Bulletin No. 369 - Impact of Urbanization in Davis County, Utah

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IMPACT OF URBANIZATION IN DAVIS COUNTY, UTAH

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Utah State Agricultural College
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Logan, Utah
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ON A MEMORABLE summer day, without warning, huge volumes of water poured from an adjacent canyon onto the farms, orchards, and homes of Davis County. With the water came mud and silt, rocks, and boulders. The people were bewildered and helpless. Since adequate preparation for flood conditions had not been made, the people had to fend for themselves the best they could. Regardless of the personal difficulties involved nothing remained for them but to dig themselves out, dry themselves off, and begin reconstruction. Though flood control measures were immediately planned to ward off similar disaster, it was years before some fields were clear of rocks and restored to normal use. The area literally had to “dig itself out.”

During a memorable decade, without benefit of much preparation, huge numbers of people poured onto the farms, orchards, and homesteads of the area. With the people came congested living, congested roads, racial, religious, and occupational differences, different values and standards. Old ways of living were threatened. Old residents were bewildered and somewhat helpless. New residents were undoubtedly confused. However nothing remained but for adjustments to be made, and for new ways of living to be evolved. Some changes were reflected immediately; others took longer to emerge. Together, old timers and newcomers have had to “dig themselves out.”

THIS STUDY was begun under the direction of R. Welling Roskelley of Utah Agricultural Experiment Station, now in Iran, with other members of the Department of Sociology cooperating. Under Dr. Roskelley’s direction most of the basic family interview data were collected.

The study was completed by other members of the Department. Therei R. Black prepared the summary, the introduction (excepting the part on site of the study), the section on level of living, and acted as departmental editor of the publication; Carmen Fredrickson prepared the sections on institutions and the role of women, as well as the sub section under introduction entitled “Site of the study”; William A. DeHart, the sections on attitudes and community participation; C. Jay Skidmore, the section on familism; Don C. Carter the section on parent-child relations. All members of the research team made suggestions for improvements in sections other than their own, but each person assumes the responsibility for his section or sections.
IN BRIEF

This study of Davis County should assist community leaders to understand some areas of change and possible effects of changes in an urbanizing area and to understand possible sources of friction and cooperation. It should help residents of any urbanizing area to understand personal adjustments that may be necessary. Such understanding is needed by Utah's residents because Utah is becoming urban—in fact, approximately two-thirds of her population was urban in 1950. A brief summary of the study of Utah's fastest growing county shows the following changes during the 1940-1950 decade.

Urbanization Brings Diversity and Enlargement

In occupation: Percent of farm-oriented workers and businesses became smaller, while industrial workers, professional, and business people increased.

In race: Increased numbers of other races moved in. Nevertheless, only 2.7 percent of the 1950 population were members of other racial groups.

Between oldtimers and newcomers: Several changes in Davis County were attributed to "new blood" in the community. Newcomers and oldtimers were known to oppose each other.

In religious institutions: Latter-day Saint wards and stakes increased in number. The LDS majority in the population decreased. Community religious values predominant among LDS people had to give some ground to non-LDS values. Non-LDS churches increased in numbers. Though a fine spirit was said to exist among members of the same denomination, a less favorable spirit was said to exist between denominations.

In crime: A city official reported that all kinds of crime were prevalent. However, in spite of this, there was general acceptance of the idea that people in the community were law abiding.

In special interest groups: The number of formally organized groups in the county increased.

In business: The number of businesses doubled. Specialized services and stores were established. Business management became more diverse, bringing in sharper relief the two extremes—the small fruit stand and the big business.

In social participation: Urban residents exemplified the two extremes of social participation: the most and the least active.

In library services: A consolidated library developed with many branches.
In education: Expansion of school plants, school curriculums, and of teaching staff took place.

In facilities and services: Major level of living conveniences were made accessible to both old and new populations in both rural and urban areas.

Other Changes Have Produced Unity and Likenesses

A rise in level of living took place. Differences between rural and urban people in this respect became less significant. This improvement can be attributed in part to the presence of industry and defense establishments which have provided good incomes. Differences in level of living are associated with educational and occupational status of family head.

All towns became more urban; urban centers emerged. The use of much land shifted from agriculture to sites for homes.

Municipal and county planning commissions emerged.

Feeling of belonging to the community was high. However, more oldtimers were strongly agreed that a high degree of community pride existed. Community cooperation was apparent; tolerance and understanding developed; newcomers became oriented; resistance to change lessened.

Urban Influences in the Family

Women began to work outside the home in greater numbers. However, many household practices did not alter.

Though fathers tended to exercise severe authority more than mothers, these fathers were found in both urban and rural families.

Families most urban in their ways of living practiced family night to the greatest extent, thought it unimportant that all members be buried in the same cemetery, and ignored gossip leveled at any one of them. Urban families tended to have fewer members in the household, and to share belongings less than rural families.

The more urban families were not significantly different from the more rural in their "acceptance" of the child under study.

Reaction to Change Favorable

In communities where the centers of government installations were located and where the population increased the most, the citizens were not all agreed that the changes had been for the best interest of the community. However, the overall feeling of the majority of sample residents in all communities studied was that conditions were better at the end of the decade than at the beginning.
Changes from rural to urban involve more than substitution of a house number for an RFD box

IMPACT OF URBANIZATION IN DAVIS COUNTY

Therel R. Black, Carmen D. Fredrickson, William A. DeHart, C. Jay Skidmore, and Don C. Carter

INTRODUCTION

The change of a community from rural to urban involves more than an increase in population and physical changes in the community. Rural people changing to urban dwellers do more than substitute house numbers for R.F.D. boxes. Urbanization brings many changes in ways of living, for the old residents as well as the new. Close personal ties with a few people tend to become enmeshed in more complex, specialized, and impersonal relations with more people. Special interest groups increase in the community. Newcomers with new ideas have to be admitted and the pressures towards change they bring need to be recognized. Newcomers must also reorganize their ways of living.

Leaders need to be aware of physical needs of the community so that expansion of facilities and community organization can go forward without
too much lag. They also need to understand sources of possible friction and avenues of possible cooperation between diverse peoples.

To present materials that will assist people to understand the process of urbanization is a major purpose of this study. Such understanding will be of value to many people: to old-timers, newcomers, and group and community leaders, who wish to reduce disadvantages and make the most of advantages. The authors believe that this study will be of value not only to those in Davis County, but to other people in any urbanizing area. Therefore, if by reading this material the reader in Davis County or any similar urbanizing area gains understandings that would be helpful to him in his work, in his personal adjustment, or in his civic awareness, the major objective of this study will have been accomplished.

We Are Becoming Urban

Everyone should understand changes involved in urbanization, for the population of the United States is becoming urban. In 1880, 29.5 percent of the population of the United States lived in centers of 2500 or more, the point set by the census to distinguish rural from urban communities. By 1950, 63.7 percent lived in urban communities. Using the new census definition, Utah's population was 65.3 percent urban in 1950, exceeding the 63.7 percent for the United States as a whole.3

The trend toward urbanization in Utah is illustrated by the fact that seventeen of the more rural counties lost population between 1940 and 1950, while the remaining twelve more urban and industrial counties increased. This study examined some of the social changes that accompanied the growth of population in Davis County, Utah's fastest growing county, in the 1940-50 decade.

Method of the Study

To determine what happens during the process of urbanization, several methods of investigation were used. Events in this important decade in Davis County are described. An attempt was also made to determine what changes were directly related to urbanization. Community members, leaders, and sample families were interviewed. Written documents such as census reports, school reports, and telephone directories were examined. Students at the high school filled out questionnaires and gave data relating to personality adjustment. Many of the data were analyzed for statistical significance.

Upon the basis of these data, the authors made comparisons of communities and families of the county. Where data were available, conditions in 1940, before rapid urbanization, were compared with those in 1950. When such direct comparisons were impossible, a simulated before-after comparison was made. That is, communities and families regarded

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See the numbered items in the appendix at the end of this bulletin for additional information and references.
as being more urban were assumed to represent a later time in the urbanization process than the lesser urban families and communities. A ranking of communities in terms of degree of urbanness is called throughout the study “community urbanism ranking.” Families were also scored ac-

Communities vary from least to most urban. Davis County does not present all degrees of variation on this scale

cording to rural or urban characteristics, yielding an index of urbanism for the family. This index of urbanism was derived from the following urban characteristics, which were found to differentiate statistically the rural from urban: 8

1. Family now lives in a center of 2500 population or over.
2. Most of the first 20 years of husband’s life were spent in a place over 2500 population.
3. Most of the first 20 years of wife’s life were spent in a place over 2500 population.
4. Both spent most of their first 20 years in a place over 2500 population.
5. Wife is employed.
6. Family does not borrow from the neighbors.
7. Family has no exchange of work with neighbors.
8. Family authority tends to be democratic.
9. Family members do not share belongings.
10. Family members would not take action against gossip leveled at any of them.
11. It is unimportant where family members are to be buried.
12. There are five or less members in the household.

Family scores on this index varied from 63, the most urban, to 29, a range of 34 points. It was statistically determined that the families with highest urban characteristics had a tendency to live in the most urban communities, a fact that tends to assure that these two rankings are valid measuring instruments.

The Sample: The study used a selected sample of families in Davis County. Families of the 450 sophomore students at Davis High School were selected, since it was desired that tests of personality be obtained. Tests administered to this class were thought to be of more value to the school since these students would be in school two more years. The researchers also thought that families

Families vary from least to most urban
of this class would be sufficiently representative of families of the county to meet the needs of that part of the study not concerned with personality. In actuality, the sample did not include families where children were too young or too old to be in high school. However, since information was taken from many additional sources, the consensus of the research staff was that this selected rather than random sample did not alter the conclusions of the study. Two hundred and three students and their families were selected and interviewed. Geographical clusters of families, consisting of either small communities or of neighborhoods within communities, were chosen to reduce distances between families to be interviewed. The number of the sample distributed by community was: Bountiful, 63; Clearfield, 23; Layton, 27; Kaysville, 29; and others, 61.

**Davis County was the Site of the Study**

Davis County is situated on a narrow strip of tillable land lying between the Wasatch Mountains and Great Salt Lake. Beyond the county boundary lines are Utah’s two largest cities, Salt Lake City with a population of 274,895, and Ogden, with a population of 83,319. Urban influences are strongly felt from these neighboring metropolitan areas.\(^\text{10}\)

The original settlement pattern of the county was typical of rural Mormon villages, where farm homes are located in the village with farm land surrounding. This pattern has been decidedly modified by a large population overflow from Salt Lake City as well as by general expansion of village and non-village population.

Until recently, Davis County had a rather homogeneous group of citizens who were largely rural in residence, largely agricultural or agriculturally oriented by occupation, and almost wholly Latter-day Saint by religion. The attitudes, concepts, philosophy of life, moral standards, and conduct generally were typical of members of this faith. Differences were introduced in sharper relief by the incoming residents, some of whom were not members of this religious group.

Antagonistic feelings developed between newcomers and old residents. Newcomers felt they were not wanted and at times there was serious friction. For instance, in the beginning the people resented efforts of the Catholic Church to build a church in Layton. One interviewee reported that “Young people will go around together whether their families are old residents or newcomers, but with the older people, they still keep to their own groups.” Another interviewee said: “There would have been no county library if it had depended on
old residents to vote the 10 percent to get it. It was the newcomers who put over the county library program.”

At one municipal election a whole party ticket consisted of newcomers on one side and members of the older population on the other.

A police officer interviewee commented:

Clearfield was formerly a farm community. Police problems have increased because of size and because of such diverse people from many states. We have many types of crime here now. Lots of traffic violations and serious accidents occur because of heavy traffic from the arsenal, Hill Field, and especially the naval base. People here tend to have their own groups, church people with church people, military with military, non-church people more or less to themselves.

Antagonisms however, have been diminished and were said to be fast disappearing. Newcomers and old tended to work together with mutual respect at church, P.T.A., and in civic groups. Both old timers and newcomers had produced leaders of breadth and tolerance. Cooperation and friendliness were becoming more prominent.

Increase in population during the decade was attributable to the general industrial expansion of Utah and more specifically to the establishment of military projects and installations in the northern Davis County area. Population growth in the county is presented in table 1.

The growth of the population in the county was striking. During the decade it increased 95.6 percent. The growth in urban population was even more marked. In 1940 the urban population of Davis County was 21.3 percent of the total, while in 1950 it was 45.9 percent. Thus, while the population of the county as a whole had increased by 95.6 percent, the

| Table 1 Population of communities in Davis County, 1940 and 1950* |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                 | Population      | Percentage      |
|                 | 1940            | 1950            | change |
| Bountiful       | 3,357           | 6,004           | 78.9   |
| Clearfield      | 1,053           | 4,723           | 348.5  |
| Layton          | 646             | 3,456           | 435.0  |
| Kaysville       | 1,211           | 1,898           | 56.7   |
| Sahara Village  | 0               | 1,638           |        |
| Farmington      | 1,211           | 1,468           | 21.1   |
| Centerville     | 691             | 1,262           | 82.6   |
| Sunset          | 276             | 993             | 259.8  |
| Syracuse        | 732             | 837             | 14.3   |
| West Bountiful  | 0               | 682             |        |
| Clinton         | 581             | 670             | 15.3   |
| West Point      | 236             | 433             | 83.5   |
| Layton          | 356             | 405             | 13.7   |
| Woods Cross     | 211             | 273             | 29.4   |
| North Salt Lake | 0               | 255             |        |
| South Weber     | 259             | 244             | -9.4   |
| East Layton     | 124             | 217             | 75.0   |
| Fruit Heights   | 0               | 124             |        |
| County population less municipalities and Sahara Village | 4,840 | 5,287 | 9.2 |
| Total           | 15,784          | 30,867          | 95.6   |

urban population had increased 322.5 percent.

Communities of North Salt Lake, Bountiful, West Bountiful, and Centerville in the south portion of the county reflect suburban expansion of the Salt Lake metropolitan area.

Further north, Farmington, the county seat, which is bypassed by the principal highway, showed little population change (1,211 to 1,468). A considerable number of people in this community were locally employed in floriculture and agriculture. Farmington seems to be a breaking point in the trade area between Salt Lake City and Ogden.

Kaysville, north and west of Farmington grew from 1,211 to 1,898. Its new population was not markedly diverse. Kaysville's town board turned down government housing of the more inexpensive type. As a result many permanent homes, meeting specified standards, were built. The older residents said that undesirable people did not move into Kaysville. Many of the newcomers were young married people who commuted to Salt Lake City or Ogden or to the defense industries.

In the north end of the county, Layton, with a population increase from 646 to 3,456, and Clearfield, from 1,053 to 4,723, had more diversity. Layton had a large housing project. In both communities racial diversity was more pronounced. Japanese-Americans came in as did also Indians and Negroes. However, the predominant in-migrants were Anglo-Americans.

Anchorage and Sahara Village are new communities, and had some colored population. Davis County ranked sixth among the counties in Utah in 1950 in number of people who are Indians or of Japanese or Chinese origin, with 604. Only Salt Lake and Weber (urban counties), San Juan, Uintah, (Indian reservations) and Box Elder (Indian school) had more. Davis County had 71 Negro women and 127 Negro men in 1950.

**URBANIZATION BROUGHT CHANGES IN INSTITUTIONS**

The comparatively large increase in population during the 1940-1950 decade reflected itself in an expansion and diversification of institutions. The growth that occurred, however, was not simple expansion and diversification. The institutions of Davis County were in process of comparatively rapid reorganization along greatly improved lines. This was particularly true in the important fields of education, planning and zoning, and library organizations. Following pioneer implementation superior organizational effort was first developed in education then in public health. More recently library organization and planning and zoning have developed along progressive lines. One notes many evidences of intelligently planned developments so necessary to progress. All in all it appears that the people of Davis County possessed enlarged vision in the field of social organization.
Institutions grow out of peoples' needs and reflect their aspirations and hopes. In static periods they change slowly, but alter appreciably in dynamic periods and in areas strongly influenced by change. Davis County, although chiefly rural in composition, is subject to unremitting urban influences. Here rural forces lock horns with urban influences. The result is a new rurality and changed urbanity.

**Business Expanded**

In addition to war industries, the oil refining industry developed during the decade. Phillips Petroleum, Standard Oil of California, and the Western States Oil Company have refineries in Davis County valued at more than thirty million dollars.

By telephone count, business houses in the county numbered 179 in 1940 and 363 in 1950. By early 1952 a direct count of business places added up to 468. An increase in all types of business took place, but special growth between 1940 and 1950 was noted in the number of motor companies, building firms, auto repair shops, furniture stores, food markets, cafes, service stations, floral shops and nurseries, dairy markets, drug stores, bakeries, and electrical establishments.

Individual family telephones in the county numbered 1,225 in 1940 and 5,192 in 1950, a growth of 424.0 percent. There was an average of one telephone for each thirteen people in 1940 and one for each six in 1950.

**Church Denominations Increased in Number**

Both number of members and number of churches increased during the decade. Latter-day Saint membership increased by 74 percent, and non-LDS increased by 181 percent. LDS membership was reduced from 80.5 percent of total county population to 72 percent, while non-LDS membership rose from 19.5 to 28.0 percent.

There were two LDS stakes in 1940 with nineteen wards. In 1950 there were three stakes and twenty-nine wards. In 1940 the Bountiful Community Church was the only non-Mormon church in the county. Its membership of 34 grew to 63 in the decade. A community church was organized in Clearfield in the latter part of 1945, with a membership of 45 that grew to 235 in the decade. The Catholic Church had a mission from the Salt Lake Cathedral in 1940 with only a handful of members from the entire county. By 1950 a church had been built in Bountiful with a membership of about 80 people, and another church had been erected in Layton with a membership around 800.

By 1950 two Protestant groups had a minister and were assembling but without a church building, one the Community Church in Verdeland Park in Layton and the other the First Southern Baptist Church in Clearfield. The non-LDS churches located in the urban communities. Increased diversification of worship involving LDS, Catholic, and Protestant churches did not increase conflict in non-church

*References beginning "s" refer to tables and more technical explanations in the unpublished supplement to the study. The supplement may be obtained by request from the Experiment Station. Supplement notations "s1" through "s8" are referred to in footnote 8 in the appendix at the back of this bulletin.*
Library facilities increased

matters, but a rather commendable collaboration on community projects was in evidence.

**New Clubs Were Added**

Service organizations and clubs for men and women increased in the county. There were, before 1940, 28 such organizations in Bountiful, Layton, Clearfield, Kaysville, and Farmington, or an average of 5.6 for each community. By 1950 there was an average of 11 organizations in each. New organizations consisted principally of service, business, women's cultural, and civic clubs. An increase in the number of clubs, a growth in memberships, and evidences of positive contributions to progressive community and social development were noticable. However, few changes in the inner structure of clubs seemed to have taken place.

**Library Service Expanded**

In 1940 there was one public library in Davis County, located at Kaysville, and three school libraries. In 1946 the county library system was established with headquarters at Davis High School. By 1950 this library had 51,394 books, and a circulation of 222,242 books a year. Branch libraries had been established at Bountiful, Clearfield, Farmington, and Verdeland Park, and school branches had been added at three junior high schools. Delivery of library books at the request of teachers became effective for elementary schools.

**Planning and Zoning Became Well Established**

Davis County Planning Commission was organized in August 1948 with a small staff. It operated earlier without a paid staff. The overall county office was at the county seat. There were seven board members composed of a county commissioner who was ex-officio member and six other members, one from each district in the county. Members must be owners of real property in the county. The six members were appointed by the county commissioners for a 3-year term with terms of office overlapping, two going out each year.
A county-wide zoning ordinance was passed by the commission, and five of the larger towns had been mapped in detail. A master plan had been made of the physical divisions of the county. Present efforts were devoted to mapping and location of centers, thus providing resource materials for more comprehensive planning.

There were also local community municipal planning commissions in Bountiful, Centerville, North Salt Lake, West Bountiful, Kaysville, Layton, and Clearfield. These collaborated with the County Planning Commission.

The Commission had to synchronize physical growth with population increase. It was a coordinating agency which dealt with smaller planning groups. Much of the program in 1950 was tied up with neighborhood plans with the school as the nucleus.

Public Welfare Staffs and Clients Decreased Slightly

The organization of public welfare in Davis County did not greatly alter during the decade. This field had already been organized along modern lines through participation by the federal and state governments in March 1936. During the decade there was a decline from 6 to 4 workers, and a decrease in case load from 1,054 to 833. However, the cost of the welfare program more than doubled. The largest area of assistance was for old age. It is interesting to note that the percentage of population over 65 years of age declined from 5.2 percent to 4.4 percent in the county during the decade in comparison to an increase from 5.5 to 6.1 percent in Utah.

Schools Experienced Many Changes

Changes in the school system may perhaps best be observed in the elementary schools (table 2). Elementary school buildings were built in Sahara Village and at Verdeland Park in 1944, in Clearfield in 1946, and in Bountiful in 1950. Every old school building in the county was remodelled or had additions made during the decade, including 5 restrooms, 6 kitchens, 7 lunchrooms, 1 office, a gymnasium divided into classrooms and a basement made into classrooms.

Thus by 1950 there were 15 ele-
Table 2. Changes in specified data in the school system of Davis County in 1940 and 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Davis County school data</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>Percentage change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. elementary schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of teachers</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>138.5</td>
<td>103.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching load</td>
<td>29.24</td>
<td>29.94</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cost per pupil</td>
<td>$57.41</td>
<td>$138.48</td>
<td>141.2</td>
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<td>Average salary</td>
<td>$1,016.47</td>
<td>$2,969.61</td>
<td>192.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accum. enrollment</td>
<td>2,340</td>
<td>5,064</td>
<td>116.4</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>No. junior high schools</strong></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of teachers</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>55.5</td>
<td>60.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teaching load</td>
<td>28.98</td>
<td>28.44</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost per pupil</td>
<td>$70.76</td>
<td>$168.69</td>
<td>138.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average salary</td>
<td>$1,206.67</td>
<td>$3,238.00</td>
<td>168.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accum. enrollment</td>
<td>1,135</td>
<td>1,825</td>
<td>60.8</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>No. senior high schools</strong></td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>Teaching load</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>Cost per pupil</td>
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<tr>
<td>Accum. enrollment</td>
<td>1,014</td>
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<td>35.8</td>
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**Lunch program**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1940-1943 W.P.A.</th>
<th>1943 state &amp; federal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average served</td>
<td>One hot dish</td>
<td>Balanced meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary schools</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior high schools</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>582</td>
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<tr>
<td>Senior high school</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>664</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Elementary schools in the county in contrast to 11 in 1940. The average daily attendance increased from 1,995 to 4,147. The number of elementary school teachers increased from 68 to 138 1/2, with the teacher load remaining about the same. The cost per student rose from $57.41 to $138.48. In general, improvements in the system corresponded to the increase in the school population.

Changes in the junior and senior high schools were similar to those in the elementary schools, although in these two areas internal adjustments were more pronounced than external ones.

Many improvements in the schools in Davis County were in direct harmony with national and state trends, although they were also a direct outgrowth of pressures for expansion in the county growing out of more students and the pressure of many new families. A comment by the assistant county superintendent is noted:

The national and state trends could not alone have so greatly changed old Davis County, but the newcomers have speeded up changes in the school. Especially is this true of the work of some who came in from out of state.

The war brought various dislocations to the schools. During the early war years workers were drawn from many distant states. Many were of Japanese origin. Later many of these families returned to their home states and were replaced by people from rural counties of Utah and surrounding states.

Teachers’ salaries were low when defense work first developed in the county. The schools lost teachers to war work. This loss put pressure on the school boards and salary increases were put into effect.\(^{16}\)
URBANIZATION AND ITS EFFECT ON COMMUNITY MORALE

Despite the many social strains occasioned by the rapid influx of people into Davis County the majority of older residents liked the conditions in their communities in 1950 better than those that prevailed in 1940. Differences in the extent of acceptance existed, however, between broad occupational groupings. Of the residents living in the community ten years or more farmers objected most to the overall change in conditions. Businessmen and professional and clerical workers were most content with the changes. The laboring group occupied a position somewhere in the middle of the range. In addition communities differed significantly in their attitudes. There appeared to be the greatest discontent in the areas that were affected most by population expansion and physical growth of industry.

The newcomers, though they were not quite as enthusiastic about certain aspects of their community as the old residents, were certainly far from being generally discontented with existing conditions: and the old residents, while approving generally of the overall changes felt that community life in certain specific areas had deteriorated.

Population growth of the magnitude taking place in Davis County has a potentially disquieting effect on community morale. Unless these problems of stress are resolved, community morale will decrease and social disorganization will follow.

Human beings have a way of dealing with such problems of stress through social organization and group participation leading to remedial action. If the accumulated experience could be obtained concerning the problem factors in community growth and the ways in which they have been resolved, intelligent planning utilizing such experience could go a long way in improving the physical development as well as the social adjustment of people living in and moving to rapidly expanding communities.

The emergence of community problems provides a potentially motivational base for social action. Social organizers and planners should be acquainted with the positive and negative sentiments of the public to stimulate more effective participation of the citizens in the affairs of the community.

An effort is made in this section to determine the nature of community morale in Davis County which resulted from the integrating as well as the disorganizing factors which were the inevitable products of its rapid growth. The important question, then, will be to determine the direction of change: did community morale improve, or was there a significant drift toward social disorganization?

The attitude or feeling of the residents about the community and the changes which occurred should be helpful in evaluating this problem.
In this connection, opinions were obtained covering the individual's reaction to certain specific and general questions, concerning the community, and comparisons of these opinions were made in reference to selected variables, particularly those which are related to rural-urban differences. Of interest is the determination of the change in opinion over the ten year period of the old resident, and the general feeling tone of all the residents about certain specific characteristics of the community.

In General the Attitude of the People to Specific Changes in the Community Was Favorable

The feelings of the residents about the changes in Davis County were assessed by making the following statements to which each respondent was asked to indicate whether he strongly agreed, agreed, was undecided, disagreed, or strongly disagreed:

I feel this is a very friendly community.
I feel that the moral standards are high in this community.
I feel there is a warm and Christian spirit in my community between members of my church.
I feel a high degree of community pride is to be found in my community.
I feel that the people in my community are law-abiding individuals.
The average person in this community really feels he belongs here.
I am proud of the business standards and ethics that prevail in my community.

Judging from the expressed opinion of the individuals interviewed, there was little evidence of widespread disorganization of sentiment as a consequence of the expanding growth in the area.

In general, the response to these questions was favorable. Some were undecided but few disagreed, indicating there was no widespread discontent. The old residents (those in the community ten years or more) gave in general a more favorable response to the questions than the newcomers. In all instances there were more of the old residents who expressed strong agreement in reply to these questions.

Among the old residents of the sample families in 1950, 88 percent either agreed or strongly agreed that the average person had a sense of belonging to the community, while 83 percent of the new residents were so agreed. There was a marked difference, however, in the intensity to which they agreed. More of the older residents strongly agreed that the average person had a sense of belonging to the community.

Of the old residents 90 percent and of the newcomers 83 percent felt that a high degree of community pride existed among its members. Here again, however, there was a difference in the intensity of feeling; 44 percent of the oldtimers strongly agreed compared to only 26 percent of the newcomers. Among both groups there was a general acceptance of the notion that people were law abiding in the community. They were a little less agreed, however, as to the extent of friendliness in the community; 92 percent of the old residents thought they were friendly and 82 percent of the newcomers. As to the moral standards of the people in the community, the older residents...
Personal reaction toward change varied among individuals

(88 percent) felt they were high; slightly fewer of the new residents (83 percent) had the same opinion.

Highest agreement was reached in the feelings individuals had with respect to the existence of a fine Christian spirit among the members of their church. Older residents were 97 percent agreed that feelings were good and among new residents, 91 percent. However, the feeling regarding the existence of a warm Christian spirit between different denominations ranked the lowest. Only 70 percent of the old residents thought there was such an influence and 71 percent of the new residents. The area of greatest tension appeared to be a lack of friendly communication among different religious denominations. The new residents (73 percent) did not approve of the business standards quite as much as the old residents (88 percent).

People Preferred Conditions in 1950 to Those in 1940

Attitudes are flexible and may change as circumstances alter. It would be difficult to trace the variable conditions and subsequent changes in attitude about these community factors over a ten-year period. But in a general way, it is possible to get an opinion about how people felt prior to the time the changes occurred in the community and how they felt about conditions at the time of the interview. The families living in the community more than ten years were, therefore, asked to express their opinions about the community as they knew it in 1940 and how they regarded it at the time of the interview in 1950.

Only two items had a small favorable balance for 1950; these items related to the existence of a warm Christian spirit among one's own church members and to the community being friendly. The greatest shift in attitude, however, was from the strongly agree category to just agree.81

A more general question was asked concerning the community being a more desirable place to live in 1950 compared to 1940. The results show that the majority of residents were more inclined to accept the conditions in 1950 as being more desirable (see table 3). A fifth of the respondents strongly agreed that the community was a better place to live in 1950 as compared to 3 percent who felt strongly...

Table 3. Attitudes of old residents on the community in 1950 being a better place to live than it was in 1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>123</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19
ly that it was not. As to simple agreement, 29 percent were favorable to the changes while 26 percent were unfavorable or disagreed. About a fifth of the residents still remained undecided.

The overall attitude of an individual toward the community is a composite of many specific positive and negative attitudes, i.e., there are integrative as well as disorganizing factors in the changing social complexes of the community which influence one's opinion both favorably and unfavorably. Improvement in employment and consequently the general economic conditions of the area following the depression years was a factor that would be favorably accepted by the old residents. The expansion and new additions of community services also build up feelings of pride in the community. Certainly changes in moral conduct, resulting from expansion in the community and the initial adjustment relations between old and new residents, would present some problems of concern. While changes in attitudes over the ten-year period with respect to some specific questions were slightly less favorable, the overall feeling of the majority of residents was that conditions were better in 1950 than in 1940.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The community is a better place to live than it was ten years ago</th>
<th>Bountiful</th>
<th>Clearfield</th>
<th>Layton</th>
<th>Kaysville</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square is 25.83, p is approximately .001

People's Attitudes Varied According to Their Social Conditions

Feelings about the community being a better or worse place to live over the past ten years were not found to be significantly related to the index of urbanism. Of the business, professional, and clerical workers, 61.5 percent were agreed that the community was better in 1950; of the laborers approximately 50.9 percent were so agreed. The opinions of those engaged in farming were relatively low (35.1 percent) and many were quite undecided (27.0). It appears that the farmers more than the others disliked the change because of the invasion of industry into a fertile farming region, or perhaps it reflects simply the more conservative feelings of farm folk toward change. Economically, the farmer stood to gain as well as labor and the white collar worker.

When attitudes were considered in terms of specific communities (table 4) a decided difference was noted. Unfortunately, in some instances, the cases were few in number and the percentages are consequently not to be considered well stabilized. Nevertheless, it does appear when attitudes are considered in relation to locale,
the intensity of socio-economic change looms up as an important consideration, since Layton and Clearfield were centers of intense industrial development as well as of population growth. (See the earlier section on institutions for further explanation of differences in attitudes found in Layton and Kaysville). Other communities enjoyed the economic benefits from population expansion in the general area without having to accommodate so many new people. The majority of the older residents of Clearfield and Layton were not agreed that the changes were for the best interest of the community. Bountiful grew rapidly but large scale industries were not established in the community, and this community received a good share of workers who commuted to Salt Lake City. Cultural differences were less marked among these residents. The small communities and residents in the open country seemed to be most pleased with the changes.

URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

THESE ARE obviously conditions within the emerging urban society that influence participation. These are closely associated with status conditioning influences such as occupation, education, and personality adjustment. The white collar class generally participated in church and other formal organizations to a greater degree than did laborers. Farmers remained somewhere in the middle between the two urban extremes. The marked differences in participation by occupation would indicate that some cultural groups are more apathetic. The more favorable personality scores were found among students whose parents participated most in the religious and social affairs of the community.

The social conditions attending urban development seem to have intensified the need for responsible participation of the citizens in the affairs of the community and state, while at the same time they create an attitude of indifference which seemingly lessens an individual's sense of social responsibility to the group. Bonds of personal friendship, neighborliness, and genuine concern over the welfare of others, tend to yield to the development of casual impersonal relations and anonymity in urban living. Industrialization with its specialized job offerings widens personal differences between people while creating at the same time a complex economic system in which men become increasingly more interdependent. Urban man no longer feels the sense of self satisfaction that comes from directly exercising an immediate control over the physical resources and forms of social regulation that provide for his protective care and sustenance. Faced with increasing complexities in social organization many assume people today are becoming more apathetic as a result of the seeming inability to
contribute in specific tangible ways to the welfare of the group.

The effective development of democratic institutions depends on the voluntary and willing support of lay people in social affairs. Welfare agencies and institutions are particularly concerned with the problem of volunteer participation. There is a definite trend for action agencies such as Red Cross, agricultural extension service, public health, and similar organizations to seek the aid of existing institutions to help promote, through established social channels, certain welfare objectives.

How urbanization is affecting the quality and amount of social participation would be an interesting and important study to pursue to its furthest limits. The problem is only introduced here. Social participation is considered in terms of certain general and specific factors that might affect it such as occupation of parent, personality, adjustment, and other selected variables.

**Explanation of Social Participation**

Social participation is divided into two basic forms—formal and informal. The formal type is characterized by activity in organizations which have officers, a place of assembly, and a relatively well defined pattern of roles or social expectancies. Typical
of such institutions are the church, school, political party, and fraternal organizations. Association with friends or family on picnics, parties, card games, and shows, is of a more spontaneous character. This kind of participation is considered informal.

The amount of formal participation of the sophomore and parents of the sample families was measured by the following: memberships, attendance, contributions, committee membership, and offices held. These factors were weighted from one to five respectively. The final formal participation score represents the sum of the separate items. The informal participation score represents the sum of the various activities attended and the extent individuals took part in the activity. A score of one was given for attending an activity and a score of two if the individual actually participated. In other words, it is one thing to attend ball games and another thing to be an actual player.

**Occupational Groups Differed in Social Participation**

Differences in informal participation were quite noticeable between broad occupational groupings. Clerical and other white collar workers participated most in informal social activities. Unskilled laborers were least active. Business and professional men compared favorably with the semi-skilled and skilled laborers. Farmers were below clerical and white collar workers, but they participated more than laboring or business classes of workers. The pattern was much the same in church participation. Clerical and other white collar workers had slightly higher scores than did farmers. Business and professional people appeared to be less church inclined than farmers and compared favorably with semi-skilled and skilled laborers. Unskilled laborers were least active in religious affairs. However, when all organizations were considered the pattern remained much the same except that the farmers fell below business and professional men in the extent of their participation.  

**Social Participation Shows a Relation to Personality Adjustment**

The sophomore student in the families studied took the “California test of personality.” This test measured primarily his attitude regarding his relations to the existing institutions in the community and his own self feelings. One might expect, consequently, to find a definite relation between the personality score and the extent of the student’s social participation in his community. Such relations are clearly evident in the data.

For purposes of comparison, cases were divided into high, medium, and low with respect to the personality adjustment score and the social participation score. The amount of informal participation by the sophomore had no clear relation to personality adjustment. On the other hand the extent of church participation was quite important. In the high church participation group, there was a relatively large percent who had the most favorable personality scores. Those having medium church participation scores had the highest percent in the low personality groups and low participants had the largest number of cases in the medium personality range.
The sophomore's participation in all formal organizations had a similar pattern to his church participation, but here again it was only in the high participating group that a large proportion of students in the high personality groupings were found.

**Social Participation of the Student and His Parents was Related Favorably to His Personality**

The social participation scores of the sophomore and his parents were summed together. This gave additional family background information concerning the social participation of parents and sophomore, which may help account further for the kind of personality rating the sophomore received.

The relations between informal participation of the family and personality adjustment of the sophomore student was not found to be very significant. There was, however, some positive increase in personality adjustment with the higher social participation score.

The sophomores who participated the most with their parents in church had, in general, the best personality scores. People who attended religious meetings were seemingly most content with themselves and their social relations in the community.

The sophomore and parents' participation in all formal organizations had the same general pattern in relation to the personality score as did his participation in church. There is obviously a relation between social participation and personality adjustment. The individual who feels good about himself and his community, who gets along well with others, and is respected, is the likely person to be elevated to positions of leadership in the community and is the likely person to identify himself most actively with the various forms of its institutional offerings.

Community development and personality growth are complimentary functions of social participation. The importance of social participation can thus be justified on the grounds that through it the community and the individual can achieve the development of the richest personal and social ends.

**Social Participation was also Affected by Other Social Conditions**

Without presenting specific figures other selected variables, as they related to participation, are summarized briefly. Old residents were, in general, more active in the community than the newcomers.

The difference was marked in connection with participation in formal organizations, but not so noticeable in reference to informal participation.

The grade of school attained by the parent made an important difference in the amount of informal participation, but the difference between church participation and participation in all organizations was negligible except for those having some college education or college graduates. The number in this study having some college education, however, was small.

LDS and non-LDS ranked about the same in informal participation. More people in the younger ages (based on the average of the husband's and wife's ages) engaged in informal activities. After the age of 50 years, there appeared to be a lessening of such activities. Size of
family didn’t seem to make an unusual difference in informal participation although persons having only one or two children and those having six or more participated somewhat less than families with three though five children.

LDS generally showed higher participation scores in church than Protestants. This may reflect organizational differences in terms of lay leadership and the greater number of auxiliary organizations. Families in the younger ages also had a slightly higher score than individuals having the most children, but the differences were not significant.

High or low participation scores, however, were not related to high and low degree of urbanism (as measured by the index of urbanism).817

URBANIZATION AND LEVEL OF LIVING

At the beginning of the influx of people in Davis County living conditions were crowded. However, this crowded condition did not continue to the end of the decade. From 1940 to 1950 the number of homes more than doubled. The number of persons per dwelling unit was lowered. Single family dwellings were built with adequate front and back yards. Expansion of community and private facilities, equipment, and services increased the availability of electricity, gas, sewage and garbage disposal, culinary water, and roads. In spite of the near doubling population there was an increase in percentage of population possessing houses with running water, mechanical refrigerators, radios, baths or showers, indoor toilets, central heating, and electricity. Thus there was not only a higher level of living for the average family in 1950 than in 1940, but this higher level was reaching a nearly doubled population.

Under conditions similar to those of Davis County, level of living is improved by urbanization. Other counties and communities expecting urbanization can look forward in the long run with some assurance to its positive effect upon level of living. Level of living means the extent to which families possess material goods of life. It has reference to actual conditions in contrast to standard of living, which is an ideal above that of the average. Level of living seems to be related to morale, degree of satisfaction, social adjustment, and general psychological well-being of family members.17

Level of Living in the County Increased

With the near-doubling of the population, there was a strain placed on housing in the early part of the decade.

The people who came were desperate for a place to live. They moved into homes, apartments, cabins, basements, improvised sheds, auto trailers,
and prefabricated houses quickly constructed by the federal government. They moved into all sections of the county wherever they could find any kind of accommodations.\textsuperscript{18}

Such improvised, makeshift, and temporary shelter might suggest that the level of living had dropped. Though there undoubtedly was a drop at first, by the end of the decade there had been a marked increase in housing facilities compared with those at the beginning of the decade. The percent of the population possessing several important level of living items reported in the U. S. Census\textsuperscript{19} increased in spite of the fact that the population nearly doubled (table 5).

The magnitude of the changes is more apparent when the increase of

\begin{table}
\centering
\caption{Percent of population possessing level of living items, Davis County\textsuperscript{a}}
\begin{tabular}{lcc}
\hline
Item & 1940 & 1950 \\
\hline
Running water in house & 82.3 & 96.2 \\
Mechanical refrigerator & 56.2 & 90.3 \\
Radio & 94.3 & 99.3 \\
Bath or shower & 65.7 & 90.1 \\
Inside toilet & 65.4 & 89.6 \\
Central heating & 21.8 & 52.2 \\
Electricity & 98.1 & 99.4 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

each item is noted. For every 100 dwelling units with running water in 1940, there were 253 in 1950. For every 100 units with a mechanical refrigerator in 1940 there were 342 in 1950. For every 100 with a radio and with electric lights, there were 220 and 225, respectively, in 1950. For every 100 units with bath or shower and with inside toilet in 1940 there were 300 and 299, respectively, in 1950. And for every 100 homes with central heating in 1940 there were 533 in 1950.

These seven items increased by well over 100 percent, while the popula-
tion increase for the county was only 95.6 percent. If it can be assumed that these seven items of level of living symbolize the trend in possession of other material goods of life, it can be generalized that increases in level of living of the county during the decade were markedly greater than increases in the population.

Whether urbanization as such has been the sole factor in producing these large changes is a question. It is certain that increased population is directly responsible for most of the numerical increase. However, rise in density of population does not necessarily mean that the average level of living will rise. There are slum-like “shack towns” in America where large numbers of people live in a small area, but where running water, bath and toilet, sewage disposal, and electricity are inadequate.

However, urbanization has undoubtedly given the impetus for expansion of electricity, water, sewage, and gas lines, thereby making accessible at reasonable costs what on a private basis would be expensive. As an illustration of the expansion during the decade, Layton, the community in Davis County with highest population increase, installed seven and three-fourths miles of new water main, eight miles of new sewage lines, and two and a fourth miles of new roads.20 A further illustration, for the county as a whole, is that there were 5,666 domestic and commercial users of natural gas in 1950 as contrasted in 1,743 in 1940.21

Other related changes that have made possible more adequate housing and material conditions of living are as follows:

Agricultural land was shifted to urban use. Land that had been cultivated as farms and orchards was broken into building sites. Not only was farm land adjacent to city boundaries brought into the city, but also former farm land was changed into entirely new towns such as Sahara Village, Fruit Heights, and areas of towns such as Verdland Park. The settlement had taken, in the main, the pattern of single family dwellings with lawns and back yards. This type of development was possible because of an adequate supply of land for building purposes. The platted residential areas were interspersed with farm lands in some communities, indicating a capacity for a much higher population density.

Many new homes, complete with modern conveniences, were added. For every 100 dwelling units in 1940 there were 218 by 1950; yet for every 100 persons in 1940 there were only 195.6 in 1950. There was enough increase in dwelling units to lower the average number of persons per unit from 4.346 in 1940 to 3.648 in 1950.

Many of the new homes were offered for sale by contractors and contained running water, bath or shower, toilet, electricity, and in many cases central heating. Residents who occupied these houses, therefore, had major level of living items in a “package,” making it unnecessary to make decisions as to which, if not all, of the items would be chosen.

Health and sanitation facilities were expanded. As an example, in Layton there was no garbage collection in 1940. The federal government began this service once a week in 1943 for the government personnel
who lived in the Verdeland Park area, a government housing project with 400 units. By 1950 garbage collections was made under the supervision of the city of Layton, and included Layton and all of its sub-units with 1,052 units.\textsuperscript{22}

Wartime prosperity affected level of living. A decade of wartime prosperity with inviting rates of pay in war industries and defense installations must certainly have been a major overall factor in the increases in level of living.

**Level of Living of Rural and Urban Dwellers Differed Insignificantly**

Notwithstanding the general increase in level of living, differences among families did exist. To determine the extent of these differences and if they were associated with urbanism, statistical tests were made between degree of urbanism and level of living. A family level of living score was obtained by noting the condition of the living room,\textsuperscript{23} on the theory that the degree of comfort, beauty, and orderliness of the living room is indicative of the whole house. Scores of the 203 sample families have a wide range, and the distribution falls in a somewhat normal curve.\textsuperscript{818} Census materials were also examined.

Traditionally, rural people have been lower than urban people in levels of living as measured by the kind of house and its furnishings. In Davis County, however, it appears that this traditional gap between rural and urban residents has been so narrowed that significant differences do not exist. It was found that the families with high living room scores were distributed throughout all degrees of urbanism, as were families with medium or low scores.\textsuperscript{819}

The extent to which this gap narrowed during the 1940-50 decade is revealed by census data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Running water in the house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>88.9</td>
<td>98.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric lights in the house</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>96.6</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>97.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>98.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical refrigeration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>88.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>61.6</td>
<td>91.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central heating</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>41.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toilet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>85.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>78.3</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath or shower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>83.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>97.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between 1940 and 1950 the rural population increased in percentage possessing six of the seven items of level of living presented in table 6 at a much more rapid rate than did the urban. This increase reached the point where rural and urban homes differed insignificantly in having running water, electricity, radio, and mechanical refrigerator. The difference was a little more significant in possession of indoor toilets, but even here the possession was only 5 percent higher in urban. The rural, of course, had farther to go and this helps to explain their faster rate. The urban percentage could not increase much since a high percentage of ur-
ban dwellers in Davis County already possessed these items in 1940. It is significant that the enlargement of community and private services, facilities, and equipment had been so extended in most of the major level of living items as to be available to both rural and urban residents and that rural as well as urban residents obtained the items.

Nevertheless, there were important differences between rural and urban dwellers in two items. As will be noted in table 6, differences between percentage of rural and urban population possessing central heating and baths or showers favored the urban.

In addition, there were four items in the living room scale that were significantly related to degree of urbanism of the family (as measured by the index of urbanism). Families who were more urban in their way of life tended to possess a (1) telephone, (2) a large rug, (3) more broken and scratched furniture, (4) a library table (a table in addition to the dining table). Families less urban in their way of life tended not to possess the four items above and tended to possess more patched furniture.

Thus, though there were differences between rural and urban families in Davis County in possession of certain items of level of living that were studied, in many other items there were no significant differences.

If degree of urbanism cannot account for the bulk of differences among families in level of living, these differences must be accounted for by other factors. Two important factors found to be so related were education and occupation. Tests revealed that high education tended to be associated with high living room scores. Those having some years of college in particular tended to have high levels of living. One half of these families had level of living scores in the highest category.

It was also found that the professional, business, and clerical grouping had higher living room scores; the semi-skilled and unskilled grouping had lower scores; and farmers and skilled workers had intermediate positions.

URBANIZATION AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN

MORE THAN half of the married women in the sample studied worked after marriage. Furthermore, the percent of married women workers increased significantly from 1940 to 1950. In 1944 there were eight women to ten men employed at the military installations in the county.

The majority of the women workers pooled their income with that of their husbands to be used for family expenses. Husbands were more favorable to their wives working than were the children of the family. Women themselves by and large thought that their work was worthwhile.
Certain household tasks of women increased during the decade, others decreased. Among working mothers there was a drop in the practice of canning fruit and vegetables, family mending, and visiting neighbors over non-working mothers. There was no significant difference in the two groups in home baking and sewing.

Although women's voice is a muffled one in world affairs, women are recognizing the imperative demands of change. Adjustments in the areas where woman's life centers reveal realistic attitudes. In day to day living her adjustments may appear to be slow; over a period of years actually they loom large and in places are hardly less than revolutionary. Particularly is this true where strong urbanization influences are at work. Davis County represents such an area.

This rural area which experienced such a growth in population, with its enlarged school enrollments, and diversification of businesses, also experienced changes in the life of the mother and in her own interpretation of her role. This role, in modern times, may be thought of as an expanding rather than a new one. Modern woman does not feel that she is attempting to escape responsibility. From Elliot and Merrill we note:

The care and training of children will always be women's first important task imposed by biological fact. If she does not assume personal responsibility for their care, she must at least make certain that they are left in competent hands. Otherwise they must suffer for other small contributions which she may be able to make to society as a whole.

All women do not rear children and there are periods in the lives of those who do when time is available for economically productive activity.

The sample families in this study had at least one child in the 10th grade; the women averaged 43 years of age and ranged from 34 to 65 years; they have been married at least seventeen years. Households were large, averaging 5.4 persons. Some comparisons will indicate their size. In 1950 Davis County households averaged 3.81, Utah households 3.58, Utah urban 3.43, Utah non-farm 3.76, and Utah rural farm 4.22.

Thus, the women of this study were of middle age, they had had experi-
ence in family life and knew the problems of large families.

A Large Number of Women had Employment Outside the Home

The role of these women tended to include employment outside the home as well as work in the home. Of the total women interviewed, 56.7 percent had worked since marriage. One-half of the married women who had been employed expected to continue employment, 28 percent as full-time and 22 percent as part-time workers. Since both small and large communities were close enough to public and private industries in nearby cities for residents to obtain employment, present residence in large or small towns did not show any correlation with employment of the sample women.

Employment of Women Was Greatest in Certain Jobs

A comparison of the percentages in the sample data with the more comprehensive data in the census suggests reasonably close correspondence (table 7). Only in the category of service workers in the sample does the percentage appear to be significantly smaller.

This study shows that women on

Table 7. Occupations of employed women workers in Utah, Davis County, and three Davis County communities, 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major occupation group</th>
<th>Utah no.</th>
<th>percent</th>
<th>Davis County Totals no.</th>
<th>percent</th>
<th>Sample Married women no.</th>
<th>percent</th>
<th>Bountiful Clearfield Layton no.</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional &amp; technical managers and officials</td>
<td>8,043</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>2,673</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2,767</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical workers</td>
<td>17,812</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>15,864</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen and foremen</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred</td>
<td>5,307</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service workers</td>
<td>8,522</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private household work</td>
<td>2,671</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborers except farm</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers and farm managers</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborers &amp; foremen</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm laborers, unpaid family</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupations not reported</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total employed</td>
<td>54,018</td>
<td>2,019</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>241</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage employed</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the whole selected clerical, service, sales, and professional occupations.

The census data for 1950 show that in Utah, and in Davis County, clerical positions were by far the most numerous, attracting more than one of three women workers. Sales workers constituted one in five, professions one in seven, operatives one in nine, and private household work (the old stand-by for women) only one in fourteen. Women avoided the laborers’ field whether in industry or on the farm. Neither were they interested in craftsmanship or managerial work to any extent. In the skilled fields in industry where men are numerously engaged there were few women wage earners, however. Three-fourths of the employed women were in twenty-three occupations.

**Employment of Women Increased From 1940 to 1950**

Changes occurred during the ten-year period. All occupational groups of women increased in numbers between 1940 and 1950 with the single exception of farmers and farm managers which lost both in number and in percentage of the population in Davis County. 25

The national trend between 1940 and 1950 for married women to seek employment more and single women less was also indicated among Davis County women.

The United States Census for 1950 shows 22.4 percent of its female population fourteen years old and over in the labor force in Davis County. Bountiful had 26.2 percent. This was the sixth highest community in Utah in employment of women. Salt Lake City was first with 32.9 percent. The two other urban places in Davis County, Clearfield and Layton, had 22.8 percent and 24.1 percent women, respectively, in the labor force.

Of the 203 families interviewed, 34.5 percent of the mothers were employed in 1950. This included all those working full-time or part-time at any time during the year—full-time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total group number</th>
<th>Total group percent</th>
<th>Full-time work number</th>
<th>Full-time work percent</th>
<th>Part-time work number</th>
<th>Part-time work percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Fifteen women worked full-time some years and part-time some years.*

---

*Note:* The table shows the percentage of married women with full-time and part-time employment by years, 1940-1950, in Davis County, Utah.
15.8 percent and part-time 18.7 percent. In contrast to 70 mothers working in 1950, only 22 were employed in 1940, 5.4 percent full-time and 5.4 percent part-time (table 8).

Number of women employed in Davis County (full-time and part-time) showed quite a steady trend upwards between 1940 and 1950. This was in harmony with the national trend.

Full-time employment of mothers increased steadily from 1940 to 1946 and declined only slightly from 1946 to 1950. The three highest years of full-time employment in order were 1946, 1947, and 1945.

Part-time employment of women increased steadily during the eleven year period from 5.4 to 18.7 percent with but two slight drops (1943 and 1945). Both types of employment seem to have been established as patterns for a sizable portion of the women in Davis County. In the less skilled occupations part-time women workers were found more frequently than full-time workers.

**Reasons Women Gave for Working**

National emergency needs influenced the work of many women in Davis County. Approximately two out of five worked full or part-time because of war requirements. During World War II, two defense areas located in the county employed women almost as extensively as men and the third (Ogden Arsenal) more extensively. Women also worked at various employments in their home community to replace male workers inducted into military service. Here, as elsewhere, patriotism was a predominant motive.

Approximately half of all women who had worked during the decade worked regularly.

Reasons given for work were: to supplement or increase income, to use skills and abilities, to provide outside interests and contacts, and to cover miscellaneous needs. These reasons merit brief discussion:

**To supplement or increase income:** This reason constituted 56.4 percent of all reasons given. Either as sole or partial reason it rose to 72 percent. Rising standards of living, particularly in the rearing of children, act as a driving force on parents. Also, community and social institutions require more financial support than a generation ago.

**To provide outside interests and contacts** was a reason given by one out of four and as a principal or secondary reason by one out of three. These mothers felt a strong need for association and competition with other people in the office, school, store, or hospital. Women in smaller households of three and four sensed this need more strongly than women in larger households.

**The use of skills and abilities** was a reason given for working by only one in ten. This reason had not come strongly into the thinking of a large number of employed mothers.

**Various miscellaneous reasons** totaled 6.5 percent. They consisted of: the war emergency, a shortage of teachers, helping a neighbor, loyalty to family business, poor health of husband, and children's education. These reasons, while constituting only a small percentage of the principal reasons, no doubt entered into the total picture in a much larger number of cases.
Employment of Women Differed for Old and New Settlers

Old resident families constituted nearly two-thirds of the sample. Each year from 1940 to 1950, a larger proportion of newcomer married women worked full-time. The nation’s need and the presence of jobs appear to have attracted the new women residents more than the old. Although newcomers constituted only a third of women in the sample, they were 48 percent of the women workers. It is of interest that they engaged more frequently in skilled and semi-skilled types of work. The reverse holds true for part-time work. Here the old-timers comprised 79 percent of the workers. Obviously, there was little prejudice against some form of employment of women in either group.

Size of Family Affected Women’s Decisions to Work

The household was larger if the mother was employed part-time rather than full-time, and it was still larger if she was not employed at all (table 9).

Table 9. Size of household related to employed married women and unemployed married women. Davis County, Utah, 1950

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Size of household</th>
<th>Total group</th>
<th>Full-time</th>
<th>Part-time</th>
<th>Total employed</th>
<th>Total not employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>no. percent</td>
<td>no. percent</td>
<td>no. percent</td>
<td>no. percent</td>
<td>no. percent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>25.1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avg.</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women’s Earnings Were Pooled With Husband’s for Family Use

A large proportion of the women (76.1%) spent their earnings jointly with their husbands'. This was true whether the wife lived in the more urban or the more rural communities in the county. One woman in ten spent her money as she chose. One in fifteen spent it on a savings account. Miscellaneous spending took about a fourth of it.

Women’s Attitudes Toward Their Employment Differed

Not all women who were employed felt that work was worthwhile to them personally. Nearly a fourth of the working women in Syracuse felt their work was not a personal satisfaction, while all working women in Farmington and Sahara Village thought their work satisfying. Work was considered worthwhile to 76.6 percent of all working women. These women listed many gains they obtained. Four in ten appreciated the social contacts; nearly one in five enjoyed her work; one in six thought
work broadened her viewpoint, gave good experience, and needed change. A few appreciated creative aspects or opportunity for initiative as well as gaining a feeling of self worth.

**Family Members Differed in Their Attitudes Toward Women's Employment**

Husbands were more favorable than their children toward the wife's employment. More than two-thirds of the husbands (68.6%) approved of their wife's working either as a general practice or under emergency conditions. However, less than half the children (43.8%) felt favorable. Actual disapproval was expressed by 34 percent of children as against only 23 percent of husbands. The rural attitude of unpaid work for women is here seen in struggle with the urban attitude of women in industry.

**Women's Employment Outside Home Not Compensated by Paid Housework in the Home**

When the mother was away from home on a job her children were in school in 53 percent of the families. None of the children was in a day nursery. Twenty percent were cared for by immediate family members. Another 20 percent were taken care of by other than relatives, and 7 percent were cared for by other relatives. It appears that more mothers were working who did not have small children.

Paid household assistance was found in only 13 of the 203 sample cases. Three-fourths of the families did not have regular assistance for household duties. Of the working mothers, nine in ten families had assistance for household work, but this assistance was voluntary or was done by a family member in three-fourths of these homes. The mother's working outside the home brought out cooperative qualities in family members, while mothers not working were able to get family members to share home responsibilities in only one home in seven. Although many Davis County mothers were employed, satisfactory nursery service had not been provided in 1950.

**Some Household Practices Changed During the Decade**

Between 1940 and 1950 canning fruits and vegetables increased in 42.7 percent of the households (table 10); it remained constant in 45.2 percent, and declined in 11.1 percent, and was never practiced in 1.0 percent. Home canning of fruits and vegetables more than held its own when working and non-working mothers were considered as a group. Home freezing of fruits and vegetables was not practiced in a third of the homes. In two-fifths of the homes more home freezing was done...
in 1950 than in 1940, and in a tenth less was done. Baking bread and pastries was on the increase in more than a third of the homes, remained stationary in over two-fifths, and decreased in nearly one-fifth. Baking bread and pastries, like canning, was a traditional practice of the area where wheat is grown and fruits are plentiful. In spite of the general increase in urban baking output and improvement in baking deliveries, home baking appears to have been on the increase. Only two families of the sample did not do home baking of bread and pastries.

Family mending was common with all the women. For practically one-half of them the practice continued about the same over the ten year period. However, in all five of the most rural communities there was a tendency for mending to increase while the reverse held true for the more urban communities. In the county as a whole there was a slight increase in family mending. Family sewing was common for 96.0 percent of the women. In the county sewing increased among 28.6 percent of the sample, remained the same among 35.3 percent, and decreased among 32.1 percent. Slightly more home sewing was done in the rural communities.

Helping husband in his business was practiced by two-fifths of the women interviewed. It increased with 10.0 percent, decreased with 3.5 percent, and remained the same for 28.2 percent. Helping husband on the farm was not practiced by 58.3 percent of the women. For 26.7 percent the practice remained constant. Among 8.0 percent of the women it decreased.
Exchanging work with neighbors still occurred to some degree in Davis County, although 47.3 percent had never done it. The practice remained the same among 36.2 percent of the sample families, while increases about canceled out decreases. An old rural custom had refused to be entirely dislodged. Visiting neighbors on the other hand decreased for every urban community and also in Kaysville during the ten year period. It also decreased in the rural towns of Farmington, Woods Cross, and Syracuse. Only in two rural communities did increases and decreases remain the same (Centerville and South Weber). Eight percent of Davis County sample families never visited neighbors. Nearly one-half (48.7 percent) continued the practice without change, while 30.7 percent did less of it. One in eight did more. Visiting neighbors is thought to be more prevalent in rural than in urban areas. However, modern home communication facilities also tend to reduce visiting in rural areas. Still these facilities bring to people who live alone group feelings. Of least importance in neighborly relations was borrowing from neighbors. It was never a practice with more than three-fourths of the women. It did not increase in a single home from 1940 to 1950. In one out of eleven families it decreased. In two in seven families (28.1 percent) it remained constant. Borrowing, once considered a rural custom because of the primary group neighborliness was obviously of small importance in Davis County. A neighbor was not dependent on his friend next door for a cup of sugar.

A statistical measure was used to test the observed difference in 5 practices between women working in 1950 as contrasted with women not working. There was a significant difference between the two groups in the practices of canning fruit and vegetables, in family mending, and in visiting neighbors. Working mothers have been forced to diminish their activities in these practices. Where the total group has more than held its own, working mothers have not been able to do so. There was thus a sacrifice in two customary and traditionally useful home practices where the mothers were working, and also in the socially customary friendly practice of visiting neighbors. Family baking bread and pastries, and family sewing showed less difference between working and non-working mothers. In these areas mothers continued with the practices probably because of family need.

**URBANISM AND FAMILY LIVING**

A significant relation between urbanism and the degree of family unity as measured by the familism index was not indicated in this study. The more urban the families the more individualistic they would be had been the general thought, and the more rural the greater amount of familism that would exist. This generalization could not be made
Family unity contrasts with family individualism

about Davis County families. It appears that patterns of family unity or disunity may exist with little relation to the degree of urbanism. Whether differences between degrees of urbanism would yield more differences in familism if the range of urbanism were greater remains for future investigators to determine. It is likely that other factors besides urbanism must be used to account for differences in degrees of familism. One such factor in this study was mobility history of the family.

Is there a relation between the degree of urbanism and the amount of family unity was the problem studied in this section.

It is thought that rural living tends to foster family unity. The word "familism" is used to describe the amount of family unity as indicated through attitudes toward and practices of family cooperation and solidarity. Some characteristics of familism as defined by Burgess and Locke are

- family members feel that they belong pre-eminently to the family group; all members participate in the achievement of family objectives and subordinate individual to familial interests; family members rally to the assistance of a member if he is in trouble; and the continuity between the parental family and new family units is maintained through helping sons set up their households and establish themselves occupationally.

Those activities that showed the family working as a team may also be thought of as familism.

Opposite to familism is individualism. Ways of living which are not in agreement with familism and which tend to break the family unity into separate and independent experiences rather than teamwork may be regarded as individualism. "The concept of individualism by contrast
means the continuity and welfare of the family is no longer the chief social aim, but rather the personality development of its members.”

Attitudes and patterns of self-development, non-cooperation, non-association, individual aggrandizement, and lack of interest in the whole family values are some of the characteristics of the individualistic family. It is thought that this pattern of family living is a result of urban influences.

This section has attempted to see if families in Davis County who had high degrees of urbanism noticeably lacked characteristics of family unity, and if families with low degrees of urbanism had these characteristics.

The data used in this section were gained from the general interview schedules of 203 selected Davis County families referred to in earlier sections. A familism index for each family was derived which indicated degree of unity existing in the family in relation to the following attitudes and practices:

1. What are the eating patterns of your family?
2. What are your practices in relation to “family night”?
3. What degree of sharing and talking over personal problems with the whole family takes place?
4. Indicate the amount of agreement or disagreement within your family on the following things: religion, politics, recreation, family goals, jobs for family members.
5. What is the feeling of family unity?
6. Which best described the feelings of love and tenderness among all members of your family?
7. To what degree do you as a family show responsibility in the following activities: care of lawn, flowers, and garden; painting, repairing and decorating house; house cleaning; and cooperation in keeping house clean?
8. The money earned by children is used for what?
9. Do family members share (borrow and lend) clothing, personal articles or sporting goods with each other?
10. Would parents in time of need lend money to family members?
11. Do parents help their children with difficult school assignments?
12. Do parents give used furniture, household appliances, tools, or other material things to their married children?
13. What responsibility do you and your partner have to support your parents in their old age?
14. When family members assume positions of leadership or prominence, what kind of support is given by other members of the family?
15. Should your married children consult you for advice and help in buying a home?
16. How important to you is it that all of your children, when they
merry, live within a 100 mile radius of your home?

17. How important is it to you that all members of your family are buried in the same cemetery?

**Familism is not Significantly Associated with Urbanism**

Degree of urbanism as measured by the index of urbanism had no relation to high or low familism score. Families who had high degrees of familism had diverse index of urbanism scores, as did those with middle or low degrees of familism. Unlike rural-urban residence had no relation to degree of familism.

A significant relation existed between degree of urbanism of communities and degree of familism (table 11). However, degree of familism did not increase as the communities increased in urbanism, suggesting that other factors may be more directly concerned. It is significant, nevertheless, that the most urban community, Bountiful, was found to be highest in family unity as measured by the familism index.

**Table 11. The distribution of families by community urbanism ranking and familism index**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community urbanism ranking</th>
<th>25-44</th>
<th>45-64</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bountiful</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clearfield</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Layton</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaysville</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>121</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square is 15.08. $p$ is less than .01

*Low score means high degree of familism; high score means high degree of individualism.

**Familism is Associated with Mobility History of Family**

Families scoring low or medium in familism tended to move from one community to another more often than did families with high familism scores (table 12). The process of urbanization necessitates family moves; this mobility tends to weaken or change the patterns of family unity.

**Table 12. The distribution of families by familism index and total mobility score**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Familism index scores</th>
<th>Mobility scores</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14 &amp; under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-over</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square is 16.44. $p$ is less than .01.

*Low score means high degree of familism; high score means high degree of individualism.

A significant relation was found between degree of urbanism and the practice of “family night” (table 13). Families that scored high on the index of urbanism were also high in this practice. Also, families tended increasingly to have “family night” as they lived in increasingly more

**Table 13. The distribution of families by index of urbanism and the practice of having “family night”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of families</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Holding family night one family night times a month</td>
<td>Not holding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of urbanism or more</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59-53</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47-41</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-29</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi square is 7.22. $p$ is .01
urban communities. Nearly half, 92 of 192, of the families were holding "family night."

No significant relation was found between degree of urbanism and the practice of holding family reunions.

Families with higher degrees of urbanism tended to think it unimportant that the whole family be buried together. Families with lower degrees tended to think this practice important.

Families with higher degrees of urbanism were inclined to ignore malicious gossip and do nothing about the gossiper; while families with lower degrees of urbanism wanted to take action against the offender.

URBANISM AND PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS

Degree of urbanism did not appear to be associated with either the degree of severe parental authority exercised in the home or the degree of parental nonacceptance of their children. It is probable that the real determinants of the use of authority and how parents feel about their children are not related to urbanism. One such determinant, suggested by this study, is that of sex of the parent. The father appeared to be the dominant personality in an authoritarian sense, regardless of degree of urbanism, and was clearly regarded as the "head of the family" by other family members.

Parent-child relations constitute an uncertain pattern of change in a population undecided as to goals and methods of child care. The tempo and direction of specific "changes" in disagreement as to the "best" in parent-child relations are dependent upon many factors, and vary among different groups. The pattern of change is segmented, not total. Indeed, changes in parent-child relations including any brought on by urban influences may be so slow as to be indistinguishable in the relatively short space of a decade. Nevertheless, it is commonly held that urbanism brings disorganizing influences into the home. It was the purpose of this section of the study to determine if degree of urbanism of a family was related to two important phases of parent-child relations: degree of authority of the parents over children, and degree of acceptance of the child on the part of the parents. These two items were selected because each has a profound influence on the growth and adjustment of the child. Children who fail to establish a comfortable relation with authority have a difficult time throughout their life. Those who have lived under a heavy burden of repression as well as those who live in a setting without reliable and consistent limitations find it more difficult to establish a
favorable relation with authority. Of equal, or perhaps greater importance in the life of the child, is acceptance of him as a person by those who are most important in his life. Acceptance and love are the cornerstones on which growth is built.

In order to discover if the more urban families differed from the more rural families in parental authority and parental acceptance of children, statistical tests were made. Families having higher urbanism scores were compared with families having lower scores. It is commonly thought that rural families, in comparison to urban, have more authoritative control, usually vested in the father. In order to test the association between degree of urbanism and parental authority, one end of a continuum of authority was used. A parental authority score was derived upon the basis of questions concerning authority of the more extreme type. These questions were asked the parents to determine if the sophomore in their opinion was (1) afraid not to obey the parents, or (2) required to obey the parents without question. The total number of yes responses constituted the parental authority score, with high scores indicating high degree of authority.

In a similar way a non-acceptance score was computed, using 13 questions in the questionnaire. Seven of these questions sought to measure the parent’s interpretation of the sophomore student’s feeling of being less accepted than other children within the family. Six questions sought to measure the parent’s attitude toward the sophomore in relation to his academic and social adjustment at school, and his behavior at home. Responses indicating dissatisfaction with the sophomore, or reporting feelings of rejection on his part were summed for a non-acceptance score for each sample family. A high score represents a high degree of non-acceptance.

Other factors in addition to urbanism were also examined to see if they revealed an association with either authority or non-acceptance. It was thought that such factors, unless controlled, might interfere with any influence that might be the result of urbanism.

Table 14. Sex of parent and degree of authority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex of parent</th>
<th>Degree of authority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

p is between .02 and .01.
Parental Authority not Greatly Influenced by Urbanism

Degree of urbanism did not appear to be a vital influence on the degree of authority exerted by parents on their children. It would ordinarily be expected that of the two parents, the father would show a greater amount of severe authority. This expectation was born out by the data in table 14. Fathers strongly tended to be more severe in their patterns of authority than mothers. Of the 84 parents who showed one pattern of severe authority, 57 percent were fathers. Of the 27 who showed both patterns of severe authority, 70 percent were fathers.

It may be noted, however, that those parents who showed one or both patterns of severe authority were found in all degrees of urbanness. That is, severe parental authority appears to have been similarly present among both urban and rural fathers, and among urban and rural mothers.834 If urbanism does have an effect upon reducing the extent to which parents have severe authoritative controls over children, then it appears that the urban influence had already permeated the majority of families in the Davis sample.

Since it was impossible in the study to measure patterns of authority in 1940 and then in 1950, in order to note the effect of urbanization, families theoretically representing different points of time along the urbanism continuum (index of urbanism) were examined. Ordinarily it would be expected that those families in Davis County who were lowest on the index of urbanism would exhibit patterns of severe authority in a dispropor-

Table 15. Index of urbanism and parental authority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index of urbanism</th>
<th>Degree of parental authority</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-40</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-46</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47-52</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53-64</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p is about .50

tionate degree. Such expectations were not found in the Davis families, however. That is, parents exhibiting severe authority patterns seemed not to be distinguishable by rural or urban characteristics (table 15).

One of the characteristics of the urban family has been the greater likelihood of the employment of the mother outside the home. Therefore, the post-marriage work history of the mothers was computed as an evidence of urbanization, and this factor was analyzed to determine its influence on parental authority existing within the families of the study. Statistical test of this factor, however, did not indicate that any association existed between parental authority and the work history of the mother.835 A statistical test of education of the parents in relation to parental authority also showed no evidence of relation.836

It may be noted, however, that the number of persons with some college education was so limited in the sample as to result in a comparison only between those who had not graduated from high school with those who had either graduated from high school or had some college experience.
Table 16. Index of urbanism and parental non-acceptance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index of urbanism</th>
<th>Parental non-acceptance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 Total &amp; over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-46</td>
<td>44 18 14 14 9 11 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47-64</td>
<td>27 17 18 9 9 12 92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>71 35 32 23 18 23 202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p is between .70 and .50

No Difference Between Rural and Urban in Acceptance of Child

The rural family has traditionally been larger than the urban family. The rural child is a more obvious resource and aid to the family than is the child residing with his parents in an urban dwelling, which may account, in part, for the higher birth rate in rural areas. Some question may be raised as to whether the differences in family size in rural and urban areas reflect corresponding differences in parental acceptance of children.

The distribution of families according to index of urbanism scores, and their parental non-acceptance scores, are presented in table 16. The data in this table suggest no difference between the more urban parents and the more rural parents in the tendency to “not accept” their children.

There was only a suggestive statistical relation between the number of children in the family, and parental non-acceptance of the child. However, it appears that the degree of acceptance of the children in the family of the sample in Davis County may be greater in those families with four or five children than in those with fewer than three, or with six or more children.

Some differences between the fathers’ and mothers’ acceptance of some phases of the child’s social adjustment were evident. In reporting their attitudes toward the child’s scholarship achievements, social adjustment at school, and his behavior at home, mothers reported 55 percent of the responses indicating dissatisfaction, as compared with 45 percent reported by the fathers. The data also indicated that parents were less accepting of the child’s adjustment at school than they were of his adjustment at home. They were also less satisfied with his academic adjustment than with his social adjustment at school. Scholarship attainments at school represent the area in which the parents were least satisfied with the progress of their children.

APPENDIX

1Data on population are from reports of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.
2The percentage for 1950 is based on a slightly changed definition of “rural” and “urban” from the 1940 and earlier censuses.
4An interview schedule was the basic instrument for collection of data. It was prepared jointly by staff members of the Sociology Department. Several trial copies of the schedule were used as a basis for making it more reliable and valid. The final schedule was then administered to the sample families.
A common statistical test of association used in the study is chi square. This is frequently followed by use of the corrected coefficient of contingency, bar C. A chi square (X²) value that yields a p value of .05 or less shows that association does exist. The bar C value shows the amount of association.

Communities compared by this method consist of those in which the sample families resided. These communities were ranked from high to low degree of urbanism, hereafter called the community urbanism ranking and are as follows: Bountiful, Clearfield, Layton, Kaysville, and others. Sociology Department staff members ranked the communities. As a means of validating this ranking, fourteen USAC students from Davis County also ranked them. The rankings of each community by all the students were averaged, and the averages were used to provide the place on the scale of urbanism attained by each community. These rankings by the students were in agreement with the rankings made by the staff.

Families of the sample were placed on an urbanism continuum. This was done as follows: Twenty items (found in table 1, supplement) thought to show urbanism were scored for each family. Since some items applied to nearly all families, these are obviously not differentiating. (Tables of the supplement can be obtained by request from the Department of Sociology or the Experiment Station.) To select the most discriminating items, the method of internal consistency and critical ratio was used. The tables used in these calculations are tables II, III, and IV of the supplement. The sigma method of weighting each item was then used to refine the index. Sigma weights of each of the twelve items of the index are shown in table VI, supplement. For the calculation of the sigma weights, see tables V and VI, supplement. The total urbanism score for each family was derived by adding the weighted scores of the twelve items. The distribution of these scores is shown in table VII, supplement.

Validation of the index: To test the validity of the urbanism index, a correlation was made between it and the community urbanism ranking. Table VIII, supplement, presents these data. Calculation of chi square reveals that association does exist between the two measure of urbanism. The correlation value of bar C equals .42 is not high, but it, along with common-sense considerations on the validity of each of the items, is sufficient to indicate reasonable validity of the index of urbanism. See Margaret Jarmon Hagood. Statistics for sociologists. New York, Henry Holt Co., 1941, p. 219, for references to common-sense validity.

It is not intended that this index of urbanism be regarded as standardized or as having application in other studies. It is simply a device used in this study for selecting the more urban families. It is hoped that this is a better index of rural and urban families than present residence alone. In LDS (Mormon) communities and probably to a lesser degree elsewhere, residence alone is not adequate as a measure of rural or urban characteristics. (Tables I through VIII in the supplement are numbered “s1” through “s8” in the supplement numbering system.)

Statistical test of the association between community urbanism ranking and the index of urbanism shows a chi square, p is less than .01, bar C is .42. (table VIII, supplement.)

A limitation of the part of the study dealing with the urbanism indexes is that the communities and families represented by the sample are not spread widely on the rural to urban continuum. The communities are located in a comparatively small area, all of which is and has been subject to considerable urban contact. If urbanism is conceived as a continuum from the least urban to the most urban, the distance between the least and most urban communities and families of the sample represents a relatively small sector of the continuum. Though a study of this small sector is valuable for many parts of the study, in those parts concerned with rural-urban comparisons, differences are less likely to be significant statistically. Nevertheless, if significant differences are found between rural and urban segments on this short sector of the continuum, it could be suspected that such differences would be extremely significant if families and communities farther removed from each other on the continuum were compared.

The data on Latter-day Saint church members were obtained from the Presiding Bishop’s office; that on the Community Church at Bountiful from the Rev. George Dreher; that on the Catholic Church at Bountiful from the Rev. James T. Kenney; that on the Catholic Church at Layton from Father Spear; that on the Community Church at Clearfield from the Rev. Hampton Price; and that on the First Baptist Church at Clearfield from the Rev. John L. Smith.

These data on libraries were obtained from Mrs. Helen P. Gibson, county librarian.
R. Clay Allred, county planner, gave information on Davis County Planning Commission activities.

The data on public welfare were obtained from Garth A. Youngberg, Bureau of Accounts and Research.

The data included in this section were obtained from the records of the county superintendent of schools' office with the assistance of the assistant superintendent, Samuel Morgan.

Samuel Morgan, assistant superintendent, says: "Davis High School from July 1941 to July 1942 lost 16 teachers out of 36. The two junior high schools lost 18, and the elementary schools 15. In other words, 44 out of 138 teachers (nearly one-third) left the Davis County schools. Of the 16 high school teachers who left, 10 entered defense industries and all excepting one who moved went into positions paying larger salaries. This was true for the other schools as well.

"The biennial reports of the schools in Utah in the State Superintendent of Public Instruction's Office show that from 1910 to 1945 Davis County ranked in the lower half of school districts in per capita expenditures for education every year excepting 1939-40. Beginning in 1945-46 a sudden change in rank was observed. Davis County took its place in the upper 50 percent of the school districts in Utah in per capita expenditures for education."


This statement was made by Samuel Morgan, assistant superintendent of schools.

An excellent study of these items on a state-wide basis using data prior to the 1950 census was made by Joseph A. Geddes and Carmen D. Fredrickson in their bulletin entitled Utah Housing in its group and community aspects. Utah Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 321, 1945.

Office of City Recorder, Layton, Utah.

Mountain Fuel Supply Company, Salt Lake City, Utah, Henry Hillard, chief engineer.

Office of City Recorder, Layton, Utah.


Women's occupational groups which increased in numbers but declined in percentages are: professional and technical (17 to 13), managers and officials (4.6 to 3), operatives (11 to 9), private household work (10 to 7), and unpaid family farm laborers, (2 to .6). Women's occupational groups which increased both in numbers and in percentages of the total were: clerical and sales from 194 to 949 (37% to 47%), women service workers, 48 to 278 (9% to 14%). Women craftsmen and foremen and farm laborers more than held their own.


Ibid, p. 527.