi-skilled adults;

(4) Skilled adults;

(5) Shop assistants, clerks, etc. "

We should add that all young persons who are really anxious to improve or keep up their knowledge are voluntarily attending the existing schools and courses.

II. Measures adopted.

A. In the Provinces and Communes.

A course in home economics for unemployed girls was arranged in Brussels; this was attended by 16 girls only, in spite of the fact that the Labour Exchange was able to place only a very small number of women looking for jobs (1). The small attendance at this course in home economics cannot be explained by a revival of employment and it may be taken that the girls do not appreciate the value of this experiment.

Many communes, e.g. La Louvière, Saint-Vaast, Seraing and Jupille, and the towns of Brussels and Louvain, arranged for courses or made grants to allow the children of unemployed parents to continue their studies.

Early in 1932, M. Pastur decided that no women should be allowed to work in the factories of Hainaut unless they held a certificate in home economics; this step was approved by the Government.

The Provincial Council of Liége voted a grant of 25.000 francs to the communes that are attempting to raise the educational standard of the unemployed, particularly the young.

B. Private Organisations.

1. *Christian Young Workers* (J.O.C.).

(a) *Young Men's Section.* — The J.O.C. is helping young men who are not members of a benefit fund to receive the ordinary grants by contributing for each case, according to circumstances, a weekly contribution of two to four francs.

The J.O.C. also organizes non-political debating and study-circles where the members can discuss matters of social, professional or general interest.

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[1] In September 1932, 361 vacancies were registered, and 246 women seeking employment; of the latter 113 only were placed. This is due to the large percentage of untrained women.

The leaders of the J.O.C. movement do their best to keep the young unemployed anxious to work and to stick at all costs to the trade they have learned and for which they are especially qualified. For this purpose an agreement has been come to with vocational guidance sections for theoretical and practical courses to maintain acquired aptitudes and teach " side-line " trades, the principles of first-aid, etc. The courses are given by university students, who also give free service in respect of lectures, visits to museums, factories, and so on.

The J.O.C. endeavours to create interest in intellectual pursuits and hobbies, such as decorating, framing, painting, tapestry, etc. The idea of cultivating arts such as music, drawing and engraving deserves careful consideration since the proposal to reduce the working week to 40 hours offers the employed worker more leisure than he will know how to use.

The J.O.C., has also organised a gymnastic federation, which arranges meetings; it provides also for distributions of clothing one or twice a year, etc.

To provide people suitable lodgings, the Catholic Housing Society pays for those who cannot do so themselves, and finds free accomodation for others in houses of members of the J.O.C. movement in Brussels.

Results. — Too few young people avail themselves of the opportunities offered. Courses are followed by very small numbers; lectures and visits attract scarcely 40 to 60. This scanty result is due to the distance that often separates the majority of the unemployed from the place of meeting, and also to their persistent attempts to find work. On the other hand opportunities for gymnastics attract large numbers.

In the 700 provincial localities possessing a J.O.C. section, the young unemployed are invited twice a week to pleasant afternoons and evenings (music, etc.). In the country round about Verviers, courses of " handy work " have been arranged, offering practical simple instruction in small repairs, plumbing, electricity, paper-hanging, etc. At La Louvière, Liége, Verviers, Charleroi, allotments have been provided.

(a) *Young Women's Section* (J.O.C. féminine). — Of the young women belonging to the Brussels J.O.C., nearly all are skilled workers and, with few exceptions have a job; but the factory worker is frequently unemployed. For these, work-rooms have been opened, and the articles made are sold for their benefit. Results have not been appreciable. At small fortnightly meetings, sewing is often done, but in Brussels few young girls attend, as most of them are still employed in industry.

Unemployment is particularly severe in Hainaut. Twice a week there are meetings for girls, who are taught infant care, mending, etc. and receive general guidance. At La Louvière, day and evening courses in home economics are held regularly four or five times a week, with a average attendance of 70. By an agreement come to with the Brussels free libraries, members of the J.O.C. who live in small industrial centres having no such resources, may borrow books.

2. *Young Socialist Workers.*

The Socialist Workers Organisation has for a long time advocated extension of the school age to sixteen, with a further period of educational training until eighteen. For young people whose apprenticeship is interrupted, it recommends half-time schools, with theory in the morning and practical work in the afternoon.

Trade Union sections have organized lectures and courses of study, almost always directed by skilled workmen. The subjects are connected with the specific trades of the young people attending, while literary and scientific talks complete their general knowledge. Libraries, cinemas, visits to museums and factories, an athletic federation which arranges for games, open air meetings, walks and cycling trips, complete the programme.

Early last year, the Trade Union Federation of Brussels established a club for the young unemployed, open only to young men holding a Trade Union card and belonging to no party of organisation in any way opposed to the policy of the Belgian Workers Party or the Belgian Trade Union Commission.

At La Louvière special technical courses have been opened at the Arts and Crafts Institute, where some 300 young persons have entered. Class material is supplied free, as is also a mid-day meal. Among themselves the pupils have formed a committee that arranges lectures, excursions, etc.

At Seraing and Jupille the communal authorities, under the auspices of the Trade Union Federation of Liége, have organized special courses, musical afternoons, etc.

3. *Apprenticeship Bureaux.*

These bureaux were founded before the War to ensure the recruiting of a better class of worker by organising apprenticeship, supervising the strict fulfilment of contracts, and informing parents and guardians of the openings offered and of the necessary physical and intellectual requirements for each trade. Each bureau or secretariat is run by a committee, which includes employers,

workers, teachers, and social workers. The secretariats might also be useful in directing young workers to the less crowded trades and in assisting in the necessary transition.

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Mention should finally be made of two organisations that have been recently created to help the unemployed :

(1) The General Relief Committee for Brussels and environs, which was started in December 1931, to deal with the unemployed who are not in receipt of any kind of help.

(2) The Central Assistance and Loan Committee for out-of-work employees.

SWITZERLAND.

The Effects of Unemployment on Children and Young Persons

In Switzerland the economic crisis has made its effects felt in particular since the beginning of 1931. In some industries, such as textiles and machinery, and more especially embroidery (Eastern Switzerland), watch-making and allied branches (Jura), unemployment began much earlier. Indeed both these last-named industries have never been able to recover from the shock they suffered during and immediately after the war by the loss of several important foreign markets. Working almost exclusively for the export trade they were the first to be hit by the crisis. Native enterprise, seconded by government support, has taught many watchmakers and jewellers to take up other kinds of labour requiring accuracy, but these have given temporary relief only. A slight decline has been noticed in the total population of La Chaux-de-Fonds (Jura Neuchâtelois) and in St. Gallen. In Eastern Switzerland, many workmen own gardens and even small farms; in this respect the Jura is less favoured, because of its altitude and the poverty of the soil.

On the whole, the Swiss unemployed include a large proportion of skilled and semi-skilled workers; their relatively high intellectual level makes it difficult to occupy them in relief work, such as road-making, drainage, etc., since they are physically not strong enough and in many cases are afraid of losing their delicacy of touch.

The number of registered unemployed has risen from 23.000 in Dec. 1930, to 50.000 in Dec. 1931 and 82.000 in Dec. 1932. Of insured workers, 6,6 per cent were totally unemployed and 14 per cent partially unemployed on Nov. 30, 1931; the corresponding figures for Nov. 1932 were 17.3 and 11.3 respectively.

A. The Children of the Unemployed.

Practically no systematic study of the effect on the children of unemployment of the parents has been made in Switzerland. In many places it was thought needful to increase the number of

children benefiting by school kitchens, distributions of milk, distributions of clothing, etc., which existed already almost everywhere; but nobody thought of trying to fix precisely the health condition of these children, in regard to that of families untouched by unemployment, and to ascertain to what extent their intellectual capacities and their character were affected.

The Pro Juventute Foundation has had the great courtesy to distribute on our behalf questionnaires to a few of its collaborators (doctors and teachers) in the industrialized districts of the Jura Mountains, in the Cantons of Neuchâtel and Berne, and in Eastern Switzerland. Replies were received from three doctors and ten teachers. Their answers have the value of soundings; completed by other information, they lead to the conclusion that Swiss children have up to the present suffered comparatively little, since family economies, supplemented by relief, have very largely made good the physical effects and indirectly, the moral effects of parental unemployment.

> Up to the present, general goodwill and the social organisations in schools admirably seconded by the people, have prevented the children from suffering too severely from the crisis. On the other hand, should the crisis continue for some time and public generosity slacken, physical deficiency will certainly increase, since the school cannot possibly feed one quarter to one third of the total attending school (150 pupils out of 500), as it has done up to now, summer and winter. (St. Imier, Bernese Jura).

The doctors have not noticed an increase of illness among the child population.

School doctors and teachers are of the opinion that in general *food* is " sufficient but monotonous ". One of them remarks on the lack of fruit. Several teachers, who omit to give percentages, note an increase of underfeeding, and stress the obvious value of free distributions of milk and bread, of school meals and holiday camps.

It appears on the other hand that parents find it very difficult to renew the children's *clothes* and to buy and repair foot-wear. Gifts of old clothes are greatly appreciated.

> Clothes are often poor. A decent pinafore will hide dreadful underclothing, dirty and full of holes. The children are not cold, but during the six years I have looked after them, I have never seen, as I have this year, underclothing so extraordinary and so miserable, once the pinafore, which is generally respectable, has been taken off.

In respect of *school work*, the answer of a teacher at Le Locle seems to summarize the opinions of most of his colleagues :

> Unemployment has evidently disastrous effects on schoolwork, but it is hard to discover precisely how much of the

> falling-off is due to the more or less direct effects of the crisis. In any case, school work seems to me to grow more difficult recently; the children are less bright and spirited; there is less attention and diligence.

Three teachers are of opinion that this is especially noticeable in those branches of study which necessitate home work; others have noted nothing, or attribute the falling-off to an increasing lack of concentration among children as a whole.

One teacher, who remarked how the home work of his pupils suffered where the parents were out of work, adds :

> In one case only have I noticed better school work after the father had lost his job. The fact is that he gave all his time to his family, and supervised the home work of the children.

Has parental unemployment had a bad effect on the *character* of the children?

Some teachers complain of the lack of attention, perseverance, discipline, order, concentration, or brightness of their pupils. Others, sometimes in the same locality, have noticed nothing.

The disturbing effect of unemployment on family life is of course felt by the child.

> What strikes one most is the moral rather than the material effects. The atmosphere which surrounds the unemployed family appears oppressive to the child. Even if he does not always understand, he feels the worries of his father and mother, and at school he is frequently preoccupied and absent minded. Children, even the very young, suffer unconsciously, I believe, from the situation; they do not feel themselves in security, and of course we cannot therefore blame them for being inattentive in school. (M. Dottrens, director of schools in Geneva, in " Pro Juventute ", 1932, No. 10, p. 439).
>
> Discipline is more difficult to maintain. The bitter words overheard at home make the pupils disinclined to acknowledge authority (St. Gallen).
>
> The child's character is affected strongly by the bad temper of his parents, by their the discontent, and by their bitterness on account of present difficulties. Their attitude and conduct often speak of jealousy and envy of people in a better position than their parents (Moutier).

B. Unemployed Young Persons.

In Switzerland data concerning the situation of unemployed young persons are still rarer than those concerning the children of the unemployed.

Most published articles speak of the dangers to which young persons are exposed, not indeed as actually exercising their effects.

but as a serious menace. The writers think particularly of observations made in neighbouring countries, and rightly advocate different measures of relief and of prevention — many of which are already in force, and have been introduced by the public bodies or private organisations, or by both acting in collaboration.

Number of Young Persons out of employment.

No census has been made of the young unemployed, who are not especially recognized in the statistics either of unemployment bureaux or of insurance offices.

According to estimates made in Zurich, where there are 70,000 young persons from 15 to 20 years, a little more than 2,000 are wholly unemployed, and still more are only part-time workers.

In 1932 it was found possible to place as apprentices or employees all boys leaving school at the end of the school year — often at the expense of an apprentice whose time was up, or of an older employee; whilst many young girls leaving school could not be placed.

Of the 2,400 boys who finished their apprenticeship in the year, it was expected that about half would be dismissed, whilst the 600 young girls would be in a more favourable situation; about half of them would enter the clothing trade, which allows them, in case of need, to take a job in the hotel industry or in domestic service.

Unemployed labourers can find work in the building trade or on the land, but at lower wages, whilst unemployed young women find it difficult to find a situation in domestic service, as they lack training and also such qualities as attention, tidiness and taste for work well done.

In the spring of 1932 an enquiry was made in Geneva by the Private Apprenticeship Office with regard to the professional situation of 745 youths and girls who had finished their apprenticeship. 436 answers were received. Out of this number 280 (64,8 per cent) were practising the trade they had learned; 78 (16,85 per cent) were working at another trade; and 76 (16,4 per cent) were unemployed. Contrarily to what happened in Zurich, a very small number, viz. seven, stated they were part-time workers. In Switzerland unemployment is very unequally distributed with regard to trades. In 1931, in spite of there being 50,000 full-time unemployed, it was found necessary to admit into Switzerland some 90,200 persons coming to practise trades that Swiss labour does not care to follow or for which it is not trained (building and domestic service especially). This fact is borne out by the result of the inquiry with regard to apprenticeship in Geneva. Of the eight building trade workmen who replied to the inquiry, all

were employed; whilst of the 29 watchmakers and jewellers, six only were in jobs, 17 had changed their trade and four were unemployed.

The foregoing details explain why Switzerland attaches great importance, on the one hand, to better vocational guidance, which takes into account not only the taste and the capacity of the young worker, but also the state of the labour market, and on the other hand, to the different courses of vocational adaptation (Umschulung) and to the domestic training of young girls.

The Effects of Unemployment :

a) *on Physical Development.*

We have found no mention anywhere of the deterioration of the health of unemployed young persons. The Central Office for Unemployed Young Persons (Zentralstellte für jugendliche Erwerbslose) in Zurich has issued a report from which we have draw the greater part of the following data. The Office was compelled to issue a large number of meal tickets and bed tickets. This fact reveals a state of things which cannot but be prejudicial to health.

b) *on the Social and Moral Attitude.*

The Central Office writes :

> In the course of talks with applicants, we have very often encountered a pessimistic attitude towards work and life in general. This indifference, to which young persons whose characters are not yet moulded yield so easily, creates difficulties with regard both to the family and to society. The only remedy is regular work.
>
> One thing that marks the unemployed is their versatility and short-lived enthusiasms. If action is not taken at the right moment, one meets afterwards only indifference and slackness.

The Office has had an opportunity of following closely certain young unemployed in the Voluntary Labour Colonies which it organized last spring.

> The young men worked six to eight hours per day, and with few exceptions showed themselves full of keenness and endurance. Indeed, many acquired a certain love for work, a feeling of responsibility towards the common task, that may justly be considered a positive result. But the use of leisure time was less satisfactory. Many, as a result of prolonged unemployment and of living far from home, had lost the habit of obeying the rules of community life and misused their leisure.

The complaint is sometimes heard that the special courses for the young unemployed are neglected; but this is scarcely so when

these courses are well organised and fitted to the needs of the young. For this reason, the general and purely professional courses organised by the Zentralstelle have been steadily and regularly frequented.

> Our time-table gave the young unemployed an opportunity of attending several courses each day, so that their time was really well filled.

Among the most popular courses must be mentioned those in foreign languages, shorthand, first aid and cooking (this last both for girls and young men).

The courses in vocational adaptation (Umschulung) are greatly appreciated. Training for agriculture however meets nearly always so many obstacles and prejudices that it is almost impossible to keep it going, except in special conditions, such as a voluntary labour camp.

The principal *relief measures* proposed and partly carried out are :

1) Raising school age.

2) Vocational guidance toward trades where there is lack of native labour.

3) Centres for Unemployed Young Persons, where it is possible to conduct :

4) Courses in general education and in vocational training.

5) Courses in vocational adaptation (with or without board and lodging) for those who desire to change their trade.

6) Homes for unemployed young persons without homes or living away from home.

7) Voluntary Labour Colonies (freiwilliger Arbeitsdienst).

8) Development of youth organisations.

It is clear that the greater part of these measures have a marked preventive character. They tend to forestall or to lessen unemployment, or if unemployment exists already, to prevent it from having a disastrous effect on the physical and moral health of the young.

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