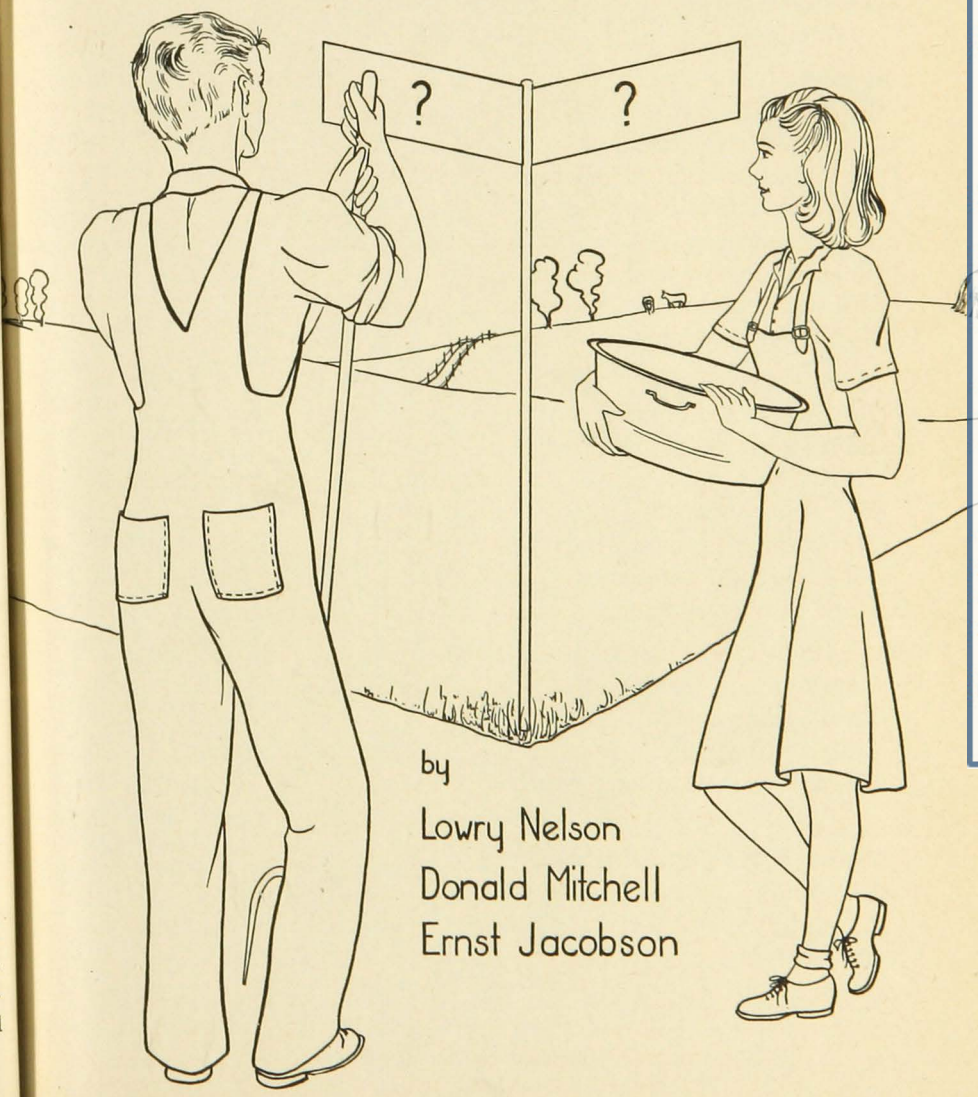


Some Problems of Minnesota **RURAL YOUTH**



by
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Some Problems of Minnesota Rural Youth¹

Lowry Nelson, Donald Mitchell, and Ernst T. Jacobson²

AT THE BEGINNING of the depression humanitarian interests of the country were focused upon the child; today the center of interest and attention is the youth. A decade ago we were drawing up children's charters, bills of rights for children, and generally giving more attention to the children as objects of solicitude, and as subjects for legislation, than any other group in the population. Recently our sentiments and thoughts have shifted to youth,³ their situation, their needs, and programs to meet their needs.

The phenomenon of a youth problem is not new; rather, it is as old as the race. However, it does present new aspects from time to time as the social situation constantly shifts. In considering the problem of young people, we have to deal with two very dynamic variables. On the one hand are the biological and psychological maturation of the individual and on the other the relentless cultural changes which characterize modern society.

Under such conditions adjustment between individuals and society is difficult at best. It is not remarkable, therefore, that the economic crisis of the past years should have thrown this somewhat delicately poised age-group out of equilibrium. The first im-

pact of the depression upon rural youth was the closing of economic doors of the cities. During the 1920's several million young people from the country migrated to the city. This exodus was coming to be looked upon as socially and economically desirable from the national viewpoint since birth rates of the rural population were high and the demand for farm labor steadily declining as a result of technological advances and disappearing foreign markets. On the other hand, urban industries required more labor than the cities were able to supply. This cityward migration, therefore, served to adjust both the rural and urban population.

When the depression came the proverbial "monkey wrench" was thrown into this machinery for social adjustment, and observers were soon discussing the plight of youth "dammed up" on farms.⁴ It was estimated that there was a surplus of 2,000,000 youths on American farms, but they did not all remain stationary. By 1934 concern was being manifested for the young men and women who were "tramping" the country, many of whom were doubtless rural. The number was roughly estimated at 200,000 at one time,⁵ but Webb estimated the peak number of unattached transients of all

¹ Assistance in the preparation of these materials was furnished by the personnel of Work Projects Administration, Official Project No. 165-1-71-124, Subproject 425.

² The writers wish to express their appreciation to Dr. E. L. Kirkpatrick of the American Youth Commission for valuable criticism of the manuscript.

³ Much attention has also been given to the aged group in the population, but the plan of action has been more easily worked out. In the case of the aged, it has been primarily a question of deciding how much and what kind of old age assistance the state could and should provide. The youth problem is far more complex and bewildering.

⁴ Baker, O. E. Rural-Urban Migration and the National Welfare. *Annals of Assoc. of Amer. Geographers* XXIII (2):92. June 1933. *The Outlook for Rural Youth*. U.S. Ext. Service Circ. A223:6-7. September 1935.

⁵ Minehan, Thomas. *Boy and Girl Tramps of America*. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York. 1934.

ages at 200,000 in 1934. If one assumes the same age distribution for the 200,000 as characterized the group studied in 13 cities as of June, 1934, which shows about 40 per cent under 24 years,⁶ one arrives at an estimate of about 80,000 transients. What portion was rural we were unable to estimate.

Finally, the analysis of relief rolls as of May, 1935 showed an estimated army of 2,877,000 young people 16-24 years old who received aid. Of the total, 30 per cent were in the open country while 10 per cent were in villages of 50 to 2,500 inhabitants.⁷

Another study by WPA based on rural households on the relief rolls in October, 1935 showed 625,000 young people in these rural relief families.⁸ October, 1933 estimates were 840,000 and for February, 1935, 1,370,000.⁹

These studies and numerous others have brought the youth problem into the limelight. In 1936 there were three times as many items on youth in the Reader's Guide as in 1929.

This interest has resulted in many studies being undertaken to secure a more adequate understanding of the youth situation. Many reports have been issued which, no doubt, have been of value to those individuals responsible for establishing and conducting programs to serve the needs of youth, insofar as those needs could be determined by surveys and by consultation with young people themselves.

Without waiting for the results of the studies something had to be done. The Federal Government entered the field

with the creation of Civilian Conservation Corps in 1933. The National Youth Administration, created by executive order June 26, 1935, continued the scholarships enabling young people to attend college and secondary schools and continued work projects for those who remained at home. Both practices had been initiated by the Civil Works Administration the previous year.

Practically every state agricultural extension service in the country gave special attention to youth in planning programs. Many states engaged specialists to devote undivided attention to the youth program. In Minnesota the Rural Youth clubs were developed as a part of the extension program during 1934-1936. The American Youth Commission was organized in 1935 under a grant of funds from the American Council on Education.

The Present Study

IT WAS IN this general setting that the present study was inaugurated in 1933 in selected rural areas of Minnesota.¹⁰ The purpose originally was to examine the educational and social needs of the later adolescent youth; to determine, if possible, the extent of the back-to-the-land movement which was apparent in the early days of the depression; and to determine the community relations of young people so far as their participation in activities was concerned. It was hoped also to find

⁶ Webb, John N. *The Transient Unemployed*. WPA Res. Mon. III:1, 101. 1935.

⁷ National Youth Administration. *Youth on Relief*. February 1936.

⁸ Melvin, Bruce L. *Rural Youth on Relief*. WPA Res. Mon. XL. 1937.

⁹ Hulett, J. E., Jr. *Rural Youth on Relief in February 1935*. WPA Res. H-5. November 1935.

¹⁰ The project was initiated by Dr. R. W. Murchie, who until his death in 1937 was rural sociologist at the Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station. Since the 1933 data had not been published when the present incumbent assumed office in the fall of 1937, it was decided to make a resurvey of the areas included in the original study in the hope of finding out what changes had taken place during the four-year period. Accordingly, a schedule similar in most respects to the original, but differing from it in some particulars, was devised for the 1937 survey and the cooperation of local school teachers and others in the various townships was secured in taking the schedules. The value of the resurvey was somewhat reduced by difficulties of making visits due to inclement weather and to the further fact that there was some difference among the local enumerators in interpreting instructions. Nevertheless, the resurvey enables us to detect certain trends in the situation which should prove valuable in future planning and administration.

out from the young people what their interests and needs were and how they thought these interests might be better served and the needs satisfied.

Owing to mechanization in agriculture and the wide-scale adjustments which are being made, the oncoming generation may find proportionately fewer opportunities for spending their lives in the country. Replacement rates in agriculture are further aggravating this situation. Unless the way to urban industry can be kept open for rural youth, the rural community will need to make social and economic readjustments.

LOCATION

Three fairly representative areas were chosen for this study (Fig. 1). St. Louis County was chosen as representative of the newly settled area in the north where the heterogeneity of the population and poor agricultural lands are the main characteristics. Almost every type of European immigrant is represented in St. Louis County. Of the total population 76 per cent consists of immigrants and their children. The predominating nationalities are Finnish, Slavic, and Scandinavian.

The population of Douglas County in west central Minnesota was 84 per cent native-born in 1930 and 40 per cent native-born of native-born parents. Immigrants and their children comprise approximately 59 per cent of the county's population. Of this group the Scandinavians, especially Swedish, are in the majority.

Dodge County in southeastern Minnesota has 92 per cent native-born population of which approximately 59 per cent are native-born of native-born parents. Among the foreign-born in this area Germans predominate and the Scandinavians, of which the Norwegians are more numerous than Swedes, are in second place.

Economically these three districts represent different types. St. Louis

County in the cutover region is dependent upon the iron mining industry to a considerable extent. Douglas County is a typical mixed farming section with grain-growing and dairying the leading sources of income. Dodge County borders on the corn belt, with corn, hogs, and dairying being the prominent sources of agricultural income. St. Louis County rural areas are sparsely populated although one city of over 100,000 is within the county (Duluth) and two mining towns have over 10,000 population. Douglas County is more densely settled, and its county seat (Alexandria) is a town of about 5,000 population. Dodge County, on the other hand, is an old settled area, but it is a purely rural county having no town larger than 1,100 population although in two bordering counties are urban places with populations of 8,500 and 26,000.

METHOD

For the original survey in each of the three counties chosen field investigators endeavored to interview all the young people between 15 and 24 in several selected townships. A schedule was filled out during these personal

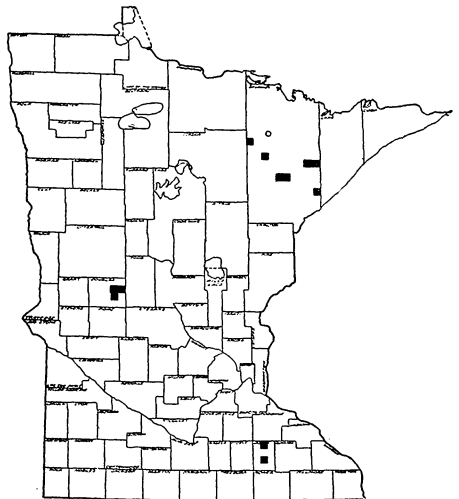


FIG. 1. TOWNSHIPS INCLUDED IN SURVEY

interviews which recorded the information obtained regarding the family, ages of the members of the family, the educational advancement of the person interviewed, and his social contacts, interests, and aspirations.

For the 1937 (December) survey the age limit was extended to 29 in order to include as many as possible of those who were 20-24 when the original survey was made and who might still be in the areas. In the resurvey local individuals—in most cases the rural teachers—took the schedules.

These township units were canvassed as thoroughly as possible. A comparison of the number of schedules taken with the census data for the age group studied would indicate that the surveys fell somewhat short of completeness, particularly in 1937. As indicated in table 1, the sample as a whole for 1933 is 83 per cent and that for 1937 is 60 per cent of the age group 15-24 listed in the 1930 Census for the area studied. While it is not to be expected that the number of persons of a given age group in an arbitrary geographical unit should remain constant for a four-year period, neither is it likely that the age group for the entire survey area should be reduced by as much as 17 per cent by 1933 and 40 per cent by 1937. The dis-

crepancies are probably due partly to local seasonal mobility, partly to people not being at home, and partly to errors of omission by the enumerators. A considerable number of families reported having members in the age group studied who were temporarily working at various summer resorts or in the harvest fields away from the home farm. In the 1937 survey doubtless many of the young people were missed entirely.

The number of schedules taken in certain townships in 1933 approached, and in two cases (Ashland and Morcom) exceeded, the census record of the age group in 1930. Other areas, notably Fairbanks Township, fell far short of the census figures. The degree of completeness, as estimated on the basis of the census report, is highest for Dodge County and lowest for St. Louis County. The percentages in 1937 were lower in all but one township. Dodge and St. Louis were more nearly complete than Douglas. While the data for each township cannot be said to be representative enough to warrant the drawing of conclusions regarding the state as a whole, the combined data for the ten townships constitute an adequate sample for the major purposes of this study.

Table 1. Comparison by Townships of Sample and 1930 U. S. Census, 15-24 Age Group

Township and County	U.S. Census 1930 15-24 year group	Number of schedules taken		Sample as percentage of Census	
		(1933)	(1937)	(1933)	(1937)
Ashland	93	99	73	106	78
Concord	140	111	98	79	70
Dodge County	233	210	171	90	73
Alexandria	148	124	65	84	44
Carlos	111	88	72	79	65
Belle River	113	99	88	88	78
Douglas County	372	311	225	84	60
Cherry	104	81	85	78	82
Cotton	82	70	85
Cook (village)	51	36	71
Duluth	166	123	116	74	70
Fairbanks	46	31	22	67	48
Morcom	32	39	36	122	112
St. Louis County	481	380	259	79	54
GRAND TOTAL	1,086	901	655	83	60

Table 2. Per Cent of Population in Age Groups 15-19 and 20-24,* 1930

	Minnesota Age Group			United States Age Group		
	15-19	20-24	15-24	15-19	20-24	15-24
Total population	9.4	8.4	17.8	9.4	8.9	18.3
Urban	8.6	8.9	17.5	8.7	9.3	18.0
Total rural	10.1	7.8	17.9	10.3	8.3	18.6
Rural farm	10.8	8.1	18.9	11.3	8.1	19.4
Rural nonfarm	8.5	7.3	15.8	8.9	8.5	17.4

* United States Census 1930.

Age and Sex Characteristics

THE STATE, 1930

In approaching the problem of the rural youth in Minnesota, it is well to compare this group with the corresponding group in the United States as a whole, and it is also necessary to analyze the data by district or areas in order to discover whether the problem is essentially different in various sections of the state. In table 2 the percentages of the population in the youth group in the United States and in Minnesota are given in detail.

There are some significant differences between the population of Minnesota and the population of the United States in regard to age composition. For example, 18.3 per cent of the population of the United States are in the age group 15-24 while only 17.8 per cent of that in Minnesota belongs in this category.¹¹ A comparison of the percentages in each of the two subgroups 15-19 and 20-24 shows that the observed difference in the ten-year group is due entirely to the difference in the older 20-24 subgroup. The percentages for the United States and for Minnesota are 8.9 and 8.4, respectively. Both the rural and urban population reflect this difference in the age distribution from the national norm, but the contrast is

especially marked in the rural non-farm or village population, the percentages for the 20-24 group for the United States being 8.5 as contrasted with 7.3 for Minnesota.

Within the state itself some significant differences are also found in the age composition of the population. The 15-24 year age groups varied from 15 to over 20 per cent of the total population in different counties with approximately one third of the area of the state ranging around 18 per cent and a slightly smaller area ranging between 17 and 18 per cent.¹² The comparative density of youth in the various parts of the state and in rural, urban, farm, and nonfarm segments of the population is shown in figures 2-5. The rural-farm population contains the largest proportion of youth, with the urban centers ranking next, and the nonfarm lowest.

The importance of the rural aspect of the youth problem in Minnesota is further seen by reference to the gross figures from the 1930 Census. The total population of Minnesota, 2,563,953, is almost equally divided between rural and urban, 51 per cent being rural, 49 per cent urban, but in the youth group there are in the rural area 125,296 males against 100,652 males in the urban group or 55 per cent rural. Females in the rural area predominate when compared with females in the urban area in the first five-year sub-

¹¹ This difference although not great is significant in view of the large number of cases and in view of the fact that statistically we are measuring two universes. Although not strictly applicable here, the standard error of the difference between these percentages is only .0024. Thus the difference .5 is over 200 times the standard error.

¹² Fifteenth Census of the U.S. 1930.

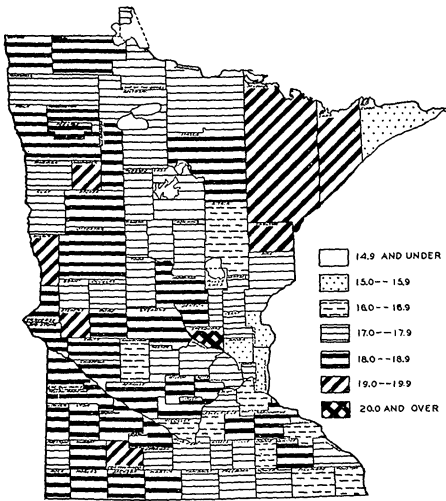


FIG. 2. PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL MINNESOTA POPULATION 15-24 YEARS OLD, 1930, BY COUNTIES

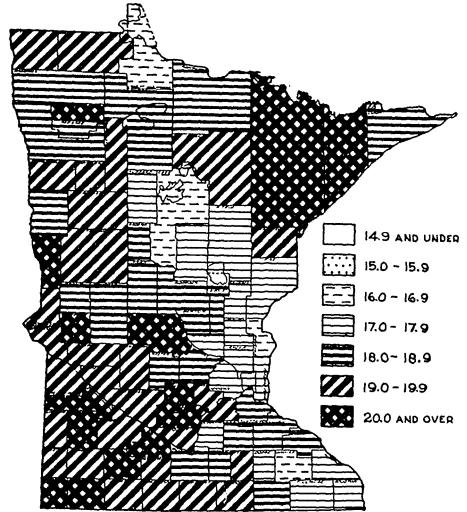


FIG. 3. PERCENTAGE OF THE RURAL FARM POPULATION IN THE AGE GROUP, 15-24, BY COUNTIES

group, 15-19, the respective figures being 61,755 rural females against 57,812 urban females or 52 per cent rural. But in the second subgroup, 20-24, the urban females predominate, 61,901 being urban and 46,962 or 43 per cent rural. This is the result of the migration of the rural young women who are attracted to the city by the economic and social opportunities. In the rural farm population there are in the age group 15-19 more young men than there are in the corresponding age group in the city. It would, therefore, appear to be of the utmost importance to include special plans for the rural group.

THE 1933 SAMPLE

The age and sex distribution of the 1933 sample indicates a predominance of males in all but Alexandria Township in Douglas County and Cook Village in St. Louis County (the only village included in the survey). The sample, which includes 505 males and 396 females, gives a sex ratio of 128 males to 100 females. This is very close to the state rural farm population sex

ratio for this age group which is 128.5 males to 100 females.

An analysis of the sample on a county basis shows a wide range in the sex ratio for the different areas. The Dodge County sample is almost evenly balanced, the ratio being 106 males to 100 females. The St. Louis County ratio is 150 males to 100 females. Douglas County occupies an intermediate position with a ratio of 119 males to 100 females.

If the sample is divided into two five-year age categories even more extreme variations appear. For the 15-19 age group the ratio for the sample is 104 males to 100 females. Those 20-24 years of age give a sex ratio of 182 males to 100 females, the state average for the rural farm population of this age category being 138.3 males to 100 females. A further comparison by counties shows Dodge and Douglas to have practically even ratios for the younger age group (97 and 99 males to 100 females, respectively) while the St. Louis County ratio is 114 males to 100 females. In the 20-24 year category the greatest extremes in sex ratio appear.

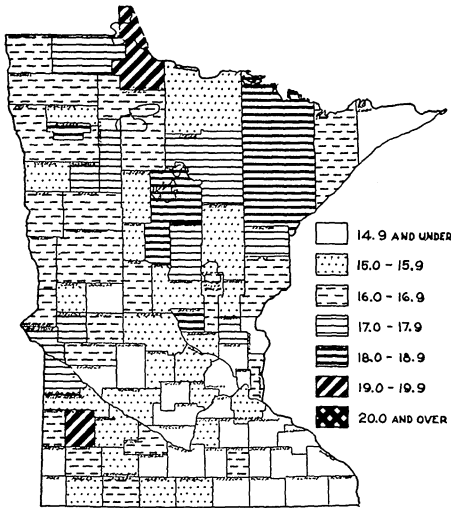


FIG. 4. PERCENTAGE OF THE RURAL NONFARM POPULATION (MOSTLY IN VILLAGES UNDER 2500) 15-24, BY COUNTIES

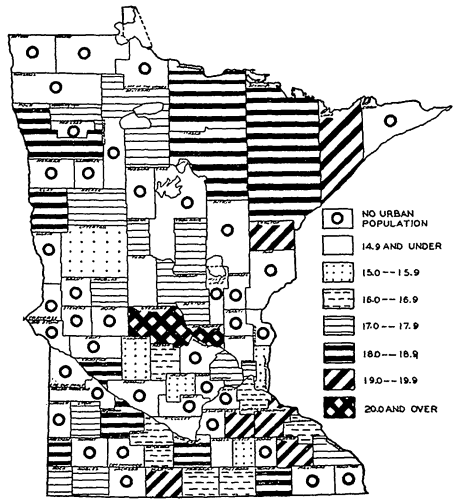


FIG. 5. PERCENTAGE OF THE URBAN POPULATION IN THE AGE GROUP, 15-24, BY COUNTIES

Dodge and Douglas counties have ratios of 124 and 162 males to 100 females, respectively. These may be compared with the state norm of 138.3 to 100. The St. Louis County ratio of 249 to 100 is so extreme as to suggest the probability of either a biased sampling or abnormal local conditions or both.¹³

The age distribution of the sample shows various irregularities suggesting possible bias in sampling or unrepresentative local conditions. The most pronounced deviation from the norm of rural population in age distribution is found in the extremely small proportion of females in the age category 20-

24. For the rural farm population of the state 59 per cent of the females 15-24 years old belong in the 15-19 subgroup and 41 per cent in the older five-year group 20-24. The percentages for the females of the 1933 sample are 70 and 30 per cent, respectively.

If we consider only the 505 males in the sample we find that 57 per cent of them are between 15 and 19 years and 43 per cent fall in the age group 20-24. This is in close conformity with the percentages found among the rural farm males in the state as a whole, the percentages being 56 for the 15-19 group and 44 for the 20-24 group.¹⁴

¹³ Although the difference between these ratios seems fairly large, application of the standard error formula to the percentage of males in each group indicates that the number of cases is too small to make the difference statistically significant in Dodge and Douglas counties as compared with the state norm. It is significant in St. Louis.

¹⁴ Similar trends were found in South Carolina, Oregon, Utah, and Maryland, while somewhat higher percentages in the younger age group were found in Connecticut and Wisconsin. Lewis, Dan, and Joy, Bernard D. Situations, Problems and Interests of Rural Young People 16-25 years of age—South Carolina. U.S. Dept. Agr., Ext. Serv. Circ. 293:1.

Joy, Bernard D., and Beck, J. R. Situations, Problems and Interests of Rural Young People 16-25 years of age—Oregon. U.S. Dept. Agr., Ext. Serv. Circ. 277:3.

Joy, Bernard D., and Murray, D. P. Situations, Problems and Interests of Rural Young People 16-25 years of age—Utah. U.S. Dept. Agr., Ext. Serv. Circ. 282:3.

Joy, Bernard D., and Manny, T. B. Situations, Problems and Interests of Rural Young People 16-25 years of age—Maryland. U.S. Dept. Agr., Ext. Serv. Circ. 269:1.

Brundage, A. J., and Wilson, M. C. Situations, Problems and Interests of Rural Young People 16-25 years of age—Connecticut. U.S. Dept. Agr., Ext. Serv. Circ. 239.

Gessner, Amy A. Young People in Taylor County. Univ. of Wisc. Ext. Survey, Coll. of Agr. Spec. Circ. :2.

A Survey of Washburn County Young People, Univ. of Wisc. Ext. Serv., Coll. of Agr. Spec. Circ. :2.

Table 3. Age and Sex Distribution of Surveyed Youth, 15-24, in 1933 and 1937

Age	1933				1937			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
15.....	62	6.9	57	6.3	30	4.6	37	5.7
16.....	53	5.9	54	6.0	45	6.9	45	6.9
17.....	62	6.9	56	6.2	42	6.4	36	5.5
18.....	62	6.9	59	6.6	44	6.7	31	4.7
19.....	50	5.5	51	5.7	28	4.3	15	2.3
20.....	57	6.3	29	3.2	45	6.9	25	3.8
21.....	45	5.0	30	3.3	31	4.7	16	2.4
22.....	46	5.1	26	2.9	34	5.2	26	4.0
23.....	32	3.5	18	2.0	33	5.0	27	4.1
24.....	36	4.0	16	1.8	44	6.7	21	3.2
Total.....	505	56.0	396	44.0	376	57.4	279	42.6

1937 CHANGES

In 1937 the sex ratio for the entire 15-24 group had not changed materially. It was 134 males per 100 females. However, among the counties certain changes are notable. The Dodge County ratio increased to 141, the Douglas County ratio fell to 110, and the St. Louis County ratio was rather steady at 147 per 100 females. When the sample is divided into five-year age groups we find less variation in sex ratio than was found in 1933. Those 15-19 had a sex ratio of 114, those 20-24 had a ratio of 163, and those 25-29 had a ratio of 171. Thus the sex ratio for the younger

group was greater and for the older group smaller in 1937 compared to 1933.

The sex ratio of those 25-29 in 1937 would include many of those 20-24 in 1933, and it is interesting to note that this sex ratio is slightly smaller than that for the group in 1933 containing many of the same individuals. The 20-24 age group in 1937 as compared with the 15-19 group in 1933 shows the effects of migration of the females. In 1933 in Dodge County the sex ratio for the 15-19 group was 97 and in 1937 for the 20-24 group it was 173. In Douglas County like ratios were 99 and 114, respectively, while in St. Louis they were 114 and 198.

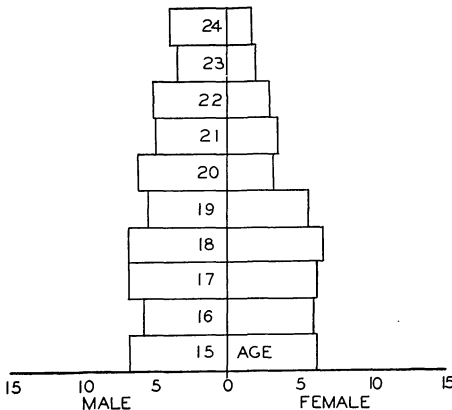


FIG. 6. SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RURAL YOUTH IN THE 1933 SAMPLE

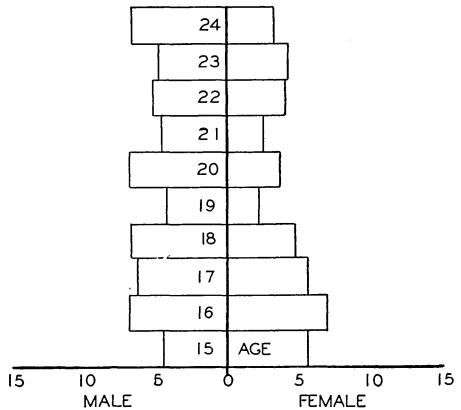


FIG. 7. SEX AND AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RURAL YOUTH SURVEYED IN 1937

Comparison of the 1933 and 1937 samples shows larger proportions in the upper ages in 1937, probably due to the stoppage of "normal" migration to the cities.

A comparison of the age and sex distribution in 1933 and 1937 reveals the bottling up on the farms of the youth during the depression. See table 3 and figures 6 and 7. Although by 1933 there were many stranded rural youth, their ranks were apparently greatly swelled by 1937. These young people are the "local representatives" of the 2,000,000 surplus youth estimated to be on American farms. Peculiarities in the distribution for any one year of age are probably due in part to the smallness of the sample, but also to the fact that they have not been absorbed by the cities to the extent characteristic of earlier years. How can these young men and women make the necessary adjustments? Even though the war may temporarily solve the problem of employment, the situation may be even more difficult after peace comes. Will they be forced into subsistence agriculture or return as surplus man-power on the home farm? Will post-war industry be able to furnish jobs in town? Such seems to be the economic dilemma of rural youth unable to gain employment in peacetime industry.

Education

NEARLY 70 per cent of the urban youth in Minnesota aged 16-17 were in school in 1930.¹⁵ Approximately the same percentage of rural nonfarm (chiefly village) youth were in school, but the rural farm youth showed only 39.9 per cent in school. In this Minnesota ranks 46th among the states of the nation. This is silent evidence of the educational disadvantage of the young person living on a farm. Will he be able to compete socially and economically with the more highly educated city or village youth? He may be able to, but his chances of being successful are much less than his urban

rival. It seems apparent that further readjustment is necessary if a more nearly equal opportunity is to be afforded those in the farming areas.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS IN 1933

Since the purpose of the phase of this survey is not to measure the retardation of rural young people, but rather educational persistence and final status, a somewhat liberal basis of classification was adopted. All 15-year-old pupils were classified as "on time" since they are legally obliged to continue school and there is the possibility that they may complete the eighth grade and enter high school. On the other hand, 16-year-old pupils who had not completed the eighth grade were listed as "retarded or left school." Likewise, all 17-year-old pupils who had not completed the ninth grade were rated as "retarded." Thus the "step ladder" line of demarcation was continued through the age-grade distribution ending with the twelfth grade.

PERSISTENCE IN SCHOOL

In the 1933 survey 468 young people, or 51.9 per cent, are "on time" students or high school graduates, while 433, or 48.1 per cent, are listed as "retarded or left school." The proportion of "on time" students and high school graduates to "retarded or left school" varies considerably in the areas surveyed.

Dodge County holds the highest rank in educational persistence as measured by this standard, 57.7 per cent of its farm youth being classified as "on time" students or high school graduates while 44.3 per cent are "retarded" or have dropped out without completing high school.

St. Louis County ranks a very close second with a percentage of persistence of 54.7. Except for the abnormally large proportion of males in the sample, St. Louis County would rank first.

¹⁵ Fifteenth Census of the U.S. Population. Pt. I, III:1191. 1930.

The Douglas County sample indicates an educational persistence of only 46 per cent in spite of the high rating of 67 per cent for Alexandria Township. Carlos Township in Douglas County has the lowest rating, only 28.4 per cent of its farm youth being classified as "on time" or high school graduates. In St. Louis County, Cherry, Cotton, and Duluth townships rate about 50 per cent, while Morcom and Fairbanks excel with a persistence rating of 60.

Perhaps the most important factor in school attendance is accessibility to a school. No doubt there are many who would not attend school even if it were next door, but they probably do not account for a very large percentage of youth not in school. There are some who could not go to school because of financial difficulties. While in 1933, 51.9 per cent were "on time" and high school graduates, only 46.1 per cent were so classified in 1937. The greatest drop was in Dodge County where 55.7 per cent of the farm youth were in the "on time" classification in 1933 compared to 41.5 per cent in 1937. St. Louis and Douglas counties sustained drops of only 2.5 and 3.5 per cent, respectively. Thus we see that St. Louis County now ranks first in percentage of youth getting secondary education.¹⁶

The differences between adjacent townships in the same county are striking. In the rural area of Alexandria Township the 1933 survey revealed that 56 per cent of the 17-24 age group have attained the high school diploma, or are still working toward that end, this being the highest record among the 10 townships included in the survey. In contrast, Carlos Township, which joins Alexandria on the north, ranks lowest with only 13 per cent of its youth en-

joying the advantage of secondary education. Likewise Belle River Township, an adjacent rural area without a local high school, has a secondary school representation of only 19 per cent of its 75 youth in the 17-24 age group. Contrasts between townships in Dodge and St. Louis counties are less marked.

Variations among townships persisted in 1937. Although Douglas County still had the widest variations, the percentage differences were greatly diminished. Alexandria's percentage of "on time" and high school graduates fell to 42.9; but the percentage for Carlos rose to 22.6 and for Belle River to 28.1.

The causes of these large differences in educational status of adjacent rural areas are probably numerous and complex. National origins, local tradition, differences in average size of farms, differences in efficiency of the rural schools, and perhaps several other causes may each play some role in determining the general educational level of a community. However, nearness to the high school and transportation facilities are the real factors.

In Alexandria Township almost all farm homes are within two or three miles of the bus routes to Alexandria's consolidated high school thus making it possible for the rural pupils to attend high school while residing at home. In Carlos and Belle River townships, on the other hand, high school attendance means boarding in town for the majority of the farm youth. While distances of from 5 to 15 miles are not prohibitive for the family car in fair weather, the country roads are often blocked during the winter. Only the unusually ambitious and relatively well-to-do farm youth will attend high school in spite of these obstacles.¹⁷

¹⁶ In 1933 the schedules were taken during the summer and it was impossible to know whether or not students would continue their education. Since the law required children under 16 to attend school it was assumed that they would enter school in the fall. However, the 1937 survey was made in the fall. Hence the 15-year-olds who were not in school could be detected and, therefore, the percentage falling in the "on time" category was reduced slightly. There were ten such cases among the males and five among the females.

¹⁷ In 1938 bus routes were extended into these townships and the principal of the Alexandria High School expressed the opinion that it will result in a much larger percentage of the youth in these areas attending school.

In St. Louis County the differences among the five townships surveyed are less marked. This fact is probably due to a more liberal county policy of providing transportation or boarding facilities for rural high school pupils. In 1933 the range in the percentage of high school graduates and students in the 17-24 age group was from 33 per cent in Cotton Township to 47 per cent in Morcom (except for Cook Village which had 75 per cent in the high school class), but the smallness of the sample (28) limits its statistical significance, and the proximity of the school to the home has reduced the distance factor to insignificance. For these reasons elimination from consideration seems warranted.

The two townships in Dodge County likewise show comparative uniformity in the proportion of high school graduates and "on time" students in the age group studied, the percentages being 43 for Ashland and 36 for Concord Township. The absence of any large population center as a single focal point of educational opportunity probably accounts for the relative similarity in educational status of the two townships. While no part of these townships is excessively remote from a high school center, none has bus transportation. It is doubtful that there is any significant difference between the two townships in this regard because the 1937 survey showed their relative position reversed.

MEN AND WOMEN COMPARED

The sex factor is even more important than geographical location in determining the degree of persistence in school. For the sample as a whole, slightly less than 40 per cent of the boys are "on time" students or have completed high school while 68 per cent of the girls are thus rated. In Dodge County the sex differential is smallest with 49 per cent of the males and 63 per cent of the females rated as "on

time" or having completed high school. Douglas County shows a more pronounced sex differential, the percentage of educational persistence for the males being 37 and for the females, 58.

In St. Louis County extreme differences appear in the educational status of the sexes. Only 38 per cent of the young men interviewed are rated as "on time" or high school graduates, while 80 per cent of the young women are in this category. This high educational rank of the St. Louis County girls is one of the most striking facts revealed in the entire survey. When it is recalled that the sex ratio for the St. Louis County sample is 150 males to 100 females as contrasted with 106 to 100 for Dodge County; it is obvious that the simple comparison of the samples as a whole may be somewhat misleading. In these comparisons the excessively large proportion of males in St. Louis County with their very low educational rating more than offsets the exceptionally high status of the disproportionately small female group. However, a theoretical educational status based on holding the sex ratios

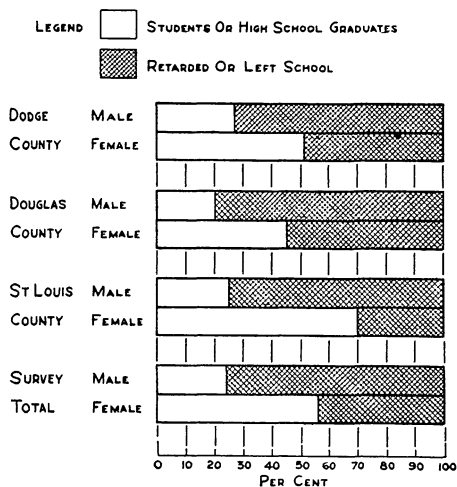


FIG. 8. THE EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF YOUTH IN THE 1933 SAMPLE IN THE 17-24 GROUP BY SEX AND COUNTIES

Note the greater retardation among the boys.

constant would have little practical application or significance except for a very much larger sample or for the state as a whole.

It would be useless to speculate as to what the educational rating of the farm youth in St. Louis County would be if the sex ratios were standardized. The important fact revealed is this enormous difference between the sexes in education persistence; more specifically, the very low educational status of the young men as contrasted with the high average attainment of the young women. Minnesota seems to present here an extreme example of a tendency throughout the United States. According to the Census of 1930, 48.1 per cent of the rural farm boys 16-17 years old were in school, compared to 58.9 per cent of the girls.

Some changes have taken place since 1933 in these areas regarding educational persistence of the sexes. In Dodge County the differential between the sexes dropped from 14 to 3 per cent, while in Douglas County the differential dropped from 22 to 17 per cent. The marked differential between the sexes in St. Louis County decreased by

about 13 per cent. This was due to a rise of about 3 points with the males and a drop of 10 with the females. The explanation of the large drop in percentage of females in this category in St. Louis County is not to be found in a change in the sex ratio for that remained about the same. It is possible that some of this drop can be accounted for in the failure in recent years of the cities to absorb as many of the less educated rural female migrants who served in the past as domestic help.

In 1933, of the 901 young people interviewed, 121, or 13 per cent, had less than an eighth grade education. This group includes 22 who are only 15 years old and who may, therefore, complete the eighth grade before being legally permitted to drop out of school. Of the 655 youth aged 15-24 interviewed in 1937 only 36, or 5 per cent, had less than an eighth grade education. A total of 349, or 38.7 per cent, in the 1933 survey had only completed eighth grade, while in 1937 there were 25.8 per cent so classified. It is noteworthy that only seven eighth grade students were found in 1937 over 15 years of age, which would seem to indicate that there is less retardation now than previously. A total of 369, or 41 per cent, in 1933 were found who were out of school or retarded having an eighth grade education or less. Forty per cent were in this category in 1937. Of the entire 1933 group only 187, or 21 per cent, had a high school education or more. The 1937 resurvey revealed 180, or 27 per cent, as high school graduates. From this, one might infer an increasing tendency for youth to make the eighth and twelfth grades the points at which to stop their education rather than get what high school training they can irrespective of ability to complete it.

The three major areas of the survey show some differences in average educational status, but there are decidedly greater differences between the township units within these major areas.

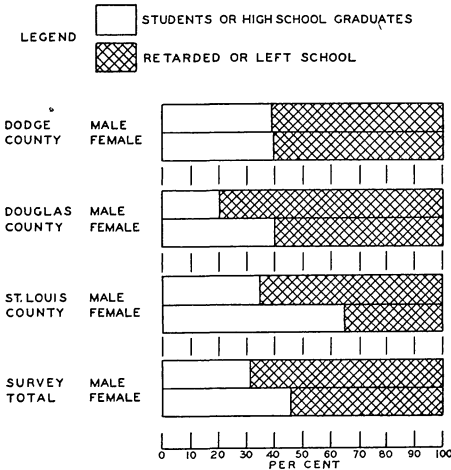


FIG. 9. THE EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF YOUTH IN THE 1937 SAMPLE, BY COUNTIES AND SEX

Smaller sex differences are noted than for 1933.

For the county samples as a whole, St. Louis ranks first with an average of 41 per cent high school graduates and "on time" students in secondary schools. Dodge County is a close second with 40 per cent, while Douglas has only 31 per cent.

Of the group surveyed in 1937 there were 490 aged 17-24 of whom 296 were males and 194 females. The ratio of high school graduates and "on time" students to the "retarded or left school" has not materially changed. The proportion of high school graduates and "on time" students is much less for Douglas County than for the other two counties, 30.7 per cent, as contrasted with 39.5 for Dodge and 43.6 for St. Louis.

The sex factor accounts for greater and more consistent differentials than those due to locality. For the whole 1933 sample, twice as many young women as young men on the farm were awarded high school diplomas. In the 17-24 age group 56 per cent of the girls are high school graduates or are in school, compared with only 24 per cent of the boys. In Dodge County 27 per cent of the young men and 52 per cent of the young women at least enter high school. In Douglas County the percentages are, respectively, 20 and 45, while St. Louis County shows the greatest sex differential with 25 per cent of the young men and 70 per cent of the young women in the 17-24 age group "on time" or graduates of the high schools.

Apparently the previously mentioned sex differential in education has been diminishing in these counties. For the surveyed area in 1937, 33 per cent of the males were "on time" or graduates and 46 per cent of the females fell in this category. In Dodge County the differential was nil, each being about 40 per cent (Fig. 9). Comparing 1933 and 1937, very little change was found in Douglas County, but there was a larger reduction in the differential in St. Louis County, the 1937 figures be-

ing 36 per cent for males and 57 per cent for females. The rise in percentage of males pursuing secondary education is not surprising in view of the general trend in that direction. The decrease in the percentage of females in St. Louis County attaining secondary education is due in part to the omission of Cook Village in the 1937 survey. Since this village showed the highest percentage in 1933, one should normally expect a decline with its omission in 1937. Cotton Township was also omitted in 1937, but it was not far from the average of the other townships in 1933.

ADVANCED TRAINING

An insignificant proportion of the farm youth in this study pursue training beyond the high school level, only 11 young men and 47 young women, or 6.4 per cent, of the 901 persons interviewed in 1933 having completed a year or more of advanced training. The great majority of the young women in this group have taken a year of teacher-training preparing themselves for rural teaching. Training for nursing is the next most popular type of post-high school education. Since the proportion

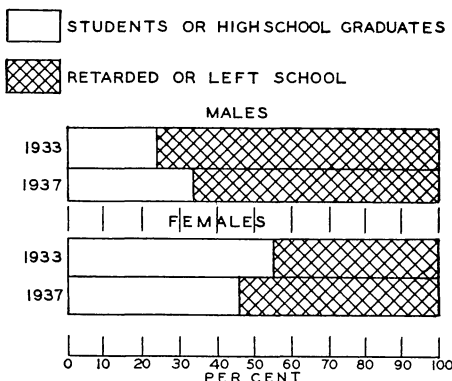


FIG. 10. COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF 1933 AND 1937 SAMPLES OF RURAL YOUTH, BY SEX

Note the better position of males in 1937 over 1933. They still lag behind the females in educational achievement.

of rural young people who continue their training through college is very small, further analysis of this group would be irrelevant to the purpose of the present study. There has been a marked upswing in the number of students who have acquired or are now acquiring advanced training. While only 58 of the high school graduates surveyed in 1933 had any postgraduate training, 87, or 13.3 per cent, reported such training in 1937.

INTERPRETATIONS

One might wonder why such a large proportion of farm youth fail to get secondary education. The fact that so many youth do not go beyond the eighth grade may be assumed to be causally related to the fact that few of them live in communities in which a high school is to be found. If the youth thus situated desires further schooling he may ride a school bus for a considerable distance, if one is available, or he may board in town as a few are doing in Douglas County, or he may drive the family car. The first alternative, when available, is readily used. The other two are sufficiently expensive to preclude any great number making use of them although partial state aid has very recently been offered which includes these alternatives when they appear more feasible than to run a school bus. These changes may have a pronounced effect upon the educationally-disadvantaged character of our farm youth as contrasted with village and urban youth.

As mentioned earlier only 39.9 per cent of the rural farm youth in Minnesota aged 16-17 were attending school in 1930 as contrasted with 68.3 per cent for urban youth. There is little doubt in the minds of competent students of the problem that legislation, since the time when the 1930 Census was taken, has greatly bettered the position of the state. Nevertheless

it will take time for these improved educational opportunities to reflect their benefits upon the citizenship of the state. The 1930 situation serves as a reminder of the fact that educational opportunities are by no means evenly distributed throughout the population and that only by action on a statewide basis can the inequalities be alleviated. The significance to a democratic society of having a large segment of the population placed in an educationally disadvantaged position is too obvious to need elaboration. That the cities have a very real concern in this problem is indicated by the fact that so large a proportion of rural youth find their way into the urban centers. In the long run the city can be no stronger than the rural areas which provide it with the necessary new recruits to offset its own population deficits.

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL

All young men and women who had left school by 1933¹⁸ before completing high school were asked why they dropped out when they did. The schedule listed five suggestive reasons as follows: (1) not interested; (2) needed at home; (3) could not afford to go; (4) parents do not think it worthwhile; (5) we live too far from high school. If none of these reasons seemed adequate or applicable the explanations or comments volunteered by the interviewees were entered on the schedule, viz., "sickness in the family," "didn't like the teacher," "can't learn very well," etc.

No doubt there is a large subjective element in the choice of the principal reason for dropping out of school. Many of the young men and women would probably consciously or unconsciously suggest a "good" reason, i.e., what they thought the interviewer expected rather than the actual reason. Others in seeking to uphold personal

¹⁸ No comparable data were secured in the 1937 survey.

or family prestige may have given "needed at home" or "not interested" rather than "cannot afford to go" because of the implicit admission of poverty in the latter statement.

A summary of the responses to this question revealed first the predominance of certain reasons over others and second the remarkable uniformity in the proportion of responses in each of the major categories for the different areas included in the survey. Even in the township units there is a greater similarity of pattern than in almost any other phase of the study.

Of the 483 persons who answered the question 421, or 87 per cent, gave one of the three following reasons: "not interested," "needed at home," or "cannot afford to go." Among these three, "not interested" led with 217, or 45 per cent, of all the tallies; "needed at home" ranked second with 110, or almost 23 per cent; and "cannot afford to go" was a close third with 94, or 19 per cent, of those who recorded a choice. The relative rank of these reasons for arrested education is surprisingly constant in each of the major areas of the survey as well as in the minor or township units with the single exception of Carlos Township in Douglas County in which 26 young people attributed their discontinued schooling to lack of funds, while 25 gave lack of interest as the principal cause.

There are apparently no marked differences in the relative rank of the major reasons based on sex, except that a smaller proportion of the young women give lack of funds as the reason for not entering high school. There may be a factual basis for this difference since more girls do receive high school training and it is probably less

difficult for them to earn their board and room rent. However, there is likely to be a psychological factor involved. Young women appear to be more sensitive about economic status than do the young men.¹⁹

Among the minor reasons for discontinued training, distance to the high school center ranks first, accounting for 26 cases, or 5 per cent, of the total number answering the question. Two of these cases are in Dodge County, 10 in Douglas, and 14 in St. Louis. In a study of the distance factor as related to educational persistence in Douglas County, which will be published elsewhere, distance from the high school center appears to be a fundamental factor in determining the educational status of youth in an area.²⁰ Yet if the answers of the young people themselves to specific questions discussed above are accepted at face value the conclusions are that 44 per cent of those who dropped out of school did not desire further training and 40 per cent were obliged to forego further training from lack of funds or the need of help at home, while distance from the school center was a much less significant reason.

Perhaps the evidence is not so conflicting as it may seem. In the first place distance from a high school center may itself be a selective factor. Parents who are most eager to have their children receive at least a high school education may tend to settle closer to the high school centers. On the other hand some farmers may think primarily in terms of large farms or may be driven by necessity or by choice to farms which are located greater distances from a high school center. In these rural areas a high school education entails at least a measure of sacri-

¹⁹ Frequently in the experience of the interviewer, when the parents were unavoidably present, if the daughter would say she was not interested in high school training or was needed at home the parents interrupted by saying that she was interested all right, but they could not afford to send her. Young men, on the other hand, were more inclined to be quite frank in admitting that they lacked the necessary funds to continue their schooling. In Carlos Township 21 of the 26 persons giving this reason were men.

²⁰ This problem is being studied further to determine more precisely the influence upon attendance of distance from home to high school.

fice and effort which relatively fewer are able or willing to make. Community tradition in turn may not be as favorable to education in some localities. Young people themselves tend to be part of their environment and to accept its standards with the same complacency as they do their nationality or sex. Frequently in response to the interviewer's question regarding the highest grade completed in school, the subject would say with the pride of supreme achievement, "all there was," meaning the eighth grade in the local district. It is not strange, therefore, that the reason most frequently given for not entering high school was "not interested." Others, showing more deference to the interviewer who presumably believes in education, would perhaps volunteer the noncommittal "needed at home," oftentimes in spite of an evident surplus of man power.

EDUCATIONAL PLANS

There is obviously a very close relationship between the proportion of young people in a given community who were high school graduates or students and the proportion of the younger group who planned to enter high school. Similarly the plans for vocational or professional training beyond high school are largely conditioned by local standards and traditions.

The responses to the question regarding educational plans fall into three major categories: (1) none, (2) immediate, and (3) postponed. In the first category is a large heterogeneous group including many who had not completed the eighth grade, most eighth grade graduates, the majority of high school and teacher training graduates, and the small minority who had finished college courses.

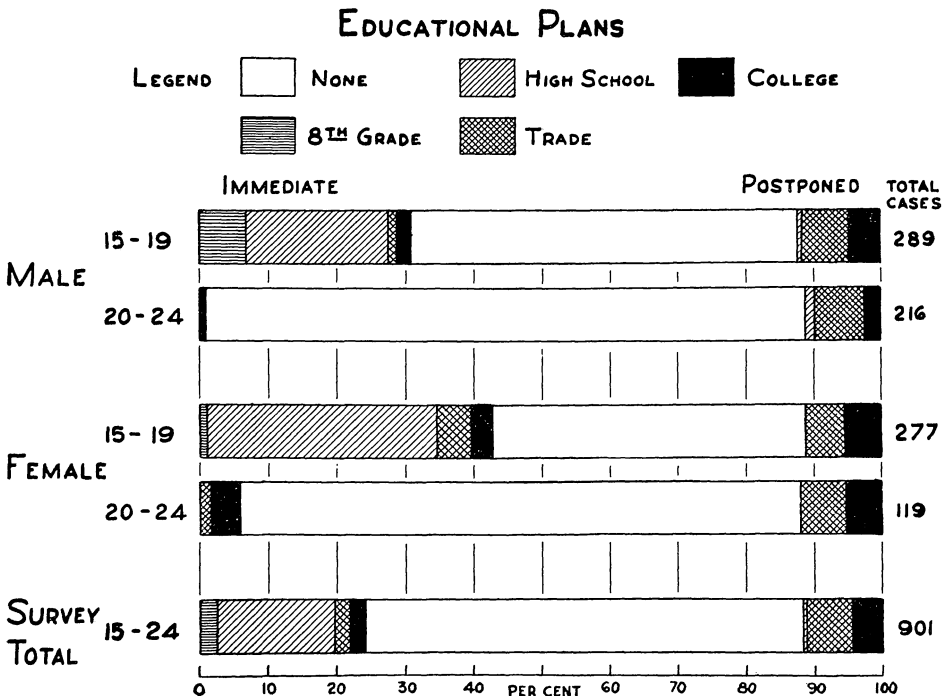


FIG. 11. STATED PLANS, "IMMEDIATE" AND "POSTPONED," OF 1933 RURAL YOUTH REGARDING FURTHER EDUCATION, BY AGE AND SEX

Note the large proportion with no plans and the difference between the boys and girls.

There were 537 young people, or 62.5 per cent of the 859 persons answering the question, who had no plans for further training. Only 91 (37 immediate and 54 postponed) expected to enter or continue junior or senior college. A total of 187 young people had high school training or more. If from this we subtract the 91 planning to enter we would have 96 high school graduates and college students or graduates who had no plans for further training. Subtracting this number (96) from the total number (537) who had "no plans" leaves 441 young people without high school diplomas who indicated that they had neither immediate nor remote plans to continue their academic or vocational training. The vast majority in this group had only an eighth grade education or less.

Under the heading "immediate plans" were listed the responses of all the young men and women who signified their intentions to continue their formal training during 1933-34, whether it be in the eighth grade, in high school, in some vocational institution, or in college. A total of 23 young people in the age group studied were entering or repeating the eighth grade, 154 were planning to enter or continue high school, 16 were enrolling in a teacher-training class, 10 were entering or continuing academic courses in college, 11 were preparing to enter some profession (chiefly nursing), and 4 expected to learn a trade.

In the third category, "postponed plans," were entered the replies of the young men and women who had definite plans for further training, but for financial or other reasons were obliged to postpone their fulfillment. The probability of these plans being carried out undoubtedly varied with individual conditions, but in general it was understood that idle whims and passing fancies were not to be regarded as plans. It is of interest to note that for the group as a whole more than twice as many (218) had immediate

opportunity to continue their education as those (104) who were obliged to postpone their plans for a year or more. Even more striking is the difference in the type of training desired by the latter group as contrasted with the former. In the latter group 45, or nearly half of the total number, expressed a desire to learn a trade while only 5 considered a high school education to be worthy of their future effort. Among the 45 desiring to learn a trade 36, or 80 per cent, were young men. A total of 26 had professional aspirations; of these, 17 were young women the majority of whom designated nursing as their choice. Only nine young men and four young women planned to take an academic course in college when and if they were able to realize their hopes.

A summary of the survey as a whole gives the following percentages in each category, the base in every case being the 859 who answered the question regarding plans for future training: *no plans*, 62.5 per cent distributed as follows: 11.2 per cent completed high school, 7.3 per cent had taken some high school training, and 44 per cent had eighth grade training or less; *immediate plans*, 25.4 per cent distributed as follows: 2.4 per cent in the eighth grade, 18 per cent in high school, and 5 per cent in junior or senior college; *postponed plans*, 12.1 per cent. With these percentages as a norm or scale of reference the different areas of the survey may most conveniently be compared and the sex differential may be estimated.

There was no appreciable difference between Dodge and Douglas counties in regard to the proportion of young people who had no plans for further training, the percentage being 70.5 for the former and 67.8 for the latter. When these gross percentages were corrected for high school graduates as indicated above they were 58.5 and 59.0, respectively, for Dodge and Douglas counties. This compared unfavor-

ably with the survey norm of 44 per cent of the eighth grade or lower group who had no plans for further training. The difference is obviously to be found in St. Louis County in which only 46.8 per cent of the young people indicated that they had no plans for further training, 17 per cent of whom had completed some high school training, leaving only 30 per cent of less than eighth grade and eighth grade graduates who did not plan to continue their education. However, 42 young people in St. Louis County failed to answer the question and if this be interpreted to mean that they had no plans, either immediate or postponed, the percentages become, respectively, 58 and 43. Such a correction would also change the norm for the survey as a whole reducing the difference between St. Louis County and the other two areas. But in any case, St. Louis ranks above them in the proportion of young people who plan to continue their training.

In Dodge County 19.5 per cent of the group as a whole (2 per cent in the eighth grade) expected to continue their training immediately and 10 per cent hoped to continue their education some time in the future. In Douglas County 23 per cent had immediate prospects of further training (4 per cent of these being in the eighth grade) and 9 per cent had postponed plans. As may be inferred from the preceding paragraph, St. Louis County leads in the proportion of rural youth who expected to continue their training, the percentages being 28 who had immediate opportunity (2 per cent in the eighth grade) and 14 per cent who looked to the future for opportunity to continue their education. It is of interest to note that the ratio of the percentages of immediate and postponed plans in each area is almost exactly two to one. Prospective high school students account for 75 per cent or more of the total number indicating that they have immediate plans to continue their training. Another local in-

stitution, the teacher training-class, accommodates from 7 to 15 per cent more, leaving only from 3 (Dodge County) to 12 per cent (Douglas and St. Louis) of the immediate group as prospective college students.

Local units within the three larger areas showed the same general pattern in regard to educational plans as they did in educational status, hence a more minute analysis seems superfluous. Similarly there seemed to be a tendency for the relative proportion of the sexes who had plans for further training to run a close parallel with the relative proportions who had attained high school training. The sex differential as regards educational opportunity was greatest in St. Louis County and smallest in Dodge, and if the educational plans or lack of plans of the young people may be taken as an index, the future will present almost exactly the same configuration.

An unusual uniformity appears in the percentage of young people in the postponed plans category for both sexes and in each of the two five-year subgroups. While the type of training desired varies with the sex and age, as is to be expected, the total percentage of each age and sex group indicating postponed plans is almost identical, the range being from 11.1 per cent for the older boys (20-24 years) to 12.1 per cent for the younger boys (15-19 years) a difference of only 1 per cent. In any case, the proportion of young people with hopes of securing further training in the future is relatively small. There is a sharp contrast between the type of training desired by the majority of those listed in the postponed class and those who had the opportunity to continue their training immediately. More than half of all the young people who looked to the future for the realization of their educational plans were considering entering some trade or semi-skilled occupation while almost all the others hoped to enter college.

In the group having immediate plans for further training there are marked age and sex differentials. It is the members of the younger group (15-19) who have the opportunity to continue their training without delay and, as has been pointed out above, most of them are going to high school. Every one of the 154 young people who planned to enter or continue high school was less than 20 years of age. Of the 218 young men and women who expected to continue their training in any institution within a year 209, or 95.9 per cent, were in the 15-19 age group. Only 2 men of the 92 in the immediate-plans group were more than 19 years of age, and 7 of 126 young women in the same category were 20 years or more.

In view of these facts it is very likely that the great majority of the members of the senior subgroup (20-24) who indicated postponed plans will have to continue to postpone them more or less indefinitely. How many of the 24 men and the 14 women in this group were sincerely ambitious to continue their training and how many were passive wishers is impossible to tell even after a personal interview. It is a safe assumption, however, that at least a fair proportion of them were obliged to postpone or forego further training because of economic conditions.

FAMILY FACTORS IN EDUCATION

Great variation was found in the amounts of schooling acquired by the young people. The schedule listed the number and ages of the brothers and sisters of all the young people who were interviewed. These data were used as a basis for estimating the influence, if any, which the size of family and the sibling position might have on educational opportunity. The range in size was from one to thirteen children. The median-sized family for the members of the group interviewed fell between four and five, there being 451

members of the survey group who belonged to families of four children or fewer while 450 were members of families of five or more children.

The members of the small families have on the average the better educational opportunities. For the group as a whole 51.9 per cent of the small families, i.e., four children or fewer, had finished high school or were continuing their schooling while only 37.6 per cent of the members of the large families were in this educationally favored group. Both sexes show proportionate advantages for the members of the smaller families, but these differences are less than the differences in average educational status of the sexes. To illustrate, 41.2 per cent of the young men in the small family category were in school or had completed high school compared with only 32.1 per cent of the members of large families. For the young women 62.6 per cent from small families and 46.6 per cent from large families were classified as high school students or graduates.

The sibling position or comparative age of the members of the family made no significant difference for either sex in the small families, but it was of considerable significance among the members of large families. The younger members had a third better chance to remain in school than did the older members of the large families.

The differential between the amount of education acquired by children in small families as contrasted with large families had changed somewhat by 1937. In families of four children 34.9 per cent of the males and 51.7 per cent of the females were in school or had finished high school while in families of five children 27.1 per cent of the males and 62.5 per cent of the females were so classified. The males in the small family and the females in the large family had better chances of acquiring education than the males in the large family and the females in the small family.

In regard to sibling position among males the older child stood in a somewhat more favorable position than did the younger child in the smaller families, but in the large families the reverse was true. Among the females the younger child stood in the more favored position in both size groups.

Community Relations of Youth

RELIGIOUS PARTICIPATION

Striking area differences appear in the proportion of young people belonging to one or more of each of four types of organizations.²¹

The greatest differentials between the survey areas appear in the percentage of young people participating in religious organizations. In Douglas County only 9.8 per cent of the 15-19 age group and 14.4 per cent of the 20-24 group do not belong to any religious organizations, while in St. Louis County 57.8 per cent of the younger group and 61.1 per cent of the older group are not affiliated with any religious organization whatever. See figure 12. Similarly, in Douglas County 51 per cent belong to two or more religious organizations, while in St. Louis County only 13 per cent of the young people are members of two or more religious groups. Dodge County ranks between these extremes with 24.3 per cent of the 15-19 age group and 31.1 per cent of the 20-24 group belonging to no religious organization. In the category for two or more religious organizations, Dodge County ranks with Douglas with 50.5 per cent for the 15-19 age group, but the percentage of membership in two or more religious organizations drops

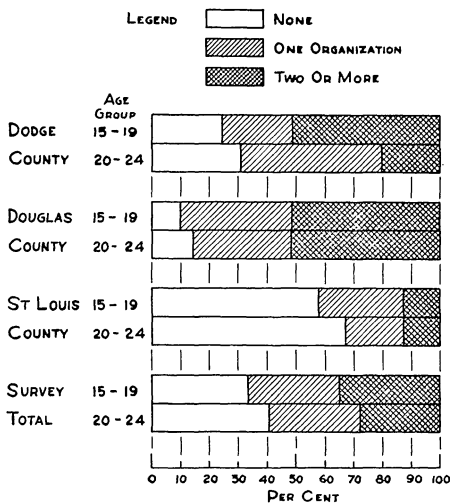


FIG. 12. MEMBERSHIP IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS REPORTED BY THE RURAL YOUTH IN 1933, BY COUNTY, AGE GROUP, AND NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS

to 20.3 for the older group. This precipitous drop in religious membership for the older group is in sharp contrast to the situation in Douglas County where the older group slightly exceeds the younger. Membership in only one religious organization for the two counties as contrasted with the two or more category shows an inverse relation, the percentages being 24.3 for the 15-19 age group and 48.6 for the 20-24 group in Dodge County, and 38.9 and 33.9, respectively, in Douglas. These apparent differences between age groups in local areas are probably partly due to varying representation of different denominations with contrasting methods of reckoning membership, viz.: Catholics reckon membership from birth, most Lutheran bodies from the date of confirmation, and Baptists from conversion and baptism. In some areas Sunday school is chiefly for children and

²¹ The organizations listed in the schedules were grouped in four major classes as follows: 1. Religious, which included Church, Sunday School, Choir, Young People's League, and Junior Ladies' Aid; 2. Educational, which included Farm Bureau, Farmers' Clubs, Farmers' Union, Future Farmers of America, 4-H Clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, Debating and Dramatics; 3. Athletic, which included Baseball, Swimming, Volley Ball, Tennis, Diamond Ball, Basketball, Track and Field, and Skating; and 4. Social, which included Dancing and Social Clubs.

adolescents so that young adults drop out; in other localities adult attendance is quite common. Membership in a young people's league also plays a large role in determining the average number belonging to two or more religious organizations.

Township units within the larger areas show contrasts in detail which appear readily explicable in terms of denominational practices. Alexandria Township which is almost entirely Protestant has a moderate percentage of nonmembers (18 per cent) and a very large percentage belonging to two or more organizations (70 per cent) while Catholic Belle River, which touches the corner of Alexandria, has very few nonmembers (7 per cent) and a relatively small proportion (26 per cent) belonging to two or more organizations, but a large group (57 per cent) with church membership only.

In 1933 a canvass was made of the churches in the townships studied to determine the age composition of the membership. This was then compared with the proportions of the entire population in the various age groups in 1930. Except for Douglas County it was found that the youth group constituted a higher proportion of the church members than they did of the population as a whole. Douglas County young people were found to participate in religious organizations to a greater extent than those in Dodge and St. Louis. However, it would seem that there was less participation in this age group than among adults in Douglas County. For the survey as a whole there seems to be no indication that participation is materially greater or less for youths than for their elders.

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Membership in educational organizations show less marked contrasts between the three areas of the survey. See figure 13. In this group 4-H Club af-

filiation outranks all others in frequency of occurrence. There are scattered memberships in the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Campfire Girls organizations and an insignificant number in debating or dramatics clubs.

In St. Louis County 50 per cent of the younger group and 84 per cent of the older group do not belong to any educational organization. For Douglas County the percentage of nonparticipation is 65 for the younger group and 91 for the older while for Dodge County the figures are 72 per cent and 93 per cent, respectively. It thus appears that while the proportion of young people who claim membership in some educational organization is less than 40 per cent of the younger group and only 11 per cent of the older, almost twice as large a proportion of the St. Louis County young people are members of at last one educational organization as are those of Dodge County. Douglas County shows only a slight increase in number over Dodge County. Different townships in the same area show considerable contrast in educational participation, for example in Douglas County,

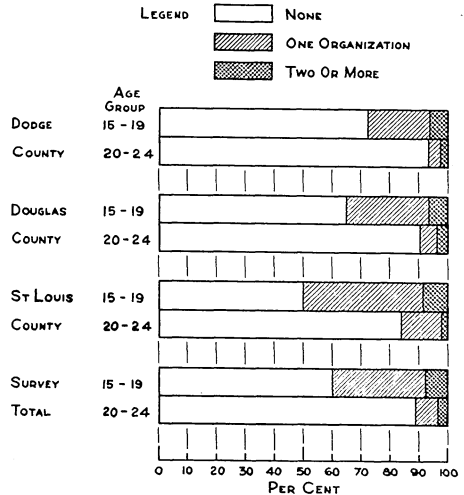


FIG. 13. PERCENTAGE OF YOUTH IN 1933 REPORTING MEMBERSHIP IN EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS BY COUNTY AND AGE GROUPS

Alexandria Township ranks with St. Louis County while in Carlos and Belle River townships there are almost no such rural youth organizations.

ATHLETICS

A very small proportion of the rural young people participate in high school or community athletics. In high school athletics Douglas County ranks first with about 12 per cent of its farm youth in each age group claiming membership in one or more athletic organizations. Almost all of these members live in Alexandria Township, specifically 20 of the 26 in the county, giving Alexandria a percentage of 16 as contrasted with about 4 for Carlos and Belle River townships. In community athletic organizations St. Louis County ranks far above Douglas and Dodge counties, 21 per cent of the young people in each age group in the mining county being members of at least one athletic organization. Dodge County holds second place with about 9 per cent of its farm youth indicating participation in community athletics while Douglas has

only 1 per cent. It is likely that the personal factor of the interviewer's judgment in classifying these types of athletic organizations, as well as possible errors in interpreting some of the symbols they used, may to a considerable extent have vitiated the attempted subdivision of athletic organizations. There is also some evidence that many of the young people in St. Louis County, who filled out their own schedules at the various club meetings, failed to distinguish between organized and unorganized athletics. In spite of these possible errors in gathering and interpreting the data the conclusion remains valid that high school and community athletics play a very small role in the recreational life of the majority of young people on the farm.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The next most conspicuous contrast in the community participation pattern is found in social organizations. In this category dancing is by far the most commonly mentioned form of social participation. Herein, Douglas County takes decidedly the lowest rank with 58 per cent of the younger and 54 per cent of the older age group belonging to no social organization. See figure 14. In St. Louis County 35 per cent of the 15-19 age group and 25 per cent of the 20-24 group indicated that they did not belong to any social or dancing club, while in Dodge County the percentages were 36 and 7, respectively. The township units give an even more striking contrast between social habits among the young people in different communities. In Alexandria Township 59 per cent of the 15-19 age group and 70 per cent of the 20-24 group did not belong to any dancing or other social club. The other townships studied in Douglas County (Carlos and Belle River) show more nearly the same proportion of the 20-24 age group participating in social activities as do the areas surveyed in Dodge and St. Louis counties.

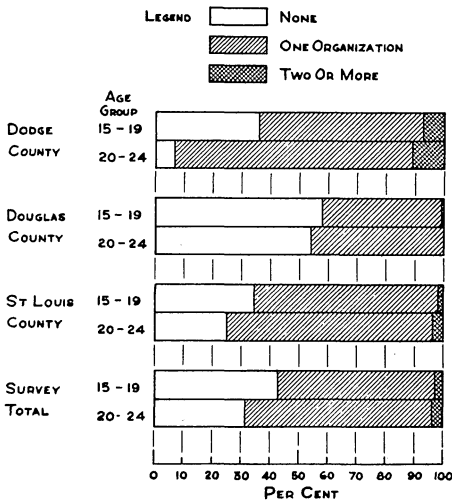


FIG. 14. PROPORTIONS OF 1933 RURAL YOUTH SAMPLE REPORTING MEMBERSHIP IN SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS BY COUNTY AND AGE GROUPS

DIFFERENCES IN GROUP PARTICIPATION

From the preceding analysis of the different types of social participation in the survey areas it will also be noted that age is a factor of considerable importance in most types of organizations. In general the younger group participates to a considerably greater extent in community organizations than does the older group. There is but one notable exception to this generalization, and that is in the case of social organizations in its narrower sense. The social needs of the younger group are largely served by the school and such organizations as the 4-H Club, Boy and Girl Scouts, and Campfire Girls. The older group in most communities turns to dancing as its principal social and recreational outlet. The older group shows a greater proportion of nonmembers in almost every subunit of the survey and fewer who belong to one or more religious organizations. At this age recreation tends to be more confined to smaller informal groups.

In the educational organizations the younger group has about three times the relative membership of the older group, this ratio being surprisingly constant for each of the major areas in spite of large absolute differences between counties. The fact is that educational organizations for the older group are practically nonexistent. The small proportion of the farm youth who participate in community athletics is relatively constant for both age groups and is quite insignificant as an activity except in St. Louis County.

The sex factor accounts for considerable differences in certain types of organizations while in others there are no important differences. The sex differential is relatively constant for the three areas of the survey indicating that the observed differences are not due to extraneous factors. The most pronounced sex differences appear in the relative participation in religious

organizations, the young women in every county showing a lower percentage of nonmembership than do the men when the entire sample is considered. Only with the younger age group in Dodge County did the young men show a slightly lower percentage of nonmembership. In St. Louis County 66 per cent of the boys in the younger age group do not belong to any religious organization while only 49 per cent of the girls are in this category. Even greater is the difference between the older group in which 74.5 per cent of the young men and only 48.8 per cent of the young women are listed as nonmembers of religious organizations. In Douglas County, which is characterized by its dominantly religious patterns, 12 per cent of the younger boys and only 7 per cent of the young girls were not affiliated with any religious organization. For the older group the percentages of nonmembership are 15 and 13, respectively. For the entire sample 42 per cent were nonmembers in the case of young men, whereas, only 28 per cent of the young women came in this category.

Only about 30 per cent of the youth studied in 1933 were members of any educational organizations. No important sex difference was apparent for the survey as a whole. However, among the counties some fairly marked differences appeared. In the younger age group in Dodge County 55 per cent of the young men and 88 per cent of the young women were members of no educational organizations. In Douglas and St. Louis counties the tendency was in the opposite direction. The deviation appears to be chiefly attributable to the relatively low percentage of membership of Dodge County girls. Age differences were rather important in membership in educational organizations. By the time a youth reached 20 he had dropped out of most of these. This is to be expected since he has left school with which most of these organizations are connected.

1933 AND 1937 COMPARED

There was a drop in participation in religious organizations from 1933. This may be due chiefly to differences in reporting because Sunday school was specifically listed on the 1933 forms and was not on the 1937 ones. On the latter it was intended that the interviewer should write in the name of the organization provided, but whether the enumerators asked about it specifically as consistently in 1937 as in 1933, when it was printed on the schedule, is not certain. In Douglas County almost one fourth of the youth between 15 and 19 reported no membership in a religious organization while with those 20 to 24 only 4 per cent fell in this category and only 13 per cent of those 25 to 29. This seems to be a reversal of conditions in 1933 as well as of the trend of the sample as a whole. Since the young people under 20 belong to Sunday school more often than church, the explanation may be found there for the higher percentage reporting no church affiliations. In St. Louis County much higher percentages reported no religious membership—70.4 per cent, 15 to 19; 82.4 per cent, 20 to 24; and 92.1 per cent, 25 to 29.

In Dodge County the three percentages were 72, 73, and 67, respectively. We must remember that 1933 was a black year for agriculture in Minnesota and the effect of the crisis might have been to turn large numbers to seek consolation in religion. By 1937 they may have again felt more self-reliant.

In Douglas County slightly over half of the youth, 15-19, belonged to one religious organization, three fourths of those 20-24, and two thirds of those 25-29. In St. Louis County these percentages were 24, 16, and 5, while in Dodge they were 25, 24, and 33. The high percentage of Catholics found in Belle River Township of Douglas County may account for the high percentages cited in that county.

Very low percentages are reported

for social organizations in 1937. This is, no doubt, due in part to omission of dancing from one of the categories specifically listed in the schedule. Only Douglas County reported any substantial membership.

Although it was decided to make a separate grouping of strictly farm organizations rather than include them among the educational, the relative position of the three counties in this regard did not change. About 20 per cent of those in the 15-19 age group in Douglas and St. Louis counties belong to farm organizations, chiefly the 4-H Club, compared to about 10 per cent in each age group in Dodge County.

NEED OF ORGANIZATIONS

The young people themselves were asked in the 1933 survey regarding their own preferences and needs in the matter of community organizations. In order to facilitate the tabulation of the replies, a suggestive list of different types of organizations was included in the question as follows: religious, educational, athletic, social, literary and dramatic, agricultural, and adult education. In view of the major purpose of the survey, this question was regarded as a key question, the answers to which it was hoped would suggest the basic principles of a program destined to enrich the educational, recreational, and social life of rural young people. Unfortunately, however, the subjectivity of the question and differences in procedure of the field men have seriously limited the significance of the results.

Of the young people interviewed, 90.9 per cent of those in St. Louis County and 95 per cent of those in Dodge County expressed the opinion that one or more additional young people's organizations were needed in the community, while only 26 per cent of the Douglas County rural youth indicated that they felt the need of any additional organized activity for the members of their own age group.

Cultural differences between areas in backgrounds of the young people, especially in the realm of organized activity, together with lack of uniformity in interpreting the question, probably account for much of this variation in expressed desire for additional organizations.

The absolute "demand" for additional organizations in the different areas must, therefore, be regarded as noncomparable, but the relative popularity of different types of organizations probably has some validity in showing differences between communities and averages for the survey areas as a whole.

There are no important age or sex differences in the proportion of each of these groups who desire various types of young people's organizations. There are, however, fairly distinct "community patterns" as to type of organizations preferred, as seen in figure 15, and the survey as a whole shows a considerable differential between certain types. Dodge County, which ranked lowest in proportion of young people claiming membership in athletic organizations, indicated an overwhelming demand for athletics. Likewise Douglas County, which shows the lowest relative participation in social organizations, polled the heaviest vote for more organizations of this type, while relatively few favored additional religious groups. St. Louis County emphasized athletic, social, educational, and religious organizations in the order given. The other types of community organizations suggested in the schedule received comparatively slight support.

The great demand for athletic organizations is the outstanding feature of the responses to the question regarding recreational needs, a considerable proportion of the 901 young men and women interviewed manifesting genuine interest in various forms of athletic activity. To what extent these interests and desires can be met depends largely on local conditions. Dis-

tance, diversity of interest, indifference, lack of facilities, and lack of leadership are among the obstacles to be overcome. Similar problems make difficult the realization of any larger program for enriching the educational, recreational, and social life of farm youth.

Many thoughtful young people seem to be keenly aware of some inadequacy in the social and intellectual life on the average farm. Others, and they are often in the majority, are quite satisfied with the simple routine round of work, refreshment, and rest, with an occasional dance, movie, or party to relieve the monotony. Besides this large element which is found in almost every community, there is often the even more difficult problem of sharp cleavages based on different church and nationality groups. These intra-community differences in some of these areas constitute an important consideration in determining what can be done for the rural young people. In other communities, local leadership may be discovered and stimulated through the cooperation of the county superintendents, high school faculties, county extension agents, and rural ministers. An illustration of this type of leadership

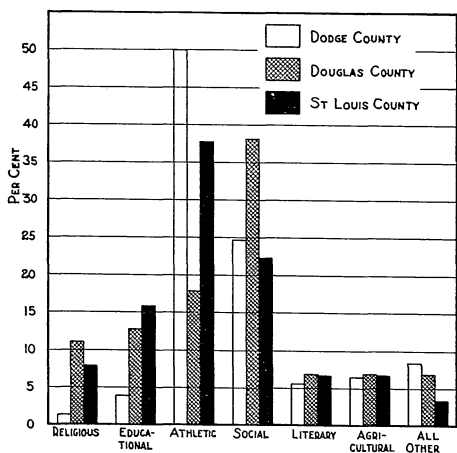


FIG. 15. TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS REPORTED BY THE 1933 RURAL YOUTH AS MOST NEEDED IN THEIR COMMUNITIES

is found in Douglas County where the Alexandria High School director of music has organized the county rural school music contests, which have done a great deal to stimulate interest in music in both the schools and in rural communities at large. Several instances were found of especially gifted and energetic rural school teachers who had organized successful community choruses and other worth-while organizations. The need is two-fold: local leaders and county or town school organizations to stimulate and coordinate the efforts of these leaders. Even the most ambitious plans will not reach all, nor even the majority, but any contribution toward the development of the personalities and the enrichment of the lives of this all-important age-group is supremely worth-while.

Employment and Leisure on the Farm

EMPLOYMENT, 1933

Since the 1933 survey was made during July and August there was but little evidence of unemployment or any surplus of leisure time for the age group studied. In answer to a question whether or not they had idle periods during which it was difficult for them to occupy their time, the majority of the young people interviewed replied in the negative, often adding that there was no idleness on the farm. When questioned regarding the winter season many would admit that the evenings were dull, but the majority were imbued with the idea that there was always plenty of work on the farm. Many young men and women, however, complained of the limited opportunity to

secure remunerative employment on neighboring farms or in nearby villages or cities.

An effort was made to estimate the extent of employment for pay outside the home during the year ending at the time the survey was taken. Each person was asked how many weeks he had been gainfully employed during this 12-month period and the nature of the work done. The proportion of young people employed for pay outside the home varied considerably among the different communities included in the survey, the range being from 5 per cent in Fairbanks Township to 79 per cent in Cook Village. A slightly larger proportion of the young men (28 per cent)²² report gainful employment than do the young women (25 per cent)²², but the young women average a slightly longer term of employment than do the young men, the average for the sexes being 19 and 17 weeks, respectively. Consequently one can infer that there is no substantial difference in economic opportunity between the sexes for the survey as a whole. The range between the county areas is from an average of 15 weeks for the men of Douglas County to 23 weeks for the young women of Dodge County. The average number of weeks per person working in Dodge and St. Louis counties is higher for both the males and the females than in Douglas County.

EMPLOYMENT, 1937

One out of every four young men reported gainful employment (including emergency work) in 1937. Variation among the areas is rather noticeable. Only 12 per cent of the young men in the Dodge County sample reported employment while 30 per cent of those in Douglas and 33 per cent of those in St. Louis worked during that

²² These percentages may be compared with results of a questionnaire in Wood County, Wisconsin, where 23 per cent of the young men and 17 per cent of the young women had paid employment in the winter of 1934-35. Since that was a winter survey one would expect lower percentages of employment.

Kirkpatrick, E. L., and Boynton, Agnes M. *Interests and Needs of Rural Youth in Wood County, Wisconsin*. Wisc. Agr. Ext. Serv. :4. January, 1936.

year. Among the townships Duluth and Alexandria had 45 per cent and 41 per cent, respectively. These were far higher than any of the others. Perhaps the chief reason for this is proximity to urban areas where employment, other than as unpaid family, is more likely to be available.

LEISURE TIME

While there is little unemployment on the farm in the sense in which the term is used in the cities, there is a surplus of available labor on many farms during the greater part of the year. Many of the young people, who are thus employed at what must be regarded as part-time or "chore" jobs, seek outlets for their energies in various types of activities. The field men endeavored to secure quantitative data regarding these leisure activities. The relative popularity of the more important types of leisure time activities is given below, the frequency of occurrence of each being as follows: read 542, loaf 321, sew 154, play instruments 138, swim 88, play 76, visit 47, fish 44, engage in sports 43, and dance 35.

Although the amount of time spent in a selected list of leisure time activities was included in the 1937 schedule, it was discovered that the young people interviewed found it very difficult to estimate the average number of hours per week spent in various activities. Some said there was so much variation that they could not estimate it.

UNEMPLOYMENT AMONG YOUTH²³

The youth unemployment problem is greater in the country than in the city. Unemployed young men in towns having a population of less than 10,000 and in rural areas constituted 33 per cent of all totally unemployed males, while in cities over 100,000 they constituted only 28 per cent. The smaller cities

(10,000 to 100,000) were nearer the rural percentage than the larger cities. This is, no doubt, a manifestation of the "damming up" of rural young people because of the paucity of economic opportunity formerly available in the city.

The percentage of youth among unemployed professional males is surprisingly uniform for the three categories, it being slightly over one in four. The percentage of unemployed young males among the farm owners and tenants is greatest for the larger cities and least for the small cities. This category is probably composed chiefly of tenants who have no farm at present. It seems possible that most of those in the large cities are seeking employment outside of agriculture.

Unemployment of young men among the proprietor and manager group was greatest in the small town and open country areas. Percentage of unemployed male clerks in the youth group was least in the large cities, which was also true of each labor class.

Unemployment among young women constituted 55 per cent of all unemployment among women in localities of less than 10,000 population while it constituted only 45 per cent in cities over 100,000 and 48 per cent of those in cities 10,000 to 100,000. Thus even with the heavy migration of rural girls to the cities the unemployment problem among them is still greater than among their city sisters. Young women constitute from one fifth to one fourth of the unemployed professional women in the large cities and in the towns and rural areas, while they constitute only about one ninth in the small cities. It is likely most of these are teachers.

Young women constitute about half of the unemployed women clerks. The percentage is considerably higher in the more rural sections. Perhaps the early age of marriage and the tendency for rural women not to work outside the home after marriage account for this differential.

²³ Based on data from U.S. Census of Unemployment, 1937.

Perhaps the only other significant difference among women is in the "servant" class. Thirty-six per cent of those in this class in the large cities are youths; 46 per cent, in cities of 10,000 to 100,000; and 61 per cent, in towns and rural areas. In rural areas, for girls housework is a possible occupation with less stigma attached, or it may even be esteemed because girls have a chance to broaden their knowledge about housekeeping. It serves as a stop-gap between maturation and matrimony rather than as permanent employment, while in the city it is more likely to be permanent or at least to last until after marriage.

The nature of the employment varied somewhat with the locality, but the majority of the young men were employed on neighboring farms during the harvest season and in threshing and silo filling later in the fall. Many of the young women did housework, while in some localities clerking and summer resort work occupied a considerable proportion of the available feminine labor during the summer months. Among the more permanent occupations, teaching ranked first and nursing second for the young women, while most of the regularly employed males were listed as hired men or farm hands employed by the month or year.

Summary

Age and Sex Distribution

In 1930 Minnesota had a smaller proportion of its population in the age group 15 to 24 than had the United States. The difference was greatest in the age group 20-24 and in the rural nonfarm (village largely) population.

For the early ages, the rural areas have much more than their "share" of the youth of the state. This applies to both sexes. In later years the results of rural-urban migration are apparent in the age and sex distribution of rural

and urban areas; the urban areas have considerably larger proportions of persons in the young adult years than have the rural areas. Young women tend to migrate earlier in life than do young men. For the age group 15 to 24 there were 129 males for every 100 females in the rural population of the state. The 1933 sample population as a whole yielded about the same ratio, but when counties are compared wide differences are found. In 1937 the sex ratios tended to be similar.

Education

While nearly 70 per cent of the urban youth in Minnesota aged 16 and 17 were in school in 1930, only 39.9 per cent of the rural farm youth of those ages were in school. In regard to this rural farm percentage Minnesota stood in 46th place among the states of the nation. Many improvements have been made in rural educational facilities over the last decade and it is hoped that they will place Minnesota in a more favorable light when data from the 1940 Census become available.

Over half the youth surveyed in 1933 were high school graduates or were students in school who were not markedly retarded. Wide variations in educational persistence were found from area to area. Taking townships as units the range is from 28 per cent to 67 per cent, but county percentages range only from 46 to 56.

Young women were in a much more favored position in regard to education than were the young men, for while only 40 per cent of the young men were "on time" students or had finished high school, 68 per cent of the young women were in this category. The extreme in this differential was found in St. Louis County where 79 per cent of the young women were in this category and only 38 per cent of the young men. Between 1933 and 1937 there was a perceptible drop in this sex differential.

About the same proportions stopped

school at the eighth grade in 1933 and 1937, the percentages being 41 and 40, respectively. The percentages completing high school were 21 in 1933 and 28 in 1937.

Advanced training was obtained by only a very small proportion of the youth surveyed. In 1933 only 11 young men and 47 young women, or 6.4 per cent of the entire sample, received any post-high school training. This training was largely either one-year teacher training or nursing. College was rare. There was a decided upswing in advanced training between 1933 and 1937, for while only 58 had such training in 1933, there were 87 reporting it in 1937.

Youth discontinued school primarily because of three factors, according to their own statements. These were "not interested," "needed at home," and "cannot afford to go." Of only minor importance were the factors of "parents do not think it worth-while" and "distance from home to school." Another study of the factor of distance from home to high school indicates that this factor is of much greater importance than the responses of the youth surveyed would indicate.

Educational plans are made by many youth although it is unlikely that the plans can be carried out in many instances. About three out of eight planned to continue their education while five out of eight had no plans. Of those having no plans only about one sixth had completed high school. Those whose plans had to be postponed wanted vocational training in contradistinction to the desire for further academic education on the part of those able to make immediate plans.

Size of family was found to have a bearing on educational attainment in 1933. Youth in small families were able to finish high school or to continue school longer than youth in large families. This was true of both sexes. By 1937 this condition had completely disappeared; indeed the data show an insignificant tendency in the opposite

direction. It seems likely that lessened demand for the labor of the youth on the farm, lessened job opportunities, and more rigid enforcement of attendance laws might be factors.

Sibling position in large families was quite important in educational attainment according to the 1933 data. The younger children remained in school longer than the older children in the large families. In the small families no important differences were found. In 1937 the large families yielded comparable results, but with the small families the oldest children stood in a more favored position than did the younger.

Community Relations of Youth

Marked differences are found in the participation of rural youth in various types of organizations and in the organizational configurations of the areas studied. In 1933 only 10 to 15 per cent of the youth studied in Douglas County belonged to no religious organization, while about 60 per cent of those in St. Louis County were found not to be members of religious organizations. In Dodge County the percentages were 24.3 for the younger and 31.1 for the older group.

Membership in educational organizations did not show sharp contrasts as did the religious organizations. With this class of organization St. Louis County ranks highest in percentage membership. There is a very sharp drop in membership with the 20-24 age group as contrasted with those 15-19. After leaving school interest in educational organizations may be assumed to drop markedly.

In athletics St. Louis County ranks far above Douglas and Dodge. With the social organizations, dancing stands in highest place as the most important form of participation. In Dodge County only 7 per cent of those 20-24 belonged to no social organization. This may be contrasted with 25 per cent of those in St. Louis and 54 per cent of those in

Douglas. With the younger age group about 35 per cent of those in St. Louis and Dodge were nonmembers, compared to 58 per cent of those in Douglas.

Younger youth participate in organizations much more than do older youth. This holds true of each type except those organizations classed as social. This situation conforms to what one might assume to be the "needs" of older and younger youth.

Young women tend to belong to religious organizations in greater proportions than do young men. In the case of educational organizations no marked sex differences in membership could be noted for the area as a whole, but for the individual counties considerable differences were found sometimes favoring one sex and at other times the other.

The 1937 survey failed to find participation in religious and in social organizations to the extent noted in 1933.

The young people reported in 1933 that they wanted athletic organizations most, social organizations second, while religious and educational organizations were mentioned less frequently.

Employment

The extent of employment among farm youth is difficult to determine for they usually find work to do on the farm. Outside employment is not necessarily a good index of the extent of employment among youth for it may be largely an indication of the extent of surplus man-power on the farm. In 1933 about one fourth of the youth reported employment outside the home. The percentages for the sexes were about equal, with the males slightly higher. In 1937 the percentages of gainful employment outside the home were very close to those in 1933. A good deal of variation among the counties was noticeable. In Dodge County 12 per cent reported outside employment, in Douglas County 30 per cent, and in St. Louis County 33 per cent.

From unemployment census data it appears that unemployment is more extensive in rural areas than in urban areas among the youth group. While unemployed young men in rural areas and towns of 10,000 and less comprise 33 per cent of the totally unemployed males, they comprise only 28 per cent of those in cities of over 100,000. For women the percentages are 55 per cent in rural areas as against 45 per cent in large cities.

Conclusion

YOUTH PROBLEMS are not new. The very process of maturing brings with it certain demands for adjustment which have to be met by society and by the individual. Simply stated, it seems that the problem of youth is that of making a satisfactory adjustment to the adult life of the community. This induction into the adult life involves two main steps: namely, getting a job and establishing a home independent of the parents. Getting a job for wages on a farm is usually the first step to be taken. With reasonable prospects for making an independent living, young people normally think of marriage as the next step. Admittedly there are many other minor adjustments to be made, but these are the major ones. Finding a job has usually been left largely to the initiative of the individual concerned. Today, as never before in our American history, this responsibility must be shared more largely by the community. This involves planning for the use of local and national resources, by local and national community bodies. The defense program promises to relieve the situation of unemployment for the present. Later we must surely face the problem again of employing all our people in the arts of peace as we are now doing in the arts of war. The challenge of peace that is to come should not be forgotten.