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The Teacher and His Work

The Teacher AND HIS *Work*

A FIRST COURSE IN EDUCATION

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Preface

There are several different views among educators regarding the nature of the first professional course for the prospective teacher. The writers of this book believe that the first course in education should help the student to gain a perspective of the institution of public education in our society and to acquire a realistic overview of the nature and conditions of the work of the teacher.

Adequate orientation requires a consideration of the teacher. his characteristics and aptitudes, his economic status, his personal and professional opportunities, his duties and responsibilities. In addition, the prospective teacher needs some insight into the contribution of educational theorists to the evolution of the educational system, the relation of the school to society, child-teacher relationships, the nature of the work of the various school units, the relation of the teacher and the community, and finally the problems associated with the evaluating of teaching and learning.

The present book should find a place in courses usually called Introduction to Education or Orientation in Education. This first course in Education is usually followed by a more detailed consideration of the methods or techniques of teaching. The authors are not assuming that the mere assimilation of the materials contained herein will fulfill the purposes of a first course in education. The particular way the instructor relates the materials to the developing professional needs of the prospective teacher will be the determining factor in the success of the course.

This volume will also serve as a useful guide for adult groups desiring a general treatment of public education in the United States.

George Gould

Gerald Alan Yoakam

University of Pittsburgh
April, 1947

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The Teacher and His Work

Chapter One

TEACHING AS A CAREER

THE SELECTION of an occupation or profession is a vital step in the life of the individual. It is one of the most important decisions that a young person will ever have to make. It is of fundamental importance to society as well as to the person concerned, because the wrong choice of a career leads not only to personal disappointment, but tends to affect unfavorably the individual's competency in other matters.

The choice of teaching as a career is a particularly crucial matter for the individual because of the financial outlay that is required in preparation for it. The trend is toward longer and longer periods of preparation involving increasing cost. It is well, therefore, for the person who is thinking seriously about teaching as a life vocation, to examine carefully the nature of the profession, the opportunities and responsibilities it offers, and his personal aptitude for it before he stakes his time, money, and effort in preparation for the career.

THE NATURE OF TEACHING

By the time an individual aspires to teach he has already had considerable contact with teachers and teaching. He may think that he understands the nature of the profession. But teaching is a far more complex and difficult profession than it may appear to the uninitiated. A professional conception of teaching sets it among the most significant of social arts. Contrary to the opinion of many, it is not merely a routine job which involves only managing a school, giving out lessons, and hearing recitations.

Teaching is concerned rather with the complete development of human beings. Other professions may have a far simpler task. The physician is

concerned with the physical welfare of the individual, the clergyman with his spiritual welfare. The teacher is concerned not only with the development of the mind, as some think, but with the development of the whole personality of the individual. And while the clergyman and the physician have their important work to do, the teacher shares with the parent the responsibility for the integrated development of the individual child in all respects, and with his social and intellectual growth in particular.

The teacher begins with the innate capacities of the child, his experience in the home and in the outside world, his physical, moral, and spiritual potentialities, and with him works to develop a person who can meet the problems of life in intelligent ways. The professionally minded teacher attempts to work out with the child a way of life which will enable him to be physically fit, economically efficient, morally and emotionally stable, intellectually awake, and efficient in his civic relationships. Thus, the teacher is potentially the integrator of personalities, the counselor and guide to learners, the developer of citizens, and the servant of the state as guardian of the individual.

Teaching involves a highly personal relationship to the learner. It must deal with his emotional and spiritual development quite as much as with his intellectual development because the child tends to react emotionally to teachers and teaching. It is a mistake to think of teaching as limited to instilling subject matter, assigning tasks, examining, and giving rewards and punishments. These are only some of the mechanical techniques of the teaching process, and teaching never should be merely mechanical

Teaching embraces intimate personal relationship with human beings. The great teacher is always more interested in his pupil as a person than he is in the subject matter of his field of teaching. A scholar may properly be devoted to his special subject, but the teacher must always think of subject matter in relation to its value in life and its uses with children. The great teacher is concerned with what the pupil can do with subject matter and how knowledge affects the learner, and not primarily with the mastery of a subject for its own sake.

In the light of the foregoing, it would seem that the understanding of children and of learning is fundamental to teaching. Nevertheless, what is taught is also important. A knowledge of man's achievements and an acquaintance with the various fields of human knowledge are essential too, primarily because they are useful in the development of the child. The main concern of the teacher is always: Is the child learning? If not, why not? And what can I do to help him? What is the effect of this learning

on the child's personality? What is the effect of this learning on the individual as a member of his social group?

Looked at from this point of view, teaching is guiding and aiding the development of unformed human beings. An individual who does not like children and who is not of a disposition to enjoy giving service to others is not likely to enjoy teaching or to succeed at it. Teaching is a profession which demands of its practitioners exceptional qualities—intellectual, moral, physical, emotional—and a sincere devotion to human betterment. Teachers are potential liberators of humanity from ignorance, fear, misunderstanding, conflict, wars, and famine. To a large extent, man's advancement depends on the teachers of the world, both inside and outside the school.

Thus, the teacher belongs to that group of human beings who are more interested in human welfare than they are in personal gain. Great teachers have always been unselfish souls. Call the roll of great men who have made the world better for being in it and the greatest of them are teachers, if not by name at least in spirit. The career of teaching discloses to those who choose it unlimited opportunities for service to mankind. It is not a trade or a craft, but rather a profession demanding special knowledge and skill from its practitioners.

No one should avoid the choice of teaching as a career for fear of its limited opportunities. The only thing to worry about is whether he has the capacity for service for which the profession calls. Nor should he think of teaching as beneath his capacities, for winners of the Nobel Prize, members of the Hall of Fame, the greatest men and women in history, have been proud to be called teachers. Teaching as a career offers opportunities for service and for personal satisfaction which are equaled by very few professions.

Early motives for entering teaching. A realistic consideration of the facts leads to the belief that the professional ideals of teaching described in the preceding pages are not commonly held by the majority of those who have chosen teaching as a career. Many have become teachers thoughtlessly and primarily because it was an easy profession to enter. Many now teach with faint conception of the real function of the teacher. Since the beginning of teaching in America, perhaps the majority have chosen teaching as a career for personal gain or as a means of escape from a monotonous, purposeless existence. After Coffman surveyed the socio-economic background of 5,215 teachers in 1911, he stated:

In most cases the motive that starts teachers is economic pressure. The professional motive comes late; it must be due in part to experience and in part to training. In this connection it is worth recording that the vast majority of beginners have had no profesional training. Professionalization would come sooner if more could be induced to enter teaching because of a desire to confer service. Teaching then would be both a means and an end and not solely a means as it is so frequently now. The economic motive never can become as refined as the truly professional motive. As conditions are, the professional attitude must be cultivated through wise administration while teachers are in service.[1]

Teachers, then, like other workers, have in the past chosen their careers largely under the pressure of economic necessity. After a period of service, some of them have remained teachers because of professional motives—the desire for service and a sincere belief in the importance of teaching. For the majority, up to the present time, teaching has been an occupation, respectable to be sure, but hardly a profession. It has been more often a steppingstone to other professions regarded by laymen as more desirable either because of the greater financial reward they offer or the higher respect in which their members are held by society in general. The fact, too, that general opinion has favored the employment of unmarried women in the common schools has tended to make teaching a temporary occupation engaged in by young women who looked forward to life careers as wives and mothers.

The need for women teachers. The fact that young women have been prone to enter teaching as an economic necessity in no way detracts from the great service rendered by them to public education. Devoted young women scarcely out of their teens gave indispensable service as teachers, particularly in American elementary schools during the formative years of the nation, when the universal demand for schools and teachers far exceeded the available supply. During this early period men predominated as teachers in the secondary schools. However, since 1850, increased opportunities for employment of men in other occupations have forced teaching to become known as a feminine occupation.

Moreover, there are and will be, for many years to come, demands for the services of young women who plan to give only a few years of

[1] Coffman, L. D., *The Social Composition of the Teaching Population,* Teachers College Contribution, No. 41, 1911, p. 54.

service as teachers. As in the past, while in service they will often piece out the family income and will, in effect, be partly dependent on their parents for their care, since only in the humblest of circumstances is the small salary offered to young teachers sufficient to repay their parents for their training and for maintenance the year round, while they are preparing for careers as wives and mothers. But if they desire to become teachers under such conditions, there is no reason why they should not do so, provided they are willing to undergo the necessary preparation and to serve honestly while they teach.

Are teachers altruistic? While the economic motive for entering teaching as a career is not the highest motive, we have not meant to imply that teachers alone are motivated by this very human desire in choosing their careers. All professions are chosen to a certain extent in terms of the advantages, material or social, which will accrue to those entering them. Physicians, lawyers, ministers, and teachers, as well as social workers of other types, more commonly have other motives than the economic alone. But, on the whole, the occupations and professions in which the economic reward is potentially greatest tend to attract the ablest minds.

Generally speaking, however, teachers have been no more susceptible, and with far less reason, to the economic motive than the members of other occupations and professions. Moreover, the substitution of the professional career motive for the economic motive seems to be more and more common. Improved standards, longer preparation, and better financial rewards make teaching constantly more inviting as a career.

Current motives for entering teaching. It is always difficult to search out the dominant motives that lead young men and women to select a particular vocation. One finds scattered through current literature, however, some evidence that young people are being attracted to teaching by more wholesome attitudes. In 1944 Robinson reported a study of those motives that led 1145 men and women to select teaching.[2] The report included inexperienced, in service, and former teachers. The results of the study are presented in Table 1. It is at once apparent that this investigation reveals more professional motives on the part of young people who have selected teaching than Coffman's data seemed to show for an earlier period. Of 510 prospective teachers only 20.0 per cent of the men and 6.0 per cent

[2] Robinson, Donald W., *Analysis of Motives for the Choice of a Teaching Career,* Doctor's Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1944.

TABLE I [3]

MOTIVES WHICH INFLUENCED 446 MEN AND 699 WOMEN TO SELECT TEACHING AS A PROFESSION

	Men				Women			
	PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS	IN-SERVICE TEACHERS	SUPERIOR TEACHERS	FORMER TEACHERS	PROSPECTIVE TEACHERS	IN-SERVICE TEACHERS	SUPERIOR TEACHERS	FORMER TEACHERS
	Per Cent	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent*
1 Attractive profession	16	18	14	8	8	13	18	19
2 Love of teaching and of children	15	9	6	9	35	26	15	15
3 Liking for subject field	14	13	8	14	6	8	9	7
4 Service idealism	4	6	3	5	2	2	2	1
5 Financial reasons	20	14	10	18	6	6	5	5
6 Family influence	13	8	15	15	16	17	21	22
7 Influence of teachers	12	16	19	10	19	12	20	13
8 Accidental	6	16	25	21	8	16	10	18
Totals	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	129	140	67	110	381	135	96	87

[3] Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

of the women confess to economic or financial motives. While it is rather disturbing to observe some of the motives mentioned by these young people as the dominant influence in their choice of teaching, on the whole the impression gathered from an examination of the table tends to be optimistic. As long as high and unselfish ideals motivate those who choose teaching as an occupation, the profession will continue to rise in public esteem.

Is teaching a profession? It is pertinent at this point to mention two or three of the more important characteristics of professional work or service in order that the prospective teacher will have some standards by which he can judge whether certain motives for entering teaching are professional or otherwise. It is widely accepted that one of the distinguishing qualities of professional work is its requirement of an extended period of formal preparation. The purpose of this preparation is to insure in the practitioner not only a high degree of skill in his art, but also a thorough understanding of the scientific principles on which it is based. Educational supervisors often apply the term "classroom mechanic" to the teacher who is well equipped with a stock of devices and techniques, but who has little understanding of their educational implications because he does not comprehend the principles underlying them.

Another mark of professional work resides in the social value of the services rendered by those participating in it. A profession worthy of the name should make a genuine contribution to the betterment of society. The services of its workers should be essential to the improvement of living.

Finally, the professional worker is actuated by high and unselfish ideals in serving the public good. He is not in the work for its economic rewards alone. The profit motive has a subordinate place among the incentives of the truly professional worker. He will be concerned with his monetary income only to the extent that it is large enough to provide a standard of living that permits him to give the greatest service in the most effective way.

When we consider teaching in light of the foregoing criteria for professional service, we must admit frankly that a great deal of teaching does not attain the professional level. In the past, many of the less able young people entered teaching with little preparation. Many of the abler ones expected to use it as a steppingstone to the other professions. At

present the teaching group is represented by persons with varying amounts of educational preparation; yet on every level of education we now find teachers with professional zeal and sound training. Improved standards are enticing more able people into teaching. If the progress of the past twenty-five years continues, it will not be long before all teaching will be conducted on a professional plane. One who now chooses teaching as a career is selecting an occupation rapidly increasing in public regard and likely to become more respected as the years go on.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR TEACHING

Teaching in the past has offered perhaps more opportunities and easier access to the young than any other of the more respectable occupations, because of the rapid turnover due to withdrawals of large numbers each year to enter other occupations or to be married. What is the present situation? Recent data show that of the entire group of persons engaged in professional services in the United States between 35 and 40 per cent are classified as teachers and professors. Thus, teaching is an occupation demanding the services of a considerable proportion of our professional or semiprofessional population and, under normal conditions, offers many opportunities for employment.

Teachers in various types of educational institutions. A detailed picture of employment possibilities in various types of educational institutions may be obtained from Table 2. While the data in this table are for the year 1944 and there has been some change in the number of teachers employed in the six types of institutions since then, the percentage of each has probably not changed materially.

This table shows that the large majority of teachers are found in the elementary and high schools. In the elementary schools, women constitute 94.1 per cent of all teachers; in the high schools, 66.7 per cent; in public and private teachers' colleges and normal schools, 57.4 per cent; and the teachers for exceptional children are usually women. Men predominate as teachers only in universities, colleges, and professional schools. It is notable, however, that 27.0 per cent of the instructors in universities and colleges are women, and that in this field as well as in the teachers' colleges and normal schools lies an opportunity for a life career for those who wish to earn advanced degrees and to continue as teachers throughout their lives.

TABLE 2 [4]

MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS IN SIX TYPES OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN 1944

SEX	PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS[5]		PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS[5]		UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES, AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS		PUBLIC AND PRIVATE NORMAL SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS COLLEGES		RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS FOR EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN		PRIVATE COMMERCIAL AND BUSINESS SCHOOLS[5]	
	Number	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*	*Number*	*Per Cent*
Men	35,610	5.9	106,742	33.3	74,531	73.0	4,218	42.6	.....	.....	2,650	44.9
Women	568,838	94.1	213,991	66.7	27,539	27.0	5,693	57.4	.....	.....	3,250	55.1
Totals	604,448	100.0	320,733	100.0	102,070	100.0	9,911	100.0	5,706	.....	5,900	100.0

TABLE 3 [6]

MEN AND WOMEN TEACHERS IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS AT STATED INTERVALS

SEX	*1880 Per Cent*	*1890 Per Cent*	*1900 Per Cent*	*1910 Per Cent*	*1920 Per Cent*	*1930 Per Cent*	*1934 Per Cent*	*1938 Per Cent*	*1940 Per Cent*	*1942 Per Cent*	*1944 Per Cent*
Men	42.9	34.5	29.9	21.1	14.1	16.6	19.1	21.1	22.2	21.3	15.3
Women	51.1	65.5	70.1	78.9	85.9	83.4	80.9	78.9	77.8	78.7	84.7

[4] Compiled by the United States Office of Education.

[5] Data estimated.

[6] Derived from Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1937-38,* Bulletin 1940, No. 2, Chapter I, Table 19, p. 18, and *Statistics of State School Systems, 1943-44,* Chap. II, Table 9, p. 30.

The number of public elementary and high school teachers in 1944 was 827,990. This number represents a decrease of 26,273 teachers since 1930, which should have been expected, in view of the declining school population. Economic conditions are also a factor in influencing the number of teachers employed.

Positions other than teaching in public schools. In addition to classroom teachers, approximately 70,000 people have positions in the public schools in administrative and supervisory capacities and as clerical assistants. These persons constitute a relatively stable professional group on a higher economic scale, which is largely responsible for the development of teaching as a profession. For the most part they are men, but the elementary school principals and clerical assistants are predominantly women. The composition of this group is revealed in Table 4.

TABLE 4 [7]

SUPERVISORY AND ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1944

PERSONNEL	NUMBER
State administrative officers	1,928
Clerical assistants in state offices	2,303
Superintendents of schools	14,378
Professional assistants to superintendents	5,910
Clerical assistants to superintendents	8,475
Supervisors of instruction	5,479
Elementary and secondary school principals	31,596
Total	70,069

While it should be noted that supervisory and administrative service offers an opportunity for men, additional training and experience are required to attain these higher positions. The economic rewards are better here and standards of preparation for this group are rapidly rising. Before choosing other professions, young men with administrative talents should examine carefully the opportunities for service offered by these occupations.

[7] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1943-44*, Ch. II, Table 2, p. 16; Table 4, p. 20; and Table 5, p. 21.

These data, then, reveal that teaching offers many potential opportunities for those who are willing to prepare for it. Many different kinds of professional services are demanded by the schools in addition to classroom teaching.

Men and women in public elementary and secondary schools. Since the large majority of teachers are employed in the public elementary and high schools, the relative number of men and women teachers on these levels should interest the prospective teacher. Only 15.3 per cent of all teachers in the public elementary and secondary schools in 1944 were men; 84.7 per cent, women. This fact is responsible for the tendency to use the personal pronoun *she* when referring to a teacher. In the early American schools, men were in the majority, especially in the secondary schools. The trend since 1880 is shown in Table 3, page 9.

The proportional number of men teachers increased between 1920 and 1940, but this trend was reversed, at least temporarily, with the entrance of the United States into World War II. Feminization of teaching is peculiar to America. In Europe, the teaching population is predominantly masculine.

It seems obvious that, if teaching is to compete with the older professions in attracting able men in larger numbers, salaries must be increased. This statement should not be interpreted to mean that the probable amount of income is the only factor in determining a man's choice of vocation. The desire to render a significant service to society, interest in helping young people develop their full potentialities, and other similar motives also play an important part. But any man who views the choice of a vocation realistically is concerned with the probabilities of his maintaining an adequate standard of living for his family.

Some educational theorists have deplored the effect on the schools of the lack of equality between the sexes in the teaching profession. Bagley and Alexander maintain that:

> There can be little doubt that the extensive feminization of the teaching personnel in the lower schools has played an important part in keeping the standards low. Young women hesitate to make an extended preparation for an occupation which, most of them hope, will be temporary. Young men hesitate to consider as a life-career an occupation in which an overwhelming proportion of the workers are women. This condition again stands in sharp contrast with the European situation. Outside of the United States, the pronoun "he" is invariably employed when the antecedent is "teacher" in its generic sense. In

our country the pronoun "she" is used almost as invariably under the same condition.[8]

An increase in the number of men in teaching can be expected when, and if, the people of the United States are willing to make the teaching profession as attractive as other professional occupations. Those who wish to see men represented to a larger extent in the elementary and secondary schools will continue to seek for more attractive salaries and greater permanency of tenure for all teachers, and they will need to work out some plan whereby men who assume responsibilities for wives and children will be compensated sufficiently to permit them to maintain a standard of living that will enable them to be effective teachers. Women who have similar training and responsibilities should be treated likewise.

Opportunities in the different fields. In the preceding sections an effort has been made to present a general outline of the nature of the teaching population. Our attention is now directed to a more detailed examination of the opportunities in the different divisions of the school system. The most recent and comprehensive investigation of the teacher situation in the United States is found in the reports of the *National Survey of the Education of Teachers,* published in 1933.[9] This study included approximately half of the total teaching population in the United States. Since the report was published, there have been some changes in the number of teachers in the different fields of service, but the relative proportion in each type of work has probably not changed appreciably.

According to the report, about 77 per cent of all teachers were employed either as teachers of grades in the elementary school or teachers of the academic subjects in the secondary school. Approximately 14 per cent were employed as teachers of special subjects and classes, such as agriculture, art, drawing, commerce, health, home economics, industrial arts, music, and as teachers of children mentally and physically defective. It should be observed that opportunity for teaching the commercial subjects is confined to the secondary school. A total of 91 per cent of all those employed in the public schools are classroom teachers, leaving about 9 per cent of the employees classified as superintendents, super-

[8] Bagley, W. C., and Alexander, Thomas, *The Teacher of the Social Studies,* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937, p. 7.

[9] Evenden, E. S., Gamble, G. C., and Blue, H. G., *Teacher Personnel in the United States,* National Survey of the Education of Teachers, Office of Education, Bulletin No. 10, 1933.

visors, principals, deans, librarians, physicians, nurses, dentists, athletic coaches, psychologists, vocational guidance counselors, attendance officers, research workers, and other special employees.

These data show that the greatest opportunity for employment is for the classroom teacher, but opportunities for specialized services in teaching seem to be expanding. It should be noted also that there are many opportunities for employment in the field of administration, supervision, and other services that require broad experience and additional preparation.

Opportunities for employment in the elementary school. It has been reported that 605,000 teachers were employed in the public and private elementary schools in 1944. At this level more than 57 per cent of all teachers found employment. Here, in the typical school, the elementary teacher is a classroom teacher in general charge of all activities except certain special subjects which are taught by special teachers. In some cities, departmentalized or platoon schools employ both home-room teachers and teachers of special subjects, such as teachers of speech, English, music, and art. In these cities the trend is toward better salaries for elementary school teachers and increased preparation by them.

Other opportunities for those in the elementary school field lie in the principalship, special supervisorships, and in general supervision. The latter positions go to those who have had experience and special training in the field. The tendency is for women to occupy the positions of special supervisors and principalships, although many men are employed as elementary school principals and supervisors in the larger cities.

Opportunities for employment in the secondary school. The secondary school has increasingly for many years offered opportunities for employment for the graduates of colleges who have met the legal requirements for certification. More than 320,000 teachers were employed in the public and private secondary schools of this country in 1944. Of this number about 33 per cent are men. Thus it is seen that many more men have found employment in teaching in the secondary school than in the elementary school.

Because of the comprehensive nature of the high school curriculum it is obvious that the teacher cannot prepare to teach in all subject fields. In the smaller high schools, however, he is frequently called on to teach three subjects, and in many instances four or five. In the report of the

National Survey of the Education of Teachers[10] it was found that in 1930-31 only one-third of the secondary school teachers taught in one field; about two-thirds in two or more fields; and more than one-eighth in three or more fields. In Clement's study in 1937 of the teaching assignments of 300 beginning high school teachers in California, it was found that three-fourths of the beginners were assigned to one or two teaching fields and one-fourth to three or more fields.[11]

Subject combinations in the secondary school. From the point of view of placement in a teaching position after graduation it is very important that the prospective teacher should know something about the combinations of subjects that are usually demanded for teaching in the secondary school. After a careful study of the teaching situations in Pennsylvania, the School of Education of the University of Pittsburgh has made certain recommendations for subject combinations for students preparing for secondary school teaching.

Other teaching fields not included in Table 5 are industrial arts, which is usually combined with mathematics and drawing, and home economics, which is found most frequently in combination with biological science and English.

Since the demand for teachers prepared for the several fields of teaching fluctuates considerably, it is of utmost concern to the prospective teacher that he make a wise choice in the selection of his teaching combination. With the help of his college adviser he should try to anticipate the future need for teachers in the several areas in so far as it is possible with the data available. Of course, this is a difficult task at best. No one could anticipate in the 1930's that there would be such a demand for teachers prepared in physical science, mathematics, industrial and vocational arts as existed in the early 1940's. These demands, occasioned by war, could not be predicted with accuracy. Other opportunities in the secondary school lie in such positions as principal, dean of boys and girls, vocational counselor, coach, librarian, or research worker.

Opportunities for employment in higher education. Few college graduates will immediately find employment as college teachers. It should be pointed

[10] *Op. Cit.*, p. 65

[11] Clement, Evelyn A., "Teaching Assignment of 300 New Teachers," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, March 1937, Vol. XII, pp. 164-166.

TABLE 5

RECOMMENDED TEACHING COMBINATIONS
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

Major Teaching Field	Two Other Fields Selected from Those Listed Below
Biological science	Physical science, mathematics, social science, history, geography
Business subjects	Social science and one other
Chemistry	Physics, biological science, mathematics
English	Speech, history, social science, Latin, French, German, Spanish
French	German, Latin, Spanish, English, history, social science, mathematics
Geography	History, social science, English, biological science, physical science, mathematics
German	French, Latin, Spanish, English, history, social science, mathematics
Health and physical education	Biological science, social science, history, English
History	Social science, English, mathematics, biological science, speech, geography, French, German, Latin, Spanish
Latin	English, French, German, Spanish, history, social science, mathematics
Mathematics	Physical science, history, social science, biological science, geography, French, German, Spanish
Physical science	Biological science, mathematics, social science, history, geography
Physics	Chemistry, biological science, mathematics
Social science	History, English, mathematics, biological science, speech, geography, French, German, Latin, Spanish
Spanish	French, German, Latin, English, history, social science
Speech	English, history, social science, Latin, French, German, Spanish

out to the beginner, however, that a few highly selected graduates of different departments are at once taken into colleges as assistants or instructors of junior rank while they are encouraged to work toward the master's or doctor's degrees. A larger number come back for higher degrees after having taught in the public schools. Reference to Table 2 will reveal that of the 1,048,768 persons employed in teaching in 1944, only 111,981 were found in universities, colleges, professional schools, teachers' colleges, and normal schools. Many of these persons had teaching experience in the public schools before becoming affiliated with institutions of higher learning.

Teachers in the public schools commonly regard an opportunity to teach in college or university as a chance for promotion, although the pay for the lower positions in such institutions is often no better than that for a high school teacher and is sometimes inferior. For a few, however, the career of college teacher opens up more opportunities for writing, speaking, and research work than public school teaching affords.

The effect of supply and demand upon opportunities in teaching. Is the demand for teachers increasing or decreasing? Teaching, like other occupations, is subject to the law of supply and demand. When there is an oversupply of teachers, the salaries for teaching go down on account of the competition of large numbers for the available positions. If there is likely to be a large oversupply of teachers for any considerable time to come, then it will not be a promising profession to select. Let us see what the facts are with respect to supply and demand in teaching.

The fact that there was an oversupply of teachers during the very turbulent decade of 1930-1940 is undeniable. It was estimated that in the early part of that decade there were 200,000 teachers out of employment in the United States. Yet, during the World War I and immediately following it, there was a serious shortage of teachers. However, it is only fair to say that never in the history of public education in the United States has there been an oversupply of teachers whose preparation was equal to their responsibilities. Not every person possessing a certificate to teach should be considered well prepared to perform the work of the teacher.

Teacher supply is obviously affected by the annual number of teachers prepared in the teacher-training institutions of the country. It has been estimated that the supply of trained teachers from institutions of higher learning has exceeded the demand during the period 1930-40. Probably

the number of teachers needed in the year 1930-31 was 70,000.[12] During the preceding year, 120,000 young men and women were prepared for teaching in teacher-training institutions of the United States. Thus, the institutions may be criticized for not having adjusted the supply to the demand. However, it is also true that during the greater part of their history, they have failed to turn out an adequate number of trained teachers each year.

The prospective teacher may think that during the depression years there was an oversupply of teachers, but this oversupply was more apparent than real. Many teachers who were unemployed held the lowest possible certificates and were inadequately trained for their work. The standards admitting teachers to employment were very low. This condition still exists. If adequate standards were created in our 48 states, there would be such an undersupply of teachers that the schools could not be manned.

The entrance of the United States into World War II changed completely the supply and demand situation. Teachers were drawn into the armed services and industry. After the war thousands did not return to teaching. Business and industry continued to attract teachers and prospective teachers by paying higher salaries than the schools. The undersupply of teachers at present is a matter of grave concern.

Birth rate and its effects upon opportunities for teachers. What effect does the birth rate have upon opportunities to teach? The two major factors to be taken into account in adjusting the balance between supply and demand are general economic conditions in the United States and birth rate. The decline in birth rate since 1921 is reflected in Table 6. Enrollment in the elementary school has been decreasing since 1930, but the secondary school, from a national point of view, was not affected until 1942. However, according to recent reports on population trends the birth rate in the United States is now increasing. Children born during the war years will have found their way into the elementary school by 1950. The secondary school will not feel the effects of this trend until approximately 1955.

While the decrease of more than 3,100,000 elementary pupils between 1930 and 1942 did not result in a corresponding reduction in the number of elementary teachers such as the layman might expect, yet it did de-

[12] Evenden, E. S., Gamble, G. C., and Blue, H. G., *Teacher Personnel in the United States*, National Survey of the Education of Teachers, Office of Education, Bulletin No. 10, 1933, pp. 99-100.

TABLE 6 [13]

TRENDS IN THE ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1930-44

YEAR	NUMBER ENROLLED	
	Elementary School	*Secondary School*
1930	21,278,593	4,399,422
1932	21,135,420	5,140,021
1936	20,392,561	5,974,537
1938	19,748,174	6,226,934
1940	18,832,098	6,601,444
1942	18,174,668	6,387,805
1944	17,713,096	5,553,520

crease the number of teaching opportunities. On the other hand, the increasing secondary school population created a demand for teachers during the period 1930-40. The mounting high school enrollment until the war years is accounted for, in large measure, by the restriction of opportunities for employment in industry and commerce for youth of adolescent age and by the tendency to extend the period for compulsory attendance. It had been estimated that secondary school enrollment would not be affected by the decline in birth rate until approximately 1945. War industry and military service, however, attracted many boys particularly during the war years, but the recent increase in the birth rate will be reflected in high school enrollments by 1955.

Future demand for teachers. The increased birth rate over the past few years offers an optimistic picture for employment possibilities in teaching. Further expansion of teaching positions would be realized if school authorities would reduce the number of pupils per teacher. Educational experts are agreed that 40 to 50 pupils per teacher in the elementary school is too large a number for any teacher to guide effectively. It is acknowledged that several experiments have shown that so far as achievement in subject matter is concerned just as good results are obtained in larger classes as in smaller ones. However, if the teacher is to be responsible for the total growth of the child, including his social and emotional development as well as his knowledge of subject matter, it seems patent

[13] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistics of State School Systems*, 1943-44, Ch. II, Table II, p. 4.

that the teacher will have to have more time for guiding the individual child. The duration of the teacher's contact with each child will need to be extended. Therefore, schools must eventually reduce the number of pupils per teacher. It also appears now that other lines of educational endeavor may also create a demand for teachers for adults, special teachers for handicapped children, and teachers of the special arts.

If one really desires to teach, therefore, he need not be too much concerned about opportunities for employment. But, in the light of the present situation, he should be prepared to spend more time and money on his educational preparation than in the past, because teaching positions will go more and more to the better prepared.

Other factors conditioning choice of teaching as a profession. The large emphasis placed upon the economic factor in teaching should not blind the prospective teacher to other considerations which should weigh heavily in the choice of teaching as a profession. In the remainder of the chapter we shall enumerate a few of the more important considerations which enter into the choice of teaching as a career. These matters will be treated more adequately in Chapters 2 to 6 inclusive.

1. *The intellectual level of the profession.* It is natural that in choosing a profession one likes to know with what kind of people he will associate. Unless he hopes to avoid competition by entering a profession which is composed of incompetent people, he should select one which is chosen by other able minds. What about teaching? Is it true that the less able persons select teaching? Are teachers an inferior class as far as their intelligence goes? The term "brain truster" has been used with some contempt in recent years by those either distrustful or envious of certain teachers whom a dynamic President drew around himself to advise him on economic and political matters. The impression has often been given that teachers are of inferior intellectual and social capacity and that, because of their willingness to enter into an occupation which has consistently provided insufficient financial reward, they must be inferior persons. What are the facts?

Investigations of the intellectual composition of the teaching population show that teachers as a class are not among the most brilliant members of professional groups. The Pennsylvania Survey[14] by the Carnegie Foun-

[14] The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *The Student and His Knowledge,* Bulletin No. XXIX, 1938.

dation for the Advancement of Learning showed that prospective teachers in college were surpassed in certain subject matter tests by those students who were not expecting to teach. Another investigation[15] of the scholastic aptitude of freshmen entering higher institutions of learning in a Middle West state revealed that those students entering institutions for the education of teachers made scores on the scholastic aptitude test that were considerably lower than the scores made by the students entering the liberal arts colleges and university and who were not preparing for teaching. On the basis of these and other investigations, one is justified in coming to the conclusion that law, medicine, engineering and certain technical professions do attract those intellectually superior.

In Europe, candidates for teaching positions in the secondary schools are said to represent among their numbers the intellectually highest 4 or 5 per cent of the population. America suffers by comparison. But this is because teaching in America has lacked the professional respectability that characterizes it in certain European countries.

It may be said, however, that on the upper levels teaching has frequently attracted men and women of the highest intellectual brilliancy. We need only to point to the names of Wilson, Einstein, John Dewey, and numberless others to prove this point. Other professions, however, do not attract only brilliant men and women. It is doubtful if teachers suffer to any large extent in comparison with other professional groups when the relative numbers in different occupations are considered. The greater demand for teachers on a low economic scale, which attracts the inferior and poorly prepared, is doubtless responsible for the somewhat lower average intellectual ranking of teachers than of doctors, engineers, ministers, and other men of like responsibilities.

2. *The socio-economic origin of the teaching population.* Available evidence indicates that teachers come from homes where fathers are members of proprietary, professional, managerial, commercial, or agricultural groups. Liberal arts colleges draw most heavily from the first four and teachers' colleges more heavily from the last group.

Generally speaking, the teaching population comes to a considerable extent from groups who have a better than average social and economic life. At the same time it draws many young people from occupational levels where the cultural environment is a decided handicap. Young men

[15] The National Society of College Teachers of Education, *The Education of Teachers,* Yearbook Number XXII, 1935, p. 19.

and women who have not enjoyed a home in which the standard of education and of living is relatively high do not make the best candidates for teaching.

While on the whole, then, teachers tend to come from the higher socio-economic groups, and if not from the highest intellectual level, on the average they rank higher in general intelligence than the classes immediately above them in the economic scale. And on the highest levels of teaching the intellectual and social capacities of teachers compare favorably with those of the highest social groups.

3. *The rewards of teaching.* In choosing teaching as a career one should consider whether he would be satisfied with its material as well as with its spiritual and emotional rewards. The greatest satisfaction derived from teaching is the sense of creative achievement and the feeling of having given service. At the same time, the questions of salary, permanence of tenure and retirement should always be considered. These problems will be adequately treated later.

4. *The teacher's professional associations.* The professional relationships of the teacher are an important consideration in the selection of the career. One needs to consider these, also, before making his choice. By and large teachers are becoming more professional in their attitude and have friendly relations among themselves but they do not have the time or social standing to associate with the so-called "upper" social classes.

5. *The teacher's activities.* One of the first considerations in choosing a life career is whether the individual concerned will enjoy his daily work. He should be certain that he will enjoy the activities that the work of his vocation involves as well as the personal relations it entails. The teacher's strictly instructional activities are varied and many of them are highly specialized. He should enjoy preparing for and participating in these activities, for he spends from six to eight hours daily in continuous contact with children and youth. Anyone thinking of teaching as a life career should be sure that he will be happy in these personal relations. If he is bored by associating with the immature he should turn his attention to some other field of endeavor, not only in the interest of his own personal happiness, but also out of concern for the welfare of the young.

Summary. Teaching is an occupation which makes severe demands upon the intellectual, moral, physical, and emotional capacities of its members, yet thousands have been moved to enter it because of the ease with which

it could be entered and because of the immediate economic reward. The economic reward of teaching is not the most valid reason for choosing it as a profession. Rather, the desire for service should chiefly motivate the teacher, although the economic status of the teacher should be considered before one chooses teaching as a career.

Teaching is an occupation employing over a million persons in a great variety of ways. Women at present are in the great majority in the elementary and high schools. Men are in the majority only in the universities, colleges, and professional schools. In theory, more men should be attracted to the profession.

Teachers are drawn from the better socio-economic classes but not exclusively from the highest intellectual groups, due to the attraction of other professions.

The variety of occupations in teaching is large. Besides the many positions as teacher in elementary, junior high school, and high school, there are a great variety of administrative, supervisory, and other services in the public schools open to those trained for teaching. Within the different divisions of the school the work becomes more specialized in the upper division.

Except during time of war the supply and demand for teachers vary with the economic conditions of the country and with the rise or fall in the pupil population. An oversupply characterizes periods of depression. Nevertheless, there has never been an oversupply of really adequately prepared teachers. There is always an opportunity in teaching for the more capable and the better prepared.

Aside from the question of aptitude for teaching and also of opportunity for teaching, there are other important considerations to be examined before one chooses teaching as a career. These considerations will be developed in the chapters immediately following.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Why is the choice of teaching as a career a particularly crucial matter?
2. What influences and pressures in the past have been the most common in leading to the choice of teaching as a career?
3. What progress is being made toward the profession of teaching?
4. What evidence is there that the professional motive is becoming more common?
5. How do you account for the predominance of women teachers?

6. Give several basic reasons for the employment of more men in teaching.

7. What are the opportunities for employment in the elementary field?

8. What factors affect the balance between the supply and demand for teachers?

9. How do teachers compare with other professional groups with respect to mental ability and socio-economic standing?

10. Enumerate the basic factors that should be examined when one is considering the desirability of a teaching career.

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Chapter Two

QUALIFICATIONS OF THE TEACHER

IN THIS CHAPTER an attempt will be made to develop a clear conception of the social status of teachers, standards of preparation for teaching, and the desirable personal characteristics of teachers. It is hoped that a discussion of these aspects of teaching will enable the person looking forward to it to form some judgment of the general status of the profession which he expects to enter and to obtain some insight into the extent this occupation has increased its professional standards. This may lead to more well-considered reasons for either choosing or rejecting teaching as a career.

SOCIAL STATUS OF THE TEACHER

One of the strange paradoxes in American life has been the high regard that the people have had for the school as a social institution and their lack of respect for the status of the teacher. During much of the past the American teacher has been held in low esteem in the eyes of the general public. Exaggerated notions of the teacher's personal peculiarities are often reflected in the press, radio, and theater even today. These distorted conceptions of the character of the teacher may be attributed in part to the stories of teachers in our early history. Ichabod Crane and the Hoosier Schoolmaster have long been prototypes of the American teacher. Professor E. W. Knight has vividly described the general character of the early teacher as follows:

> One does not have to exercise any freedom that belongs to the story-teller to furnish a rather faithful account or picture of American school-teachers. The records themselves tell the story. Although he has greatly improved and is

becoming more and more reputable, the American school-teacher as a type has a shady past. He has not always been an inspiring figure or even a person of good repute. Ugly things have been said about him, often because he was ugly. Often he was ignorant, sometimes almost illiterate, and knew little more than his pupils, if any more. Occasionally, he was man of doubtful probity in his private life, unapproved for moral excellence. He was shiftless, migratory, and itinerant, poorly paid and as poorly esteemed by the public, and lacked in professional standards largely because no such standards had been established. Now and then, if the records are to be believed, he was given to loose living and was generally unwilling to assume social responsibilities. He was always poor in this world's goods, and his nominal wages were often paid in part by the practice of "boarding around." He was generally poor in spirit except when he was in a state of inebriety, a not uncommon condition of the teacher in the early days. The typical American school-teacher has also been a timid person; aggressiveness is not a mark of all school-teachers today. Ichabod Crane, the timorous Yankee who was chased at night by his Dutch rival in love masquerading as a headless horseman and frightening Ichabod out of his job and away from the neighborhood, is not altogether a fiction of literature. As a type of the early American teacher he is probably not an exaggeration.[1]

It has been asserted, however, by some educational historians that many of the descriptions of the early schoolmaster have been overdrawn; and there has been a tendency to attribute the misbehavior and delinquencies of a few to the entire group. Probably there is some truth in this contention.

Since Colonial days, the attitude of the public toward the teacher has slowly improved. His social position particularly has improved perceptibly, but he is still restrained in many communities from enjoying the personal freedom accorded to those engaged in other occupations, with the exception of the ministry. Nevertheless, the teacher's personal diversions today are not subject to so much scrutiny as in early times. In most communities he may participate in forms of amusement, such as dancing and card playing, without suffering unduly in public esteem, but in others he must regulate his social conduct carefully according to narrower local customs. Particularly he must be careful in the expression of his political, economic, and social convictions. In many communities he is not commonly regarded as either an intellectual giant or as a companion most suitable for the socially inclined.

Improved training for teaching has had an effect upon the improve-

[1] Knight, E. W., *Education in the United States*, Ginn and Company. 1941, pp. 347-348.

ment of the teacher's social status. Increased college preparation has undoubtedly raised the teacher's importance in the estimation of the general public. It may be confidently anticipated that respect for teachers will improve as more adequately prepared people enter the profession. The lack of training of the early teacher was in part responsible for the low regard in which he was held.

EDUCATION OF THE TEACHER

If the school is to be a more dynamic influence in American society, the teacher must be prepared to meet the responsibilities that will be thrust upon him. For the effectiveness of the school, in the last analysis, depends upon the efficiency of the teacher. The school can be a vital social institution only in so far as the teachers are, by personal qualities and educational preparation, qualified to offer the kind of leadership to which the people of the community will respond. Obviously, if greater demands are made upon the teachers, there will be more emphasis on their educational preparation as well as a more extended period devoted to it.

The progress in raising the level of teacher education. From Colonial times until the close of the World War I, progress in improving the standards for the education of teachers was very slow. As early as 1920 the National Education Association recommended a minimum of four years of college preparation for both elementary and secondary school teachers, but this standard did not immediately become a goal of the elementary school teacher. Four years of preparation above the high school has become a common requirement for high school teachers, but two years for the elementary school teacher has been a much more common standard. Before 1920 the educational preparation of the elementary school teacher was generally very meager. The educational background of the secondary school teacher was much better, but secondary school teachers, as a group, fell far below the standard of four years of college preparation at that time.

In 1930-31 the first comprehensive investigation was made of the education of teachers in the United States.[2] This study, when compared with

[2] Evenden, E. S., Gamble, G. C., and Blue, H. G., *Teacher Personnel in the United States*, National Survey of the Education of Teachers, Office of Education, Bulletin No. 10, 1933, p. 43.

earlier reports, revealed the progress that was being made in upgrading the general level of teacher education. At that time, 73.8 per cent of the elementary school teachers had reached or exceeded the low standard of two years of college preparation, but only 12.1 per cent had reached or exceeded the four-year standard recommended by the National Education Association in 1920. Only 60.4 per cent of the junior high school teachers had reached or exceeded the four-year standard, but 87.1 per cent of the senior high school teachers had obtained four or more years of college preparation. Thus, it appears that considerable progress had been made in the decade of 1920-30 toward improving the preparation of the teachers of the nation from a quantitative point of view.

Even though great improvement had been made in general during the nineteen-twenties, there was at the same time a great inequality between elementary school teachers in urban and rural areas. Although 73.8 per cent of all elementary school teachers had attained or exceeded two years of college work in 1930-31, and 12.1 per cent had attained or exceeded four years of college preparation, only 38 per cent of the elementary school teachers in one- and two-teacher schools in open country had reached or exceeded the standard of two years of college in 1930-31. In cities of 2,500 population and over, 88 to 90 per cent of the elementary school teachers had reached or exceeded the two-year standard. And less than four per cent of the teachers in one- and two-teacher schools had attained or exceeded four years of college work, but from 14 to 22 per cent of urban teachers had achieved four or more years of college education. It is thus clear that training standards varied widely as between city and country schools in the post-war period.

Since the 1930-31 investigation, no single study made has been comprehensive enough to show the progress that has been made in improving the education of teachers in the last fifteen years. There are, however, a few recent reports that may give some clue to the changes that have been taking place since 1931. A study of the educational qualifications required of newly appointed teachers in 1941 in cities of 2,500 population or more revealed that 63 per cent of the cities required four years or more preparation beyond high school graduation for appointment to elementary school positions, 92 per cent to junior high school positions, and 99 per cent to senior high school positions.[3]

[3] Research Bulletin, National Education Association, *Teacher Personnel Procedures; Selection and Appointment*, Vol. XX, No. 2, March, 1942, p. 56.

There has been no comprehensive report on the educational status of rural elementary school teachers for the past several years. The last available survey[4] revealed that more than 80 per cent of these teachers had achieved two years or more of college work and more than 12 per cent had been graduated from college.

The recommendations of the National Education Association of a minimum of four years of college training for all teachers was being realized at an amazing rate until 1940. But the withdrawal of teachers from the schools during the war period and the continuation of this movement in the postwar year have reduced the gains made in upgrading the education of teachers in 1930-40. It has been estimated that there were close to 110,000 teachers in 1947 who did not hold standard certificates. At present no one can estimate accurately the effect of this condition on the educational standards of teachers.

It is, however, now generally recognized by professional educators that even the standard of four years of college education for teachers may be too low. In view of the increasing responsibilities of the teachers, the feeling has developed that at least five years of education above the high school level should be the minimum preparation for both elementary and secondary school teachers. Mere extension of the amount of education will not in itself assure a supply of properly qualified teachers. Experts in the education of teachers properly contend that the quality of the teacher's preparation should also be improved. The five-year standard for the preparation of all public school teachers would seem to be the proper goal in teacher education for the United States if the school is to be a progressively effective instrument for social progress. The prospective teacher who wishes to be unhandicapped in securing a teaching position would do well, therefore, to get the maximum amount of preparation. Equal pay for equally trained teachers will, at least in some areas, make elementary school teaching as attractive financially as secondary school teaching.

ACADEMIC PREPARATION OF THE TEACHER

In the preceding section, the discussion dealt with the general level of teacher education in the United States, but it ignored the specific elements in the teacher's preparation. Increasing formal educational stand-

[4] Research Bulletin, National Education Association, *Progress in Rural Education,* Vol. XVIII, No. 4, September, 1940, p. 159.

ards without considering the nature of the extended preparation is a questionable procedure. There are, in general, two phases to the educational preparation of the teacher. The teacher needs to have a broad general education which includes experience in all fields of knowledge relating to the major human activities. He should not only have considerable insight into the political, economic, and social phenomena of his environment, but he should also have some understanding of the principles of the natural and physical sciences underlying the structure of our industrial society. He should have an appreciation of the aesthetic elements of the culture. The teacher's general education should not only include a thorough knowledge of the subject matter of his teaching fields, but also an understanding and appreciation of its relationship to life and to related fields of teaching.

The second aspect of the teacher's education consists of the specific professional preparation that will enable him to determine the needs of young people and guide him in relating subject matter bearing on these needs in the most effective manner. The professional preparation of the modern teacher embraces a very respectable body of specialized knowledge.

The emphasis upon these two phases of educational training should be different for those preparing to teach in the two major divisions—the elementary school or the secondary school. All teachers should be well informed, possess a variety of intellectual interests, and attain some depth of scholarship in their particular subject matter. The secondary school teacher needs more intensive specialization in his teaching fields than the elementary school teacher, while the latter needs educational preparation less highly specialized but in more areas of knowledge. Nevertheless, it is imperative that teachers in both the elementary and the secondary schools should have a broad range of information and interests.

One method of increasing a teacher's breadth of information is to require him to take courses in the major and related fields of knowledge. The teacher who has had contact with the several fields, other things being equal, is likely to be better informed than one who has specialized in only one field while in college. Observation and investigations have shown that teachers generally are deficient in experiences in the several larger fields of organized knowledge, they have too little acquaintance with the fine arts, their reading activities and interests are narrow and limited, and they have not had those social experiences which are most

enriching. The prospective teacher, in whatever field he is to teach, should have a good background of cultural experiences that will enable him to be effective as a leader in the school and community. He should be well informed, and his intellectual and social interests and activities should be broad in scope.

PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION OF THE TEACHER

What should be the nature and extent of the distinctively professional preparation of the teacher? This problem has occasioned much dispute, not only between teachers of so-called "academic" subjects and teachers of professional education but also among the educationists themselves. One distinguishing characteristic, among others, of any profession is that its members possess a body of specialized knowledge and technique essential to the successful performance of their duties. What comprises the unique elements in the preparation of the teacher? In answering this question, Professor Evenden has suggested seven basic areas which he thinks represent the professional knowledge and technique peculiar to this occupation:

1. Professional orientation.—This should disclose to the prospective teacher the place of education in society, its relationship to other professions and the opportunities for service in the principal fields of educational work.

2. Essential professional tools.—Those professional skills and concepts which are required by all teachers and which are frequently used in other courses for teachers should be included in professional "service" courses and given as early in the curriculum as possible.

3. A sympathetic understanding of the physical, mental, and social characteristics of the children or adults to be taught.

4. The essential teaching methods and techniques appropriate to the subject or grade which the teacher is preparing to teach.

5. A knowledge of the organization and management of class instruction in the types of school in which the teacher expects to be placed.

6. Opportunities for acquiring a "safety minimum of teaching skill" through observation, participation and actual practice under supervision . . .

7. Equipment of the individual teacher with an integrated (working) philosophy of education and teaching and the contributions which he may be expected to make in his field of work . . .[5]

[5] Evenden, E. S., *Summary and Interpretation,* National Survey of the Education of Teachers, Office of Education Bulletin, No. 10, 1933, p. 92.

The above pattern of professional work constitutes an irreducible minimum of the technical equipment required for effective educational leadership.

TEACHER CERTIFICATION

In the early development of certification of teachers in the United States, the power to issue certificates for teaching was placed in the hands of local school boards, superintendents, or county superintendents of schools. The county superintendent still has considerable authority in a few states, but there is a general tendency for teachers' certificates to be issued by state departments of education.

One effective way to obtain better prepared teachers in every community within the state is to increase the minimum requirements for certification. If, however, the authority for the issuance of certificates rests with the local communities, there may be very little uniformity in the minimum requirements, and attempts at increasing requirements may be met with opposition in those localities which have no desire to improve educational opportunities. If the control of licensing is in the state department of education, the children of local communities can be protected from the evil effects of nearsighted leadership in the community and a safe minimum requirement for certification of teachers can be maintained. There has been a marked tendency toward centralization of control in the state departments of education since 1910, as is shown by Table 7, page 32. This Table shows convincingly that the state is assuming control of the licensing of teachers. Great strides have been taken in improving the qualifications of teachers through certification practices. Increasing certification requirements is, however, a slow process. Many teachers with meager educational qualifications and little professional vision are reluctant to do anything that would require them to further their education. Moreover, there are some states in which a change in requirements depends upon legislative action and not upon the discretion of the state department. In such areas this practice is an additional obstacle to rapid progress.

The practice of the state in issuing certificates for teachers has given impetus to the movement for raising the educational requirements for entrance to teaching. Increasing state control of the licensing of teachers has been accompanied by improvement in scholarship requirements. The raising of scholarship prerequisites has, however, been a very slow process,

TABLE 7 [6]

TENDENCY TOWARD CENTRALIZATION OF CERTIFICATING AUTHORITY IN STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

KIND OF SYSTEM	NUMBER OF STATES		
	1898	1921	1946
State issues all certificates	3	26	36
State and/or county, town, city, and college or university issue certificates but usually under state supervision	36	22	12

because local communities have often feared that such raising of standards would exclude local candidates from obtaining teaching certificates and, consequently, they have fought state certification for selfish reasons. Nevertheless, Table 7 presents convincing evidence to the effect that the authority for issuing certificates is gradually being placed in the hands of the chief state school officers, the state boards of examiners, or departments of education. Even in those states which in 1946 did not issue all teachers' certificates, the states usually exercised a supervisory function over certification practices. From present indications, the trend toward centralization will unquestionably continue.

The professional requirements for certification. Many college teachers have opposed the requirements of professional courses for high school teachers on account of the lack of agreement among professional educators and state departments of education as to the specific professional courses that every teacher should have. Those opposed to professional requirements contend that, since there is little agreement as to the value of any particular course, it is questionable whether there should be any professional requirements for certification. This objection is based to some extent upon fact. An examination of the requirements of the several states shows clearly the lack of agreement. This fact does not, however, uphold the contention that professional courses are undesirable or unnecessary. The results of the experiences of the different states with the great variety

[6] Compiled from Frazier, B. W., *Development of State Programs for the Certification of Teachers,* Office of Education, Bulletin No. 12, 1938, p. 16 and *Summary of Teacher Certification Requirements, 1946,* Circular No. 233, U. S. Office of Education.

of professional courses have never been brought together and evaluated. In addition, the contents of professional courses with the same course titles differ from state to state and even from institution to institution within a state. Nevertheless, it is probable that there is greater uniformity in the content of professional courses than the surveys show.

The professional certification requirements for the prospective elementary school teacher vary just as much as those for the secondary school teacher. The compilation of requirements for the teacher's certificate by Wollner and Wood for 1945-46 shows that the number of semester hours in professional courses required by the several states for the elementary certificate ranged from 6 to 56, although there was one state that had no state requirements for teachers in grades below nine.[7] The courses most frequently mentioned as a part of the requirement were student teaching, educational psychology, child psychology, general methods in the elementary school and special methods in teaching reading and the other subjects in the elementary school curriculum. The number of semester hours required for the high school certificate varied from 12 to 27. The courses mentioned most frequently as an essential part of the total professional requirement were student teaching, educational psychology, principles of secondary education, and general method.

The trend toward differentiating certification. A sign of improvement in certificating practices is found in the tendency in some states to issue certificates specifically designating the subjects or school level or both on which the person is permitted to teach. Before 1900 very few states provided for any differentiation between elementary school and high school certificates. The "blanket certificate" permitting the holder to teach in all grades was the rule. But by 1920 the practice of differentiating certificates according to subjects and levels of service had become fairly well established. While several states still issue certificates to teach in all grades or at least in most grades, there is a distinct tendency toward specialized certificates.

In addition to the progress that has been made in specialized certificates for elementary and secondary schools, there is a marked tendency to differentiate the high school certificate still further by requiring a specified number of semester hours of preparation in a subject before it

[7] Woellner, R. C., and Wood, M. Aurilla, *Requirements for Certification of Teachers and Administrators, 1945-46 Edition.* University of Chicago Press.

will be listed on the certificate. In 1946 twenty states had restrictions limiting the subjects that a person can teach to those in which a specified number of semester hours had been obtained. A few states require special certificates for teachers of atypical children, such as the deaf, mentally handicapped, crippled, blind, partially sighted, speech defectives, and exceptional children.

In spite of the improvement in certification practices since 1920, there is need for more emphasis upon improving the quality and increasing the quantity of the education of the teacher. In the certification requirements of several states there are still too many "back doors" by means of which inadequately prepared teachers are licensed. Teaching will never assume the respectability that it deserves until there is more agreement among certificating authorities on the basic minimum preparation that should be required.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEACHER

Many attempts have been made to define the relative importance of those personal traits which are so essential for success in teaching. The opinions of pupils, parents, school administrators, and other groups have been collected and tabulated, and studies have been made of the characteristics of good and poor teachers in specific fields. As yet, however, not many convincing facts with respect to desirable characteristics of teachers have been discovered.

In considering the characteristics desirable in the teacher, a distinction should be made between the personal traits and qualities, such as emotional maturity, scholarship, personal charm, social orientation, leadership, interest in children, and others, and the particular technical activities, devices, and techniques that the teacher uses. Here we shall deal only with the personal traits and qualities of the teacher.

The Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study. The most intensive investigation of the traits needed by teachers is reported by Charters and Waples.[8] After obtaining a list of desirable traits for teachers from several different sources, the investigators had school administrators rank the traits according to their importance for teaching in the several divisions of the school

[8] Charters, W. W., and Waples, Douglas, *The Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study.* University of Chicago Press, 1929.

system. Table 8 presents the composite list of traits with the rank order for each division.

TABLE 8 [9]

RANK LIST OF TEACHERS' TRAITS

TRAITS	RANK FOR TEACHERS OF				
	GRADES X-XII SENIOR H.S.	GRADES VII-IX JUNIOR H.S.	GRADES III-VI INTERMEDIATE	GRADES KINDERGARTEN II	RURAL SCHOOL
1. Adaptability	8	10	8	6	1
2. Attractiveness	17	14	9	10	15
3. Breadth of interest	1	10	11	15	2
4. Carefulness	11	13	9	14	12
5. Considerateness	17	3	1	1	3
6. Cooperation	11	9	14	16	3
7. Dependability	14	19	16	17	15
8. Enthusiasm	9	4	5	2	11
9. Fluency	23	24	25	23	25
10. Forcefulness	5	4	18	19	13
11. Good Judgment	2	1	3	4	3
12. Health	16	16	12	10	9
13. Honesty	7	12	7	9	6
14. Industry	19	8	14	13	17
15. Leadership	4	7	19	21	8
16. Magnetism	11	4	5	3	9
17. Neatness	20	16	13	4	18
18. Openmindedness	9	20	23	24	22
19. Originality	22	22	16	12	19
20. Progressiveness	23	23	22	20	22
21. Promptness	21	14	20	18	21
22. Refinement	14	20	2	8	13
23. Scholarship	5	16	21	21	20
24. Self-control	2	2	3	6	6
25. Thrift	25	25	24	25	24

The relative ranking of the teacher traits listed in Table 8 suggests a number of questions. It is difficult to understand several of the trait rankings for the different divisions of the school. For example, it seems strange that "scholarship" is of minor importance except for the senior

[9] *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

high school teacher. Personal qualities, such as, appreciativeness, courtesy, kindliness, sympathy, tact, and unselfishness that are designated by the trait "considerateness" seem to be highly important for teachers in all divisions except the senior high school. The only division in which "openmindedness" is considered an important attribute of the teacher seems to be in the senior high school, and even there it is ninth in order of importance. "Originality" is apparently not a very highly prized quality of the teacher on any level of instruction. "Refinement" appears to vary considerably in its importance for teachers on the several levels. "Leadership" is another trait that presents an interesting contrast. It seems to be a reasonably important quality of the teacher in the junior and senior divisions of the high school and in the rural school, but relatively unimportant in the intermediate and primary grades.

The ambiguity of the results of this investigation is due to two factors. First, the conception of education and the function of the teacher held by the person who does the ranking determines the importance that he attaches to any traits or qualities. Therefore, combining the rankings of individuals with different notions of the characteristics of the good teacher does not result in a reliable list of traits in order of importance. The second objection is that the rating of traits in the abstract does not provide a reliable list of personal qualities that has much value for a prospective teacher, because it is assumed that each trait functions singly in behavior, when, as a matter of fact, any one trait is the resultant of the functioning of any number of others.

The students' opinions of teachers. It has been felt by many investigators that the opinions of the students should have some value in determining the desirable qualities of the teacher. The most comprehensive study of student judgment has probably been made by Professor Frank W. Hart.[10] In order to obtain a wide sampling of opinion, a survey blank was sent to all seniors in 66 high schools distributed throughout the country. The seniors in these schools were asked to consider all the teachers whom they had had in their high school careers and then select the one teacher whom they liked best and state the reasons for liking this teacher best. Also, they were to select the teacher whom they liked least of all and state the reasons for not liking this teacher. If neither the teacher whom they liked best nor the one whom they liked least was the best teacher in their

[10] Hart, F. W., *Teachers and Teaching*, The Macmillan Company, 1934.

TABLE 9 [11]

REASONS FOR LIKING A TEACHER BEST, ARRANGED IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY OF MENTION, AS REPORTED BY 3,725 HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

REASONS	FREQUENCY	RANK
Is helpful with school work, explains lessons and assignments clearly and thoroughly, and uses examples in teaching	1950	1
Cheerful, happy, good-natured, jolly, has a sense of humor, and can take a joke	1429	2
Human, friendly, companionable, "one of us"	1024	3
Interested in and understands pupils	937	4
Makes work interesting, creates a desire to work, makes class work a pleasure	805	5
Strict, has control of the class, commands respect	753	6
Impartial, shows no favoritism, has no "pets"	695	7
Not cross, crabby, grouchy, nagging or sarcastic	613	8
"We learned the subject"	538	9
A pleasing personality	504	10
Patient, kindy, sympathetic	485	11
Fair in marking and grading, fair in giving examinations and tests	475	12
Fair and square in dealing with pupils, has good discipline	366	13
Requires that work be done properly and promptly, makes you work	364	14
Considerate of pupils' feelings in the presence of the class, courteous, makes you feel at ease	362	15
Knows the subject and knows how to put it over	357	16
Respect pupils' opinions, invites discussion in class	267	17
Not superior, aloof, "high hat," does not pretend to know everything	216	18
Assignments reasonable	199	19
Is reasonable, not too strict or "hard boiled"	191	20.5
Helpful with students' personal problems, including matters outside of class work	191	20.5
Dresses attractively, appropriately, neatly, and in good taste	146	22
Young	121	23
Work well planned, knows what class is to do	110	24
Enthusiastically interested in teaching	108	25
Gives students a fair chance to make up work	97	26
Home-work assignments reasonable	96	27
Recognizes individual differences in ability	86	28
Frank, "straight from the shoulder," a straight shooter	78	29.5
Personally attractive, good-looking	78	29.5
Teaches more than the subject	74	31
Interested in school activities	68	32
Sticks to the subject	53	33
Modern	52	34
Sweet and gentle	50	35.5
Pleasing voice	50	35.5
Intelligent	42	37
Prompt and businesslike	41	38
Sincere	36	39
Knows more than the subject	32	40
Has pep	31	41
Uses good judgment	22	42
Cultured and refined	20	43

[11] Hart, F. W., *Teachers and Teaching,* The Macmillan Company, pp. 131-132.

judgment, the seniors were to state how the best teacher differed from the one they liked best. The results of this study of the judgments of 3,725 high school seniors are interesting and they warrant some consideration by the prospective teacher. Space does not permit presenting all the reasons given by the seniors; therefore, only the reasons for liking a teacher best will be presented.

Obviously there is a great deal of merit in the judgments of students as to the desirable personal characteristics of teachers. Judging from the list compiled by the seniors, one finds that those characteristics generally desired in teachers by educators, such as ability to guide and direct learning, sound scholarship, a wholesome and cheerful disposition, respect for the personality of the student, intellectual integrity, and the ability to exercise intelligent control are the very qualities that appeal to students. The portrait of the teacher liked least of all by the seniors is in direct contrast to that of the best liked teacher.

Are there qualities peculiar to types of teaching service? There are some educators who hold the opinion that there are certain personal characteristics which are more essential for teachers working in certain areas of school experience than in others. For example, it is asserted that there are certain personal qualities which are more important for success in teaching shorthand than in teaching contemporary social problems; that the personal prerequisites for teaching in the field of art differ from those for teaching in the field of the sciences. The assumption underlying this position seems to be that there are educational objectives peculiar to the different fields and that the teachers in each field should reflect in their own behavior those particular traits that are the main objectives of their instruction with children.

Following this line of reasoning, an interesting investigation was made by E. P. Smith to determine the qualities essential in a superior teacher of the social studies.[12] This study is of some significance because it is concerned only with those personal qualities which were supposed to be necessary for superior teachers of the social studies. A hundred classroom exercises of presumably superior teachers were observed for the purpose of judging the chief qualities of the teacher. On the basis of his investigation, Smith concluded that the following personal qualities were essential

[12] Reported in *The Teacher of the Social Studies* by W. C. Bagley and Thomas Alexander, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies, Part XIV, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937, pp. 241-272.

to a superior teacher of social studies: (1) reverence for truth, (2) intelligent optimism, (3) social altruism, (4) sympathy, (5) impartiality, (6) interpretive mind, (7) progressiveness, (8) curiosity, (9) culture, and (10) imagination.

It is reasonable to suppose that the qualities listed by Smith represent the desirable pattern of traits in any teacher regardless of his area of service. Scientific habits of thinking, faith in intelligence, social mindedness and social sympathy, tolerance for the views of others, critical interpretation of past and present events, willingness to recognize changing conditions, broad interests in human activities, refined tastes, and the ability to envisage future events are important in every teacher because they represent those traits desirable for his pupils. It would seem that there are certain general traits which should be possessed by all teachers regardless of the particular field in which they may be teaching.

Summary of the general personal characteristics of the teacher. In the judgment of the authors the following personal traits represent the more important characteristics necessary for the professional success of the teacher:

1. The teacher should possess a high degree of intelligence. The more intellectually competent the teacher is, other things equal, the greater his potentialities for success.
2. He should be strong enough physically and so well-balanced emotionally that he will not be exhausted by the duties of the classroom and extra-classroom activities.
3. He should possess a personality that is positive in its effects in influencing children to accept his leadership.
4. He should enjoy associating and working with children of the age group which he expects to teach.
5. His scholarship should enable him to interpret the social and science phenomena of his environment, assure competency in his teaching fields, and guarantee insight into the nature of the child and a knowledge of the general principles of the learning process.
6. He should be keenly sensitive to the activities of people in their struggle to satisfy their needs in all areas of human experience.
7. He should possess such breadth in his intellectual interests as will enable him to live a meaningful and purposeful life.
8. His moral character should be on such a high level that it would serve as a desirable pattern in influencing others.

9. He should have a comprehensive grasp of the function of education in society, and an understanding of the significance of the work of the teacher.

10. The teacher in his personal habits should be well-poised at all times, correct in speech, neat and clean in dress and appearance, and his voice should not have a disturbing effect on the listener.

Some educators think that there is but little relationship between the traits mentioned in the preceding section and the success of the teacher. Some investigations have found little or no relationship between the teacher's health and his success. Yet, it goes without question that a teacher must enjoy a certain amount of physical well-being in order to teach at all. But, after the teacher has reached the minimum level of physical health essential for teaching, an increase in the well-being of his physical condition may not necessarily result in a corresponding increase in his effectiveness as a teacher. Scholarship, as evidenced by school marks, is another trait that has not stood high in its relationship to success in teaching as reported by many studies. Again, it is not necessary to prove that a teacher must have a certain modicum of book knowledge in order to have any effectiveness in the classroom. After the minimum level of scholarship has been attained, further increase in scholarly attainment may or may not result in an increase in teaching efficiency. The same reasoning applies to the other basic traits.

Summary. While the status of the American teacher was once very low, efforts toward better preparation of teachers have raised the teacher considerably in the public regard. Agitation for better training has led to the expansion of teachers' colleges and normal schools and departments of professional education in colleges and universities. There is a steady upward trend in educational preparation of teachers. The best prepared teachers are generally those who serve the urban areas. Five years of college education for both the elementary school teacher and the secondary school teacher are now commonly regarded as desirable.

In general, the academic preparation of the teacher is regarded as having been too narrow. Better preparation for social leadership is desirable. The professional education of the teacher has been rapidly taking on a more definite and scientific outline, although somewhat more extensive than many college teachers regard as necessary or desirable.

The trend in teaching certification in the United States is away from local control toward state control, but there is little uniformity among

the states as to the specific elements in the professional preparation of the teacher. While in some states there is a tendency toward more specific certification to teach in certain specific fields, yet there are many states in which certification practices do not assure well prepared teachers.

The personal characteristics of the successful teacher continue to have a perennial interest for those concerned with teaching. Much research still fails to give us a prescription for the selection of the ideal teacher. This leads to the conclusion that the personality of the teacher is a complex entity which is very hard to analyze, because personal traits do not function singly but in combination with others. Weakness in one trait is often compensated for by strength in another. Unquestionably the teacher's personality is an extremely important factor in his professional success.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. What were the conditions in the United States in the early 1920's underlying the emphasis upon upgrading the education of teachers?
2. Do you think that, if the educational requirements for teaching are raised, the teacher will become henceforth a more dynamic influence in American society? Discuss.
3. Is there any justification for assuming that secondary school teachers should have a longer period of preparation than elementary school teachers? Explain.
4. What is your opinion of the seven basic areas of professional preparation as defined by Evenden? What modification would you suggest?
5. Are there any dangers involved in the movement to differentiate certificates? Explain.
6. Formulate a list of qualities or characteristics which, in your judgment, are important for every teacher to possess.
7. What value does the opinion of the pupil have in judging the competency of the teacher?

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Chapter Three

ECONOMIC WELFARE OF THE TEACHER

THE INTELLIGENT YOUNG PERSON today deliberating upon the choice of a vocation is interested to some degree in the probable economic rewards of his chosen occupation. If he has become familiar with the nature and extent of the activities and responsibilities that a given vocation demands of its practitioners, he will then have some idea of the standard of living that he will be called upon to maintain and the financial income that he will need in order to provide for it.

There has been increasing national concern about the economic welfare of the worker. This concern has been reflected in the action taken by Congress in enacting minimum wage laws. The purpose of this legislation is to assure the worker that the income he receives for his services will be sufficient to provide for the basic necessities of life. This action has appealed to people in general because of the belief that the social order owes to its constituency the right for every individual to maintain a decent standard of living for himself and those who are dependent upon him.

It is common knowledge that there is considerable variation in the financial and economic demands upon those engaged in the different occupations. Some occupations demand higher standards of living than others. What may be classified as a necessity for the worker in one occupation may not be so essential for the persons engaged in another kind of work. The teacher particularly is affected by this factor. He is not only expected to maintain a standard of living with regard to food, clothing, and shelter that is above the level of those who have a similar economic status, but in addition he must be able to purchase the reading material and to pay the expenses of travel, recreation and further educational preparation that will enable him to keep professionally alert and effective.

The economic welfare of the teacher is more than merely his personal concern; it has far-reaching effects upon the quality of his work and upon his service to society. No one can do the most effective work unless he has wholesome working conditions and a reasonable amount of economic security. Especially is this true for persons engaged in professional activities that require a high degree of mental poise, alertness, and emotional balance. If the teacher's tenure is insecure, if his salary is insufficient to maintain a dignified standard of living for himself and dependents during his productive years and to provide adequately for his retirement, he will not have that feeling of security so essential to effective work. If the teacher's efficiency is impaired, the children and ultimately society will feel the effects.

The prospective teacher should be interested in the economic welfare of the profession for which he is preparing. It is the purpose of the following discussion to reveal the early practices, present conditions, and trends with respect to the teacher's income, his security of tenure in office, and the provisions for his retirement. These are the fundamental determinants of the teacher's economic welfare.

The salaries of teachers. Teaching has always been known as a poorly paid profession. The income of the teacher during the Colonial period did not approach the income of members of the other professions, such as medicine, law, and the ministry. There was at that time, as at present, a wide range in salaries, depending upon the wealth and attitude of the communities toward education. During the 17th and 18th centuries the salaries of grammar school teachers varied from 20 to 100 pounds a year or more. This salary was not always paid in cash. In many cases the teacher accepted agricultural products and other commodities as part payment for his services. Then, as now, teachers in towns were paid more than those in rural areas; the secondary school teacher was paid more than the elementary school teacher; and men were paid more than women. There were, however, very few women teachers in Colonial times.

The incomes of teachers did not change to any extent until the middle of the 19th century. Burgess[1] shows that in 1841 the average weekly salary of men and women in rural schools was $4.15 and $2.51 respectively, and in the city schools the average weekly salary of men was $11.93 and of women $4.44. In 1890 the average weekly salary of men and women

[1] Burgess, W. R., *Trends of School Costs,* Education Monograph, Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1920.

had risen to $11.30 and $8.55 respectively in rural schools, and $32.62 and $13.16 respectively in city schools. Women entered the teaching profession in increasing numbers during this period. From 1890 on, the salaries of teachers continued to increase slowly until the early years of the 1920's, when the rate of increase was accelerated.

Salary trends, 1922-45. After World War I salaries increased rapidly and continued to rise until the onset of the economic depression in the early part of the 1930's. However, the effects of the economic depression were soon felt by the teachers. Salaries began to decline in 1931 and continued to do so through 1934-35, although by 1934-35 the national income had already begun to rise and there had been general improvement in our economic conditions. The lowest point in teachers' salaries was reached in 1934-35. The amount of salary reductions was not uniform for teachers in cities of different size, but in general the reduction in the median salaries of teachers in cities over 100,000 population hovered around 10 per cent and in cities under 100,000 population the reduction was between 12 and 19 per cent. The effects of our increasing national prosperity were first reflected in teachers' salaries in 1935-36.

A marked increase in salaries came with the entrance of the United States into World War II. Between 1941 and 1945 salaries in the smallest cities were increased by approximately 32 per cent; in cities of 5,000 to 10,000 population by 26 per cent; in cities of 10,000 to 30,000 population by 24 per cent; in cities of 30,000 to 100,000 population by 20 per cent; and in cities over 100,000 population by 14 per cent.

TABLE 10 [2]

MEDIAN SALARIES PAID CITY TEACHERS, 1922 AND 1945

POPULATION	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL		SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL	
GROUPS	1922-23	1944-45	1922-23	1944-45	1922-23	1944-45
2,500 to 5,000	$1105.00	$1537.00	$1271.00	$1726.00	$1469.00	$1885.00
5,000 to 10,000	1200.00	1662.00	1370.00	1859.00	1567.00	2024.00
10,000 to 30,000	1277.00	1780.00	1439.00	1978.00	1670.00	2235.00
30,000 to 100,000	1466.00	1980.00	1660.00	2226.00	1921.00	2464.00
Over 100,000	1876.00	2602.00	2136.00	2812.00	2487.00	3214.00

[2] Adapted from Research Bulletins, National Education Association, *Public School Salaries in 1924-25*, Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2, January and March, 1925, p. 12 and *Salaries of City-School Employees*, 1944-45, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, February 1945, pp. 6-10.

The use of the median or mid-point in describing salary levels may be misleading to the reader unless it is borne in mind that there are just as many teachers receiving less than the median salary as there are teachers receiving more than the median salary. It is also to be remembered that the median salary for a given group of teachers varies markedly from state to state and that there is a wide variation in the individual salaries of teachers in cities of the same population groups in the same state.

The salaries of the most poorly paid group of teachers—rural school teachers—have not been included in the data presented in Table 10. In 1940 the average salary for rural teachers was less than $1200 in 36 states.[3]

At present (1947) there is mounting national concern for the financial plight of teachers. The National Education Association has recommended a minimum beginning salary of $2400 for four-year college graduates with the proper professional preparation.

Salaries of college teachers. Many readers of this book may contemplate teaching in institutions of higher learning after a period of service in the public or private schools and additional preparation in their chosen fields. The salaries of college teachers should, therefore, be of interest. No recent comprehensive study has been made of college salaries since the report prepared by the United States Office of Education for 1941-42.[4] The data presented in Table II include the salaries of the teachers in more than two-thirds of the publicly controlled institutions and one-third of the privately controlled institutions. Even though there has been some improvement in salaries since the time of this report, an inspection of the Table should help the prospective teacher obtain a rough approximation of the financial reward to be expected in college and university teaching.

Table 11 shows that there is a wide spread in the median salaries for the same faculty rank in the different institutions. For example, the median salary of the full professors in the large privately controlled universities was $6,676 for 9 months of service, while the median salary for the same rank in the small colleges was only $2,295. Even the median salary for instructors in the large universities exceeded the median salary

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[3] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistics of State School Systems*, 1939-40 and 1941-42, Vol. II, Chapter III, pp. 41-42.

[4] U. S. Office of Education, "Salaries in Institutions for Higher Education," *Higher Education*, Nov. 15, 1945.

for the full professors in the small colleges. It should be stated here that there are a few well-endowed small schools with salary schedules that compare favorably with those in all but the largest universities. Taking into consideration the salary factor alone, it seems that the large, privately controlled universities and the largest land-grant colleges and universities hold the most promise for financial reward, and the small, privately controlled colleges the least.

TABLE 11 [5]

MEDIAN SALARIES FOR DIFFERENT FACULTY RANKS IN 438 COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1941-42

NUMBERS AND TYPES OF COLLEGES	DEANS ON BASIS OF 9 MO.	DEANS ON BASIS OF 11-12 MO.	PROFESSORS ON BASIS OF 9 MO.	PROFESSORS ON BASIS OF 11-12 MO.	ASSOC. PROF. ON BASIS OF 9 MO.	ASSOC. PROF. ON BASIS OF 11-12 MO.	ASS'T PROF. ON BASIS OF 9 MO.	ASS'T PROF. ON BASIS OF 11-12 MO.	INSTRUCTORS ON BASIS OF 9 MO.	INSTRUCTORS ON BASIS OF 11-12 MO.
In Publicly Controlled Institutions										
52 land-grant	4,703	5,588	4,302	4,235	3,324	3,345	2,645	2,812	1,958	2,171
17 Negro land-grant	2,875	2,319	2,458	1,986	1,948	1,670	1,807	1,537	1,378	1,396
22 State Universities	4,750	5,167	4,177	4,364	3,146	3,500	2,559	2,742	1,995	1,707
27 State Colleges and Professional Schools	3,667	3,958	3,194	3,423	2,600	3,150	2,093	2,800	1,794	1,893
96 Teachers Colleges	3,304	3,450	3,214	3,302	2,718	2,583	2,374	2,451	2,142	1,990
In Privately Controlled Institutions										
30 Men's Colleges	4,563	4,240	4,168	3,888	3,565	3,370	2,728	2,627	2,027	1,994
42 Women's Colleges	3,542	3,656	3,534	3,091	3,084	2,150	2,471	2,292	1,753	1,671
7 large Universities	8,000	8,069	6,676	5,536	4,682	4,021	3,571	3,183	2,316	2,179
31 Medium Universities	5,042	5,113	4,131	3,950	3,244	3,292	2,665	2,885	1,964	2,061
114 Small Colleges	2,232	3,011	2,295	2,468	1,977	2,205	1,756	1,983	1,303	1,558

Since 1942 college salaries, in general, have increased. One study of 88 representative colleges and universities revealed that from 1940 to 1946 approximately two-thirds of these institutions had increased the minimum salary of full professors from 5 to 30 per cent. In 19 schools the increase had been more than 30 per cent; in a few institutions there had been no change in the salary scale for full professors since 1940.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[6] *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, Winter, 1946, No. 4, Vol. 32, pp. 718-723.

The student looking forward to college teaching should recognize that his salary will not likely exceed the salary of senior high school teachers in our largest cities until he has attained the rank of a full professor. However, he has more opportunity than a high school teacher to supplement his income by speaking, writing, and by serving in a consultive capacity in his field of specialization.

The matter of promotion from rank to rank also should interest those students who expect eventually to teach in a college or university, for there is a distinct relationship between professorial rank and salary. Of course, there are other factors in addition to teaching competency which influence promotion, but a statement in terms of averages will give some idea of past practice. In a study of Committee B, of the American Association of University Professors, in 1929, an analysis was made of the careers of 100 college professors who were born after 1868 and who are listed in *Who's Who.*[7] The Committee found that these professors became instructors at an average age of 28.57 years, obtained their Ph.D. degrees at an average age of 30.27 years, were appointed assistant professors, then associate professors, and finally became full professors at the average age of 39.44 years. This sampling gives a fair picture of the steps in the career of a college teacher.

Income of teachers and other occupational groups. While teachers generally feel that theirs is a poorly paid profession, members of other professions feel that they are also underpaid. Let us compare the incomes of teachers with those of other occupational groups. Clark[8] found that the average annual income of public school teachers, which was $1,350, ranked twelfth among the incomes of 16 occupations. The income of public school teachers was exceeded by the earnings of skilled workers, social workers, ministers, librarians, journalists, college teachers, architects, dentists, engineers, lawyers, and physicians in the order mentioned. Public school teachers stood above nurses, unskilled labor, farmers, and farm laborers in average annual incomes. The income of college teachers ranked sixth, amounting to $3,050 annually. The average annual income for those five occupations which surpassed college teaching ranged from $3,820 for architecture to $4,850 for medicine. When Clark computed the present value of the

[7] *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors,* March, 1929, No. 3, Vol. XV, pp. 175-217.

[8] Clark, H. F., *Life Earnings in Selected Occupations in the United States,* Harper & Brothers, 1937, p. 5.

average life earnings, he found the public school teachers to be in the eleventh position. On the basis of the evidence, one may conclude that the average annual income of college teachers, architects, engineers, dentists, lawyers, and physicians varies from two to three and one-half times the income of public school teachers, and the average life earnings of the above-mentioned economically preferred professions vary from two and one-fourth to almost four times the life earnings of public school teachers.

Other investigations, not so extended as Clark's, confirm the general impression that the income of public school teachers is low in comparison with the income of other occupational groups. The reader, however, should not generalize too hastily from this conclusion. The public school teaching population is a heterogeneous group in ability, education, and experience when compared with the personnel of medicine, law, dentistry, engineering and architecture. Also, public school teachers are women for the most part, especially in the elementary school; and the income of women in any occupation is probably less than that of men. Finally, the other professional workers have additional expenditures for office rentals, equipment, and secretarial help which teachers do not have. This fact somewhat lessens the apparent differences in range of income among the groups considered.

Determining the teacher's salary. What salary should the teacher be paid and how should it be determined? The approach frequently made to these complex and important problems is to base the computation upon the cost of living directly or use the minimum cost of living as a point of departure. A report[9] on the economic status of teachers recommends that the minimum salary for inexperienced teachers without dependents and living apart from relatives but not maintaining a home should not be "less than one and one-third times the total annual cost of appropriate necessities." According to this method, if the cost of the necessities of life, appropriate for the inexperienced teacher living in a particular community, amounted to $900, the minimum annual salary should be at least $1,200. It was also suggested that the maximum salary for an experienced teacher, maintaining a home and providing for dependents, should be at least twice the annual cost of the necessities of life. In addition, it was

[9] Research Bulletin, National Education Association, *The Teacher's Economic Position,* Vol. XIII, No. 4, September, 1935, p. 251.

further suggested that, if the salaries so determined were less than the salaries of other persons of comparable experience, ability, and education in other occupations, the salaries of the teachers should be increased or persons of ability would not seek to enter the teaching profession.

Another approach to the problem of determining teachers' salaries without basing the computation on the cost of living directly has been made by Dr. Lester Dix.[10] He assumes initially that the social contribution of any occupational group is determined by the natural abilities of members of the group and that the national income should be distributed accordingly. Therefore, the earning of any one group is related to the earning of the other occupational groups. From a strictly economic point of view the question becomes one of determining how much of the total available national income in terms of dollars and cents society can afford to pay any one group. The income of any occupation, then, is determined according to the degree of intelligence demanded of the workers employed in it; the greater the degree of intelligence required for success in a given occupation, the greater the proportion of the national income that should go to the workers in that occupation.

After examining the investigations of the intelligence of several occupational groups, it was concluded that the teachers "in this country are found almost altogether in the upper half of the range of general intelligence," and the teachers with two or more years of education beyond high school in 1925 were considerably above the mean of the general population. When the theory was applied to the distribution of national income of 1925, it was found that the elementary school teachers with two or more years of college education should have been paid on the average at least $1,800. Inasmuch as it has been conservatively estimated that the average salary of teachers with two or more years of training in 1925 was only $1,350, it is apparent that teachers, to have had a fair economic wage, one that would contribute most to the economic welfare of the country, should have been paid at least one third more than they were receiving that year.

The cost of living and salaries. It is generally accepted that the cost of living should be taken into account in determining the minimum salary of the teacher. If the cost of living rises and the salary remains at a fixed

[10] Dix, Lester, *The Economic Basis for the Teacher's Wage,* Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931.

level, the teacher has had, in reality, a reduction in salary, because his income will not purchase so many goods and services as it formerly did. If salaries are not increased to compensate for the loss of the purchasing power of the dollar so that teachers may enjoy a standard of living that will compare favorably with that of other occupational groups requiring comparable educational qualifications and talent, the teaching profession will not attract young people of the quality it so urgently needs.

It is not to be assumed that cost of living increases or decreases uniformly throughout the nation. In some communities the cost of living deviates considerably from the average cost of living for the entire country. Therefore, salary increases of the same amount in two different localities do not always increase the purchasing power of the teachers' dollar to the same extent in each community.

The single salary schedule. Another concept with which the beginning student of education should be familiar is the single salary schedule. Although the principle underlying the single salary schedule has been long recognized by students of school administration, its adoption in scheduling salaries has been slow. The principle of the single salary, stated briefly, is equal pay for equal qualifications. Accordingly, the question of sex or of position in the elementary schools or high schools is beside the point in determining the teacher's salary. The only consideration is the qualification of the teacher in terms of ability, educational preparation, and experience. It is to the advantage of the beginner to inquire into the type of salary schedule in operation in a district before accepting employment there.

Aside from the fact that most men support a family, there never has been any evidence to justify the practice of paying women teachers less than men, provided both are equally qualified. Neither is there any justification for assuming that high school teachers should be paid more than elementary school teachers. There are, however, two difficulties, among others, that stand in the way of the spread of the single salary movement, although many progressive schools have adopted this plan. First, the number of high school teachers is usually smaller than the number of elementary school teachers, so that the adoption of the single salary schedule frequently may result in a reduction of high school salaries without materially increasing the salaries of the elementary school teachers, assuming that the total outlay for salaries is not increased. Then, it is

contended that, if the salaries of the women teachers are increased to equal those of men teachers, more women will be attracted to teaching, already over feminized, and unless the total appropriation for salaries is increased, the capable men will turn to more remunerative vocations. It would seem that the solution to the problem is to increase the expenditures for salaries generally.

The financial status of the teacher after a period of service. The young person engaged with the problem of choosing a life career will probably inquire, "What will my financial position be after years of service in my chosen profession?" Unfortunately, no definite answer can be given to this question for those persons selecting either teaching or any other occupation. There are too many factors involved, aside from personal competency, which are not always within the control of the individual concerned. The range of salaries for teachers with comparable experience and training is very great. The teacher's location, whether in a large or small community, has a great deal to do with the size of his salary. Even though some smaller communities pay teachers as well as the larger cities, it can be said, by and large, that the salaries in the smaller communities and rural areas are not large enough to maintain a standard of living commensurate with the dignity of teaching, and at the same time provide for retirement in old age. Especially is this true if the teacher has dependents for whom he must provide.

Two reports of the economic status of the teacher throw some light on the teacher's financial status after a certain number of years of service.[11] After 10 to 20 years of service, men teachers in cities may expect to accumulate, as savings or capital, $5,500; and women, $4,200. After 30 to 40 years of service the net assets of men teachers in cities amounted to $16,800, and women, $9,100. As is to be expected, the financial status of teachers in the rural areas did not compare favorably with that of the teachers in cities. It appears that after 10 to 19 years of service men teachers in rural schools, on the average, may expect to accumulate not more than $6,100 in assets; and women, $3,300. The average net assets of men with 20 to 29 years of service amounted to about $7,700 and women, $4,500.

It is clear then that salaries of teachers have not been sufficient to

[11] Research Bulletin, National Education Association, *The Teacher's Economic Position*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, September, 1935, and Research Bulletin, *The Rural Teacher's Economic Status*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, January, 1939.

provide for a standard of living during retirement comparable to that which they have enjoyed during their active period of service. If the teacher were to place his accumulated savings in the bank at the prevailing rate of interest, the return on his capital would be very small. If the capital were used to purchase life annuities, at the age of 60 the return would be greater but the income would fall short of paying for the maintenance of the same standard of living during retirement which the teacher enjoyed during his active years.

It seems evident that, if in the future the teaching profession is to attract well-prepared young men and women with talent for teaching, it must pay them salaries which enable them to enjoy a standard of living that permits them to do their work most effectively. To do this, they must be free from the fear of economic disaster. More of the national income must be diverted to the payment of higher salaries. Unless this is done, many capable young people will be attracted to those occupations that will reward them more fully for their services, and teaching will continue to be used as a steppingstone to more desirable occupations.

The tenure of the teacher. For a long time people in general have been becoming conscious of the fact that the individual should have more assurance of continued opportunity to earn a living. Since 1930 particularly, this movement has taken on increased emphasis. In education there has been launched a movement to safeguard the tenure in office of competent teachers. The most influential forces behind the movement have been the state teachers' associations, although the National Education Association has been one of its strong proponents since the latter part of the 19th century and the American Federation of Teachers has advocated the cause ever since the inception of the organization in 1916.

The immediate purpose in protecting the tenure of the teacher is to free him of the fear of losing his position for any other cause than incompetency, neglect of duty, immorality, or any other dereliction in behavior that tends to impair his effectiveness in guiding the development of children. If the teacher's position is endangered merely because he does not belong to the political party in office, or if he does not have the "right" church affiliations, or if he does not agree in all respects with the school authorities or other interests in the community on matters that do not affect in any way his effectiveness as a teacher, he is not likely to have the personal feeling of security so essential for success in teaching.

It would appear that, if the community feels that the work of the teacher is of fundamental importance to society, then the community should provide for the teacher a security in tenure that will enable him to discharge his duty in the most effective manner. It is to the interests of society to promote professional competency among teachers for the sake of its children.

That the tenure of the teacher has been insecure cannot be denied. Studies of the length of service and causes for dismissal show that teachers are often dismissed without professional cause. Several different plans of tenure have been proposed and used. These are life tenure, permanent tenure, and indefinite tenure. Life tenure and permanent tenure have not been popularly received in general. Probably indefinite tenure is a more suitable term to express the type of security that the professionally-minded teacher desires. It implies that after a trial period during which the teacher demonstrates his competency, he is employed indefinitely and cannot be removed from office except for moral delinquency, inefficiency, or other serious reasons. The teacher's tenure is, therefore, under this plan dependent upon his moral behavior and continued professional development. Many important cities and several states operate under this plan.

The present status of teacher tenure.[12] Some idea of the general status of teacher tenure may be obtained by noting the duration of the teacher's contract in the several states. Such facts will be accurate, however, only for the time being, for with each meeting of the legislature there is a possibility of some changes being made. Attempts are made in some states to introduce constructive tenure legislation and in others there are efforts to undermine existing tenure laws.

At the present writing, it appears there are only eight states—Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—which have indefinite or permanent tenure laws of state-wide applicability. The laws in Massachusetts and Maryland do not include protection for teachers in the two major cities of these states—Boston and Baltimore respectively—but these cities have their own tenure

[12] Data from *Tenure Legislation,* Research Division, National Education Association, December, 1939, Research Bulletin, *The Status of the Teaching Profession,* National Education Association, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, March, 1940, p. 65, and *Journal of National Education Association,* "State-wide Legislative Provisions for Teacher Welfare," December, 1942, Vol. 31, No. 9, pp. 280-281.

regulations comparable to those applying to the other districts in the states. The above-mentioned states require at least a two- or three-year probationary period before indefinite or permanent tenure is granted. The tenure act of 1937 in Pennsylvania gave teachers assurance of permanent employment upon signing the first contract without stipulating a probationary period. In 1939 the act was amended providing for a two-year probationary period. In all these states, continuous employment is contingent only upon the teacher's rendering satisfactory service.

In ten states—Arkansas, Delaware, Iowa, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Washington, and West Virginia—the continuing contract plan prevails. This plan provides that after the teacher is once elected to a position, it is assumed that the teacher is under continuous contract and need not be elected annually. Notice must be given by either the teacher or the school board if it is the desire of either party to terminate the contract.

The tenure of teachers in the other states varies. Four states—Arizona, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Wyoming—elect teachers annually in all districts of the state. The school districts in several states are permitted to contract with the teachers for more than one year of service. In the other states the tenure of the teacher varies; permanent tenure may be mandatory in certain school districts of the state and not in others. Michigan is the only state which places the responsibility for tenure in the hands of the voters of the local district. The law provides that teachers may have protected tenure after a two-year probationary period if the majority of the electors vote for it. If tenure is once established by the local district, it may be abolished if the majority of the voters vote against it.

From this survey of facts concerning tenure in the United States, it is seen that conditions now are far from satisfactory. Yet there are many hopeful signs of improvement. The struggle to achieve a stable form of teacher tenure generally throughout the nation is one that is not easily won. But the most effective method in promoting the cause of tenure is found in the concerted action by the teachers themselves.

The arguments for and against indefinite tenure. The arguments of those who oppose tenure for teachers are: (1) The teacher, if given tenure, will have no incentive to stimulate himself to further professional growth and development. (2) There will be a tendency to permit the incompetent to continue in office because of the difficulty of dismissal. It is argued, in

support of the second objection, that it is very difficult to determine objectively effectiveness or noneffectiveness of the teacher and that school authorities will be inclined to continue an incompetent teacher in service rather take the chance of having their dismissal of a teacher being reversed by appeal to higher educational authorities and most particularly the courts.

On the other hand, the proponents of more security for the teacher contend that: (1) Tenure protects the competent teachers from arbitrary dismissal and it permits the dismissal of the incompetent and those who are negligent of their duty. (2) It frees the teachers and the schools from the unwholesome influences in the community which, because of ignorance or selfish interests, are not concerned with the real welfare of education. (3) It tends to improve the personnel of the school not only by providing for the retention of the worthy teachers but also by attracting young people with ability and courage. (4) It permits the teachers freedom in thought and action, so necessary in order that they may be most useful to the community.

Whatever may be the merits of the claims for and against tenure, it seems obvious that the teacher needs to have more protection against loss of position than he has at present in most states. It is to be recalled that only six of the 48 states have indefinite or permanent tenure. The few studies that have been made of the effects of tenure laws show that a reasonable security for the teacher tends to stabilize the teaching profession and that teachers in states having tenure laws are in a high degree free from dismissals without professional cause.

Tenure principles. Several of the more important commonly accepted principles that should be observed in formulating teacher tenure legislation so that the best interests of the children and society will be protected are as follows:

1. Only teachers having at least the minimum qualifications demanded by he state for a certificate should be accepted for a probationary period.
2. A probationary period of three to five years should be required before ndefinite tenure is granted.
3. A definite salary schedule should be established to protect the teachers from unjustified reductions in pay.
4. Indefinite tenure should depend upon continuous professional growth and good behavior.
5. The offending teacher should be warned in ample time to correct

deficiencies in conduct or inefficiency in teaching before charges are brought against him.

6. The causes for dismissal should be specified in writing.

7. The teacher should be given an opportunity for a fair hearing before the board of education with the privilege of appealing from the decision of the board to higher authorities.

8. Whenever a teacher has been given the status of indefinite tenure, transfer to another school system within the state should not affect the status of his tenure.

Teacher retirement systems. Protection of the aged and disabled is another aspect of the welfare of the teacher that is of utmost importance to those interested in the future of the profession. Until the latter part of the 19th century, responsibility for those teachers incapacitated because of illness or old age was of local concern. The responsibility for protection of the unfit rested with the local teacher retirement system or private charity if the teacher had not accumulated sufficient wealth to provide a livelihood during his period of disability and retirement. Because of the absence of adequate security, many teachers were retained in service long after their usefulness was over.

The present status of teacher retirement. The retirement movement has been making rather steady progress. At present, at least 47 states have enacted legislation providing for state-wide retirement systems. Many of the early state systems have been revised in the past 15 years to such an extent that they may be considered new systems.

The state is now generally recognized as the most favorable unit for providing adequate retirement security for the teachers. But in the early history of the retirement movement, most of the efforts were local in nature. Even at present there are between 50 and 55 local retirement systems in operation, located mainly in the larger cities. Many of these local systems are operating independently in the states having state-wide systems.

Financing retirement systems.[13] There are several different arrangements for financing teacher retirement systems, but so far as state-wide systems are concerned, the financial support is derived from a joint contribution by the teacher and state. Delaware, New Mexico, and Rhode Island are

[13] Research Bulletin, National Education Association, *Statistics of State and Local Teacher Retirement Systems, 1943-44,* Vol. XXIII, No. 2, April, 1945.

the only states in which the teacher makes no contribution to the retirement fund. The arrangement whereby the teacher does not contribute toward building up a retirement allowance is known as the pension plan. When both the teacher and the state contribute to the fund, the arrangement is known as the joint-contributory plan. Under the latter plan the teacher usually contributes to the fund according to a flat rate or a specified per cent of his salary.

Retirement and disability provisions. Usually retirement is optional after the teacher has attained a certain age, ranging in the several states from 50 to 65 years and/or has spent a specified number of years in service. Those states having a compulsory retirement age usually require retirement at 70 years of age.

Most of the states provide for retirement if a teacher becomes disabled before he has attained the retirement age. It seems to be customary to require a period of a year of service in the state in which the person was teaching at the time that he became disabled before disability benefits are granted. The required period of service is 10 to 15 years. A few states require that the teacher be over a certain age or have paid a certain amount of money into the retirement fund before he is eligible for disability benefits.

It is encouraging to find so many states providing for protection of the teacher when he retires or becomes unfit for future service. The retirement allowance prevents the teacher from depending entirely upon his relatives or from becoming a public charge. In most instances, however, it is not large enough to enable the teacher to maintain a standard of living that is comparable to that which he maintained during his active years. As shown in a preceding section of this chapter, the possibility of the teacher's supplementing his retirement allowance with the income from accumulated savings does not increase it appreciably.

Retirement for college teachers.[14] It was the practice in the early history of higher education in the United States to provide a retirement allowance for the aged college professor out of the current income of the college. The modern conception of pension systems for college professors developed first at Columbia University in 1890, then at Yale University

[14] The data in this section were based mainly on Flanagan, Sherman E., *Insurance and Annuity Plans for College Staffs*, Office of Education, Bulletin No. 5. 1937.

in 1897, and at Harvard University in 1899. Eight colleges and universities in America inaugurated individual pension systems by 1906. In 1905, Andrew Carnegie gave $10,000,000, later increased to $15,000,000 to provide pensions for teachers in universities, colleges, and technical schools not controlled by religious denominations or state governments. When the fund was increased to $15,000,000, teachers in certain of the publicly controlled institutions were permitted to avail themselves of the opportunity.

It was Carnegie's original intention that the pension to college teachers should be free. After some experience, the Foundation charged with administering the gift found that there were many weaknesses and disadvantages to the free pension plan. The Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association was then established in 1918 to issue deferred-annuity contracts to college teachers. This deferred annuity is paid for by a joint contribution of the college and the teacher. The teacher contributes 5 per cent of his salary, which amount is matched by a contribution of the college. The contract, however, is between the association and the teacher; hence, the college has no equity in the retirement fund of the individual. The teacher selects the age at which he wishes to retire. If he should die before he reaches the retirement age, the amount contributed jointly by him and the college is paid to his beneficiary or estate in 120 monthly payments. The teacher cannot borrow on his annuity policy; neither can he surrender it for its cash value.

The Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association also issues life insurance policies to college teachers at net cost. Inasmuch as it is a nonprofit organization, it is exempt from Federal taxes. Administrative expenses are paid out of the income and surplus originally donated. The Association eliminates the expenses of the insurance agent by selling policies directly to the teacher.

The Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association initiated a comprehensive study in 1947 of the various plans for retirement then prevailing among 1,000 colleges, teachers colleges, and universities. More than 600 of these institutions reported retirement plans. Preliminary estimates of the number of institutions of higher learning using the various plans for retirement are presented in Table 12, page 60.

Colleges and universities generally recognize the need for some plan by which the aged and disabled teacher may be retired. Obviously, the additional financial burden involved in inaugurating and maintaining a

retirement system has been the chief hindrance to the growth of the movement. Recent reports reflect a growing interest in the subject by those institutions which have not established definite plans.

A sound retirement system is absolutely essential to the welfare of the teacher and of society. It is a humanitarian way to protect the children from the effects of those teachers who have lost their competency be-

TABLE 12 [15]

INSTITUTIONS USING THE VARIOUS PLANS FOR RETIREMENT

RETIREMENT PLANS	NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS	PER CENT
Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association		47.0
State or city retirement systems		24.0
State Teachers College		
Others		10.0
Church pension plans		9.0
Annuity plans, commercial companies		5.0
Nonfunded plans, paying out of current income		3.0
Funded plans administered by the institutions		1.0
Carnegie pensions only		1.0
Total		100.0

cause of old age or other forms of disability. It has a definite tendency to professionalize teaching and thus make it more attractive to the more capable young people who are looking forward to a career of service. In terms of dollars and cents, a sound retirement system pays for itself by freeing the minds of those teachers in the service from the fear of dependency or destitution, thereby making them more effective teachers during their active years.

Summary. From the data reviewed in this chapter it appears that there is a general upward trend in the economic welfare of the teacher. Salaries of teachers have generally been raised since 1922. The salaries of public school teachers are highest in the cities and lowest in the rural areas. The salaries of teachers have generally been regarded by them as not adequate to maintain a good standard of living and provide an adequate income for their retirement. A survey of the salaries of teachers as compared with

[15] Preliminary estimate for Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association.

certain other professional groups seems to bear out the contention. Public school teachers rank twelfth among sixteen occupational groups. College teachers rank sixth in the professional group including architects, engineers, dentists, lawyers, and physicians. However, the range among teachers in salary is wide and some teaching positions pay very well. Efforts to determine a just basis for an adequate salary for teachers suggested that the minimal salary is several hundred dollars per year less than it should be. Neither is the provision for retirement adequate.

Related to the economic status of the teacher is the problem of tenure. A trend toward teacher tenure is apparent, but adequate tenure plans are still in the great minority. Likewise retirement systems are developing but are not entirely satisfactory at present.

All in all, the economic status of the teacher is still not sufficiently secure to make teaching attractive to those who are desirous of achieving the higher levels of income and the material comforts that go with it; but teaching as a profession still offers attractive opportunities to those of ability and adequate preparation.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Why is the economic welfare of the teacher of such great significance to the welfare of society?
2. What is the most important objection to the practice of basing the minimum salary of the teacher on the minimum cost of living?
3. Point out the fallacy of comparing the average salary of the teachers with the average salary of other professional groups.
4. What practical difficulties do you see in the operation of the theory that the salary of a person should be determined according to the value of the services the individual contributes to society?
5. Why has the single salary schedule not spread more rapidly in practice?
6. Do you think that a teacher should ever be given permanent tenure?

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Chapter Four

PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF THE TEACHER

THE PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS of the teacher are probably as varied and complex as those of any other professional worker. In addition to his close contacts with the pupils, the teacher also has important relations with parents, community, fellow teachers, administrative and supervisory officers, the board of education, and professional teachers' organizations. Obviously, then, the teacher faces situations, in his normal activities, in which he must exercise his best judgment in selecting from among the courses of action open to him the one most in keeping with the welfare of the profession and the community. It is especially important that the person entering teaching be familiar with the behavior practices generally approved by the teaching group.

Because of the complex relationships he must have, the teacher needs a set of principles upon which to base his professional behavior. Various attempts have been made to formulate such principles for teachers. Such a set of principles is generally known as a code of professional ethics. This code deals particularly with the teacher's obligations and responsibilities in his dealings with school boards, school administrators, and supervisors, fellow teachers, parents, pupils, supply and textbook concerns, and teachers' agencies. Such codes of professional ethics are not intended to deal with the teacher's general behavior. It is, of course, assumed that the teacher's personal activities conform to the generally accepted moral standards of the community.

In addition to serving as a guide to the beginner, a written statement of the principles approved by the members of the profession exerts tre-

mendous control over the behavior of all members. The fact that the members of a profession have gone on record as a group with a statement of their attitude toward practices which they consider opposed to the interests of the profession and the community is a strong influence on the behavior of the individual members of the group.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF CODES OF ETHICS

The development of general ethical codes in professions and business. In an effort to improve the professional relationships of their groups, the older professions early established standards as guides to the approved behavior practices of their members. While the code of medical ethics was adopted by the American Medical Association in 1846, the origin of medical ethics resides in the Oath of Hippocrates, the Greek physician. The American Bar Association adopted a code of ethics in 1908, but many of its provisions took form some 70 years before. Since the turn of this century interest has been exhibited not only in formulating codes among the professional groups but also in business and industry. The industrialization of American life brought with it unfair business practices. In attempting to establish business practices on a higher moral level, codes of fair practice were developed. Probably the greatest emphasis to the development of business codes came from the National Industrial Recovery Act, which was enacted in 1933. According to its provisions, each industry or business was permitted to formulate a code of fair practice. If the code was approved by the President of the United States, all business concerns engaged in the particular kind of business activity were compelled to conform to the provisions of the code. In 1935 the Supreme Court of the United States found this Act to be unconstitutional, but many of the codes of fair practice established thereby still remain in force through the voluntary agreement of the business groups.

State teachers' codes. The attention of teachers and school people generally was not drawn to the need for establishing professional standards of conduct until the close of the last century. It seems that the first state teachers association to adopt a code of ethics was that of Georgia in 1896. The California Teachers Association followed with a code in 1904, and the state association of Alabama came next in 1908. From this point on the teachers in the several states recognized increasingly the need for standards to guide them in their professional activities. By 1946 at least

37 state teachers' associations had adopted codes of ethics. The state codes vary a great deal in their degree of specificity. Some codes, such as the code of the Pennsylvania State Education Association, set forth principles that should be observed by the teacher in practically every aspect of his professional conduct, while other codes are brief and quite general.

The Pennsylvania code deals specifically not only with those situations which are usually the cause of conflict, but its provisions are stated so clearly that a minimum of misunderstanding should arise as to its interpretation. In addition, the Pennsylvania code provides for a Commission on Professional Ethics to interpret the code and investigate violations. Only four or five of the state codes provide for commissions to enforce the provisions of the codes. Therein lies the greatest weakness of codes of professional ethics. A professional code, which reflects the judgment of the group as to approved practice, loses the full force that it should have in influencing the behavior of members of the group unless violations of its provisions are subject to review by an authorized commission.

National Education Association's Code. In 1924 the National Education Association became seriously interested in formulating a code of ethics for teachers. A committee was appointed to draft a set of ethical principles which would serve as standards for the teacher's professional conduct. The committee formulated a code of ethics, after considerable study and investigation, which was officially adopted by the National Education Association at its annual meeting in 1929.

Any code of ethics is open to criticism. The Code of 1929 was no exception in that respect. It was contended by many critics that it was not specific enough to give adequate guidance particularly to the inexperienced teacher. Others felt that the meaning of several of the provisions was not clear. Furthermore, no provision was made for its enforcement. These criticisms led to a revision of the code which was adopted by the assembly of the National Education Association at Boston in July, 1941. Every teacher should be familiar with the provisions of the revised code, a copy of which is here reproduced.

ETHICS FOR TEACHERS

PREAMBLE

Believing: That true democracy can best be achieved by a process of free public education made available to all the children of all the people;

That the teachers in the United States have a large and inescapable responsibility in fashioning the ideals of children and youth;

That such responsibility requires the services of men and women of high ideals, broad education, and profound human understanding; and, in order that the aims of democratic education may be realized more fully, that the welfare of the teaching profession may be promoted; and,

That teachers may observe proper standards of conduct in their professional relations, the National Education Association of the United States proposes this code of ethics for its members.

The term "teacher" as used in this code shall include all persons directly engaged in educational work, whether in a teaching, an administrative, or a supervisory capacity.

ARTICLE I. RELATIONS TO PUPILS AND THE HOME

Section 1. It is the duty of the teacher to be just, courteous, and professional in all his relations with pupils. He should consider their individual differences, needs, interests, temperaments, aptitudes, and environments.

Section 2. He should refrain from tutoring pupils of his classes for pay, and from referring such pupils to any member of his immediate family for tutoring.

Section 3. The professional relations of a teacher with his pupils demand the same scrupulous care that is required in the confidential relations of one teacher with another. A teacher, therefore, should not disclose any information obtained confidentially from his pupils, unless it is for the best interest of the child and the public.

Section 4. A teacher should seek to establish friendly and intelligent cooperation between home and school, ever keeping in mind the dignity of his profession and the welfare of the pupils. He should do or say nothing that would undermine the confidence and respect of his pupils for their parents. He should inform the pupils and parents regarding the importance, purposes, accomplishments, and needs of the schools.

ARTICLE II. RELATIONS TO CIVIC AFFAIRS

Section 1. It is the obligation of every teacher to inculcate in his pupils an appreciation of the principles of democracy. He should direct full and free discussion of appropriate controversial issues with the expectation that comparisons, contrasts, and interpretations will lead to an understanding, appreciation, acceptance, and practice of the principles of democracy. A teacher should refrain from using his classroom privileges and prestige to promote partisan politics, sectarian religious views, or selfish propaganda of any kind.

Section 2. A teacher should recognize and perform all the duties of citizenship. He should subordinate his personal desires to the best interests of the public good. He should be loyal to the school system, the state, and the nation, but should exercise his right to give constructive criticisms.

Section 3. A teacher's life should show that education makes people better citizens and better neighbors. His personal conduct should not needlessly offend the accepted pattern of behavior of the community in which he serves.

ARTICLE III. RELATIONS TO THE PROFESSION

Section 1. Each member of the teaching profession should dignify his calling on all occasions and should uphold the importance of his services to society. On the other hand, he should not indulge in personal exploitation.

Section 2. A teacher should encourage able and sincere individuals to enter the teaching profession and discourage those who plan to use this profession merely as a steppingstone to some other vocation.

Section 3. It is the duty of the teacher to maintain his own efficiency by study, by travel, and by other means which keep him abreast of the trends in education and the world in which he lives.

Section 4. Every teacher should have membership in his local, state, and national professional organizations, and should participate actively and unselfishly in them. Professional growth and personality development are the natural product of such professional activity. Teachers should avoid the promotion of organization rivalry and divisive competition which weaken the cause of education.

Section 5. While not limiting their services by reason of small salary, teachers should insist upon a salary scale commensurate with the social demands laid upon them by society. They should not knowingly underbid a rival or agree to accept a salary lower than that provided by a recognized schedule. They should not apply for positions for the sole purpose of forcing an increase in salary in their present positions; correspondingly, school officials should not refuse to give deserved salary increases to efficient employees until offers from other school authorities have forced them so to do.

Section 6. A teacher should not apply for a specific position currently held by another teacher. Unless the rules of a school system otherwise prescribe, he should file his application with the chief executive officer.

Section 7. Since qualification should be the sole determining factor in appointment and promotion, the use of pressure on school officials to secure a position or to obtain other favors is unethical.

Section 8. Testimonials regarding teachers should be truthful and confidential, and should be treated as confidential information by the school authorities receiving them.

Section 9. A contract, once signed, should be faithfully adhered to until it is dissolved by mutual consent. Ample notification should be given both by school officials and teachers in case a change in position is to be made.

Section 10. Democratic procedures should be practiced by members of the teaching profession. Cooperation should be predicated upon the recognition of the worth and the dignity of individual personality. All teachers should observe the professional courtesy of transacting official business with the properly designated authority.

Section 11. School officials should encourage and nurture the professional growth of all teachers by promotion or by other appropriate methods of recognition School officials who fail to recommend a worthy teacher for a better position outside their school system because they do not desire to lose his services are acting unethically.

Section 12. A teacher should avoid unfavorable criticism of other teachers except that formally presented to a school official for the welfare of the school. It is unethical to fail to report to the duly constituted authority any matters which are detrimental to the welfare of the school.

Section 13. Except when called upon for counsel or other assistance, a teacher should not interfere in any matter between another teacher and a pupil.

Section 14. A teacher should not act as an agent, or accept a commission, royalty, or other compensation, for endorsing books or other school materials in the selection or purchase of which he can exert influence, or concerning which he can exercise the right of decision; nor should he accept a commission or other compensation for helping another teacher to secure a position.

ARTICLE IV. COMMISSION ON PROFESSIONAL ETHICS

There is hereby established a Standing Committee on Professional Ethics consisting of five members appointed by the president.

It shall be the duty of the committee to study and to take appropriate action on such cases of violation of this Code as may be referred to it. The committee shall be responsible also for publicizing the Code, promoting its use in institutions for the preparation of teachers, and recommending needed modifications.

If, when a case is reported, it is found to come from a state which has an Ethics Committee, such case shall immediately be referred to said state committee for investigation and action. In the case of a violation reported from a state which has neither a code nor an ethics committee, or from a state which has a code but not an ethics committee, the N. E. A. ethics committee shall take such action as seems wise and reasonable and will impress members with the importance of respect for proper professional conduct. Such action shall be reported

to the chief school officers of the community and the state from which the violation is reported.

The committee is further vested with authority to expel a member from the National Education Association for flagrant violation of this Code.

In 1931 Martin examined carefully the provisions of 32 state codes, the attitudes of teachers toward certain practices, and the teachers' conceptions of the violations of professional ethics.[1] Teachers reported far more violations of the provision of the codes dealing with the relation of the teacher with his associates and the profession than any other provision. Selfishness in sharing equipment and materials with other teachers; interfering in the management and control of pupils in the classes of other teachers; and spreading rumors and gossip about one's associates were typical of the violations reported by teachers. Violations of the standards relating to the public and pupils, such as revealing confidential information about pupils to lay people in the community, ranked second in point of frequency. Disobeying the standards with respect to obtaining a position and terminating a contract, such as underbidding another candidate and leaving a teaching position without sufficient notice to the school authorities, ranked third.

It should be noted, however, that the ranking of the frequency of violations was based on the testimony of the teacher and, therefore, should be accepted with reservations; teachers and administrators are more aware of and sensitive to violations, the effects of which directly affect them, than they are of violations of the standards pertaining to the teachers' relations with the pupil and community. As a result of his study, Martin has suggested some 42 standards of conduct which the teacher should recognize. The inexperienced teacher, particularly, will find it worthwhile to examine this statement of standards.[2]

It should be observed, in concluding this discussion of codes of professional ethics, that the greatest obstacle to the development of high professional standards of conduct has been the transient nature of the teaching population. Too frequently teaching serves as a steppingstone to some other profession or vocation. A person who is not intending to remain permanently in a given occupation will not feel so keenly the obligation

[1] Martin, Theodore D., *Ethics in the Teaching Profession,* National Education Association, Research Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 1, January, 1931.

[2] *Op. cit.,* pp. 37-70.

to conform to the standards of conduct most conducive to his professional effectiveness as one who expects to make the profession his life's work.

PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Perhaps the most important influence working for the development of a profession of teaching is the professional teachers' organizations. The purpose of these groups is not selfishly to advance the personal fortunes of their members but rather to make teaching more effective in service to society. Membership in an association should contribute, therefore, to the growth of the teacher by enabling him to share experiences with others who are engaged in similar work, and to promote the general welfare of education through cooperation with others interested in the same purpose. The professional organization is not a pressure group according to the meaning that is usually associated with that term. Its only fundamental purpose for existence is the improvement of education and teaching.

Education is a large collective enterprise without any centralized national control. This fact is responsible in part for the development and growth of the numerous educational organizations in the United States. These organizations are responsible, for the most part, for giving to education in the United States codes of ethics, standards for teacher certification, teacher tenure, retirement systems, and other ideas which have tended to raise educational standards and to promote teaching efficiency.

All teachers should belong to some type of professional organization. There are local, state, and national organizations available to the teacher. Which one to join is largely a matter for each teacher to decide. There is no question but that it is to the advantage of the teacher to join forces with other teachers in some type of professional organization. Many think that membership in at least the local, state, and national organization should be the minimum for the professionally-minded teacher.

In order that the student preparing for teaching may understand the various kinds of educational organizations the more prominent ones will be described.

Local organizations. There is very little information on the status and kinds of local educational organizations available to teachers in the small communities. In the larger cities there are many different kinds of local

organizations representing the specialized interests of groups of teachers and administrators. Local organizations may be affiliated directly with the National Education Association. In 1945 there were 1,368 local associations and 52 state and territorial associations affiliated with the national organization. The Pennsylvania State Education Association has encouraged the organization and affiliation of local branches with the State Association by providing in its constitution that each teachers' institute may be a local branch of the state association, and those districts not having an institute but having a district superintendent, may organize a local branch.

Hoffman's study of the purposes and activities of local professional organizations shows that they are many-sided and not devoted entirely to good fellowship meetings without any professional concern.[3] Many of the local organizations' activities center on improving the economic status of the teacher with respect to raising salaries, establishing credit unions, providing group insurance, and other similar measures. The professional growth of the members also comes in for some attention by the local association, which sponsors lectures, study groups, extension courses, educational research investigations, and other activities designed to promote the professional development of its members.

Functions of state education associations. The seriousness with which teachers accept their obligations to support the state education associations is evidenced by the fact that 83 per cent of the teachers in the United States were members of their respective state organizations in 1945. It is not difficult to discern the cause of such professional solidarity. Education in the United States is a function of each state; educational policies established by the legislature affect legally only those schools within the state. School people can lend their influence very effectively in shaping state policies through the professional state organization.

Organization and activities of state associations. While it is affiliated with the National Education Association, each state association has its own independent organization, officers, constitution, and bylaws. The officers usually consist of a president, one or more vice-presidents, an executive council or board of directors, treasurer, and executive secretary. Recogni-

[3] Hoffman, M. David, *Status of Voluntary Teachers' Associations in Cities of 100,000 Population or More*, Office of Education, Bulletin No. 36, 1930.

tion of the interests of various sections of the state is facilitated through the organization of an assembly or house of delegates consisting of delegates from the local organizations of the state. Usually there are several standing committees, such as the committee on resolutions, the legislative committee, and others.

Membership in a state association is generally open to any person actively engaged in educational work. The annual dues vary from state to state, ranging from $1 to $3. Several associations provide for life membership. The annual dues also include the subscription to the monthly journal if the association publishes one. Most state associations hold at least one annual meeting. In addition to the annual meeting, several states hold district conventions within the state.

Like the National Education Association, most of the state associations have organized departments, and a few have provided for sections within the departments in order to meet the specialized interests and activities of the teachers. The departments usually hold their meetings at the time of the annual state convention. To help the student develop some idea of the extent to which one of the more populous states has provided for the specialized activities of the teachers and administrators, the organization of the Pennsylvania State Education Association into departments and sections is outlined as follows:

I. Department of Higher Education
   Sections:
   1. College and University
   2. College Teachers of Education

II. Department of Classroom Teachers in Secondary Education
   Sections:
   1. Junior High School Subject Matter
   2. Senior High School Subject Matter

III. Department of Classroom Teachers in Elementary Education
   Sections:
   1. Rural School
   2. Atypical Children
   3. Kindergarten—Primary
   4. All Elementary Field Subject Matter
   5. Supervisors and Directors of Elementary Instruction

IV. Department of Administration
Sections:
1. County Superintendence
2. District Superintendence
3. Supervising Principals
4. Secondary School Principals
5. Elementary School Principals

V. Department of Practical Arts and Vocational Education
Sections:
1. Industrial Education
2. Home Economics
3. Agriculture
4. Business Education[4]

In addition to the departments and sections, round tables are provided for the discussion of special problems or phases of the curriculum.

In view of the large membership in the state education associations, one might believe that these organizations were uniformly powerful factors in educational affairs within their respective states. Such is not the case, however, in many states. It is generally believed that the state association should be not only a powerful organization in stimulating the professional development of the teachers but also a vital instrument in interpreting a state's educational program to its people.

The National Education Association.[5] The origin of the National Education Association is found in the National Teachers Association, which met at the call of the presidents of ten state teachers' associations in Philadelphia in 1857. The purpose of the original organization was "to elevate the character and advance the interests of the profession of teaching and to promote the cause of popular education in the United States." The name of the organization was changed in 1870 to the National Educational Association, which was incorporated in 1886 under the laws of the District of Columbia. Under a special act of Congress in 1906, the latter organization was incorporated as the National Education Association of the United States, and the charter was accepted and bylaws adopted at

[4] "Constitution and Bylaws of the Pennsylvania State Education Association," *Pennsylvania School Journal,* January, 1943, Vol. 91, No. 5, p. 153.

[5] Information relating to the National Education Association was obtained from the *N. E. A. Handbook,* 1945, National Education Association.

the Los Angeles Convention in 1907. An important amendment was made to the act of incorporation by Congress in 1920 by which the Representative Assembly was created. The Assembly is composed of delegates elected from affiliated state and local associations. A local association may be affiliated with the National Education Association even though it is not affiliated with the state association. Thus, the National Education Association is a recognized organization for the promotion of education in the United States. In 1898 the position of Permanent Secretary was created, and in 1916 permanent headquarters were established at Washington, D. C. This association now exerts a powerful influence in educational affairs.

Membership in the National Education Association. Membership in the National Education Association increased so slowly that by 1918 there were approximately only 10,000 permanent members. From this point on it mounted to a peak enrollment of more than 220,000 members in 1931. The enrollment declined to about 187,000 in 1934, because of national economic conditions, but gains have been shown from 1935 on. In 1946 a membership of 340,782 or 39 per cent of all teachers in the United States and territories was reported. There is, however, a wide variation in the percentage of teachers from the different states belonging to the National Education Association, ranging from 10 per cent in Rhode Island to 96 per cent in Utah. With approximately only one out of every three teachers belonging to the National Education Association, it is obvious that education has no national organization that can speak for it with the same authority, for example, as the American Medical Association speaks for the medical profession.

The bylaws of the National Education Association provide for four classes of members: active, associate, corresponding, and institutional membership. Active members are persons actively engaged in teaching or other education work. Associate members are those who are not actively engaged in teaching or other education work but who are interested in teaching. Corresponding members are eminent educators not residing in America. They are elected by the Board of Directors but their number must not exceed 50 at any time. Institutional membership is held by libraries in normal schools, teachers' colleges, liberal arts colleges, universities, and public libraries.

The annual dues for active members are $3. Payment of dues entitles

the member to receive the *Journal of the National Education Association,* the official publication of the National Education Association. If the member pays $5 annually, he will also receive the *Research Bulletins* and the *Volume of Proceedings.* A person may become a member for life by paying $100, which exempts him from paying additional dues and entitles him to receive the *Journal,* the *Research Bulletins,* and the *Proceedings.* The active member is privileged to attend the meetings of the Association and its departments, to vote for delegates to the Representative Assembly, and to hold office.

The annual dues for the associate member are the same as for the active member, but he is not permitted to vote, to serve as a delegate, nor to hold office. The corresponding member pays no dues and receives free the publications of the Association. The annual dues for institutional membership are $5, which entitles the institution to receive the *Journal,* the *Research Bulletins,* and the *Proceedings.*

In order that the specialized interests and activities of the teachers and administrators may receive adequate recognition the National Education Association has provided for the creation of special departments. A person must first hold membership in the National Education Association before he can become a member of any department. The departments in existence in 1946 are enumerated below. Most of the departments issue publications and require annual dues for membership.

1. Department of Adult Education
2. American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation
3. American Association of School Administrators
4. American Association of Teachers' Colleges
5. National Science Teachers Association
6. American Educational Research Association
7. American Industrial Arts Association
8. Department of Art Education
9. Department of Business Education
10. Department of Classroom Teachers
11. Department of Elementary School Principals
12. National Association of School Secretaries
13. Department of Higher Education
14. Department of Home Economics
15. International Council for Exceptional Children
16. Department of Kindergarten—Primary Education
17. Department of Lip Reading

18. Music Educators National Conference
19. National Association of Deans of Women
20. National Association of Journalism Directors of Secondary Schools
21. National Association of Secondary-School Principals
22. National Association of Teachers of Speech
23. National Council for the Social Studies
24. National Council of Administrative Women in Education
25. Department of Rural Education
26. Department of Secondary Teachers
27. Department of Supervision and Curriculum Development
28. Department of Visual Education
29. Department of Vocational Education

In addition to the departments, the National Education Association has created a number of committees, commissions, and councils which have given valuable service to the cause of education. Especially should the work of the National Council on Education and the Educational Policies Commission be noted. The National Council was created in 1880 as an outgrowth of the need for a "representative group of able thinkers in the profession who would study the trend of education, thought, and effort, and advise with respect to the wisest means and methods of future growth." It became, in its early history, a sort of advisory committee to the National Education Association in determining policies and procedures and in undertaking research investigations. The original functions of the National Council on Education have been usurped, however, by the Research Division which was established in 1916 by the National Education Association, and more recently by the creation of the Educational Policies Commission. The Council has held, however, "strictly to its function as a service agency acting in an advisory capacity to the National Education Association and working closely with the Educational Policies Commission." At the annual meetings of the Council a report is made on the educational progress that has been made in the preceding year.

The Educational Policies Commission was created jointly by the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators in December, 1935. The Commission has been specifically charged with the responsibility of considering the fundamental purposes of education in the United States; to assess the present educational situation with respect to the achievement of the purposes; and to plan and publicize its plans for such reconstruction in educational practice as

seems necessary in the light of the purposes. That the Commission has accepted its responsibility and has energetically attacked its tasks has been substantiated by the publications that have been sponsored by it. Several of the more important reports which have been published to date are:

1. *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy,* 1937
2. *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy,* 1938
3. *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy,* 1938
4. *Social Services and the Schools,* 1939
5. *Education and Economic Well-Being in American Democracy,* 1940
6. *The Education of Free Men in American Democracy,* 1941
7. *Education for All American Youth,* 1944

The need for a representative body that will serve as an agency for formulating educational policies has long been felt by educational leaders. Perhaps the Educational Policies Commission will become recognized as the policy-making body for public education in the United States. Judging from the early activities of the Commission, it would seem that it should become increasingly more influential in shaping educational policies in this country.

Activities of the National Education Association. It is difficult to express adequately the contribution of the National Education Association to the schools and the teaching profession. Even though less than one half of the teachers of the nation are members of it, yet it has rendered incalculable service to every phase of public education. The platform of the Association is too long to reproduce here, but a few of the problems with which it is concerned are as follows: prohibiting child labor, eliminating illiteracy, protecting the tenure and academic freedom of the teacher, obtaining federal aid, providing appropriate curricula, creating a Department of Education with a secretary in the President's cabinet, establishing vocational education and guidance programs, providing for adult education, organizing more effective local school units, upgrading teacher education and certification, and encouraging world education associations. The National Education Association through its committees, commissions, publications, and the organized effort of its members has improved the quality of education and the welfare of the teacher immeasurably. While it made very little growth in point of membership during its early years, since 1920 membership has increased more than 340,000

and its leadership has become more vigorous. As the organization has increased in size, its influence in educational matters has become more pronounced. Because of the size of its membership alone, it has powerful potentialities for professional leadership in education.

Other national organizations. There are many other national organizations, smaller in membership and independent of the National Education Association, which serve a vital function in American education. The attention of the reader will now be drawn to three of the more outstanding ones.

1. *The American Federation of Teachers.* The American Federation of Teachers was organized in 1916 and became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor the same year. The initial membership amounted to 2,800 and grew to 12,000 by 1920. The reactionary social and economic tendencies in the United States and the opposition of school administrators in the first half of the 1920's caused the membership to decline to 3,000 by 1926. The membership has increased since then to about 40,000 in 1947.

The platform of the American Federation of Teachers does not differ a great deal from that of the National Education Association. The methods by means of which the improvements in education and the profession are to be achieved do differ. The American Federation believes that the welfare of the teachers is one with that of the members of the trade union, and that the stronger techniques of the latter group in achieving their goals are more effective in bringing about changes in the educational situation and improvement in the profession. Such devices as petitions, letters and telegrams of protest, meetings and parades, and publicity through the newspapers have been employed at times by the Federation in protecting the tenure of teachers. The right to strike, however, is not a part of its policy. The American Federation contends that by affiliation with the trade union movement the teachers will have the influence of the other economic groups back of them.

The American Teacher is the official organ of the American Federation of Teachers. It is published nine times a year. Superintendents are excluded from membership, but under certain conditions other administrative and supervisory officers may become members. So far, this organization has not engaged in any research activities. There is an annual convention.

2. *The Progressive Education Association.* This organization was established in 1919 by a group of educators who felt that the practices of the traditional school were not founded upon sound psychological, educational, and social theory.

At its inception, the Progressive Education Association drew its inspiration from a particular psychology of the learning process, a particular ethical philosophy, and a particular theory of social progress. Psychologically, it affirmed the doctrine that learning was the individual's experiencing—the reaction of an individual to his environment and the organic changes that took place as a result of this reaction. Hence, the school curriculum and methods were to be modeled along the lines of full-blooded human activity outside the school. Ethically, the progressive education movement affirmed the value of the individual. Hence, the function of the school was conceived to be limited to the task of stimulating the child to formulate his own ideas, ideals, and attitudes toward life and society. For the teacher to play a positive role in influencing the child's choice of his ideals and objects of loyalty was thought to be an act of violation of the child's individuality. Sociologically, the progressive education movement affirmed that intelligent thinking is the basic, dynamic factor in human progress. The outlook resulting from the interplay of these various elements in the progressive educator's credo has in the course of a few years revolutionized methods and curricula in many schools. The revolution was all to the good.[6]

Thus, in the early history of the movement, the Progressive Education Association confined itself largely to the creation of a school environment in which the needs and purposes of the child would be paramount and the teacher would be more of a sympathetic guide than a taskmaster. Within recent years, the progressive movement has come to realize that its educational philosophy bears social implications, and that the school is vitally connected with the total economic and social scene. Accordingly, the curriculum of the progressive school is becoming more concerned with problems of social progress.

The progressive education movement as fostered by the Progressive Education Association has been a very powerful influence on educational theory and practice in the United States. In the early history of the movement attention was first centered upon reconstructing elementary school practices. The problems of the secondary school were not attacked because it was felt that this division of the school system was dominated

[6] "The Progressive Education Association," *The Social Frontier,* April, 1936, Vol. II, No. 7, pp. 206-207.

by the inflexible requirements of college entrance. In order to make an initial approach to reconstructing the program of the secondary school the Progressive Education Association created a Commission on the Relation of School and College. This Commission arranged for 30 secondary schools to be freed from the conventional college entrance requirements. The schools were to be permitted to experiment with their programs without being constrained by college entrance requirements. At least 250 colleges agreed to accept the graduates of the 30 secondary schools upon the basis of the recommendation of the school principals. Other data on the student's fitness for college work, such as scores on achievement, aptitude, diagnostic and intelligence tests, and information on the student's interests and activities were to be presented to the college the student desired to enter. The results of this experiment, which was terminated in 1941, will go far in freeing the high schools from rigid college entrance requirements.

In 1932 the Progressive Education Association created a Commission on Secondary School Curriculum to study the problems involved in reconstructing the curriculum of the secondary schools. The Commission was to investigate the needs of adolescents and suggest the types of experiences that would satisfy their needs. The articles and books that have resulted from the work of the Commission represent the most constructive and stimulating literature that has been published dealing with the curriculum of the secondary school.

Many controversies have developed at times between the progressives and traditionalists, but the progressive education movement has been a very dynamic influence in reconstructing educational practice in the United States from its beginning. Its emphasis upon respecting the personality of the child, employing democratic procedures in school administration, developing a curriculum that is identified with life on the level of the child's maturity, and its concern for the physical, mental, and emotional growth of the child has had a marked influence on the practices of the traditional school.

In 1944 the members of the Progressive Education Association voted to change the name of the Association to American Education Fellowship. With the change in name came an effort to increase the membership to 15,000. Any person may join the American Education Fellowship by paying the annual dues of $3. The name of the official journal is *Progressive Education*. It is published monthly except during the summer months.

3. *National Society for the Study of Education.* This organization evolved from the National Herbart Society founded in 1892 by students of the educational philosophy of Johann Friedrich Herbart. Its name was changed to the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education in 1900 and changed again in 1909 to the National Society for the Study of Education. The object of the Society, as stated in the constitution, is "to carry on the investigation of educational problems, to publish the results, and to promote their discussion." The above purpose is carried out by publishing a Yearbook, consisting of two parts, each one of which is devoted to reporting the investigation of a significant problem in education. The Yearbooks of this Society represent some of the most fertile sources of information bearing on important educational problems.

Any person who is interested in education may become an active member. The annual dues are $2.50, but there is an election fee for active members of $1 for the first year only. Payment of dues permits the active member to vote, to engage in discussion at the annual meeting, to hold office "under certain conditions," and to receive a copy of the Yearbook. "A person may be elected to honorary membership by vote of the Society on nomination by the Board of Directors."

While the membership in this organization is small—approximately 1,600 in 1946—its influence on educational theory and practice has been very significant. The scholarship of the members contributing to the Yearbooks has been uniformly of high quality. Nonmembers may purchase copies of the Yearbook from the University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Other national organizations. A few of the more prominent national organizations have been mentioned in the preceding discussion. There are, however, many other national organizations larger in point of number than several of those which have been surveyed, but they are not general in scope, serving only the interests of teachers and supervisors of the subjects of the program of studies or special phases of education. Examples of these organizations are as follows:

National Council of Teachers of English
National Council of Teachers of Mathematics
Modern Language Association
American Association of Physics Teachers
American Vocational Association

National Council of Music Supervisors
American Association for Adult Education
National Kindergarten Association
American Association of University Professors

Conclusion. In concluding this discussion on the professional relationships of the teacher, a word of caution would seem appropriate. Fundamentally, the purpose of educational organizations and codes of ethics is to establish conditions that will make the teacher more effective and increase his usefulness to the child and society. Every teacher, therefore, has an obligation to give his support to any movement that will raise the level of professional conduct and to those local, state, and national organizations which will help him in making a greater contribution to society. No profession can afford to become self-centered. Just as soon as it does it loses the respect of its socially sensitive members and of society in general. Thus, every member has a moral responsibility to see that the high purpose to which the professional organizations were originally dedicated are not prostituted to the personal aggrandizement of a few, or do not become diverted to the selfish interests of the personnel of the teaching profession at the expense of society.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. What are the dangers involved in formulating a code of ethics which deals with every specific instance of professional behavior?
2. Compare the provisions of your state education association code with the principles of conduct formulated by Martin in his study of "Ethics in the Teaching Profession," National Education Association, *Research Bulletin,* Vol. IX, No. 1, January, 1931.
3. How do you account for the failure of teachers' codes of ethics to make much headway before 1900?
4. Why should state education associations be very effective organizations in influencing educational policies and practices within the respective states?
5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of teachers aligning themselves with organizations affiliated with the labor movement?
6. Enumerate those instances in your state or community when you felt that the educational organizations became more concerned with protecting the personal interests of the teachers rather than the interests of society.
7. Should teachers' organizations lobby for the passage of laws affecting education? Explain.

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Chapter Five

INSTRUCTIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE TEACHER

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS the attention of the reader has been directed to the more important aspects of the teacher's personal relationships to his profession. Now we shall shift our concern to a more direct and detailed examination of that phase of the teacher's work which relates directly to instruction. It may appear to those unfamiliar with his work that his duties and responsibilities are relatively simple. The uninformed usually think of the work of the teacher as consisting of making assignments, hearing recitations, giving examinations, and assigning marks. They often wonder how he can bear engaging in activities of such a dull and routine nature. To them it appears that teaching is a dull, drab, and monotonous affair. They are unacquainted with the interesting problems and challenges that the teacher meets in his daily work.

The uninformed layman also commonly thinks that the teacher's responsibilities are confined to school hours. He is unaware of the time spent in preparation, such as planning, collecting, and organizing materials, preparing class activities and exercises, planning new units of work and devising ways for measuring and evaluating learning. He fails to realize that the effective teacher lives strenuously.

Demands upon the teacher's strength. Teaching is an exacting occupation. His instructional activities alone make severe demands upon the teacher's physical and nervous strength. Long periods of concentrated attention, protracted use of the voice, the necessity for being constantly alert to the reactions of the pupils as well as reflecting animation and enthusi

asm in voice, appearance, and manner make the work of the teacher in the classroom comparable in a measure to that of a lecturer, lawyer, minister, or actor. There is a constant drain upon the nervous system, due to the many situations encountered and to the necessity of quick and effective action, which makes it imperative for the teacher to have sound physical and mental health in order to stand up to the strain of his work. Many teachers who do not have sufficient physical stamina or nervous energy break down under the strain.

However, the well-integrated person with sound nerves, stable mind, and sound physique need not fear the hazards of the calling; teachers, on the whole, are rather good insurance risks. Their life expectancy is above that of members of many other occupations. It is well, nevertheless, for the young prospective teacher to examine thoroughly his resources to determine whether he can remain calm and self-possessed, maintain a hopeful outlook in the presence of discouragement, bear up under the abounding nervous energy of his pupils, and remain a source of mental and spiritual strength to them.

Above all, the teacher should not lose his emotional balance; he should not indulge in fits of temper; he should set an example to his pupils of steadiness in the midst of disorder and of undismayed courage when failure seems to stare them in the face. Abundant resources of persistence, of moral, physical, and intellectual courage are essential to the greatest success in teaching.

The harm done to the personalities of children by nervous, maladjusted ill-tempered, and emotionally immature teachers can scarcely be estimated Young children, in particular, are very sensitive to the teacher's temperament. This is probably the reason why so much care is taken to secure teachers with pleasant dispositions for children in the lower grades. But children of all ages are sensitive to the personalities of their teachers, as was shown in Chapter II. A well-balanced, optimistic, kindly, cooperative, and creative teacher is the strongest possible educational influence for the development of sane, hopeful, integrated personalities among his pupils.

The need for physical, moral, and intellectual strength in the character and personality of the teacher is imperative. Persons with weak, colorless personalities make poor teachers. The need is for strong, attractive men and women of recognized abilities who can demand in their own right the respect, admiration, and affection of their pupils. Teachers with

dynamic personalities who are capable of making their influence felt in the lives of children and youth constitute one of the most crucial needs of American schools.

The teacher's philosophy. Whether he is aware of it or not the activities of the teacher are guided by certain assumptions, beliefs, or theories relative to the purposes of education in society, the responsibilities of the school in achieving these purposes, and the nature of the learning process. In such a common activity as providing for order in the classroom, even though he is unaware of it, the teacher employs methods that reflect his attitude toward the purposes and responsibilities of the school and his understanding of the way in which the behavior of the student is changed. Many teachers have little notion of the basic assumptions underlying their activities and no consistent philosophy of education to guide them. Such teachers are nothing more than imitators at best. They may be led because of this lack of understanding to adopt practices that are not only likely to interfere with their own success but are positively harmful to those they teach. It is unsafe for the young teacher to imitate the methods and procedures of the older teachers around them, for many of these teachers have not developed a consistent understanding of the nature and purposes of teaching.

It would seem, then, that a serious problem facing the prospective teacher is the development of a consistent and intelligent philosophy of teaching. How is this philosophy to be achieved? The prospective teacher has gone far toward developing a philosophy of education and teaching before he has entered an institution for the education of teachers. His early experiences with schools and teachers have tended to develop in him certain ideas and convictions about what the school should do for the pupil and the way the teacher should go about doing it. As he has additional experiences, professional and otherwise, with his college teachers, he modifies his original concepts. Finally, he meets the challenge of the real teaching situation and his ideas are subject to further modifications.

If the beginner is of an observing nature when he actually begins to teach, he will probably notice that some of his fellow teachers in service have ideas about the educational processes that are somewhat at variance with his own. These teachers violate principles which he has been taught, yet they appear to be enjoying some success in teaching. The teacher in

the adjoining classroom may be of the "I yell, you jump" school of thought. The young teacher recognizes that this practice is not in accord with the best modern thought, but, at the same time, he observes that his neighbor is apparently experiencing very few problems in either management or method.

The beginning teacher is now at a critical point in his professional development. If he is confronted by serious problems of management and method, he may be inclined to solve these problems by resorting to the same expedient tactics as his fellow teachers. Unless he understands that the other teacher's methods are based upon certain fallacious notions of the nature of learning, he may be inclined to adopt them. On the other hand, if he is intelligent, he may begin a careful study of his own methods of teaching, his relationships with the students, and the appropriateness of the experiences through which he is trying to guide students to see if his practices square with sound educational theory. He may then work out for himself procedures which accord with sound educational principles.

It should be recognized that the teacher's philosophy, conscious or unconscious, controls his daily work with the pupils. This philosophy should be constantly changing and developing. As social changes occur in society that affect the work of the school, the teacher should examine them to determine their implications for education. New discoveries in the fields of biology, psychology, and sociology should be studied for the light that they throw on our understanding of human behavior. The progressive teacher is always revising his educational convictions and understandings in the light of changes in educational theory and continuously refining his conception of teaching in the light of experience and new knowledge.

The teacher's objectives. It will seem clear, then, that the teacher's work with pupils should always be guided by a knowledge of the general aims or objectives to be achieved by the school. But he must also have a definite knowledge of the specific attitudes, understandings, habits, and skills that society desires to develop in its children and the particular responsibilities of the school in achieving these objectives. Otherwise, his work will be ineffective. Not only should the teacher be sensitive to changes in social and educational objectives, but he should understand the close relationship between his daily instructional activities and the general goals and specific objectives of education.

The teacher meets the term *objective* many times in the course of his

professional reading. To many this term may seem too abstract to be of much practical significance. It may seem that the discussion of objectives is an academic matter that makes no real difference in the way the teacher goes about his work. Far too many teachers are vague and uncertain in their understanding of and ability to use educational objectives in guiding their work. Thus, the instructional activities of these teachers lack a sense of direction. There are also other teachers who have very definite convictions about the traits that the school should develop in the young, but in many instances the objectives cannot be defended on sound educational grounds.

The intelligent teacher should seek to understand the larger aims, objectives, and purposes of education. These should control the general direction of his teaching and the choice and selection of activities for each daily task. The work of every class period should make some contribution to these larger objectives if the school is to achieve the functions that society has set for it. Therefore, one of the first tasks of the teacher is to seek to develop an understanding of the particular objectives and purposes of education and to develop some insight into the way these goals affect his work in the school. Admittedly, this is no easy task.

Sources of the teacher's objectives. To what sources may the young teacher turn to find material which will aid him to understand educational objectives more clearly? The objectives of education in a particular society are to be found in the ideals, aspirations, and hopes of the people of that society. Therefore, in approaching this important problem, the teacher should seek aid from books on social and educational theory, textbooks, studies of the needs of children, and pertinent data in psychology, sociology, and biology. Especially will he find it helpful to examine the more authoritative statements of the objectives of modern education. Some of the more helpful statements of educational objectives are the following:

1. *The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education.* The report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1918 is one of the most influential statements of the objectives of education.[1] This report produced marked changes in our conception of the purposes of education in both elementary and secondary schools

[1] *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education,* U. S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35, 1918.

of the country. The Commission enumerated the following objectives of education: health, command of the fundamental processes, worthy home membership, ethical character, citizenship, worthy use of leisure time, and vocational efficiency. All instruction was to be related to these areas of human experience. While this statement now seems to be too general to be of much service to us in guiding educational practice, at the time that it was originally set forth it afforded to many a new sense of direction. The Commission, however, was not the first to suggest statements of educational objectives in terms of human activities. Herbert Spencer in 1859 had made a similar proposal. But, since the Commission had been created by the National Education Association, its report appears to have carried the weight of authority. The influence of the report of the Commission was extended by the several bulletins which showed the ways in which the several school subjects could contribute to the achievement of the objectives. The chief value now of this report for the prospective teacher is to give him historical perspective with respect to later statements. Later reports tend to be more suggestive in regard to the particular behavior traits that the school should attempt to develop.

2. *The Committee on Social-Economic Goals in America.* Another statement of objectives that will assist the prospective teacher in arriving at the working definition of the larger goals of his profession will be found in the report of the Committee on Social-Economic Goals of America in 1933.[2] This report sets forth the social-economic goals of America as the achievement of ten characteristics and qualities that were considered desirable for the individual American. These are as follows:

1. Hereditary strength
2. Physical security
3. Participation in an evolving culture through
   a. Skills, techniques, and knowledges
   b. Values, standards, and outlooks
4. An active, flexible personality
   a. Personal initiative
   b. Discriminating judgment and choice
   c. Flexibility of thought and conduct
   d. Individual differences
   e. Cooperativeness

[2] National Education Association, Committee on Social-Economic Goals of America, *Tentative Report,* 1933.

5. Suitable occupation
   a. Guidance
   b. Training
   c. Placement and advancement
6. Economic security
7. Mental security
8. Equality of opportunity
9. Freedom
10. Fair play

In 1937 the Committee issued its second report showing how the school can contribute to the attainment of the social-economic goals.[3] These two reports are the results of the work of outstanding scholars and should receive the serious consideration of every student of education. In a sense they represent a turning point in the formulation of the objectives of education, for they recognize that educational objectives are closely related to the social and economic objectives of society. In contrast to the statement by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, the Committee on Social-Economic Goals stated the particular qualities that the school should seek to develop in its students. The development of these characteristics in his pupils should become the specific goal of the teacher's instructional activities.

3. *The Educational Policies Commission's statement of objectives.* Another statement of the goals of education in America, worthy of the prospective teacher's attention, is found in a report of the Educational Policies Commission in 1938, issued under the title, *Purposes of Education in American Democracy.* The objectives were grouped according to the four following aspects of human behavior: self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility. Each one of these major aspects is analyzed for the particular traits and qualities of the individual that contribute to it. The development of these traits and characteristics is the objective of general education. The student will find in this report a well-written, concise statement of the goals of education in American democracy that will assist him in developing a point of view toward the values that should guide his work with the pupils.

If the teacher's activities are to have unity, continuity, and meaning, they must be directed toward the achievement of definite changes in the

[3] National Education Association, *Implications of Social-Economic Goals for Education,* A report of the Committee on Social-Economic Goals of America, 1937.

behavior of the pupils with whom he works. The day-to-day activities of the teacher should be consistent with the larger goals that furnish direction to all educational effort in a democracy. As our social goals change, so will our educational objectives; as our educational objectives are modified, there will be a corresponding change in the immediate objectives of the teacher in the classroom. If the work of the teacher is to be effective and meaningful, it will have to square at all times with the changing objectives of society and education. Thus, the teacher should keep in touch with the progress being made in clarifying educational objectives and utilize this knowledge in improving his own practices.

Organizing instruction. If the teacher has developed a definite working philosophy of education and a reasonably clear-cut conception of the particular traits and qualities which the school is responsible for developing in the behavior of the pupils, the next important aspect of the teacher's work is organization of his instructional activities. Often in the more progressive schools he is required to participate in such activities as the reorganization of the curriculum and the planning of work to make it consistent with new developments. In such schools, work of this sort consumes much of the teacher's out-of-school time. In other schools, the curriculum is taken for granted. Teachers of the traditional type often resent this intrusion of the school upon what they consider their own personal time. They seem to be more content to accept the organization of instruction as it is reflected in the textbook. And, usually, with these teachers the class period is devoted to assigning lessons from the textbooks and hearing recitations. The professionally alert teacher, however, should not be satisfied with the traditional organizational and teaching practices. He should not be content to accept ready-made plans that are not appropriate for his particular group. He should be willing to engage in organizing and planning instructional activities which meet the specific needs of his pupils.

The instructional unit. Teachers were once responsible only for making daily lesson plans, and the teaching unit was a daily lesson, taken from a textbook. New developments in the interpretation of learning make it increasingly evident that the daily lesson is not the most satisfactory unit to employ in organizing the learning activities of the pupil. New terms —the project, the problem, the theme, the center of interest, the learning

unit, the unit of work, and others—have been proposed in educational literature, discussed, and tested as the more desirable units of instructional organization. Of all these, the one idea that has gained common attention is the learning unit. The nature of the unit of learning or unit of work is not uniformly agreed upon among educational theorists, but many new plans for organizing the instruction work of the classroom are being tried out and the trend is toward the development of larger learning units as the basis for teaching-learning activities.

Dr. Henry C. Morrison first popularized the idea of the learning unit, although it did not originate with him. He defined a serviceable learning unit as *"a comprehensive and significant aspect of the environment, of an organized science, of an art, or of conduct, which being learned results in an adaptation in personality."*[4] Morrison believed that the organization of units was primarily the work of the teacher, although others have considered it a cooperative activity of pupils and teacher working together. In this plan, the backgrounds of the pupils for whom the units were intended were taken into consideration by the teacher in the process of planning, but once the plans were made, the pupils were compelled to master them. They had little or no part in the planning activities, nor were they expected to decide what learning activities were acceptable to them. The matter of great concern to the teacher was that the unit be related to "a comprehensive and significant aspect of the environment, of an organized science, of an art, or of conduct."

That Morrison's unit represented an improvement over the daily lesson type of organization should not be denied. His emphasis on the organization of subject matter around a significant aspect of culture represented a real advance over traditional practice, for previously the principle of unity had been ignored. His contention that genuine learning results in a modification of the personality of the learner is also in agreement with the present interpretations of learning. Morrison's conception of the learning unit has been criticized on many grounds, one of which is its emphasis upon subject matter.

Another notion of the learning or teaching unit that has found its way into practice provides for the organization of instruction around a broad principle, theme, or generalization instead of a unit of subject matter. Subject matter and learning activities are selected with a view to the

[4] Morrison, Henry C., *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School,* Revised edition, 1931, University of Chicago Press, pp. 24-25.

development of an understanding of a particular principle or generalization. This idea was introduced initially into the science field, but later it has been applied to the social sciences. As with the unit conception of Morrison, the principle or generalization as a suitable basis for the organization of learning is challenged by some because it stresses subject matter and its organization rather than learning needs and interests. The generalization may be a valid one from an adult point of view and still be unsuitable for children. There is an inflexible quality in both the Morrison unit and the generalization unit that does not permit the adjustment of conditions of the learning situation according to the peculiar needs, purposes, and interests of the students.

Neither of the unit organizations described in the preceding paragraphs predominates in actual school practice. It would be an impossible task to describe the various plans which are employed by teachers in organizing instruction. But, judging from observation, and in spite of the emphasis upon activity units or experience units by progressive educators, there seems to be one feature in common to most forms of unit organization; namely, the employment of a division of subject matter as the fundamental basis for organizing teaching and learning. This unit of subject matter may be divided into smaller blocks, divisions, or topics. It is logically organized and arranged according to the nature of the subject. The mastery of organized subject matter is the major objective of teacher and pupils. Pupil achievement is measured in terms of its mastery. The unit is something that exists in subject matter and the learning activities involve understanding and mastering the subject matter of the unit.

The educational assumptions upon which the subject matter unit has been erected have been challenged by many students of education. A concept of learning has emerged that proposes that the purposes and needs of the pupils for whom the unit is intended are a major consideration and that subject matter is employed for the purpose of helping the learners satisfy their needs and purposes. Thus, subject matter is a means and not an end. It is held that the experience that develops out of the subject matter and activities is important in learning and not merely the external organization of subject matter itself. Therefore, the real unit of learning is found in the pupil's experience. The organization of subject matter should take the form that is most conducive to the purposes, interests, and needs of the learner.

It is over this fundamental conception of the nature of the learning unit that many pedagogical battles have been waged. Kilpatrick early insisted that the fundamental unit for instructional organization is the child's purpose.[5] He became an ardent protagonist for the project method. His interpretation of purpose implied that the child should always be consciously aware of a directing purpose if he is to learn effectively. Many educators, however, were unable to accept the notion that all educative activities develop out of the conscious purpose of the learner.

Others conceived the idea that the interests of children should determine the organization of the learning unit. In practice, such units as "Indian Life" or "The Circus" and similar ones, presumably developing out of the interests of children, became common. But the concept that children's interests, like the concept of purpose, should be the organizing principle of the learning unit met considerable criticism at the hands of the educational critics. They contended that the interests of children are transitory and the substitution of such a capricious basis for organizing subject matter does not safeguard the future welfare of the child or promote systematic learning; that children are not always aware of or sensitive to the experiences most fruitful and significant for their own growth. It is commonly held that there is sufficient evidence to support these indictments.

The child's need has also been proposed as a satisfactory basis for the organization of learning and instruction. There are several interpretations of need as a factor in the learning process, but the one proposed by Wynne seems to be more in accord with recent developments in biology and psychology than others. Wynne judged the current interpretations of purpose or interests as the unifying force in learning to be inadequate. While he recognized that the individual who was actuated by a purpose or interest was no doubt meeting a personal need, yet he insisted that the presumption that all educational activities should be "consciously interesting and purposeful from beginning to end is too much." He believes that there is much waste in time and energy in attempting to base all instruction on the conscious needs of the pupils. In writing of the nature of experienced need, Wynne says:

Almost without exception today, biologists and psychologists are agreed that any organism on any level never does things for nothing. All learning is the outcome of activities involved in the resolution of some lack, tension, stress,

[5] Kilpatrick, W. H., *Foundations of Method,* The Macmillan Company, 1932, p. 348.

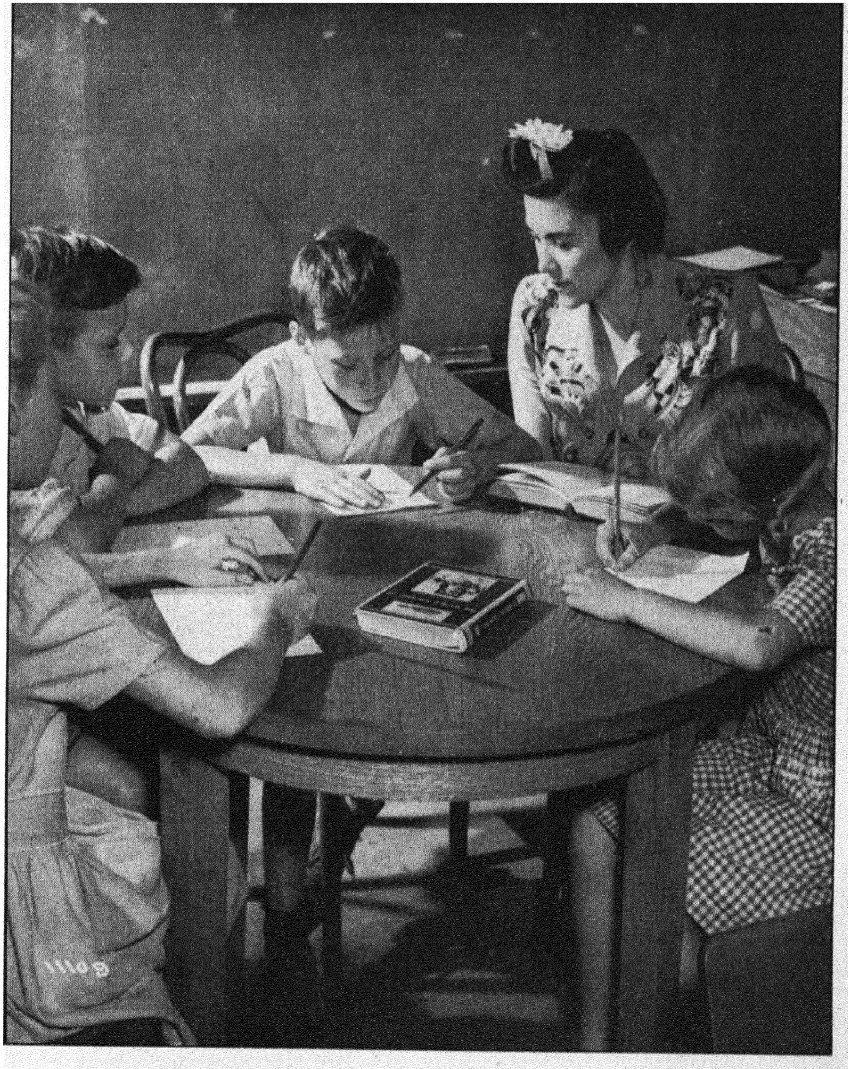


Photo from *All The Children*

The focal point in education: where teacher and child meet



Photo from *All the Children*

A conference of teachers

or strain. Without some such tension, lack of adjustment, or loss of balance, there is no learning. Any activity that contributes to the resolution of such a disturbed state of affairs is satisfying and significant. It makes life in the immediate present meaningful and significant. Every experience arises from lack of adjustment, which may be designated as an organismic or experienced need. It is the initial stage in experiencing and learning. The movements directed to the adjustment required to reestablish an equilibrium or state of normalcy, when confronted with obstacles, may become conscious and intelligent. The need continues from first to last until adjustment is complete But it is not *conscious, intelligent,* or *purposeful* in its inception. It may never become so in the case of the lower animals or even in the case of young children. But it is present wherever learning and significant living occur.[6]

If Wynne is correct in his interpretation, the teacher need not depend upon the expressed desires, intents, or purposes of the pupils as the starting point of instruction. Of course, the questions, problems, and interests of the children should be utilized as they emerge out of the teaching and learning process, but no effort will be used initially to make these expressed interests and purposes the unifying element in instruction unless the teacher feels that they really represent the experienced needs of the group. Wynne thinks that, if the teacher is familiar with the experiential background of the pupils, most of the class undertakings will be suggested by him. The important consideration in the matter is that the teacher should choose undertakings that will be acceptable to the pupils; acceptable in the sense that the children will not initially, nor during the development of the undertaking, be opposed to the teacher's proposals.

In view of the foregoing discussion it makes little difference what unit is initiated by the teacher or pupils. The important consideration is to make sure that it relates to the experienced needs of the children so that genuine interest will develop out of the learning activities. The pupils will participate in planning and initiating the unit in so far as it is consistent with their own welfare. The expert teacher of young children in the early elementary grades will usually anticipate their needs before the pupils are aware of them. Even if the unit is initiated by the teacher, the pupils should be encouraged to suggest desirable activities. Pupils on the more advanced levels will participate more in the initiation of units and the planning of activities with the guidance of the teacher.

The preceding discussion reveals that the teacher's work requires that he become familiar with new developments in educational theory and

[6] Wynne, John P., *The Teacher and the Curriculum,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, p. 25.

that at times he modify his method of thinking. The beginning teacher will enter into an educational world in which marked changes are taking place in fundamental concepts of the educational objectives and the nature of the educative experience. He will participate in fundamental changes in the organization of teaching and learning. It is well, then, for him to develop a clear understanding of the fundamental problems involved in organizing the teaching-learning unit. He may need to spend much time and effort in planning and organizing his instructional activities if he is seriously attempting to place his work on a high and genuinely professional level.

Classroom procedures. So far in this chapter we have dealt with the work of the teacher from the standpoint of his orientation with respect to the goals of teaching and the organization of instruction rather than with the actual teaching itself. Now let us turn to the classroom and try to get some idea of the teaching problems there. Whenever the classroom work is mentioned, the problems of method and management naturally suggest themselves. So much has been written on the teacher's method that we here will simply try to develop a point of view toward it. The teacher's work in the classroom demands the use of many techniques, devices, and different types of procedure for different situations that arise. The complexity of the problem is suggested by the fact that the specific activities of the teacher involve thousands of detailed duties. Since there cannot be specific treatment of all these detailed duties, we shall try to develop here certain principles which should control the teacher's method of work.

Discussions of educational method usually deal with the problem from one or the other of the following approaches:

1. The General Method Approach
2. The Types of Teaching Approach
3. The Special Method Approach

We shall attempt here to explain the point of view underlying each of these types of method.

1. *The General Method Approach.* Obviously, there must be some general principles that relate to all features of the teaching-learning process. General method refers to the kinds of relationships the teacher has in all phases of the learning situation. It includes the teacher's point of view toward educational values, the organization of instruction, guiding and

evaluating learning, and the teacher-pupil relationships. In one sense the teacher's general method is really identical with his personality.

The prospective teacher is in the process of developing a point of view toward the problems of teaching. He is beginning to formulate a body of general educational principles which will serve as a guide to his professional activities. He is, therefore, naturally interested in having his method square with the best principles of education now known.

There are at least two criteria that the teacher may resort to in evaluating his general method. The first of these is, "Does his general method agree with a defensible theory of the learning process?" It is not enough for the teacher to develop general procedures and attitudes resting upon his own educational ideas only. He must go further and see if his method is in accord with current facts in the biology, sociology, and psychology of learning. He must be able to choose his method so as to agree in principle with the most scientific data now available on the nature of teaching and learning. These principles do not remain fixed. Therefore, if he is to keep his practice abreast of educational theory, he must be continuously appraising and changing his method in light of advancing knowledge.

The second criterion that the teacher may employ in estimating the soundness of his general method is, "Does it agree with the theory of life in the society in which the school functions?" Is his method democratic? Does it seek to develop democratic attitudes and traits? Are his pupils learning how to govern themselves and to live effectively in a democratic society? If not, he should examine his own understanding of the purposes, aims, and methods of a democratic social order. Many teachers still depend solely upon the authority of their position in controlling the behavior of children. The learning situation is so closely controlled by some teachers that the children have very little opportunity to develop the ability to choose wisely a course of action from a number of possible choices and then be held responsible for their selection. The teacher has so dominated the school environment in many instances that there is little opportunity for the young to develop those self-dependent traits essential for living in a democratic social order. "Respect for the personality of the pupil," is accepted in theory but has not been embodied universally in the practice of the teachers. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the obligation of the beginning teacher to develop methods that will help youth acquire the traits essential for democratic living.

The effects of the teacher's social and educational understanding have a tremendous influence upon his work in the classroom. The teacher who conceives of education as compulsory learning will proceed on the assumption that discipline and training are the fundamental concerns of the teacher. His general method will be based upon authority, obedience, and restraint. Good order, system, mastery of the subject matters and skills will be his watchwords. Under this system "well-disciplined" children will be the outcome.

The general method of the teacher who professes a democratic theory of education, however, will be based upon the idea of cooperative work between the pupil and the teacher. His classroom will be organized so that children share in the work. His attitude will be that children should accept responsibility, be given practice in choosing wisely, and that he should be a sympathetic guide to his pupils in democratic ways of living and in the development of attitudes, understandings, knowledge, skills, and habits.

While the teacher might be democratic without being creative, the truly democratic teacher must lead his pupils to assume the initiative as well as to accept responsibility. They will be given opportunities for independent, creative work and for the development of imagination by the initiating and carrying out projects and activities which they have helped to create and which they recognize as having great personal value to them. Set methods and procedures will give way in a large measure to experimental procedures.

It appears, therefore, that the teacher's general method must be in accord with social theory, current educational theory, with principles of learning as revealed in educational psychology, with the results of the findings of child and adolescent psychology, and with the needs of children and adults as revealed by studies of society. An understanding of psychology, sociology, and human biology will be essential to the formulation of general principles upon which the general method of the teacher may be based.

The Types of Teaching Approach. To some it has appeared that there are specialized techniques to be employed by the teacher according to the learning product to be achieved. If the objective of instruction is the acquisition of a habit, the drill technique will be used; if the learning objective is the development of an appreciation, the appreciation technique will be employed, and so forth. The division of learning into distinct

types for teaching purposes has been made by such writers as Earhart, Strayer, and others. In fact, this approach has had a very strong grip on teaching practice.

Inasmuch as the concern of the writers in this book is not chiefly with the specialized teaching methods, we shall offer no further comment other than to say that the types of teaching approach tend to violate the essential unity of learning and experience by ignoring certain elements of all learning, such as appreciation, reflection, and others that appear in all types of learning situations. While there are situations in which a type procedure may seem dominant, the types of teaching approach to method ignores the fact that learning is never single and gives to teaching a spurious simplicity which it does not possess. Learnings commonly are complex, extremely variable in type. A pure type of teaching does not exist.

3. *The Special Method Approach.* In some types of teacher education institutions, teachers are given many detailed courses in teaching of special subjects. Most secondary school teachers take courses in the teaching of their major subjects. Elementary school teachers commonly are given courses in the teaching of reading, language, arithmetic, geography, civics, handwriting, and the like. Thus, an attempt in special method is to provide the teacher with some understanding of the details of the work of the classroom. Obviously, the details of special method are not within the scope of this book. The teacher must have a sound general method underlying all special methods. Most competent school administrators contend that a teacher may have command of many special methods and still fail to be a good teacher.

The general phases of classroom procedure. In the ordinary classroom in which children work as a group on a common problem, the work of the teacher falls into three general phases. First, each activity or unit of work must be introduced or launched; second, the responsibilities and activities assumed by the individuals and group in each activity must be carried out; and third, the work must be brought to a close. There are many different specific activities which fall under these three major phases of teaching procedure.

The three major phases of teaching have been designated by different terms by those persons who have discussed classroom procedure. Thayer has labelled the three general phases of the work of the classroom as fol-

lows: (1) the assignment period, (2) the working period, and (3) the socialized period. He offers the following description of each:

The assignment period, as we have seen, is devoted chiefly to giving pupils an understanding of the nature and the value of the task which lies before them. When the assignment is successfully made, the pupils as well as the teacher have a realizing sense of the significance of the proposed journey. The pupils have secured a bird's-eye view of the route to be traversed and their interest has been enlisted through the teacher's revelation of adventures awaiting them. On the journey that follows (the working period) the bulk of the group will doubtless travel in a body; but with a skillful teacher there is no reason why individuals or small parties should not be encouraged to stop for a time, when especially interested, or, again, progress more rapidly than others in order to gain time for a side excursion of peculiar importance to them. If the final meeting place is clearly agreed upon, all can meet at the proper time and while resting can exchange experiences to their mutual advantage.[7]

Wynne also enumerates three major phases of the teacher's class work.[8] These are initiating, developing, and culminating activities. He has also made a critical analysis of the devices and techniques commonly employed in each of the three stages. It is his contention that "No device or technique has any value in and of itself." The validity of a device or a technique depends upon the fundamental educational principles which the teacher has accepted to guide his professional activities. Therefore, such stock procedures as the written assignment, the test-lecture plan, directed study, free activity, the assimilation technique, cannot be considered good or bad in themselves. Whether they are good or not depends upon whether they are consistent with the educational philosophy of the teacher.

Another statement of the major phases of teaching has been proposed by Burton.[9] After examining the statements of other writers, Burton divided the activities of the classroom period into introductory, working, and demonstration activities. The activities of the teacher and pupils in each phase of instruction as suggested by Burton generally agree with the other formulations. These three phases of classroom work merge into each other imperceptibly. There is no hard and fast point at which one period or phase of the work is completed and another begun.

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[7] Thayer, V. T., *The Passing of the Recitation,* D. C. Heath and Company, 1928, p. 303.

[8] Wynne, John P., *The Teacher and the Curriculum,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, pp. 187-249.

[9] Burton, William H., *Introduction to Education,* Appleton-Century Company, 1934, pp. 636-637.

The purpose of the introduction, initiation, or assignment period is to identify the needs of the pupils and to plan cooperatively the activities that will relate to the satisfaction of their needs. During this period the pupil should obtain some comprehension of the general nature and purpose of the proposed enterprise and a knowledge of the more immediate things to do. The unit may be initiated by either teacher or pupil. If it is launched by the teacher, he must be sure that it is based on the experiential backgrounds of the pupils, and that it is meaningful to the class as indicated by its desire to participate in the proposed activities. The lecture, test, written assignment, discussion, or any other device may be used by the teacher as an introductory device if it meets the foregoing conditions. If the unit is initiated by the pupils, the teacher has the responsibility for seeing that it will result in desirable outcome. Plans for the introduction should be flexible enough to permit changes necessary to initiate the unit effectively. The length of time spent on this phase of teaching will depend upon the maturity of the pupils and the nature of the unit. The more immature the pupils and the less comprehensive the unit, the shorter the time devoted to its initiation.

The work of the development period includes a variety of activities. This is the period when the responsibilities assumed by the pupils during the initiation period are carried to completion. A great deal of the time is spent in the library, laboratory, shop, or in individual study in the classroom. There will be days when a part of the class period will be spent in clearing up problems and difficulties common to all students. Time will be spent on review or repetitive exercises when it is found that knowledge needs to be refreshed or a habit or skill needs refinement. Pupils should be encouraged to suggest activities when those proposed by the teacher are not acceptable. The main consideration is that any activity employed should contribute to justifiable educational outcomes. There should be worthwhile activities that are within the potentialities of the slowest pupils and others that will challenge the brightest pupils. Particular attention should be paid to the working or learning habits of the pupil. The pupil's success in every significant activity should be appraised. The main purpose of this phase of teaching is to guide pupils so that their varied activities will bear on and contribute to those educational objectives for the achievement of which the undertaking was initiated.

The concluding phase of the unit of work—sometimes called the demonstration, culmination, or socialized period—emerges whenever it be-

comes evident that the pupils have achieved the objectives of the unit. As in the other stages of the unit, there is no one best way to terminate the undertaking. From observation of present practice, it would seem that most school enterprises are closed by a formal test, frequently of the objective type. Occasionally the test is preceded by a review. There is some value in the review-test device, provided the review and test are valid for the purpose and that the pupils have the opportunity to discuss their individual performance on the test. There are many other devices that may be employed to terminate the work, but the value of any device depends upon a good many conditions which are apparent only to the teacher who has guided the pupils in their learning activities in a particular unit. In certain situations the units may be brought to a close by having the pupils reorganize their experiences in logical form. The outline is one of the devices used for this purpose. If the unit has been one in which small groups of pupils have assumed responsibility for specialized activities, these small groups usually report the results of their research to the group as a whole. Class discussion wherein there is an exchange of experiences among the pupils of the class is almost an essential element in the termination of any comprehensive unit. It is to be borne in mind in the selection of the devices, techniques, and activities that the fundamental purpose of the concluding period of any undertaking is to develop in the pupils perspective with regard to educational values of the work.

Classroom management. Not only must the teacher organize instruction effectively but he must also be concerned constantly with management. He must manage personnel, time, and materials of instruction. He must keep his classroom neat and orderly and as attractive as possible. He has not only one unit of work to manage but several. The work of the day must be well planned and time must not be wasted, for there is all too litttle time available to accomplish what he wishes to accomplish.

The teacher must manage his pupils. The work of the school demands that the pupils shall be orderly, systematic, and cooperative. If the teacher cannot manage so that his pupils are busy at their work, that they are concerned with it and are cooperative in spirit, he will be confronted by the age-old problem of "discipline." Disorganized groups of either adults or children are generally disorderly groups. Nothing will cause criticism

of the teacher's work by parents, pupils, and school officials quite so quickly as his inability to manage.

Theories of discipline have changed. Schools are no longer managed with strict military methods. Nevertheless, the teacher must command the respect of his pupils through his personality, his ability, and his courage, now as formerly. But the secret of success is planning and organizing the activities of the school so that children are happily and busily engaged in worth-while activities. However, the beginning teacher will need to learn the art of management by practice.

The management of time must be the teacher's constant concern, since school are orderly places which run on a time schedule. School programs are now more flexible than they once were, but now as always the teacher must manage so that there is time to do the work planned, so that one activity does not take time from another, and so that his pupils develop orderly habits of work.

A good teacher is one who controls the use of time, materials, and activities so well that the school works smoothly with little apparent attention to such details. The art of management will facilitate teaching and learning. Well-managed classrooms are generally happy places, since pupils like good management and good order.

Appraising the results. The teacher, like the doctor, must constantly be concerned with appraisal of the results of his efforts. He must be noting the success and failures of his pupils in reaching the objectives which he and they have set for themselves. He must be alert to detect weaknesses in the child's use of the fundamental tools, failures on his part to achieve the knowledge, understandings, attitudes, and interests which he hopes they will achieve. And he must be skillful in correcting errors in learning by immediate corrective instruction and by shifting his plans to adjust to unforeseen and unsuspected needs.

Schools have always used tests and examinations for appraising the pupil's achievements in knowledge, but recent developments make it apparent that the teacher needs to appraise also the attitudes, interests, and abilities of children constantly. Most particularly should the teacher be alert to the child's growth in his ability to think. It is only recently that educators have directed their attention to appraising the pupil's growth in his ability to draw valid inferences from a given body of data,

to test the soundness of a proof, and to gather pertinent data bearing on the solution of a problem.

This phase of the teacher's work demands power on his part to analyze skillfully the learning as it goes forward and to change his attack at a moment's notice if he wishes to achieve success. For failure on his part to diagnose weaknesses as they appear only piles up trouble for himself and his pupils in the future. Preventive instruction is more desirable than corrective instruction no matter how essential the latter is.

The teacher's extra-class work. It can be seen from the foregoing discussion that the teacher engages in many different kinds of activities during the school day. But the work of the teacher is not over in the vast majority of the schools when the children are dismissed at the close of the day. There remain professional relations, public relations, coaching and teaching, preparation, and recreation and rest to be fitted into a busy day. For most schools will ask the teacher to remain at times for professional conferences, meetings with parents, coaching of plays or programs, and other types of out-of-class teaching activities. The teacher who closes his classroom door by five o'clock is fortunate. In addition, many teachers find it necessary to study in the evenings in preparation for the work of the next day. Much of the work done in planning instruction must be carried on in the teacher's out-of-school time.

When, then, is the teacher to find time out of his busy day for recreation and rest, for care of his person, and other essential duties? Many teachers find that they must manage their time carefully in order to get all their duties done and that they must spend week ends and vacations profitably if they are to advance in their professional work. The work of the teacher is done only when he is satisfied with his achievements and few teachers are ever satisfied.

Summary. This chapter has attempted to give a picture of the many instructional activities in which the teacher will engage. An effort has been made to point out the more important phases of the teacher's work. It seems necessary to mention here that if teaching is to be a professionalized service, the teacher's activities must be based on a consistent philosophy of education and life. Unless the teacher understands the relations between practice and theory he cannot be called a professional worker. Therefore, teaching suggests a life full of challenges. It is hoped

that this chapter does not suggest that teaching is an occupation for those who wish to be free of the responsibilities of their position at the end of the day.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. What attitude should the inexperienced teacher take if he finds that the principal of his school is opposed to any experimentation?

2. Why must the teacher consider the matter of educational objectives?

3. Contrast the learning unit organized around a division of subject matter with the unit organized around the child's needs. Which practice is more defensible according to modern educational theory?

4. What is the basic fallacy in the "types of teaching" approach to method?

5. What is your idea of the teacher's general method? What difference is there, if any, between the teacher's general method and his personality?

6. How has the attitude of the educator toward the problem of "school discipline" changed?

7. To what extent do you think the teacher can plan a teaching unit in advance?

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Chapter Six

THE CHILD AND THE TEACHER

SINCE EDUCATION IS CONCERNED with bringing about changes in the child, it seems patent that those persons contemplating education as a career should have an adequate understanding of the nature of children. Ultimate success in teaching is based upon an intimate knowledge of the nature of the child, his needs, and his development. Many teachers are sincerely interested in children and work devotedly at their task of teaching, but fail because they do not have an adequate understanding of the psychology of childhood. The best interests of children cannot be provided for properly unless those persons responsible for controlling the school environment have keen insight into child nature. One of the fundamental facts concerning children, derived from child study, is the astonishingly unique character of each individual. It becomes increasingly clear that children must be treated as individual personalities. Only by being familiar with the growing knowledge concerning the unique character of children can teachers and supervisors formulate an educational program which will enable each pupil to develop to his fullest extent and make his peculiar contribution to society.

It is not the intention of the authors to treat here exhaustively the mental and physical make-up of the child. Such a task is the work of other courses, such as psychology and biology. Our intention is merely to sketch the earlier conceptions of society toward childhood, and to point out some of the implications of more recent developments in educational psychology for the inexperienced teacher. This orientation may suggest to the teacher the need and importance of understanding the learning processes of the young.

SOCIETY AND THE CHILD

The changing attitude of society toward the child is one of the most significant social events in the history of civilization. Up to the time of the child study movement in America, during the last quarter of the 19th century, the child was looked upon as a small replica of the adult. Accordingly, his behavior was judged in terms of adult standards. Moreover, early history records the firm convictions of the people of the time as to the moral make-up of the young. In the early history of Christianity the child was thought to be a creature endowed by nature with evil impulses which had to be curbed or redirected in some way. Severe were the measures employed in the process of redeeming the child from the evil bonds of original nature. He must be disciplined, for by nature he preferred evil. Brutal disciplinary tactics in home and school were justified on the grounds that only by a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the child's inherent nature in this world could he be saved for the next.

The philosophy of Rousseau in the 18th century was the foremost influence in modifying the attitudes established by the early Christian conception of childhood. Rousseau also thought of the child as a miniature adult, but he did not believe that he was essentially an evil little man or woman whose behavior had to be fashioned after the standards of conduct of the adult world. He contended that the child carried the pattern of perfection within him and that desirable behavior would unfold naturally if there were no interference with it. Rousseau's whole educational philosophy emphasized the necessity of permitting the child to develop according to his inner tendencies free from the inhibitions of the environment. Both Pestalozzi and Froebel, who followed Rousseau, introduced educational practices which were based on belief in the essential goodness of the spontaneous interests and activities of the young. But these men were pioneers and the early Christian conception of childhood was not easily dispelled. Knowledge of children lagged until the modern child-study movement developed. Such child psychology as existed in the practical world followed the concepts of the early fathers. This was unchecked by systematic or careful study.

The first effort in the United States to apply more careful and exact methods in studying the characteristics of childhood must be attributed to Dr. G. Stanley Hall, a psychologist at Johns Hopkins University in 1881 and, later, president of Clark University in 1888. During this period

the child-study movement took form; more systematic investigations were made of the contents of children's minds, their interests, and activities. The questionnaire method was employed extensively by Hall to collect information on the nature of the immature. Hall accepted the theory that children, in their physical growth, recapitulate or reproduce the racial development of man; and that mentally they live through the cultural changes previously experienced by the race. In spite of the fact that both of these theories are discredited today, Hall holds a position of importance in psychological history because he was the first investigator to attempt to collect factual evidence that would reveal the real nature of childhood.

The application of more scientific methods in child-study was under way by the close of the 19th century. More objective data on the characteristics of the young have accumulated rapidly and the interest in the movement shows no sign of abating. As the frontiers of knowledge are extended, it becomes more and more evident that the possibilities for intelligently shaping the child's behavior through releasing his native capacities are much greater than the early biologist and psychologist believed, and that the influence of environmental factors in molding behavior was not correctly appraised. As a result, a more enlightened attitude has developed toward the status of the child among people generally. Social institutions, such as the church and the school, have changed their attitudes toward their functions in child training and have been making a serious effort to reorganize their programs to accord with modern conceptions of the nature of the young. The treatment of minors by the law has become more humane. Child labor in industry is on the wane from a national point of view, even though there are areas in which it still flourishes. The more civilized peoples now generally assume a more humane and really Christian attitude toward their children.

INFLUENCES IN MOLDING THE CHILD

It has been maintained that the one and only function of the school is to guide the child in the process of acquiring new behavior patterns. Thus, the teacher has the responsibility for accepting the child as he is, regardless of how he came to be that way, and making the most of his potentialities for desirable changes in behavior. There has been a wide difference of opinion with regard to the relative importance of the factors

or influences that are responsible for the unique character of the individual child. The psychologists early adopted the point of view that biological inheritance was the prepotent factor in determining the individual's development. For example, it was believed that a person's native intelligence was determined largely by his biological inheritance and that it was not affected appreciably by environmental influences. After some refinement of the testing technique and the retesting of the same children who had undergone a change in environment, it was found that there was considerably more variation than the early investigators had believed.

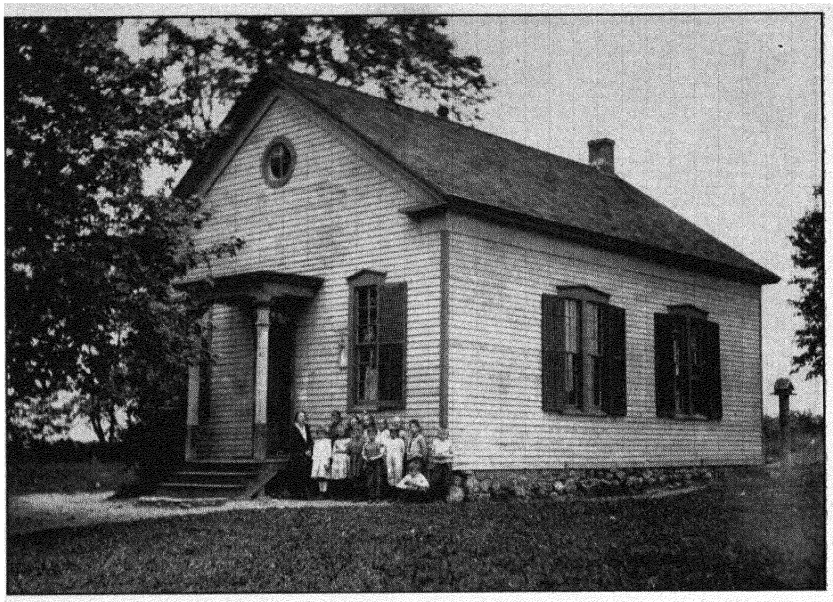
At present, there is a lively controversy in psychological circles relative to the effects of the environment upon the intelligence of the child. President George D. Stoddard of the University of Illinois and Professor Beth L. Wellman of the University of Iowa, contend on the basis of their investigations that the environmental influences have a greater effect upon the intelligence of the child than has been generally recognized. Professors Terman of Stanford University, Goodenough of the University of Minnesota, and others question the findings of Stoddard and Wellman as to the extent to which favorable environmental influences increase the mental ability of children. The issue between the two groups is not whether the I. Q. of the child is influenced by differences in environment and training, but the extent of the influence. Investigations in which children have been tested and retested generally show that among 50 per cent of the children the I. Q. will fluctuate up to five points; among a few children the variation will be greater. It also seems that there is more stability in the I. Q.'s of the feeble-minded and the superior children, and the greatest variation among those classified as average. All investigations of intelligence should be interpreted cautiously. Apparent variations might result from the unreliability of the tests and their administration as well as from other factors.

In light of the results of the many more recent investigations which have been concerned with ascertaining the relative importance of nature and nurture in producing individual differences, the attitude of the biologist and the psychologist has undergone considerable modification. The original assumption that biological inheritance was the most powerful factor in accounting for human behavior has not been found entirely tenable. Instead of considering heredity and environment as two separate factors involved in the individual's growth, the biologist and the psychologist now are coming to look upon these elements as interdependent



Free Lance Photographers Guild

A teacher and child in conference



Ewing Galloway

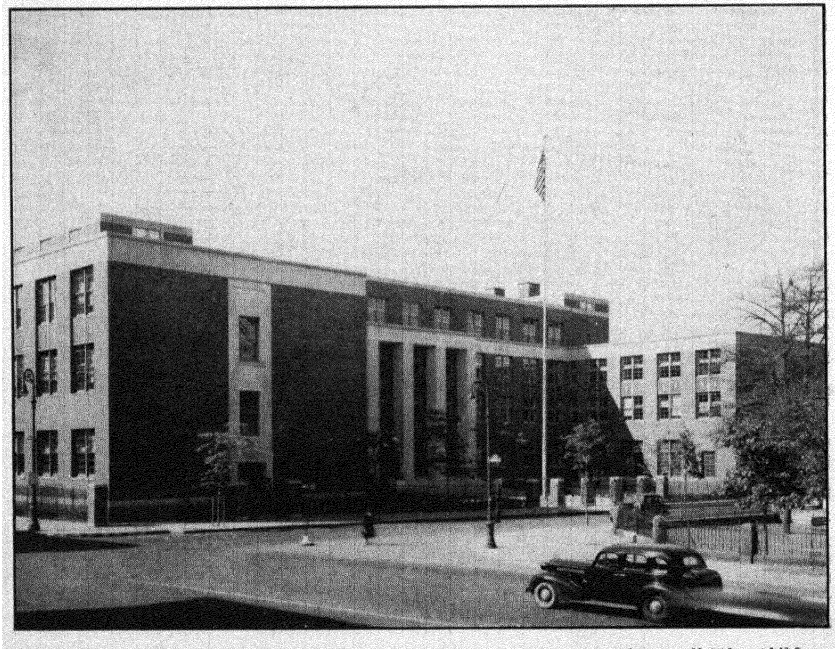


Photo from *All The Children*

The old and the new—schoolhouses in
New Canaan, Conn., and New York City

forces. Human behavior is the result of the interaction of one with the other. Both heredity and environment contribute to individual variations. There is less emphasis upon attributing certain differences to biological inheritance and others to environmental conditions. According to competent biologists, it would seem that the same characteristic may be inherited through the germ plasm in one person and may be the result of environmental influence in another person.

Regardless of the differences of opinion about the relative influence of heredity and environment in accounting for individual differences, one outstanding characteristic of human behavior, of particular importance to the educator, is its variability. The school must accept the child with the genetic constitution with which he has been born. It must accept the arbitrary limits imposed by heredity, but it can within limits manipulate the environmental influences that affect the child. A poor environment may prevent the child from developing his potential characteristics; a good environment, on the other hand, will in all probability promote the development of those characteristics which otherwise would never appear.

The implications of the foregoing statements for educational practice are that teachers should become much more familiar with the environmental conditions of the child than they now are. They should study carefully the influences and conditions in the child's environment in order that they may identify and control, in so far as they can, those factors which seem to work against or prevent the child from developing his full potentialities. They should especially observe the school environment for those conditions which militate against the development of the child. While teachers and administrators have to work indirectly, for the most part, on improving conditions in the home and local community which affect adversely the effectiveness of the school, they can, however, make a direct attack upon improving conditions in and about the school.

THE TEACHER'S INTERPRETATION OF LEARNING

The word *learning* is used by everyone. It is a basic term in the vocabulary of the educator and psychologist, but like many other common words it does not always convey the same meaning to different persons. Many of the controversies among educators arise out of differences of opinion in defining the term.

By some learning is conceived as the forming of fixed habits and asso-

ciations. To this type of educator, the so-called laws of learning will have much significance. The teacher who follows this idea of learning differs markedly in his choice of method, subject matter, and measurement from the teacher who believes that learning is a term which denotes a greater variety of desirable changes which may be brought about in the individual. The latter teacher will not be content with guiding the child in the process of acquiring habits and information; he will go further and be concerned with the changes that take place in the child's attitudes, interests, understandings, and beliefs and in his behavior as an independent, resourceful individual after he is away from the influence of the teacher and the school. To the first teacher the process called conditioning will be of highest importance; to the other the ability to think creatively will seem most significant.

Since the school is the agency created by society to insure its own perpetuation, it follows that the sort of learning promoted by the school should be the kind that affects desirably the behavior of the individual as a social being. There is no assurance that the kinds of behavior necessary for the perpetuation and re-creation of our social organization will automatically result from training the child in the acquisition of fixed habits and information. Knowledge or information alone is not sufficient to guarantee desirable changes in the individual's behavior. The most flagrant and vicious offenders against society are frequently persons who are well informed. Many of the most severe contemporary problems of society are unsolved, not because of a lack of information but because of the unwillingness of those persons who are in a position to solve them.

Changing behavior is a complex process. It includes the development of attitudes, interests, and understandings; the mastery of skills and the development of effective habits. These learnings are not developed in isolation from each other. Every habitual response involves elements of all of them in varying degrees.

It would seem, then, that learning must be conceived by the educator as the process whereby human behavior in all of its aspects is changed. It is well to remember that the learning process is well under way when the child first comes to school. Habits or patterns of behavior have already been formed. The school should guide the child in the refinement and extension of those desirable kinds of conduct that he has formed before coming to school and promote the development of other desirable forms of behavior. It is essential, therefore, that the teacher study the present

behavior of the child as he finds it. In seeking to bring about desirable changes in the learner, the teacher must base his instruction on the present behavior status of the child if he expects to exert a permanent influence on the child's growth and development.

A NEW ATTITUDE TOWARD LEARNING

During the course of the development of the science of human behavior here have emerged different concepts of the nature of the mind. Differences in psychological points of view have become so pronounced that in the last decade books have been devoted to a description and comparison of the gross features of the different schools of thought. As was to be expected, the development of contrasting and conflicting theories of the mind has produced corresponding changes in the conception of the learning process. The beginning student would very likely be confused, if not bewildered, if he should attempt to understand the many apparently sharp differences of opinion now found in the literature dealing with the applications of psychology to education, and he would be likely to have his confidence in educational psychology severely shaken. In spite of differences of opinion, however, there seems to be emerging from the work of the psychologists the broad outline of a theory of human learning that appears to be supported by recent researches in both psychology and biology. An effort will now be made to set forth a few of the main features of this emerging theory.

Stimulus-response concept. First, let us consider the reinterpretation of the stimulus and response concepts as they function in the process of changing human behavior. That learning proceeds through the interaction of the individual with his environment there is no disagreement. It is with regard to the relationship between the environment or stimulus and the response or behavior that the change in thinking has taken place. Originally, it was assumed by many students of human behavior that an external stimulus to the individual or organism would produce a definite reaction or response. The individual responded to the stimulus or situation in a definite manner, because, by his very nature, he could not do otherwise. Such a simple explanation of the factors involved in learning met with serious criticism from some psychologists and educators. Behavior was left too much to the chance of external stimuli. According

to many critics there were other factors involved in the process of learning and behaving.

It is thought now by many students that the behavior of the individual is not entirely controlled by the immediate stimuli that play upon him. His previous responses have a great deal to do with the particular response he will make to a situation, and most particularly his goal or purpose or end to be achieved controls his whole behavior. As the individual strives to achieve his purpose, he meets many immediate situations to which he responds, but he reacts to these stimuli always in terms of the end in view. Each response is coordinated or integrated with the preceding response with reference to the goal to be achieved. The individual, then, really exerts considerable control of the stimuli that affect him as well as the responses he makes to them. He is not just a helpless mechanism upon which the stimuli play.

Selection in learning. What is it that stimulates an individual or organism to learn or to develop new patterns of behavior? This is a very important question for the teacher. There seems to be general agreement among the biologists and psychologists that the individual or organism modifies its behavior whenever its present pattern of responses does not make for a satisfactory adjustment to the environmental setting. Inasmuch as circumstances of the environment are always in a state of flux, the individual is constantly modifying his behavior. The lack of adjustment sets up tensions and stresses in the individual. He tries to eliminate the unsatisfactory state of affairs by responding in a way that will relieve the tension and strain; he behaves in a different manner. The repertoire of responses of the lower forms of animal life is limited, but man is structurally capable of responding in a variety of ways. Learning takes place when one response is selected from among other responses which the individual is capable of making, and repeated when a similar situation is met. Obviously, some sort of connection is made in the experience of the individual between the situation and the selected response, otherwise he would not necessarily repeat the response when confronted with a similar situation. Connecting the situation to a selected response which will make for a satisfactory adjustment and the repetition of the response in a recurring situation are the critical facts of learning.

The implications of the preceding point of view for the teacher are quite obvious. The child should have the opportunity to exercise choice

in selecting responses. Some choices will not make for a satisfying adjustment in behavior; therefore, he will have to be protected against making the wrong responses a permanent part of his behavior. But, if the child has no choice in the selection of responses, if the learning situation is so controlled that he cannot make a mistake, it is not likely that he will develop the ability to make intelligent choices after he is removed from the influence of the school. It is to be observed that behavior is not made up of a series of discrete or unrelated responses. When one response has been selected and repeated because it enables the individual to regain his loss of balance, the whole pattern of behavior is modified. Learning is not simply an additive process in which specific response is added to specific response, but instead a process of integrating a particular response with the behavior patterns that already exist. In this process both the specific response and the general pattern of behavior are modified. The behavior of the whole organism is involved in the process of responding.

Purpose and interest in learning. Recent years have witnessed an increasing concern for the role that purpose and interest play in the learning process. Teachers have been exhorted by some educators to organize their instruction around the interests and purposes of the children. From this emphasis have come many studies and investigations of children's interests for their curricular implications. Even the most traditional teacher has been influenced in attempting to relate instruction more closely to those aspects of the environment in which students seem interested and with placing more stress on establishing a school situation which is more satisfying to the student.

In the beginning of this movement, however, it was assumed that children were aware of all their particular interests; that they were conscious of all their purposes. Teachers were admonished to modify their practices to conform to these concepts as fundamental principles of learning. But such an interpretation of interest and purpose placed those persons who attempted to utilize these concepts in an untenable position. Many objections were raised by the educational critics. Among other criticisms, it was contended that the policy of catering to the passing interests of children would result in educational chaos immediately and social disintegration in the end because the children were not always interested in acquiring ways of behaving that were most socially wholesome. "Soft pedagogy" was the term applied to educational effort that was characterized by con-

sidering the student's attitude unduly in selecting school activities. It is to be borne in mind that many of the criticisms were directed at the concepts of interests and purposes as conscious affairs.

How then is the important factor of the learner's attitude to be interpreted? It is admittedly an important element in learning, yet it is not all of learning. Wynne has explained it by considering the nature of the learning process and eliminating interests and purposes as always being conscious factors.

> Purpose is now defined by some as "towardwhichness." The organism whose life processes continue to function normally makes no change in his way of behaving. But whenever any disturbance occurs from within or from without, he moves in consequence of the lack which thus appears. He tends to move in the direction of restoring the normalcy that has been lost. The movement toward the restoration of a lost equilibrium is now called a purpose. But of course this is not the same thing as the conception of conscious purpose. It may reach the level of consciousness, but it does not have to be conscious.[1]

It would seem, then, that the terms *purpose* and *interest* need to be reinterpreted in view of developments in educational theory. A redefinition of purpose would consider it to arise out of the loss of balance of the organism in a situation in which its present mode of behavior is unsatisfactory. The organism may adjust its behavior unconsciously by resorting to other forms of response which it has already acquired. Or the organism may adjust its behavior by exercising intelligence in appraising the situation and selecting the response that seems most promising for a satisfactory adjustment. In either event, the "movement toward the lost equilibrium" constitutes the purpose. Interest has come to mean the satisfaction that the organism derives from behaving or learning. The use of the term *satisfaction* in this connection does not refer to common mental states, but rather to the condition of the organism resulting from the behavior which has enabled it to regain its equilibrium.

If the child is not conscious of all his purposes, and even if he is aware of them but cannot articulate them, the question arises, "How can the teacher be sure that he is suggesting school activities that will help the child to modify his behavior successfully?" Assuming that the activities can be justified educationally, the test will be in how acceptable they

[1]Wynne, John P., "The Learning-Teaching Unit," *The Farmville Herald,* Farmville, Virginia, 1934, p. 21.

are to the children.[2] Obviously, if the children are adverse to the suggestions of the teacher, there is nothing to be gained by resorting to coercion. A reformulation of plans is the only defensible course of action to the teacher. The more familiar the teacher is with the personnel of his classes the more likely he will be to identify their purposes, even before the pupils themselves are aware of them. He is then in a position to suggest learning activities that will meet with the approval of the pupils as is indicated by their willingness to participate in them, even though there are other choices open to them.

Are there types of learning? It was formerly common practice for the psychologist in his study of the learning process to classify learning into several distinct types. While the psychologists differed among themselves, there were at least three types that could be identified in all classifications, viz., habit formation, reflective thinking, and emotional learning. As is to be expected, such a conception of learning had a definite influence upon educational practice, for it resulted in the formulation of methods of teaching to correspond to the types of learning. For example, the drill lesson was designed for the fixation of a habit; the problem solving technique was the correlative teaching procedure for reflective thinking; and the appreciation lesson was employed in emotional learning. Our concern here, however, is not with the types of teaching but with the conception of learning upon which they were superimposed.

Until recently the psychologists have made an analytical approach to the study of learning. The premise upon which the approach was made was that learning or behavior consisted of an aggregation of separate elements. An ability or trait was developed by the child acquiring the habits, skills, information, and so forth, of which the ability was composed. It was assumed that if the child acquired these elements in successive order, upon the acquisition of all the separate elements he would have developed the ability or trait. Behavior was presumed to be an aggregation of specific responses.

Such a point of view toward learning was the foundation upon which many of our school practices were justified. It was embodied in the so-called types of teaching and it was reflected in the organizations of the content of the curriculum. With respect to the curriculum, it eventuated into an analysis of the general aims of education into the more specific

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

jects. It was taken for granted that the achievements of each of the specific aims in a piecemeal fashion would eventually result in the achievement of the more general goals. This assumption did not stand up in the face of the evidence that children would frequently attain the more specific objectives, into which the more general aims had been analyzed, and still would not have achieved the general aims.

For example, children might achieve the specific aims defined for English—reading the selections indicated, mastering the facts and skills required—and come out of the experience without the love or appreciation for good literature which was the general aim. Thus, it became clear from practical situations that the achievement of specific aims does not lead necessarily to specified generalized outcomes. The same specific abilities may contribute to honesty or dishonesty, to a science attitude or a nonscientific attitude, to tolerance or intolerance.[3]

The additive conception of learning has been challenged on many points by those who view learning as a unitary process. The latter group does not believe that there is anything to be gained by the effort to define types of learning. It contends that all aspects of learning are involved in any one learning experience if a wholesome modification is to be made in the personality of the child. The definition of types of learning and the formulation of corresponding teaching procedures are essentially incompatible with the unity of the learning experience. Of course, the teacher may have as his objective the refinement of a particular response, but in the process he must provide for school activities that will embody understanding and appreciation as well if he is to respect the unity of learning. No doubt, many of the unwholesome attitudes toward particular school subjects and the inability of students to transfer school experience to life situations can be attributed to the lack of respect of the school for the essential unity of the learning experience.

Implications for teaching. The preceding discussion has served perhaps to develop in the mind of the reader some doubt as to the validity of the theories of learning upon which teaching practices have been based. But the student of learning who approaches the study of human behavior with the expectation that he will find unanimity of opinion among those persons who have questioned the prevailing conception of the learning process will suffer bitter disappointment. Out of the welter of conflicting

[3] Caswell, Hollis L. and Campbell, Doak S., *Curriculum Development,* American Book Company, 1935, pp. 118-119.

notions there seem to be emerging more common elements in the thinking of the educational psychologists and biologists than are at first apparent. It is the purpose of the writers here to summarize a few of the facts and principles which seem consistent with the present agreements of psychologists concerning the learning process.

Since learning is the process by means of which changes are made in human behavior, the two important questions which the teacher must attempt to answer are: first, what are the particular changes which should be brought about in the behavior of the child; and second, what methods, materials, and environmental conditions are most conducive to the consummation of these changes in the child's behavior? The solution to each of these questions is intimately related to the solution of the other, but inasmuch as the problem of the objectives of education has been discussed elsewhere in this book, our concern at this point will be confined chiefly to factors and conditions in the school environment, over which the teacher has a measure of control, which will most effectively facilitate the process of achieving the objectives.

The first of these factors is attention to the total effect of a teaching-learning experience upon the learner. In the course of his experiences in school the child will inevitably acquire new ways of behaving, even though at times the particular responses and traits which he acquires are not in harmony with the purposes of the teacher. He will develop habits, skills, understandings, attitudes, and appreciations in the course of everyday living without the help of the school. If we accept the results of recent findings in biology and psychology, the acquisition of skill or an understanding or any other specific response results in profound changes in the general behavior of the individual. The whole child is involved in the process. While it is convenient at times to speak of these specific learnings as if they were discrete elements unrelated to the other phases of behavior, this is a distinction which we make only in thought; in the learning process all the relevant phases of an experience are involved in every response. Thus, the teacher should recognize in planning and carrying through his instructional activities that in every experience in which he guides the child, provision should be made for variety in the pupil's responses. The formation of a specific habit involves intellectual and appreciational activities just as the development of attitudes, outlooks, and appreciations involves intellectual activities.

Second, the attitude of the learner should be a matter of great concern

to the teacher in planning and developing his instructional activities. The necessity for taking into account the interests, purposes, and needs of the learner has found practical manifestation in different ways, many of which now seem indefensible in view of the more recent interpretation of the real nature of these factors. It is now accepted that the attitude of the learner is of utmost importance, but it is also recognized that there are other factors which are also important. To indulge the articulate interests and desires of the child without considering whether such indulgence will contribute to improving the present behavior is certainly not considered educationally defensible, yet the teacher should employ these expressed desires and wishes of the learner as a point of departure when it is apparent that they reflect the genuine needs of the child growing out of his interaction with the environment. Nevertheless, the teacher should be studying at all times the behavior of the pupils under his care for the cues which will guide him in suggesting activities that will promote behavior patterns which are a real improvement over those which the pupils now have. If the children seem averse to changing their behavior, the teacher should make a careful examination of the activities and experiences which he is proposing for the learner's benefit. He will find, perhaps, that his suggestions are not meeting the real need of the learner. He can, therefore, take account of this fact by proposing learning activities in which the child is more willing to participate. If the child shares in determining such activities, obviously the final suggestions will be more likely to be acceptable to him.

The question naturally arises, "What is the teacher to do when socially desirable and necessary behavior responses appear unacceptable or unknown to the child?" If the behavior of children is judged by adult standards, the teacher will meet this problem many times. Why not evaluate the behavior of the young according to more appropriate standards? The responsibility of the teacher is to see that the individual child is improving his own ways of responding. His present behavior today should represent an improvement over his behavior of a month or a semester ago. The main concern of the teacher is whether the child is progressing as rapidly as his potentialities permit toward the socially acceptable standards of the adult world. If he comes to school already encumbered by bad habits, attitudes, and dispositions which require in some instances specialized treatment, provision should be made for his particular case. The chief consideration, however, is to improve the behavior

which the child already has developed and to lead him to choose increasingly better standards. The teacher must begin his work with the child at whatever level he finds him.

Third, the teacher should so manage his instructional activities that the child will experience a measure of success in his learning. Nothing is more demoralizing to the spirit of the learner than to be continually encountering school situations in which he cannot attain any degree of success, no matter how persistent he is in his application. Repeated failure is not a satisfying state of affairs to anyone. The learner experiences satisfaction when he feels that his efforts are resulting successfully in the attainment of new modes of behaving. Accordingly, he develops a favorable attitude toward the successful activities leading to the achievement of the new behavior pattern. His progress toward the objectives of instruction is facilitated if the teacher arranges the learning situation in such a way that the child will be aware of the progress he is making. The standard for comparison should be the child's previous performance. Knowledge of progress is also a positive stimulus to further learning.

Finally, the teacher should accept responsibility for controlling the learning situation in such a way as to give the pupil the opportunity to exercise choice in the selection of school experiences and activities. The child identifies himself wholeheartedly in his learning activities when he feels that he has had some part in the selection of the undertaking. His activities are then a result of his own choosing and not something which the teacher has assigned. Opportunity to participate in the selection implies also the acceptance of responsibility for carrying to completion the enterprise decided upon. The welfare of the child should be safeguarded so that a wrong choice will not handicap him in further learning. He should not be permitted to develop ways of behaving that will call for reconstruction before he can continue his progress in the acquisition of more refined ways of behaving. There is, however, always an element of risk in guiding the pupil in making choices. Nevertheless, if the requirements for effective living in a particular society demand that the members be capable of making intelligent decisions and wise choices, the school must discharge the obligation of preparing the pupils to live in the society so constituted.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. In what ways have adults' attitude toward children changed since the early Christian era?

2. What was G. Stanley Hall's contribution to the child-study movement?

3. What is the present attitude toward the problem of nature versus nurture?

4 According to the more recent interpretation of learning, should the teacher take advantage of the interests the child now has, or should he attempt to guide the child in developing new interests? Discuss.

5. What does the expression "teaching the whole child" mean to you?

6. To what extent should the teacher control the learning situation so that the child will not acquire bad habits from the freedom that he will have in selecting ways of responding? Explain.

7. It is often said that certain school subjects are "drill subjects." What is your interpretation of this statement? Can such a statement be defined in light of modern psychology?

8. What is your attitude toward the importance the teacher should place on the child's interests in guiding his educational development?

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Chapter Seven

THE SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

Lack of understanding of the school as a social institution. The recognition of the need for an institution which should have a definite responsibility to society for the education of children was felt early in the history of America. This institution took concrete form in the shape of the school, which is now generally accepted as an essential feature of American life. When the school was originally established, the purposes it was to serve were very clearly defined. Life in this early society was simple; the demands made upon the school were few. The elementary school confined itself to teaching the three R's and the secondary school provided instruction that prepared the children of the more favored families for admission to the few colleges of the time.

Although the public school today is accepted more generally as an essential social institution than the school of the earlier period in our history, there is much more confusion in the minds of the people regarding the particular functions it should serve. It is not difficult to discern the cause of the confusion. Our society today is a highly dynamic and closely knit industrial social order. The ends the school is to serve in such a culture are not so easily defined.

The differences of opinion regarding the purpose of the school become manifest in many different ways. One of the recurring conflicts concerns the teacher's freedom of expression and action. Frequently reports appear in the press of teachers who have been dismissed or intimidated because they have been at variance with the point of view of persons of influence and authority in the community on matters of public policy. Many teachers have been accused of indoctrinating children with alien social and political theories because they have permitted a free discussion of these ideas in their classes. Other conflicts occur with respect to the scope of

the curriculum and the cost of public education. Regardless of the issue involved, the fact that the school is challenged or the teacher is censured or limited in his activities is sufficient evidence to prove that there is not unanimity of opinion as to the function of the teacher or the school in our social order.

THE SCHOOL AND ITS SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

These recurring conflicts raise the fundamental question of the relationship of the school to society. What is the function of the school? What particular social values should the school seek to achieve? Is the school to be concerned only with passing on to the next generation the racial inheritance? Or is it to be a dynamic institution which will teach the young to examine and appraise contemporary society in the light of a changing social theory? Is the school to be responsible for "making America over"? The answer to these questions is of deepest concern to the student of education because the choice that is made will determine educational practice. The purpose of the following discussion will be to review briefly the origin of present educational practice, the influences and circumstances which have determined the function of the school in America, and the prevailing conflicting points of view regarding the school's function.

The origin of present educational practice. The early forms of group life provided for the instruction of the younger members of the group in the use of gesture and language, the acquisition of the practical skills necessary for subsistence, the observance of the rules of moral behavior, and the assimilation of the folklore of the group to which they belonged. Often the young were inducted formally into society through rites accompanied by great pomp and ceremony. If these early people had neglected to transmit to the succeeding generations the means of communication, the methods of obtaining a living, and the common purposes of the social groups, life would have remained steeped in savagery. Most of the educational activities of early peoples were quite informal, however. The young acquired the habits and skills essential for maintaining life and protecting themselves from the common enemy, by participating with the elders in processes of everyday living.

As group life developed and the occupational and social processes be-

came more complex, it became impossible for the young members of the groups to acquire the social inheritance directly by participating with the elders. More specific provision had to be made to perpetuate the achievements and ideals of the social groups. Through a long, evolutionary process the school finally emerged as the means to which society turned to assure its own welfare. It eventually assumed responsibilities which were originally obligations of other units of the social group. In its early state it was a highly functional and responsive institution. Later it became more formalized and less responsive to the immediate practical needs of society.

During recent years it has been urged that the school should not be a static institution; changes in social processes should bring about changes in educational practice. If the school lags in adjusting its program to changes in society, it is not fulfilling its mission as an agent to perpetuate the social group. Social and economic changes in an industrial society usually take place with rapidity; so must educational changes. How else can society justify maintaining the school? Since the school was established to assist society in consolidating the gains that it had made in its progress toward the realization of its social ideals, it follows logically that the school should be constantly modifying its program in the direction that will enable it to fulfill its function. The school must change in a changing world. This idea, however, has not been accepted by all. It is one of the crucial issues of our times. Those who fail to accept change as a principle retard the effective development of the school.

Early conceptions of the functions of education in the United States. That the principle of the social function of education was understood by the founders of our nation can be established by brief reference to the positions taken on education by a few of the early leaders. One can catch a glimpse of Washington's awareness of the broad function of education in the often quoted statement from his Farewell Address in 1796.

> Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

Some insight into the vision that John Adams had of the purposes of education can be gained from the following statement of his:

> The instruction of the people in every kind of knowledge that can be of use

to them in the practice of their moral duties as men, citizens, and Christians, and of their political and civil duties as members of society and freemen, ought to be the care of the public, and all who have any share in the conduct of its affairs, in a manner that never yet has been practiced in any age or nation.

Adams did not imply in the foregoing quotation that there were any sacred social areas with which the school should not be concerned.

Jefferson, even more than Washington and Adams, emphasized the need for keeping the school free from influences that would restrain it in any way from being a dynamic social influence. He was devoted to increasing the frontiers of knowledge in all areas of human life. His plans for the common schools and the institutions of higher learning in his native state of Virginia reflected his broad insight as an educational statesman. Other leaders were just as insistent in their demands for an unfettered school. The following statement by Professor Charles A. Beard reflects the broad conception of the early leaders of the social influence of education.

As befitted the temper of the age, early educational planners insisted upon unlimited freedom of inquiry and exposition in institutions of learning. They cast off *a priori* notions of tradition and brought to the bar of critical examination "all things under the sun"—the works of nature, institutions of Church and State, the forms and distribution of property, the relation of property to government, the processes of government, the driving forces of social life, the family and its historic role, the maxims of industry and commerce, and international affairs. And they did this with insight, a wealth of learning, and a firm grasp upon realities. For them, liberty of inquiry and exposition was not merely necessary to the working of popular institutions. It was indispensable to progress in every branch of human affairs. It was one of the noblest expressions of life among a free people.[1]

Accepting this statement as an accurate expression of the attitude of the founders of America toward the function of the school, it would seem that it was the spirit of the early leaders to have the educational institutions assume definite responsibility to society for social development and growth. Most certainly Washington, Jefferson, and the others never envisioned a system of schools divorced from the political, economic, and social currents of the time. These pioneers saw the need for developing social intelligence as the only safe way through which a free people could

[1] National Education Association, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*, Educational Policies Commission, 1937, p. 17.

govern themselves successfully. Thus, it followed that these leaders placed their faith in popular education, and conceived that the schools must change with the changes that come about in the social, economic, and political life of the people.

Why was the vision of the early leaders not realized? In spite of the vision of early leaders, the conception of the school as a social institution, changing with the times, was not realized. Many conditions were responsible for the failure of the school to exert the strong social influence which the fathers expected of it. The task of developing public sentiment for free schools was in itself a problem of gigantic proportions which absorbed the energy of the early social and educational leaders. The extension of educational opportunity presented vexing problems of school organization and management. Later the physical requirements for housing the rapidly growing number of school children challenged educational administrators. In their early development, therefore, schools secured far more attention to their physical development than to their purpose and function in a growing democracy.

The lack of qualified teachers was another factor contributing to the meager influence of the school as a liberalizing force in American life. The inferior quality of the teaching personnel was generally recognized; teachers in the common school particularly were generally not held very high in public esteem. It was then necessary to provide teachers regardless of their personal and educational qualifications. The early leaders came to the conclusion that it would be better for democracy to have more schools, even though the available teachers lacked professional fitness, than to have fewer schools with better equipped teachers. It appears now that history has attested to the correctness of their judgment.

PRESSURE OF ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Coupled with these circumstances was another condition which had tremendous force in molding the program of the school and circumscribing its influence. The energies and purposes of the early settlers were devoted to the material conquest of a virgin country. A nation was to be wrested from nature. Opportunities abounded on all sides; all that was required to achieve material success was the application of the individual to the task at hand. Under such conditions the struggle for material con-

quests unified the efforts of the settlers and gave meaning to life. Consequently the school had a very limited function to serve. It was mainly devoted to developing skills in reading, writing, and ciphering; skills which could not develop out of the conditions of living directly. Accordingly, school experiences were limited in number and kind. The pressure of economic conditions was a powerful factor in shaping the course of education in America.

America's faith in education. Regardless of the failure of the school to bring about social change, it has held and now holds a permanent place in the loyalties of the American people. The increasing financial burden borne by the public for educational services gives ample evidence of the esteem in which the school is held. The cause of this faith in education, among the rank and file of the American people, rests in the belief of the early settlers in the intrinsic worth of the individual and of the function of education in bringing about improvement in the common man. Professor Counts has forcefully stated the relationship between the conception of the individual held by the pioneers and the extension of educational opportunity:

> This faith in the potentialities of the individual has gradually taken the form of a faith in education. The Americans regard education as a means by which the inequalities among individuals are to be erased and by which every desirable end is to be achieved. Confront practically any group of citizens with a difficult problem in the sphere of human relations and they will suggest education as the solution. Indeed this belief in the general beneficence of education is one of the fetishes of American society. Although the processes of tuition may be but obscurely understood by the popular mind, they are thought to possess something akin to magical power. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this phenomenon, however, lies in the fact that education is identified with the work of the school. As a consequence the faith in education becomes a faith in the school, and the school is looked upon as a worker of miracles. *In fact, the school is the American road to culture.*[2]

Since the turn of this century, which ushered in the movement of intense industrialization in America, another contributing factor has increased America's faith in education as the key to material success. Vocations, developing out of industrial expansion, have become more specialized. Industry and commerce, to say nothing of the professions,

[2] Counts, George S., *The American Road to Culture,* The John Day Co., 1930, pp. 16-17.

have demanded increasingly more and more formal education as a prerequisite to employment. The increase in the demand for workers with some form of educational preparation developed in the minds of the American people the notion that a person's income or wages is in some way closely related to the amount of his formal education. It was not until the early part of 1930, with thousands of high school and college graduates unemployed, that it became apparent to the public that the value of education could not always be measured in terms of dollars and cents.

Another cause responsible for the esteem in which the school has been held by the American people has been the democratic social ideals so passionately held by the early settlers. The attention of the reader has already been called to the statements of the early political and social leaders to the effect that any society accepting the theory of democracy in its full import must provide for the general enlightenment of its people. Ignorance was considered the archenemy of democracy. For in a democracy, if it is to be successful, the responsibilities of the individual citizen are heavy; he is given more voice in determining his own destiny, and therefore he must be informed and intelligent about the problems that confront him, the solutions of which are so vital to his own welfare. The school was to be the institution created by society for the purpose of disseminating information and knowledge that would enable the citizens to attack their problems intelligently.

The school and other educative agencies. Even though, as Counts has said, the popular mind considers education to be synonymous with "the work of the school," yet there are and have been many other agencies in society which exert and have exerted powerful influences in molding the understandings, habits, dispositions, and attitudes of both the young and old. At the time of the founding of America, the home and the church were the only other major educative agencies. The press and the platform followed as strong agencies for social improvement and now the radio and the motion picture enlighten the minds and condition the behavior of the people. Organizations for child welfare, such as the Boy and Girl Scouts and other similar movements, supplement the program of the school and contribute definitely wholesome educative effects. Many other organizations and pressure groups exert a tremendous influence in American life. Some of these are definitely vicious in their effects, for

they tend to nullify the efforts of those who wish to build desirable social ideals and understandings among our people.

Any consideration of the obligations and duties of the school must take into account the contributions of the other educative agencies in society. Some believe that the school must assume responsibility for providing the educational training which the other institutions cannot furnish and that it must serve also as a corrective agency. Certainly, it should accept the responsibility for educating the young so that they can distinguish those institutions actuated by genuine social purpose from those actuated by selfish interest.

THE SCHOOL AND CONTEMPORARY AMERICA

In the previous section we have observed the conditions and influences that have shaped the attitudes of the educators and the people toward the relationship of the school to American culture. It has been shown that America has long been committed to the principle of democracy, even though this concept was limited in our early history to political processes. Within the last century and a half, conditions of living have undergone a complete transformation. The simple agrarian order of our national life has given way to a highly industrialized society. Science and invention have been responsible for changes in industrial process and methods of transportation and communication which in turn have produced a society of a different sort from the early simple agrarian society in which democracy had its beginning.

Today, the wants and the needs of the people are satisfied by the collective action of interdependent groups. Society should be highly integrated; the activities and processes of everyday living are extremely complex. The welfare of the individual is more dependent upon the welfare of others than formerly. The interests of the individual seem tied up with those of his group. If labor fights capital, the results of the conflict are not confined to the employer and employee alone, but are felt indirectly, if not directly, by everyone. Urban centers have become so closely knit together by services and goods furnished and distributed by the collective action of different groups, that the failure of any one group to function practically paralyzes the activities of the people living within the limits of the affected area and is felt ultimately throughout the entire country.

The student who is sensitive to social movements is aware of the present struggle to enlarge the concept of democracy, to extend it to embrace man in all of his relationships in this new world. It is to be presumed that if democracy is a desirable principle of living, if it is to mean the "moral equality of men," then it would seem to be just as acceptable in an industrial society as it was in the early agrarian order. However, the significance of the term expands as we interpret it in terms of the contexts of the life that people live today.

Accepting the democratic tradition and society in its present status, what part is the school to play? What are its responsibilities? Is it to be concerned with contemporary social processes and movements? Is it to return to fulfill the vision of Washington, Jefferson, and the other early prophets? Or, is it to continue on its present course, aloof and slow to adjust to social demands? This is the great educational issue of the day.

Points of view. There is no general agreement among educators and laymen as to the role the school should play in contemporary America. It cannot be said that the differences of opinion are attributable to the social beliefs of the disputants; all would subscribe to the democratic processes as representative of the most desirable form of human association. Furthermore, all the persons at variance would agree without exception that there is urgent need for more education to insure the preservation and extension of our democratic social ideals. Classifying the divergent points of view of the role of education in society is at best a hazardous undertaking, but for convenience of treatment, we shall suggest three contrasting interpretations of the function of the school that prevail among professional educators and lay persons interested in educational policy.

1. *The school as an agency for passing on racial inheritance.* According to this point of view the school is to concern itself exclusively with passing on to the oncoming generation the heritage of the past. It is not to have anything to do with the contemporary social, economic, and political issues of the day. It is to stick to the task of passing on subject matter from a remote social context. As one advocate of this school of thought has expressed it to one of the writers: "I want my students to know the best of the past experiences of the race; I do not care what they do with this knowledge." Of course, the implication was obvious that he believed that knowledge of the past achievements of the race would be sufficient

preparation for meeting the problems of contemporary times. Generally, persons adhering to this notion of the function of education do not feel that the school has any direct responsibility for preparing the child to meet the social problems arising out of the changes produced by science and invention. Subject matter relating to the conflicts and struggles of the present is not to be incorporated in the school's program until the problems have been solved in some fashion and become a part of the racial inheritance. The assumption underlying this position is that the solutions to our problems will be found in the history of the race.

Here you have a statement of the function that the American school has adhered to in the past with unwavering fidelity. As we have seen, certain economic and social conditions forced the school into playing this particular role. The activities of the teacher and the school are circumscribed; both are to be aloof from the currents of the time. The school and the teacher should assume a neutral position with regard to the social processes. It would appear, however, that the school in reality is anything but neutral if it adheres to this position. As a matter of fact, it is primarily an institution for perpetuating the *status quo* in social affairs.

Paradoxical as it may seem, frequently associated with this particular concept of the function of the school is an emphasis upon the responsibility of the school to the individual. It is maintained by certain educators that the paramount obligation of education is to improve the individual by guiding him in developing the particular behavior responses that will lead to improved living. Just how this behavior can be decided upon, without taking into account the social situations in which it is to function, is difficult to see. It would seem that if behavior traits are to be determined apart from social circumstances and in terms only of individual practicality, there is no assurance that organized society would long continue to exist.

2. *The school as an agency of social reform.* During the early years of the 1930's, when our nation first began feeling the full effects of serious economic maladjustments, a group of educators and social leaders felt that the school should not only become a more positive force for social improvement but it should also become an agency for social reform. Thus, teachers were to assume more responsibility for initiating social change and to indoctrinate the pupils with their social convictions. This point of view is in one sense a direct contradiction to the one expressed

in the first statement. The school and the teacher are not to be aloof from the strains and stresses of societal development. They assume no neutrality with respect to the problems of the day. Teachers, in and out of school, will have no hesitancy in indoctrinating their pupils with their own convictions as to the proper solution for our social, economic, and political ills.

The spokesmen for this small but articulate group contended that the teachers were justified in assuming this broad responsibility for leadership in social reform because they were better educated as a group than the so-called "practical" men who had been in positions of leadership and they did not represent any particular class or vested interest. The teachers were concerned with the common interests of all.

3. *The school as an agency for developing social intelligence.* This position rejects both of the foregoing statements of the role of the school in society. The school must enlighten the pupil with regard to the past achievements of the race, but it must not be content with merely passing on the heritage of the race. It should stimulate the pupils to think about the different approaches that can be made to the solution of our present problems that will represent real social advancement. The teacher will make sure that the pupils understand the different choices from which they may select. He will attempt to guide the pupils in envisioning the results of each choice. He will not in any event indoctrinate the pupils by virtue of his position with his own social convictions. The pupils will make their own choices with respect to the solution of present-day problems, but they will be prepared to make intelligent choices.

In view of our social aspirations and ideals it would seem that the only tenable position for the school to take is that of providing for the development of social intelligence. The achievements of the past contributing to an understanding of our present social situation will be conserved and, at the same time, the pupils will be stimulated and given practice in thinking about the solutions of our social problems that should result in improved living. The teacher is given freedom of expression, but he will not employ this opportunity for the purpose of directing the thinking of the pupils to conform to his own. The school is a laboratory in which the pupil will become intelligent about the different proposals for the improvement of society. It is the teacher's responsibility to see that the student is equipped to make intelligent choices, and not necessarily those of the teacher.

There is no implication in this point of view that the teacher through the school will be directly responsible for sponsoring specific social changes. The school will not arrogate to itself the authority and power to propose the only solutions to the problems of society. This conception of the function of the school is consistent with our democratic social theory, and makes possible the reciprocal relationship between the school and society wherein each adjusts itself to the other. Professor Bode expresses this idea as follows:

> It appears, then, that society and education stand in a relation of reciprocal cause and effect. The character of a given society determines the character of its educational system, and the character of this system, in turn, determines the character of the society. At first sight this looks like a hopeless circle. If a society were not subject to changes arising from other than educational sources, this would presumably be the case. But in this world of change, new conditions are constantly arising, which call for corresponding changes on the side of education. The development of commerce and industry, for example, brought with it a new social and political consciousness on the part of the various groups or classes. With such changes there comes a demand for vocational training, and a demand for a type of training that has a more direct bearing on social and economic conditions than the old forms of education, which were the expression of the needs and the organization of an earlier order. There is always some change taking place, so that the social order never becomes entirely petrified, but always retains a certain degree of flexibility.[3]

In attempting to assess the several notions of the role of the school in society, the student must not let his thinking become constrained by the part the school has played in the past. The casual observer can readily see that the American school has confined its efforts to passing on our racial inheritance, neglecting to develop in the minds of the students adequate understanding of the contemporary social issues. The growing pains of society were ignored; an examination of the emergence of incipient social movements was studiously avoided. Many areas of contemporary living were given no attention in the program of the school.

But in times of severe stress and strain there is the tendency to go from one extreme to another and place the whole responsibility on the school. It would become, according to this idea, an institution in which the convictions and beliefs of those in control would be imposed on the students. Although the arrangement would no doubt result in a change

[3] Bode, B. H., *Fundamentals of Education*, The Macmillan Company, 1926, pp. 60-61.

of doctrine in many quarters, the students would be no better equipped to do independent thinking than before. Freedom of choice is essential to the development of social intelligence.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL THEORY

Our attention has already been drawn to the faith of the American people in education. Regardless of the differences of opinion as to the method of the educational processes, there seems to be general agreement that our salvation lies in extending greater educational opportunity to more people. Education is looked upon as a panacea for all of our social ills, whether of local or national significance. This loyalty to the American school system seems to grow even in face of the increasing number of serious social ills that education is supposed to prevent, eliminate, or alleviate. It would appear from the experience of this country that increasing educational opportunity has not produced the results in our social order that one would expect. Education does not in and of itself automatically promote the welfare of a society. The school can develop traits of intolerance as well as tolerance, selfishness instead of unselfishness, and uncooperativeness rather than cooperativeness among its students. Which attitudes result depend just as much upon the quality as upon the quantity of education.

Since education has its foundation in the practices and ideals of the social group, then the nature of the social ideals of a particular group will be the standard employed to select the materials and methods of the educational processes. America has placed its faith in the democratic tradition; therefore, the school will select its objectives, organize its program, and choose its subject matter in conformance with this criterion. But will the conception of democracy be one that embodies in its meaning only those activities of man as they relate to matters of a political nature or will it be comprehensive enough to include man in all of his relationships?

During the agrarian period of our national development the common interests of the people were for the most part of a political or governmental nature. Schools had to be established; roads had to be built; the community had to be policed; and taxes had to be collected. All of these problems related to the local civic unit. The economic relationships of the early people were few and simple. Democracy to these early people

referred to the kind of political arrangements whereby the individual had the opportunity to express himself on public matters. But with changes in methods of production and distribution of the goods of life and changes in methods of transportation and communication, matters of common concern are not confined to the life of a particular community. The democratic social values that were once derived from the rural, agrarian community life do not accrue from the life of the community as it is now lived. Therefore, it would seem that the school in a democracy must recognize the moral and ethical implications of this social aspiration.

Education in a democracy. What, then, are the more important characteristics of the educational program and activities of the school in a democratic society? What distinguishes the school's efforts in a democratically organized social order from the work of the school in a different social context?

First of all, it seems obvious that if the democratic way of living is accepted as the ideal form of human association, then it follows that faith must be placed in intelligence as the instrument for determining human conduct. In a simple static society the behavior adjustments are relatively simple; tradition and custom are the chief factors in influencing the behavior of people. The school's task is also a relatively easy one, confined mainly to inculcating in the younger generations the behavior responses which were successful in meeting the problems of the forefathers. But in a complex dynamic industrial civilization new problems appear and old problems take on different form and proportion. The behavior patterns so successful in meeting the problems of the past are no longer satisfactory adjustments now. Human conduct must be changed; other types of responses must be selected.

In an autocratically controlled social order the dictator makes the choice for the people, but in a genuine democracy the people are intrusted with this responsibility. They must select from a number of possible solutions the one that provides for the best interests of the masses. They must decide wisely, for the consequences of their action are of far-reaching significance. It is the duty of the school in a democracy to develop in the students the traits, abilities, knowledges, and understandings that will equip them for making the wisest choices.

The school will perform this duty by arranging the learning situation so that the student becomes aware of the necessity for making choices

and decisions. He must be brought to feel that there is something at stake when he makes the choice. There must be developed in him a sense of social responsibility for making the wisest and most intelligent judgments, no matter whether the effects of his decision are confined to the welfare of the classroom as in the case of elementary school children, or to the larger community as in the case of secondary school students. After he has developed this sensitivity to social issues and conflicts he is in a position to acquire the background of knowledge relating to the origin and evolution of the problem which will enable him to see it in perspective and finally arrive at a more intelligent decision or choice. That there must be freedom of inquiry and discussion permeating the whole process goes without question. Controversial issues should be studied in the classroom, since most social problems are of a controversial nature. Only when the student is aware of the different possible choices can intelligent decisions be made. The school has the responsibility for equipping the student so that he will make the most intelligent response.

Some individuals would give the student the solutions to our problems without permitting him to arrive at his own conclusions by deliberation. This practice is, however, opposed to democratic processes. Democracy places its faith in the informed intelligence of the people to make decisions consistent with the welfare of the group. It is not the purpose of the school to predetermine the beliefs of the students toward the social issue. Society must assume responsibility for the solution of its own ills. The service of the school in helping society to attack its own problems has been stated admirably by Professor Charles A. Beard in the report on *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy.*

The solution of specific problems of democracy devolves upon society. Education does not arrogate that function to itself. It does not claim either the competence or the sole power—legal or spiritual. But education does preserve and spread knowledge appropriate to the solution of specific problems, instills the disciplines essential to the acquisition of knowledge, describes the points of view from which problems are discussed, sets forth the assumptions and imperatives on which solutions depend, and in the classroom illustrates the spirit and procedure in which knowledge and reason are applied in coping with the adjustments of society. Whether these issues are related to political institutions, to finance and taxation, to industry, commerce, and agriculture, to public health, to the conservation and use of natural resources, to international relations and national defense, education is concerned with them. It presents knowledge relevant to them. It sets forth theories and values, from

which they are approached. It illustrates in miniature, apart from the tempers and distempers of the political arena, the processes of enlightenment and discussion by which matured decisions are reached. Such is the obligation imposed on education by the democratic society in which it functions and which it serves.[4]

Can education be neutral? Is it possible for the school to stand apart from the currents of the time and be neutral in face of the conflicts and tensions in society? A negative answer to this question has been implied in the preceding discussion. The fact that the school is maintained by society and is an integral part of a social order that has ideals and aspirations regarding the kinds of relations one should have with another precludes the possibility of the school's playing a neutral role. The other choice, however, is not one in which the school systematically imposes ideas and practices on the oncoming generation. Democratic ways of living cannot be imposed. Of course, there is a certain amount of imposition or indoctrination because of the fact that the school functions in society as it is now organized. But the school cannot fulfill its mission in a democracy if it deliberately and purposefully sets out to indoctrinate. It can avoid conscious indoctrination of attitudes, purposes, and ideas and still give the students training in dealing intelligently with the problems and conditions of society.

Conclusion. If freedom of choice is an essential condition of democracy, there must be some institution that will assume responsibility for educating the people in intelligent deliberation and decision. The presentation of different points of view on controversial problems seems necessary. No other institution is better situated in our present social arrangement than the school to provide this training. It is a dangerous practice to permit the youth of the country to acquire its knowledge and develop its social attitudes from the information disseminated by those groups which are mainly concerned with their own welfare, even though this is inconsistent with our democratic conceptions. Is it not logical to allocate the responsibility for orientating young people in the processes of democracy to the school, the instrument created by society for its own preservation? If this conception of the school in society is accepted, then the chief function of the teacher is to develop in pupils an intelligence about contemporary life, to teach them to form judgments, to recognize problems

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

and to solve them through orderly processes working in a democratic situation, where there is a free play of ideas. The school becomes a democracy in which the individual pupil, through the help of the teacher, is able to develop the tools with which to think clearly, to learn democratic methods of solving current personal, social, political, and economic problems.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Why were the early conceptions of the school as an agency for the development of democracy not fully realized?
2. Enumerate the conditions and influences that you believe were the fundamental causes for the development of "America's faith in education."
3. What conditions in contemporary America seem to demand a clearer understanding of the functions of school in society?
4. In what way is the theory of the school as an agency for passing on racial inheritance similar to the theory that the school should be an agency for social reform?
5. How do you define *indoctrination* as it relates to the work of the school?
6. How can the school function in a democracy without indoctrinating?
7. Should the teacher indoctrinate the pupils with democratic ideas so that they may have some standard for judging whether practices are democratic or not?

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Chapter Eight

DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

AS WAS SUGGESTED in Chapter 7, the American system of public schools is the result of a long process of educational evolution. No one can appreciate the place of the school in society or the full significance of the present school organization without some understanding of its historical beginnings. To obtain a perspective regarding the current form of school organization it would be well to survey briefly some of the more important events and conditions that have shaped modern school practice.

EARLY SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND PRACTICE

The early settlers brought with them the educational conceptions prevailing in Europe at the time. Education at public expense for all the children was not, therefore, the idea of the first settlers; education was a privilege that only the more favored classes enjoyed. Early schools were mainly under the influence of the church. The children were taught the rudiments of reading, writing, spelling, some arithmetic, and were given instruction in the Bible and the catechism. These schools were usually taught by the minister or someone connected with the church. The wealthier classes did not patronize these schools but employed private tutors for their children. Philanthropic organizations were responsible for the maintenance of schools in many communities. The great problem of the settlers was to establish themselves on a new continent; schools were a secondary consideration. The New England colonies evidenced more

interest in education than the other colonies, but even there the efforts to develop schools were localized.

The dame school. One of the early institutions established in America was the dame school, inherited from England. This school was taught by a woman, hence the name. The children of the community would assemble in the home of the schoolmistress to be taught the elements of reading and writing. Some of the New England towns supported these schools from public funds, but for the most part the schools were private or semi-public in character. The dame school played an important part in the educational life of New England. It was the primary school of the time, and it prevailed until the end of the 18th century.

The Latin grammar school. Another institution, established by the colonists but adopted from England and one of the forerunners of the present public high school, was the Latin grammar school. This type of institution was found in practically all the colonies although it had its greatest growth in New England. The first of these schools was founded in Boston in 1635. In the beginning the support of the Latin grammar school came from a variety of sources, both public and private, but in time it came to depend upon tuition fees and benevolence for its maintenance. The primary purpose of the school was to prepare students for college and for service in the church and state. The curriculum consisted of Latin and Greek. Since these schools were managed and supported in the interests of the more favored social and economic classes which could afford to send their children to college, they did not cater to the needs of the masses. As a result, by the beginning of the 19th century, the Latin grammar school was being overshadowed by a more democratic institution, the academy, the immediate forerunner of the public high school.

Education—a public responsibility. Generally speaking, education was not at first recognized as a public responsibility in the colonies. There is evidence, however, to show that the early colonies did feel the need for providing educational facilities for the children of the poor who could not afford to pay for instruction. In meeting this need, the colonists resorted to the apprenticeship system that prevailed in Europe. The children whose parents could not support them were apprenticed to trades or occupations where they were trained to read and to be economically self-supporting.

The New Plymouth Colony in 1641 was the first to accept public responsibility for the care of the children of the poor and enacted legislation providing for the placement of these children under the supervision of guardians where they would become assets to the community. The next year (1642) the Massachusetts Colony followed the lead of New Plymouth by passing an act that emphasized both the vocational and educational aspects of apprenticeship. The practice of apprenticeship, including both boys and girls, spread through all of the colonies. It filled an important place in the educational life of the colonies until the close of the 18th century.

Another event indicating the growing acceptance of education as a public responsibility was the passing of a law by Massachusetts in 1647 which is frequently referred to by educational historians as the "old deluder" act. This title was taken from the preamble which read as follows:

> "It being one chief point of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times, by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times, by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at last the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers,—that learning might not be buried in the graves of our fathers in church and Commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors, it is therefore ordered," etc.

This act ordered that every town of fifty families employ a person to teach "all such children as shall resort to him to write and read," and, in addition, it provided that every town of one hundred families should establish a Latin grammar school to prepare the more able students for college.

The influence of the "old deluder" act upon subsequent educational developments is difficult to appraise. It seems that the act was opposed by many people and its provisions were generally disregarded. It did, however, furnish the pattern for educational legislation in other New England colonies.

The school district. No statement, however brief, of the early history of education in the United States would be complete without some mention of the origin of the local school district which had such an important place in the development of the public school system. This form of school organization originated in Massachusetts, spreading to the other colonies and finally to the new states as they were added to the Union. During

the early Colonial days, the inhabitants of New England lived in such close proximity that it was possible for the children of the community to attend the central school of the town. But in the 18th century, settlements were made so far from the center of the township that the children could not attend school. These districts demanded schools of their own. The organization of the New England town into smaller school districts began in the latter part of the 17th century and was finally legalized by Connecticut in 1766.

The outcome of this tendency in rural areas was the emergence of a great number of independent districts with one-room schools, and in urban centers the creation of autonomous ward schools. But, by the middle of the 19th century, there had developed an unfavorable reaction to the district system. In the course of time, the several states have abandoned the ward school organization in urban areas and have modified the independent powers of the school trustees in the rural districts.

The academy. This institution arose because of the growing dissatisfaction among the public with the narrow curriculum of the Latin grammar school. People demanded a school that would prepare the children for the practical duties of life. Neither the Colonial colleges nor the Latin grammar schools met this need. Benjamin Franklin was responsible for proposing the first academy in America. He planned an academy in Philadelphia in 1749 which would meet the diverse needs of the youth of the time. The school opened in 1751 with a program of studies consisting of three curricula—mathematics, English, and classics. Unlike the academies to follow, the institution had no religious affiliations. Eventually it became the University of Pennsylvania.

The academy movement spread rapidly throughout the colonies during the 19th century, but it had its greatest growth the first half of that century. For the most part, the academies were semi-public institutions, although many were strictly private schools. They were supported chiefly either by tuition fees or by both tuition fees and public grants. While many academies were noncoeducational, there were many coeducational schools. This institution represented the transition step in secondary education from the Latin grammar school to the public high school.

Early colleges. The early American colleges were also fashioned after the schools in England. Harvard was the first institution of higher learning

to be founded in America, in 1636. It was followed by the College of William and Mary in Virginia in 1693. The purpose of both schools was primarily to educate young men for the ministry. Up to the time of the American Revolution, there were altogether nine colleges established in the colonies. In addition to the two just mentioned, the following colleges were founded: Yale University, 1701; Princeton University, 1740; Academy and College of Pennsylvania, now the University of Pennsylvania, 1753-65; Columbia University, 1754; Brown University, 1764; Rutgers University, 1766; and Dartmouth College, 1769. All the colleges, with the exception of the University of Pennsylvania, had some denominational relationship. After the Revolution, interest in establishing institutions of higher learning was stimulated. Nineteen additional colleges and universities were established in America by 1800.

The curriculum of the Colonial colleges was extremely limited, consisting mainly of Greek and Latin, elementary mathematics, logic, and some natural philosophy. The institutions established after the middle of the 18th century added French and German, history, geography, and astronomy. The life of the student was strictly regimented. He was under the supervision of the master or tutor most of the time. His religious life was carefully controlled.

Educational ideas of early leaders. The thinking of the early social leaders relative to the purpose of education and the responsibility of society for providing popular education took very definite form in the minds of a few during the latter part of the 18th century, stimulated, without question, by the success of the Revolutionary War. Benjamin Franklin was among the first to be concerned with the general advancement of public education. Franklin, however, had many interests, one of which was the American Philosophical Society, founded in 1779, which offered a prize for the best essays on "the best system of liberal education and literary instruction adapted to the genius of the Government of the United States." Among the social leaders of the time who prepared papers for the contest were Samuel Knox, Samuel H. Smith, Noah Webster, Benjamin Rush, Robert Coram, and others.

George Washington was another leader who was interested in the cause of public education. He was particularly interested in establishing a national university. He went so far as to select a site for the university in Washington and assigned to it his interests in the Potomac Company

which had been given him by the legislature of Virginia. Congress did not, however, approve the project.

Of all the Revolutionary leaders, Jefferson probably had more influence on subsequent developments in public education than anybody else. He was well educated and versatile in his intellectual interests. He had faith in the people to govern themselves if they were properly informed. As a member of the Virginia legislature, Jefferson was responsible for a bill separating the church and state. In addition, he introduced measures providing for a state system of public schools in Virginia. According to the provisions of the bill, the children of the citizens could attend the elementary school for three years without paying tuition. One student from each of the elementary schools was to be selected to attend the secondary schools to be established at different points in the state. The support and education of the selected students in the secondary schools were to be provided free of charge by the state. The more capable students of the secondary schools were then to be placed in the state university for further education at state expense. This is one of the first complete plans for a state system of public schools. Although the plan did not receive favorable action from the legislature, Jefferson did not cease to work for the advancement of popular education. He founded the University of Virginia in 1819, and took an active interest in its development until his death in 1826.

The Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, to which reference will be made in a succeeding chapter, reflect other evidences of concern for the promotion of public education by the national leaders of the time.

The status of education at the beginning of the 19th century. According to all accounts the status of public education was very low at the beginning of the 19th century. This statement seems to hold true for education on all levels—elementary, secondary, and collegiate. On the whole, educational opportunities were more abundant in New England than in other sections of the embryonic nation. Financial support for the school came from a variety of sources, the chief one of which was the tuition fee, although public appropriations for educational purposes were becoming more frequent. The teachers were ill-equipped and poorly paid for their services. Many of them were persons who had been prepared for the law, the clergy, or medicine. School buildings were crude and the

physical equipment was limited. Such was the status of education at the beginning of the 19th century.

EDUCATION A PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

The 19th century ranks high in educational importance, for it was during this period that the foundation was laid for a school system in the United States designed to afford educational opportunity for all at public expense. The American people generally were slow in recognizing this responsibility because of the temperament and disposition of the early settlers, the environmental conditions of the time, and the attitudes developed from the struggle with England. It was through the vision of dynamic social leaders and the effort of societies and organizations dedicated to popular education that the way was paved for free school without denominational affiliations.

Influence of philanthropic societies. From earliest time in America, philanthropy has been an important factor in the support of education. One of the charity organizations devoted to the purpose of offering instruction free of charge to poor children was the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This society established its first school in New York City in 1704 and continued to support schools under the auspices of the Anglican church until the close of the Revolutionary War. In the early part of the 19th century, however, societies and organizations less sectarian in emphasis appeared to assume the responsibilities for offering school opportunity to the young children of the newly launched nation.

The infant school. In many cities in America in the first quarter of the 19th century, the public schools then in existence required that a pupil be able to read and write before he would be admitted to school. This elementary training had been supplied in the past by the dame schools and by private instruction. However, in 1816, the infant school idea, which was originally founded in Scotland by Robert Owen for the young children of the employees in his cotton mills at New Lanark, Scotland, was brought to America. So acceptable did this new institution appear to the Boston school authorities that in 1818 an appropriation was made for the establishment of infant schools as a part of the educational ladder,

later to be known as the primary grades. Societies were soon formed for the promotion of the infant school in other cities of the country.

Public school societies. Another movement which helped to prepare the way for popular education was the organization of public school societies. The first one of these organizations, chartered in 1805 in New York, was designed to give free instruction to poor children who could not otherwise afford it. Dewitt Clinton was among the first contributors to the "Society for Establishing a Free School in the City of New York." Similar societies under various names but with the same purpose were organized in other cities. They were supported, in part, by subscriptions, gifts, and grants from some cities and states. The New York Society continued to function until after the New York City Board of Education was created by the legislature in 1842, and finally in 1853 the buildings and equipment were turned over to the public school board.

The Sunday school. This was another institution, prevailing in the first half of the 19th century, which helped in some measure to make the people in general conscious of the need for public education. The Sunday school movement was originally initiated in England through the efforts of Robert Raikes and was introduced in America in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1786. It was founded by philanthropy in America, but the churches gradually assumed the task of maintaining a full-day instruction devoted primarily to reading and writing. Many societies were formed in America to promote the organization of the schools. The churches soon rebelled against secular instruction in the Sunday schools and these institutions then devoted their efforts to purely religious instruction. It is difficult to evaluate the effect of the Sunday school in aiding the development of the common school in America, but without doubt it did make some contribution to the development of the American school system.

Monitorial schools. Among others, there were two important obstacles in the path of popular education in the early part of the 19th century. These were the lack of well-prepared teachers in sufficient number and the cost of supporting schools for the children of all classes of people. The latter was a most difficult problem. Instruction in the charity schools was relatively expensive for those times, since it was generally conducted upon an individual basis. This made charity schools relatively noneffective as

schools for all the people. The people were as yet unready and unwilling to be taxed for public education; thus, the time was not yet ripe for supporting public schools by taxation. A scheme of school organization and instruction, however, arose in the latter part of the 18th century, known as the monitorial system. This system reduced the costs of education and made possible the more rapid development of the public school movement. It permitted instruction in large classes and, while it did not make teachers better, it at least made public education financially possible for the times.

Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster, the former a clergyman and the latter a schoolmaster in England, each working independently, devised practical schemes of monitorial instruction in which the more advanced students were used to instruct the younger and more immature students. Bell was an army chaplain affiliated with the Established Church of England, and developed his plan in an orphanage in India after the principles of army organization. He later published a description of it in 1797. Considerable controversy arose concerning the relative merits of the two plans. The only difference between them seems to be that Bell stressed religious training after the faith of the Established Church while Lancaster's plan was essentially more secular in its emphasis. It was for this reason, no doubt, that it was the Lancastrian plan rather than Bell's plan that was transplanted to America. Lancaster published an account of his conception of monitorial practice in 1803.

Under the Lancastrian plan, the materials of instruction were graded into what then seemed to be the probable order of difficulty. For example, the work in reading started with a study of the alphabet, then syllables of two letters were taken up. This was followed by words and syllables of three letters, and so on until the pupil had acquired independence in reading. The materials of arithmetic were graded in a similar fashion. The teacher first instructed the monitors until they had mastered the work to be taught by them. Each monitor was responsible for teaching ten pupils. Thus, one teacher with his monitors was to oversee the instruction of two or three hundred or more children. Each pupil repeated to the monitor the subject matter he had learned. Here you have the roots of the recitation system that still flourishes in many schools. Disciplinary measures were severe. Order and system were stressed in the management of the school, in contrast with the practices of the charity schools. Application and proper conduct were stimulated by awards and prizes.

The first Lancastrian school in America was established in New York City in 1806. The plan soon developed in many of the growing towns and cities, such as Baltimore, Philadelphia, Louisville, Cincinnati, and Detroit. Several states considered adopting the Lancastrian plan as a feature of state school practice. Lancaster came to America in 1818 to promote and assist in establishing monitorial schools. The plan was praised for its economy and effectiveness by many prominent social leaders of the time. But the peak of popularity of the monitorial schools was passed by the middle of the 19th century. The contribution of the monitorial movement to subsequent developments in education resides mainly in the fact that it had brought the people to recognize their responsibility for providing taxes to support free schools.

ESTABLISHING FREE SCHOOLS

The period from about 1825 to the time of the Civil War is generally recognized in educational history as a struggle for free public schools. By 1860, practically all of the northern and western states had succeeded to a large extent in establishing a system of schools open to all children without charge. The southern states as a group did not accomplish this objective until after the Civil War, although North Carolina seems to have approached it by 1846. The acceptance of education as a definite social responsibility finally became an actuality. It was not accomplished, however, without a terrific struggle in which the feeling between those in favor of and against free public education was very intense.

The problem of school support. Raising funds for the support of education has always been a perplexing problem. Much of the early state school legislation provided for the establishment of schools but made little, if any, provision for their maintenance. There was also considerable opposition to the idea of supporting the schools by direct taxation. One of the common methods employed to raise the necessary school revenue was the rate bill system. According to this plan, the differential between the total cost of maintaining the school and the amount of money contributed by the state and from other sources, such as local taxes, was paid by the parents according to the number of children attending school.

Under the rate bill scheme, the children of the poor suffered because the parents could not afford to pay the cost that was apportioned among

them. To meet this difficulty, New York in 1812 passed legislation permitting poor children to attend school without payment of tuition. In 1802, Pennsylvania enacted legislation to the effect that, if the poor would declare themselves to be paupers, their children could attend school without cost. The plan prevailed in Pennsylvania until the passage of the free school law in 1834. The other states in which the pauper movement had made headway were New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia. Both the rate bill scheme and the pauper school idea were inconsistent with the social ideals of America. By 1870, both of these practices were almost completely obliterated. The next step was direct local taxation to supplement the income from the state to pay the total school bill.

Horace Mann. There were many outstanding statesmen and social leaders affiliated with the movement for free common schools. The one to whom history accords a great deal of credit is Horace Mann (1796-1859). Mann prepared for a career in law but left his profession and political office in 1837 when he was made the secretary of the newly created Massachusetts State Board of Education, in which capacity he served for twelve years. He was an ardent educational reformer who could speak and write effectively. During his term of office, he awakened the people of Massachusetts to their educational needs by his speeches and his annual reports of school conditions with suggestions for improvement. He also edited the *Common School Journal,* a publication appealing to teachers and citizens alike in the interest of better schools. Mann began the battle for the improvement of the schools in Massachusetts, a fight which was continued by the other states of the nation.

All phases of public education had some concern for Mann. He enriched the elementary school curriculum, established school libraries, introduced better methods of instruction and improved textbooks, encouraged the development of the office of school superintendent, advanced qualifications for teachers, established three state normal schools, and doubled financial support for the schools in his state. Mann's keen and caustic remarks on school conditions engaged him in a controversy with the Boston schoolmasters in 1843. He came out of this conflict with increased prestige and the support of many of the leading citizens.

It is possible, however, that Mann's most important contribution to the cause of public education was his work in connection with the

struggle to secularize the schools. Education from Colonial times had been under the domination of the church. At first, public money was given to the church to aid in establishing and maintaining schools. Under this plan the church remained in control of the curriculum of the schools and dictated the method of education. But the demand for public control of the common schools developed; public education was conceived to be a function of the state and not a responsibility to be delegated to the numerous religious sects. The church was not willing to relax its control of instruction and the issue led to a bitter fight, not only in Massachusetts but in the other states as well. Mann's views in general were too liberal for many churchmen of the time. Although a deeply religious person, he opposed teaching the Bible in the school; he believed that it should be read without comment. He believed that schools should be nonsectarian in nature and supported at public expense.

The outcome of the battle to free public schools from sectarian influence was of particular significance to the future of the common school development. The separation of the church and state was finally accomplished either by legislative enactment or constitutional provision. By 1858, the issue had been decided in practically all of the states then organized, and the schools were free from sectarianism. Mann's most important work was done by 1848. He retired from political life in 1852, and in 1853 he accepted the presidency of Antioch College at Yellow Springs, Ohio, where he served until his death. He is now recognized as one of the greatest schoolmen of any age.

Henry Barnard. Another brilliant figure who participated with Mann in promoting the common school movement was Henry Barnard (1811-1900). He prepared for a law career but became interested in education and went to Europe in 1835 to study educational reforms, particularly those of Pestalozzi. He returned to America and was elected to the state legislature of Connecticut. As a member of the latter body, he was responsible for the enactment of the law creating a State Board of Commissioners for Common Schools in 1839, quite similar in purpose to the plan of Massachusetts. Barnard was selected as its first secretary and continued in this capacity until 1842 when the legislature abolished the Board.

While serving only a short time in a professional capacity, Barnard accomplished a great deal in improving the common schools of Connecticut. School conditions at the time of his appointment were comparable

to those that faced Mann in Massachusetts. But Barnard travelled over the State speaking at school conventions and attempting to develop a professional consciousness among the teachers. During his short term of office, he also established the *Connecticut Common School Journal* through which he stimulated and informed the people on the conditions of their schools.

After the legislature abolished the Board and with it Barnard's position, he was called to Rhode Island to direct the reorganization of the state school system. He was shortly made commissioner of education, which office he held until ill health forced him to resign in 1849. His achievements in improving the schools of Rhode Island were comparable to the results of his work in Connecticut. In 1851, Barnard returned to Connecticut as principal of the state normal school and ex-officio secretary to the State Board of Education. He served in this dual capacity until 1855 when his health again forced him to resign. He then began publishing the *American Journal of Education,* which consisted of 32 volumes when completed. This publication was a veritable encyclopedia of educational literature and one of the achievements which contributed to making Barnard known as the scholar of the common school movement. From 1858 to 1860 he was head of the University of Wisconsin. In 1867, he was appointed the first United States Commissioner of Education, from which office he resigned in 1870.

Compulsory education and school attendance. Just as soon as free common schools were established in the several states, the next logical step was to insure that the children should receive the benefits of the educational system. If the people valued education to the extent that they would consent to direct taxation for its support, then it would follow that they would make sure that its influence would reach all the children. Compulsory education was not, however, an entirely new problem. Massachusetts was concerned about it as early as the middle of the 17th century. But it was not until 1852 that the first compulsory school attendance law was enacted in Massachusetts. Weak as this law was, it was the beginning of a very significant movement in public education. Vermont, in 1867, followed the example of Massachusetts in requiring school attendance. By 1890, 25 other states had adopted compulsory school attendance laws, but it was not until 1918 that compulsory attendance prevailed in every state in the nation.

With the revision of compulsory school laws there has been a tendency to increase the number of years of required attendance. At present, the number of years of school attendance varies from six to twelve years in the different states. Exemptions from the law are usually permitted on certain conditions.

Development of graded schools. The early elementary schools were ungraded. Children of varying ages and on different levels of educational achievements were housed in one room. In the rural areas the schools were small and individual instruction prevailed. In the growing towns and cities, the increasing elementary school population led to separate schools for teaching reading and writing. The reading school would also teach spelling and give some instruction in grammar and composition, and the writing school usually included instruction in arithmetic. The problem of securing adequately prepared teachers in all these subjects seemed to be the cause for this differentiation of instruction rather than any other consideration. But it was well into the 19th century before the movement for grading children and materials for instructional purposes began to make progress, and then it was confined to the towns and cities for the most part.

It will be remembered that the Colonial schools and the schools in the early period of our national history did not make any provision for teaching children to read and write until Boston in 1818 added the infant school as the first division of its public school system. Other cities soon followed in the footsteps of Boston. Then, each division—primary and grammar—was divided into classes and the materials of instruction were arranged to suit this type of organization.

Toward the middle of the 19th century, leading educators, such as Barnard and Mann, had recognized the pressing need for a more effective way to organize the schools for instructional purposes. The influence of Pestalozzi and his educational theories were also felt. In addition, the monitorial system had a great deal of influence in stimulating interest in the graded school movement.

John D. Philbrick. In 1849, John D. Philbrick became principal of the new grammar school at Quincy, Massachusetts. This was the first school designed with separate classrooms for each teacher, thus permitting a more effective organization for grading purposes. Later, in 1856, Philbrick,

while serving as Superintendent of Common Schools in Connecticut, promoted the idea of graded schools. In 1857, he went to Boston as superintendent of schools and recommended the building of a separate primary schoolhouse.

There was much experimentation with different schemes of grading. Many of the New England cities and towns were organized at one time on a three-year basis for each of the separate divisions—primary, grammar, and secondary. By 1885, the elementary school had been extended in most cities to eight grades and the high school to four grades. This 8-4 plan became quite common in all parts of the country by 1900, although there were many individual variations from it.

The kindergarten. At the time that the infant school was added to the public school system at Boston in 1818 there was probably very little expectation, if any, that the school system would be extended still further downward. Yet, in 1860, Miss Elizabeth Palmer Peabody started the first English-speaking kindergarten in Boston. This school was a private enterprise, but its influence spread and led to the addition of the kindergarten as a part of the public school system in many areas. It is to the credit of Superintendent William T. Harris, of St. Louis, that the first public school kindergarten in the United States was opened in that city in 1873.

The kindergarten idea arose with Froebel in Germany, where the first permanent institution of this kind was established in 1840. Because of his own unpleasant boyhood, Froebel decided to devote his attention to the education of young children. The principle of self-activity and individual expression dominated the work of the kindergarten. So concerned was Froebel with creating a school free from the influence of the formal elementary school of the time that in writing to a friend about establishing a school he said, "I shall not call this an infant school because I do not intend the children to be schooled, but to be allowed under the gentlest treatment to develop freely." Many of Froebel's principles and practices have been rejected or modified in the modern kindergarten, but to him goes the credit for the initial development of the kindergarten movement.

The kindergarten movement was introduced to our country with the immigrants from Germany to America after the Prussian Revolution in 1848. As early as 1855 Mrs. Carl Schurz, a student of Froebel and wife

of the celebrated German-American statesman, opened the first American kindergarten in Watertown, Wisconsin. Other German-speaking communities soon established kindergartens. The German language, however, was the vehicle of expression in these schools. It was not to these German kindergartens that the kindergarten movement owed its development in America, but rather to Miss Peabody who established the first English-speaking kindergarten in Boston.

The early kindergartens in the United States, following Miss Peabody's idea, were mostly private enterprises. But, by 1890, philanthropic associations began to maintain kindergartens in the larger cities. It was at this time that many cities began incorporating the unit as a part of the public school system. Since 1900, the movement for public kindergartens has grown rapidly. In 1930, close to three-quarters of a million pupils were enrolled in this type of institution. Between 1930 and 1942, the enrollment dropped to slightly more than 625,000. The decrease was due to the economy program instituted in many city systems by either eliminating the kindergarten or raising the entrance age. Most school systems will not admit children until they are five years old. There are still many private kindergartens in operation.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Secondary education in America dates back to the Latin grammar school of the Colonial period and its successor, the academy, which flourished until the middle of the 19th century. Both of these institutions met a social need of the times. The academy had served the demands of the people by expanding its curriculum when the Latin grammar school had confined its instruction to the college preparatory subjects. The academy also attempted to meet the demand for the education of girls. In addition, it made a very useful contribution to society by supplying through its graduates teachers for the elementary schools. But the academy was supported primarily by tuition fees and was not attended by the children of the less favored economic classes. The significance of the academy led slowly but surely to the demand for free public high schools open to the children of all classes. With the foundation of a system of common schools laid by 1830, attention was turned to the establishment of public high schools during the latter half of the century.

The public high school movement. The first public high school, known as the English High School, was established in Boston in 1821. The program of studies provided for three years of instruction and consisted of composition, reading, literary criticism, declamation, logic, forensic discussions; arithmetic, algebra, geometry, plane trigonometry, navigation, surveying, mensuration; ancient, modern, and United States history; and natural, moral, and political philosophy. Only boys were admitted. This school served as a model for other cities in New England. Portland, Maine, also established a high school the same year. Worcester, Massachusetts, followed with a Female High School in 1824.

Educational historians agree that the impetus for the high school movement began with the enactment of the Massachusetts law of 1827 which required every city, town, or district of 500 families or more to establish a public high school. It appears that this law exerted a strong influence on shaping legislation in the other states.

The growth of high schools was very slow previous to the Civil War. New England, with Massachusetts leading, was at the head of the movement. The western states soon followed, but the southern states did not feel the challenge until sometime after the Civil War. Up to 1850 the academy was the dominating institution, even in the New England and western states. Figures on the number of high schools in the country in the early history of the movement are very conflicting. It has been estimated that by 1860 there were anywhere from 100 to over 300 high schools in the United States. According to more accurate reports, there were 2,500 high schools in 1890, and at least 6,000 by 1900.

The struggle to establish and maintain high schools at public expense was not easily won. Certain groups objected to being taxed for the support of free high schools just as they had objected previously to being taxed to support free common elementary schools. The academy was supported by influential people, and thus was strongly intrenched in many communities. As a result, with the exception of Massachusetts, early state legislation simply permitted the establishment of high schools, and when it finally became mandatory, its legality was often questioned in court. The Kalamazoo case in 1874 is probably the best known of all the test cases. The city of Kalamazoo, Michigan, had established a public high school in 1872 and levied the taxes necessary for its support. A citizen of the community challenged the action of the city of Kalamazoo and took the issue to court. Both the lower court and the Supreme Court of

Michigan sustained the action of the city in extending the school system to include the public high school. This decision went far in quieting those who questioned the legality of the free public secondary school.

AMERICAN COLLEGES IN THE 19th CENTURY

It will be recalled that by 1800 there were between 25 and 30 colleges in America. Of the nine colleges established before the American Revolution, only one was a nondenominational institution. After the Revolution, more nonsectarian institutions arose, but the religious influence was still strong in the older institutions and even in the newly created schools. The curriculum of these early colleges was very limited, women were not admitted, and the management of the schools, for the most part, was privately controlled. But the social necessity of higher education became so apparent in the early part of the 19th century that a rapid increase resulted in the number of both private and public colleges and universities.

The Dartmouth College case. When the value of higher education for the future of the nation became recognized, an attempt was made to exert public control over the colleges in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, and Pennsylvania. One of the classic test cases, known because of its influence on the whole college movement, was the Dartmouth College case in 1819. The legislature of New Hampshire attempted to change Dartmouth College, which had obtained its original charter in 1769, into a state institution, but the Supreme Court of the United States, after listening to the arguments of Daniel Webster, decided that the charter of a private corporation could not be impaired by an act of the legislature. The effects of this decision were twofold: First, impetus was given to the establishment of private colleges because their charters guaranteed them freedom from political interference; and second, the pressure for the creation of state universities was increased. But the movement for state supported and controlled institutions did not proceed with the same degree of acceleration.

Growth of colleges. By 1830, there had been about 75 colleges, both private and public, established in the United States. In 1860, this number had increased to 250, and in 1890, there were approximately 500 institutions of higher learning. The number of colleges continued to increase

well into the present century. At present, there are more than 1,700 universities, colleges, professional schools, and normal schools in operation, but approximately only 1,200 are degree-granting institutions. The extent to which philanthropy has served in nurturing colleges and universities in this country can be inferred from the fact that less than 35 per cent of our higher education institutions are now under public control.

The state university idea developed slowly. Probably the first state university charter was granted by Georgia in 1784, although the university did not open its doors until some 15 years later. North Carolina followed the example of Georgia by granting a state university charter in 1789. North Carolina was the first to offer instruction at a state institution in 1795. Not more than 17 states had established state universities by 1860. The greatest growth in state universities came after 1885. Early influences laying the groundwork for this development were the Ordinance of 1787, which set aside two townships in every state for university purposes, and the Morrill Act of 1862, which provided for the gifts of land to the states for the establishment of colleges to offer instruction in the mechanical arts and agriculture. The second Morrill Act of 1890 further contributed to the movement by providing for grants of money to maintain instruction in the school established.

By the close of the 19th century, America had developed a system of public education starting with the primary school and ending with the state university. Nevertheless, while equal educational opportunity prevails in theory, even today we have far to go before it is achieved in practice.

REORGANIZATION OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

At the beginning of the 20th century, the public high school was firmly established as a part of the public school system. The elementary school was usually eight years and the high school four years in length. There was, however, much dissatisfaction among educational leaders with the way the 8-4 plan of school organization was functioning. Articulation between the two divisions was poor. The work in the seventh and eighth grades in the elementary school and that in the high school overlapped each other. This constituted a waste in time that was reflected when the student later entered college. As a result, the colleges did not find graduates from the high schools prepared for advanced instruction and they

had to complete the students' general education. This postponed the entrance to specialization or professional education by at least two years. President Eliot of Harvard in 1888 was among the first to recommend that the prevailing school organizations be revised. The reports of committees appointed to study the problems soon followed.

Committee recommendations. The Committee of Ten reporting in 1893 recommended that certain subjects, such as algebra, geometry, natural science, and foreign languages, then taught in the high school, should be introduced in the upper elementary grades, or "the secondary school period should be made to begin two years earlier than at present, having six years instead of eight for the elementary school period." This was the inception of the junior high school idea.

In 1899, the Committee on College Entrance Requirements, appointed by the National Education Association, recommended that the problem of articulation "can be solved most wisely and surely by making the seventh and eighth grades parts of the high school." In other words, elementary and secondary education should be reorganized into two six-year periods. The National Education Association continued to help in the solution of the problem by appointing a Committee of Five which issued three consecutive reports in 1907, 1908, and 1909. The last report suggested the advisability of a six-year secondary school. By this time the reorganization movement was more than a plan; it was actually becoming translated into practice. The six-year secondary school was, however, divided into a three-year junior high school and a three-year senior high school. Meanwhile, the growth of public high schools was increasing at a phenomenal rate. By 1910, there were more than 10,000 high schools, enrolling close to 1,000,000 pupils.

Growth of the reorganization movement. There is some difference of opinion as to when the first junior high school was established. It is reported that Columbus, Ohio, was the first to organize a junior high school in 1908, followed by Berkeley and Los Angeles, California, in 1909 and 1910 respectively. The reorganization movement has enjoyed a sustained growth up to the present time. In 1922 only 11 per cent of the high schools were functioning on a reorganized basis, but at the present writing close to 30 per cent of the schools are of the reorganized type. That the movement for reorganization has made more progress in urban cen-

ters is evidenced by the fact that about one-half of the pupils enrolled in public high schools are attending reorganized schools.

The junior college. The problem of reorganizing the school system resulted not only in extending the secondary school downward to include the seventh and eighth grades of the elementary school but also in extending it upward to embrace the first two years of college. Both of these changes arose out of the dissatisfaction with the way the American school system was functioning at the beginning of the 20th century. But the movement for extending the secondary school upward was slow in getting under way. The first public junior college was established in 1902 in the Township High School at Joliet, Illinois, although the Decatur Baptist College in Texas had been reorganized as a private junior college in 1898. Not much progress had been made in the general movement for junior colleges until toward the close of the first decade in the 20th century.

Shortly after the opening of the University of Chicago, President Harper, in 1902, submitted a report on a proposed plan of reorganization in which he recommended, among other things, that the secondary school be extended to include the first two years of college. In 1907, California passed permissive legislation enabling the high schools to add junior college departments, and this unit was established in the secondary school at Fresno in 1910. Further impetus was given to the whole reorganization movement by the Committee on Economy of Time, appointed by the National Education Association. In its final report in 1913, it suggested a six-year elementary school, a six-year secondary school, and a two-year college, followed by a four-year university devoted to graduate and professional courses. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, reporting in 1918, recommended a six-year elementary school and a six-year secondary school that may be divided into a junior and a senior high school, and, in addition, suggested the extension of the secondary school to include the junior college under the auspices of the local district whenever funds permitted.

Growth of the junior college. While the establishment of junior colleges began before the creation of junior high schools, the rate of growth of the former institutions lagged relatively in the general reorganization movement. By 1920, however, more than 150 junior colleges had been

established in the United States. Since 1920, the organization of junior colleges has gone on at a rapid pace. In 1947, there were 648 such institutions in operation with an attendance of 294,425 students. Two hundred and sixty-nine of these schools were publicly controlled.[1]

Experimenting with further reorganization. Where the junior college has been added to the existing school organization and considered a part of the secondary school, it has been chiefly a distinct two-year unit and has not resulted in a reorganization of the junior and senior high schools. Several western cities have been experimenting with the reorganization of the secondary school into two four-year units, the first of which would include grades 7, 8, 9, and 10, and the second of which would embrace grades 11, 12, 13, and 14. This form of reorganization would result in a 6-4-4 plan. It is contended by the proponents of the plan that such organization is better suited to physical, intellectual, and social development of the young people in this stage of growth, and it makes possible a more effective arrangement of their educational experience. It is assumed, of course, that there would be a complete reorganization of the curriculum. The University of Chicago is now organized on the 6-4-4 plan. It also awards the bachelor's degree to those students successfully completing the work of the 14th grade, which is equivalent to the end of the second year of college on the old plan. The innovation of granting the bachelor's degree after only two years of work, on what has been known traditionally as the college level, has provoked a lively controversy among college and university educators. How far this movement will go will depend upon the outcome of the present experiments.

THE PROBLEM OF ARTICULATION

Although the political, economic, and religious ideals of the early settlers in America were at variance with the established practices of their native lands, nevertheless, it was to be expected that European social ideals and institutions would exert a strong influence upon educational theory and practice in America. Since the schools in Europe were organized in terms of the classes in society according to their economic and social conditions, this tendency persisted for a long time. In Europe, the elementary or common school was intended for the children of the poorer classes,

[1] Long, Winifred R., and Sanders, Shirley, "Junior College Directory, 1947," *Junior College Journal*, January, 1947.

who would eventually enter the occupations on the lower economic and social levels. Other schools were provided for the children who were more favored economically and who were to become the leaders. Transferring from one school to another was almost an impossibility.

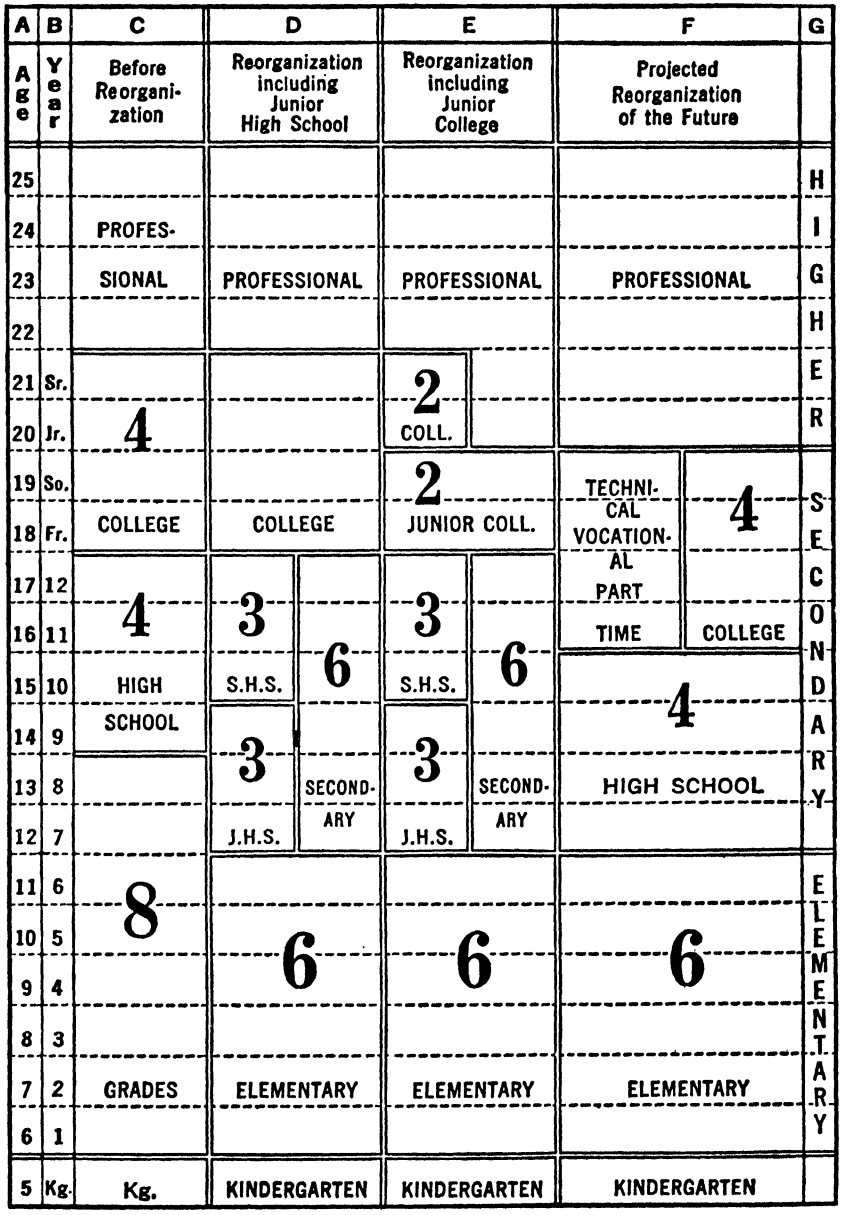
Articulation of schools in America. We find that the early elementary school in America was a separate institution and did not articulate with the Latin grammar school, even though the latter school was generally considered a public institution. The articulation of the academy was no better. It included in its program many subjects that were taught in the upper grades of the elementary schools as well as the more advanced work taught by the colleges of that period. The first public high schools were not organized with regard to either the elementary school or the college. They admitted pupils by examination, and they made no pretense at preparing for college. Later, however, the high schools fell under the domination of the colleges. The colleges admitted students by examination, which, until the middle of the 19th century, gave little consideration to the work taken by the student in high school. It was not until the latter part of the 19th century that the practice of admitting students to college upon evidence of having completed satisfactorily the work of the high school was instituted. There are indications that the domination of the high school program by the college is on the decline. The experiment sponsored by the Progressive Education Association in which 250 colleges freed 30 secondary schools from the conventional entrance requirements for the purpose of the investigation is a good omen. The final results of this research would seem to point to a decrease in the influence of college entrance requirements upon the high school program of studies.

Conclusion. This chapter has pointed out some of the more significant developments in the evolution of the American school system. The system did not develop from the first as a series of closely related units, but each unit arose out of the desire of the people for educational opportunity for the masses at public expense. Therefore, it took many years to build an organization of schools peculiar to American culture and social ideals.

Professors Myers and Williams have constructed a chart,[2] reproduced below, which shows graphically the changes which have taken place, as well as the incipient developments in the organization of the schools of

[2] Myers, Alonzo F. and Williams, Clarence O., *Education in a Democracy*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937, p. 5.

the United States. This chart conveniently summarizes the discussion of this chapter.



Changes in organization of the schools of the United States

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Trace the development of secondary education in the United States, showing the influence of social and economic conditions on the movement.
2. Why was education in our early history not recognized as a public responsibility?
3. Summarize the contribution that Thomas Jefferson made to public education.
4. How was education for the children of the poor provided for before the development of free public education?
5. What were the most important issues involved in the struggle for free public schools in the 19th century?
6. How did the monitorial schools in the United States contribute to the growth of the free public movement?
7. What conditions were responsible for the demand for the reorganization of the units in our educational system? What direction does the reorganization movement take at present?

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Chapter Nine

SOCIAL TRENDS AND EDUCATION

IN THE PRECEDING two chapters some attention has been given to the theory of public school education and how the school as an institution developed. It has been observed also that the schools have changed slowly as the nation has developed, but that they have followed rather than led. Since it seems likely that they are now to become more influential in developing attitudes toward and methods of meeting social changes, what are some of the major changes about which teachers are likely to need orientation?

Since organized public education has its roots in the culture of the people, we may be sure that a period of fundamental social reconstruction will give rise to educational changes. Inasmuch as the school is an agent of society, it would appear that changes in the social order should be reflected at once in the educational program. In the past, as we have noted, considerable time has elapsed before the impact of social change has been felt by the program and activities of the school. The curriculum has been relatively static while society has been very dynamic. Lack of articulation between the school and society was the result. The keen interest at the present time in revising the curriculum has developed out of the desire of those interested in education to bring the program of the school abreast of development in American life.

In a previous chapter we commented on a few of the underlying causes for the tardiness of educational change. It was pointed out that the American school was born at a time in our history when the efforts of the pioneering men and women were devoted to the physical conquest of a nation and the environment of the early American was relatively simple. There was no lack of opportunity. Unemployment was unknown. Freedom of the movements of the individual in his search for a livelihood

was in no way limited; free land, rich in natural resources, abounded. Such an environment was favorable for the people to exercise those traits that had caused them to be labeled "nonconformists" in Europe before they came to America.

Thus, it was out of the conjunction of the forces of the virgin environment and the virile and courageous traits of the settlers that the early school developed. The demands of society upon the school were few; its function was mainly to develop the skills of reading, writing, and numbers among the children. The school did not identify itself with the social processes of the time. This conception of the school as performing a special limited service to society became firmly imbedded in the views of the layman and early educator and was responsible for the tremendous lag between social, economic, and political developments in our national life and corresponding modifications in our educational program.

If the processes of American life had remained relatively static, the gap between social change and education would not have become so accentuated. But life did not remain static. The introduction of science and invention to the production and distribution of goods and services brought about rapid and far-reaching changes in our social and economic life, making the processes of living more complex. Starting out slowly at first but gaining momentum rapidly toward the close of the 19th century with a sharp acceleration up to the present, the industrialization of American life changed markedly the social and economic conditions in the community. But the school for many decades remained much the same.

The influences responsible for the changing social situation are still at work. The Department of Superintendence Yearbook on *Social Change and Education* has thus summarized "ten trends in American life which the Commission believes are of prime importance to education."

Trend I. Mechanical inventions make possible increased time freed from the production of goods and services required for the maintenance of a given standard of living.

Trend II. Society is today characterized by serious strains due to the failure of many of our institutional forms and practices to keep pace with the recent rapid rate of industrial change.

Trend III. The increasing amount of specialization and division of processes has increased the interdependence among individuals, communities, and nations, and is resulting in an increase of cooperative action.

Trend IV. The growing complexities of modern life are resulting in an increase of large-scale, long-time planning.

Trend V. The machine age reduces the direct personal relationships between producer and consumer and thus tends to increase our dependence upon forms of social control.

Trend VI. With the increasing complexity of society, the source of control of a social agency tends to become more remote from its individual beneficiaries.

Trend VII. The intricacies of social relationships have resulted in the increased use of expert knowledge and trained leadership.

Trend VIII. The growing recognition of individual differences resulting in greater differentiation of the provisions made available to people in a democracy.

Trend IX. The dynamic character of industrial society, the diversity of cultural patterns in modern life, the wider diffusion of knowledge, and the rise of the scientific attitudes are tending to weaken authoritarian and conventional controls over human conduct.

Trend X. The development of social cleavages, both horizontal and vertical, is deepening the strains and tensions in American life.[1]

It must seem apparent to the reader that, if the school is to be a social institution of any consequence, these trends should have serious implications for the educational program. It is impossible to conceive of an educational institution being guided for long by a group oblivious of the significance of the social currents of the time. Regardless of the educator's attitude toward the scope and function of education, the school must feel the impact of social change and respond to changing social needs. Let us analyze several aspects of the more significant trends which seem to have rather definite implications for education.

INCREASING LEISURE TIME[2]

The introduction of machine power in industry, on the farm, in the home, and in the commercial world has been mainly responsible for freeing the individual from the long hours of labor which in the past have been

[1] Department of Superintendence, *Social Change and Education*, Thirteenth Yearbook, 1936, pp. 13-25.

[2] The data in this chapter were drawn mainly from the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933, and *The Economic Almanac for 1944-45* of the National Industrial Conference Board.

necessary to maintain a given standard of living. It has been authoritatively said that the normal work week in American industry has decreased by 20 hours in the last 50 years. The business depression of 1930 tended initially to increase the hours of work, but the trade codes in 1933 under the N.R.A., which was later declared illegal by the Supreme Court, seem to vary around the 40-hour week. The Wages and Hours Act in 1938 fixed the maximum work week at 44 hours during the first year, 42 hours during the second year, and 40 hours thereafter. The National Resources Planning Board in 1941 set the 40-hour week and the 50-week year as one of our post-war objectives for workers in mines, factories, transportation, or offices. The hours of labor on the farm and in the home have been shortened as well.

This newly found leisure time has been spent in many ways. Some communities have provided, at public and private expense, facilities for outdoor and indoor sports, games, and other play activities. The commercial world has seen the opportunity and provided professional sports, motion pictures, radios, and other forms of amusements. It is thought that at least one-fourth of the use of automobiles is for recreational purposes. A recent estimate has placed the total annual national expenditure for recreation at more than $10,000,000,000.

From the foregoing evidence it would seem then that machine power has reduced the hours of work and that an attempt is being made to provide some form of recreation for the leisure hours of the American people. But at the same time the machine has changed the nature of work.

In early times the people worked long hours on the farm, in their shops, and at their crafts and trades. They did, however, derive much of their recreation from the pursuit of their vocations. The craftsman saw the raw material through to the finished product. He derived aesthetic satisfaction from the application of his skill. His social amusements were for the most part simple and inexpensive, revolving around the home and the local community.

With the introduction of the machine, labor in industry and the commercial world took on a different complexion. The processes in the large industrial plant became well standardized; the worker performed at high speed one of a series of minor operations in the production of the goods. While the hours of labor were shorter, the nature of the work was nerve-exhausting because of its deadly routine. It tended to lead the worker in

his leisure time to the form of recreation that compensated in part for the dulling effects of his vocation.

What is the school's responsibility to the community in providing for a socially wholesome use of time that the machine has freed from occupational pursuit? Surely, if the economic organization of a country is such that the workers have leisure time, the educational institutions should prepare the children to make worthy use of it. Other social institutions concerned with the formation of character must also assume some responsibility. Otherwise leisure may become a social menace.

It would seem that the school must provide recreation facilities that are notoriously lacking at present, particularly in our urban centers. More emphasis should be placed on those wholesome activities in which all the students can participate. Less emphasis should be placed on the highly competitive sports and more attention given to those play activities in which the individual must cooperate with the rest of the group. The program should be so organized that the student will have the opportunity under wise guidance to develop interests and hobbies that will permit him to exercise his special abilities. He should have the opportunity to develop discrimination in the selection of amusements that the commercial world holds before him. Intellectual tastes and appreciations should be developed in the choice of literature, moving pictures, drama, music, and art. Finally, the program should develop out of and revolve around contemporary American life so that the individual's occupation will have more significance for him.

CHANGING OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS

A significant social trend has developed from the changing occupations in our industrial and economic life. The speed of this movement increases with the progressive introduction of the methods of science and invention. While the nature of the occupations of people began changing far back in history, it was not until after the close of the Civil War that America began to feel the terrific impact of occupational change. The nature of occupational pursuits in America was changing slowly as the country expanded after the Revolutionary War, but beginning about 1870 the economic and industrial developments became accelerated far beyond the tempo of the preceding 100 years. With the large-scale development of our national resources, the nature of the work of those gainfully em-

ployed began to change. As the industrial world became geared to high speed mass production, abrupt changes took place in the occupational pattern. The demand for workers in different occupations fluctuated violently. This shifting occupational pattern has continued to the present. The introduction of machine power in industry and agriculture, the increase of inventions affecting our modes of living, the expansion of communication and transportation facilities, and the movement toward the concentration of people geographically, resulting in urbanization, have been primarily responsible for the changing occupational scene.

To learn the extent of the shift in the gainfully employed from one occupation to another one needs only to observe what has happened in the occupation of agriculture. The National Industrial Conference Board has estimated that in 1900 approximately one-third of all gainful workers were then engaged in agricultural pursuits, while in 1944 this proportion has been reduced to less than one-sixth. However, regardless of our great industrial expansion since 1900, manufacturing employed in 1944 only a slightly larger per cent of the working population than it did in 1900.

The population of continental United States in 1946 has been estimated by the U. S. Bureau of the Census at 140,386,000 people. Approximately 53,800,000 of these persons were engaged in gainful employment and 2,500,000 were unemployed. In addition to the civilian labor force of 56,300,000 persons there were about 4,300,000 men and women in the armed forces. Therefore, the potential labor force of 60,000,000 persons constituted more than 43 per cent of our population in 1946. There are two significant facts embedded in this quantitative picture. First, the number of women gainfully employed has been increasing steadily. In 1900 only 18.3 per cent of the labor force were women, but 29.1 per cent of all workers were women by 1946. During one of the war years, 36 per cent of the labor force were women. Secondly, the number of children engaged in gainful employment has decreased to less than 5 per cent of the labor force.

A question arises as to the nature of the occupations to which the working population has turned for employment. An examination of the data revealing the distribution of persons gainfully employed shows that there has been an increasing proportion of workers from 1870 to 1946 shifting to the following occupations: trade and transportation, clerical service, public service, and professional service; in other words, from manual activities to white-collar positions.

Another distinct trend in the shifting occupational scene is the growth of specialization. The processes of industry, trade, and commerce have become so complicated and expansive that specialized knowledge and skill are required of the workers. As a result, the major occupations are composed of groups of highly specialized workers within each occupation.

What are the implications of the changing occupations patterns for the school? With the wide variety of occupations to choose from, it would seem that there should be more stress in our educational program upon furnishing the kind of guidance that will enable the student to find himself finally in an occupational pursuit in which he not only will be an effective worker but from which at the same time he will derive personal satisfaction. There are two fundamental requirements for such a guidance program. First, the student will be placed in the position where he will not only acquire pertinent information from books and literature about the several occupations and their requirements, but, in addition, he will have the opportunity to get a realistic picture of the nature of the work by direct observation of those engaging in it. In the second place, the student should be guided into making a critical self-analysis of his personality traits, abilities, and disposition in relation to his probable success and personal satisfaction in participating in a particular occupation.

Those persons responsible for the guidance function—supervisors, counsellors, and teachers—will need to be conversant with occupational conditions and trends. Only by being fully informed can the student select his life's work, aware of the probable demands for his services, the prerequisites of his chosen work in terms of personal characteristics, and the working conditions involved. The main responsibility for offering this guidance service must necessarily fall upon the teachers. The average teacher will need to be much better prepared for his guidance responsibilities than he is today if he is to be effective in this phase of his work. The vocational orientation that the student receives will never be adequate until all teachers are prepared to take their part in the guidance program.

It also appears that occupational changes hold some definite implications for the kind of vocational education provided by the school. In view of the trend toward specialization and the lessening demand for, and in fact almost complete extinction of, certain hand crafts, it seems that more emphasis should be placed on the development of the more general fundamental skills, information, and attitudes that will enable the indi-

vidual to adapt himself to change in the methods of his work. The development of highly specialized skills peculiar to certain kinds of occupational endeavor should receive less emphasis. The processes are so complex and skill and information required are so highly specialized in many forms of industrial, trade, and commercial activities that they must be learned on the job. If those persons unemployed during the depression years of the 1930's had been given the benefit of a program of vocational education that would have enabled them to adjust themselves to the demands of the changing occupational scene, the problem of reabsorbing them in gainful work in war industries would not have presented the difficulties that it did in the early 1940's.

HEALTH

Among the many responsibilities of a country to its inhabitants, that of caring for the physical and mental health of its people is of major importance. The task of providing an environment in which the people can live with the greatest protection from disease, injury, and emotional distress; in which adequate medical aid will be available to the unfortunate; in which the young will be educated in the healthful practices of living and, at the same time, develop the disposition to utilize the results of medical knowledge and skill, is of tremendous proportion. That this country has made remarkable progress toward the discharge of its responsibility cannot be denied. It has been estimated that there are at least one and one-half million persons in the United States occupied full-time with the care of the sick and the promotion of health. The total cost of medical care in 1946 was approximately $4,500,000,000. Within the past 30 years the average age at death has increased and infant mortality has decreased. The number of clinics and hospitals has increased, and public and private health services have developed and expanded. Yet, in spite of the progress in furnishing health services, many persons are still suffering from diseases and disabled by physical defects which are, to a great extent, preventable. The cost to the nation occasioned by needless death, physical disability, and reduced personal efficiency because of poor health is staggering. The tragedy of it all is that knowledge is available that could prevent much of the suffering and needless death.

The major part of the burden for the deplorable condition in the health of the nation should be attributed to the lack of organization among the

individuals and agencies providing health and medical services. The uneven distribution of medical service throughout the country is well known. In addition, the cost of medical care fluctuates from community to community. People on the lower income levels cannot afford the medical attention that they need. Many of the public health agencies do not have the personnel and lack the financial support that is needed in order to be effective agencies for the prevention and care of mental and physical disease.

What is the responsibility of the school in connection with the physical and mental health of the community? In considering this question, it must be admitted at the outset that the school has been slow to recognize its obligation and has been even more tardy in adjusting its program. In the main, the school's effort has been limited to an annual perfunctory medical examination with little follow-up in correcting the defects uncovered; one or two periods a week devoted to health instruction and gymnasium activities; and some emphasis in biology on the care of the body and dietary practices. Many of the physical and mental defects and diseases of adult life could be prevented if proper measures had been taken early in the school life of the afflicted persons. It is probably at this point that the school can make its greatest contribution.

The results of physical examinations administered to draftees for military service in World War II seem to show that approximately 50 per cent of American youth had disabling defects. It also appears that many of the defects that were revealed upon examination for military service were defects that could have been corrected if they had been identified early in the lives of these young people. Surely such a revelation presents a challenge to the school. Health instruction must be individualized to the point that each child's health needs are properly met.

The school should make the student sensitive to his health needs. It is not enough to pass on the existing knowledge relative to health practices, sanitation, and preventive measures. Knowledge advances rapidly, and much of the health information and many of the practices that the child acquires in his early years in school are invalidated by the results of more advanced research by the time that he is in high school. Therefore, the child must be made aware of the tentative nature of the present status of health knowledge and practices and develop a general sensitivity to his health needs that will enable him to benefit from advancing knowledge in the field.

POPULATION

The future of any nation is written largely in the nature and direction of the growth and distribution of its population. That changes in population have far-reaching significance for the institutions of society goes without comment. The rapid growth of the United States finds no parallel in the history of the world. In the last 150 years, 1790-1940, the population has increased from approximately four millions to more than one hundred thirty-one millions. By way of comparison, there are almost twice as many people in greater New York City today as there were in the entire country in 1776.

We cannot, however, take too much solace in this remarkable growth, for there are several obvious tendencies that have been apparent for some time and that carry serious portent. The decennial rate of increase has been slowing down since 1860. The per cent increase for the decade 1860-70, which was about 25 per cent, has declined to 7.2 per cent for 1930-40. If this trend were to continue, it was estimated that the population would reach a maximum of about 158,000,000 by 1980, at which level it would remain more or less stationary.

An outgrowth of the declining rate of growth in our population is the redistribution of the number of persons in the several age groups. The number of persons in the younger population groups has been declining as a result of the restriction of immigration and the lowered birth rate, and the number of persons in the older age groups has been increasing because of the greater birth rate in the last century as well as the increasing average age at death. For example, in 1930 there were 21,431,000 persons between the ages of 45 and 64 and 6,639,000 persons 65 years and over. In 1940 there were 26,730,000 in the age group 45 to 64 and 8,419,000 aged 65 and over. It has been predicted that by 1980 there will be 41,091,000 persons in the age group of 45 to 64 and 22,180,000 persons 65 years of age and over. In a word, the population has been growing older.

The above data on the growth of our population were based on the 1940 census. Since that time new estimates on population trends have been prepared, which would appear to suggest the need to modify the earlier predictions. While the population of the United States is growing more slowly, there was an increase in birth rate in the middle of the last decade and the upturn in number of births was accelerated during

World War II. The more recent analyses of population data show that total population will reach 151,000,000 by 1960 and a population of 190,000,000 in the year 2000 is not impossible.[3]

Another significant development in our population problem has been the greater growth of cities and suburban communities in comparison with the population of the rural areas. In 1900 the rural areas accounted for 60 per cent of our total population, as compared with 44 per cent in 1940. However, between 1930 and 1940 the trend from rural to urban areas has slowed down to such extent that, for the period, the increase in urban population was less than one per cent. This trend carries significant implications for the economic and social institutions in society.

Another aspect of our population problem, which seems to be highly controversial but important, is the question of whether the quality of our population is improving or deteriorating. There are students of eugenics who insist that the difference in birth rate between families on the high intellectual and economic levels and those on the lower levels has definitely resulted in some deterioration.

The present immigration policy of restricting the number of persons coming to the United States relieves us of the pressure of new people entering the country. The problem is now one of determining those persons who are biologically unsound and preventing them from propagating and, at the same time, encouraging an increasing birth rate among the more able intellectually and those in better economic circumstances.

Changes in population trends are soon reflected in school attendance. Many communities affected by these changes need additional school buildings to take care of the increase in school population. In addition, many school districts need to modernize or replace old and obsolete physical plants if they are to provide an appropriate program of education for all the children of their respective communities. With more persons in the older age groups and with changing industrial processes modifying the nature of the several occupations, it will be incumbent upon the school to assume responsibility for re-educating these persons for new types of work. This adult educational program will not be confined to vocational education but will include opportunity for those with leisure to become more socially intelligent.

The great discrepancy between the educational opportunities of the

[3] National Resources Planning Board, *Estimate of Future Population of the United States 1940-2000*, p. 29, August 1943, Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.

child residing in urban and rural areas should be eliminated. The elimination of the small rural schools and the creation of consolidated schools with modern equipment will be helpful in ameliorating this condition. With the adequate and rapid transportation facilities of today, there is little need for a rural child to be denied the same educational advantage of the child living in an urban area.

Much more emphasis should be given to effective preparation for family life and parenthood. It is the expectation of every normal young person to be a parent and a participant in family life. Yet, the school offers very little systematic instruction that relates to this major human activity. The young woman today, a student in the secondary school, frequently finds courses which will enable her to enter gainful employment but no courses which will prepare her for the duties and responsibilities of parenthood and the management of family life.

INCREASING SOCIAL CONTROL

In the early days of America, the economic welfare of the individual depended, for the most part, upon his own initiative and intelligence in coping with the conditions of his environment. The simple necessities of food, clothing, and shelter were his chief concern. Whether the pioneer could maintain a minimum standard of living for his family depended upon his own industry and resourcefulness. Even with the introduction of the artisan and tradesman in the social organization, the immediate circle of those upon whom the individual relied for aid in supplying his basic wants was very small. Adjoining communities were not bound together as they are today; transportation and communication were slow and costly. Each community was self-sufficient in an economic sense. Aside from the influences of natural forces of weather and climate, it had considerable control of its economic welfare.

A growing population and a rapid industrialization, however, have changed the entire picture. The introduction of labor-saving machinery in industry, commerce, and on the farm has been followed by mass production, depletion of our natural resources, and concentration of wealth and economic control in the hands of the few. The development of a corresponding sense of social responsibility has been very slow. Too frequently our resources have been used for selfish reasons to the det-

riment of the larger group. Yet the nation is now bound together in a closely knit economic unit in which the economic welfare of one community, state, or region affects the well-being of the entire country. With this complex and highly interrelated social organization, the individual is no longer master of his economic destiny to the same extent that he was in the early period. His welfare today is subject to those forces over which he, as an individual, has little control.

The full impact of a national policy of planlessness was felt keenly in the early 1930's although many far-sighted social scientists had predicted in advance the logical outcomes of such social trends if they were not redirected. However, with our economic organization almost completely paralyzed, with 15,000,000 persons unemployed, and with the appearance of social disturbance among the most conservative groups of people, it became perfectly obvious that some measures should be taken to control and direct the economic forces so that they would function in the interest of the many.

Corrective and regulatory measures have been initiated by the Federal government to prevent the recurrence of such an economic catastrophe. The attention of the public had become fastened on an evolving program, assuring some measure of social security for those who had been subject to the caprice of economic forces. It has become generally recognized that the direction of the social and economic tendencies that make for the common weal or woe can and should be controlled, that society can, if it so desires, play an important part in controlling its own destiny, and that the government, representing all the people, must be vitally concerned with the security of its constituents.

This country has apparently accepted the challenge. But the extent to which we can achieve our objective depends upon the informed intelligence of the citizens. If we are going to employ democratic processes as the method of social control, the rank and file of our population must be brought to a deeper understanding of what democracy means and the nature of the political, economic, and social issues and problems of contemporary life. Selfish attitudes will need to be replaced by wholesome social ones. The school will have to provide the kind of education that will make the child sensitive to the challenge of contemporary American life and problems. Training in arriving at reasoned judgment from the analysis of social data will be a fundamental part of its program. The functioning of the educational program—teaching, administration, and

supervision—should develop those traits that will transfer to the life of the larger community.

Democracy cannot be achieved by decree. It is successful only in so far as we are intelligent enough to assume the responsibilities it imposes. The school must accept the serious obligation to promote the kind of education that will assure intelligent social control.

Conclusion. In Chapters 7 and 8 we have discussed the place of the school in society and the historical development of education in America. In the present chapter we have emphasized the theme of social change and its effect upon the school. The implications of these major trends and related social movements for educational practice should be understood by the teacher. Unless the teacher has insight into these social developments, he cannot appreciate their significance for education. The school is not an isolated institution; it is subject to all social influences that affect other institutions in society. It is imperative that the teacher understand the responsibility of the school to change its program and practices with emerging social needs.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Enumerate those social trends which, in your judgment, will influence the program of the school to the greatest extent.
2. Why is the school responsible for meeting the problems growing out of increasing leisure?
3. Discuss the educational significance of changing occupational patterns.
4. In what way may the decreasing school population contribute to improving the quality of education in the American public school?
5. How far can the school go in assuming responsibility for the health of the pupils?
6. Explain the nature of the trend toward increasing social control, and point out its implications for education.

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Chapter Ten

EDUCATIONAL THEORISTS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

SOME CONSIDERATION has been given to the theory of the school as a social institution, the historical evolution of the main features of the American system of public schools, and the importance of social trends in shaping educational procedure. We shall now turn our attention to another matter which has shaped and is shaping the organization and procedures in American schools. This influence is that of educational philosophers or theorists. The ideas of educational thinkers have always largely determined the organization and practices of schools both here and abroad. Some familiarity with the work of educational theorists and philosophers and their effect on educational practice is essential for the prospective teacher if he is to have perspective in educational matters.

It has been observed that the early American elementary school was a very crude affair; the materials of instruction were meager; the teachers were ill-equipped; and no attempt was made to classify the students for instructional purposes. Many schools were established and taught by persons with limited educational vision and with little understanding of the social significance of education. In general, the early American common school served a limited function in society. The curriculum consisted mainly of instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic. There seems to be little evidence to show that the school in early American history was held responsible for the social and physical development of the pupil. Its attention to his mental powers was confined to the acquisition of the fundamental skills in the three R's. Such matters as guiding the pupil to develop social attitudes and outlooks were not generally considered to be a part of the school's responsibility.

It was also noted in a previous chapter that there was a decided tendency in our early history to follow the European example of establishing a dual system of education. In the European countries the elementary schools for the humbler classes in society were known as common schools. These schools did not lead to the secondary schools but were self-contained. It was presumed that the common school would provide the educational experiences needed for the life of the common people. The secondary school was designed for the children of the people in the upper social and economic classes. This same tendency to establish parallel schools persisted in early America, as is evidenced by the lack of articulation between the common school and the Latin grammar school. But, by the middle of the 19th century, the trend toward a dual system of schools had been reversed, and the elementary school was articulated with the secondary, thus giving us a unified system of schools leading from kindergarten to college.

EDUCATIONAL IDEAS AND THEORIES

For the most part, the educational ideas of early Americans originated in Europe and, consequently, American schools were patterned after the educational practices that were prevailing there at that time. Well into the 19th century the instruction in the elementary school particularly was of the same form and substance as obtained in the Colonial schools of the 17th and 18th centuries. Since the elementary school was ungraded, individual instruction was a necessity. The number of pupils per teacher was so great that the individual pupil received very little instructional guidance in his school work. Memorization and habituation were the characteristic learning activities. Discipline was rigid and severe. The essential characteristic of the successful teacher was ability to keep order. Many harsh forms of physical punishment were employed unhesitatingly.

During the second quarter of the 19th century there developed a desire for the extension of free common schools by the American people, and in addition a group of educators, growing in power and influence, became greatly concerned with the low status of instruction which prevailed everywhere. The period from about 1830 to 1860 is frequently referred to as the "Common School Revival." The attention of the reader has already been called to the work of Mann, Barnard, and others in the struggle to extend and improve instruction. These men had been influ-

enced in this educational thinking by educational reformers abroad. They represent the first of a developing group of American educational philosophers, who in recent years have assumed leadership in education.

THE INFLUENCE OF CONTINENTAL THEORISTS

Pestalozzi. During the second half of the 19th century, the barren educational practices of the American schools were constructively affected by the ideas of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a German Swiss (1746-1827). As a young man Pestalozzi fell under the influence of Rousseau through the latter's book *Emile,* which was published in Paris in 1762. While the book dealt particularly with the educational conceptions of Rousseau, it represented a reaction against the social, political, and educational formalism of the time. Rousseau rejected the prevailing methods of instruction with their emphasis on memory and their neglect of the physical side of the child's development. He believed that the child should be permitted to develop naturally without the restrictions common in that time.

Accepting Rousseau's idea of the nature of the child and the educative process and believing firmly in the beneficent effects of universal education, Pestalozzi attempted to organize school instruction in conformity with the natural development of the child. His concern for the harmonious development of all the faculties of the child led to radical changes in the organization and activities of the school. His insistence upon sense impression, or learning through the senses, as the foundation of all knowledge led to changes in methods of instruction and to the introduction of new materials in the curriculum. Firsthand investigation and study of the phenomena of the environment took the place, in a large measure, of the method of acquiring information from the printed page. Direct sensory impression supplanted vicarious experience. Less emphasis was placed on memory exercises, which had characterized the work of the school of the time. Pestalozzi rejected the severe disciplinary measures commonly employed, emphasizing instead a gentle but "thinking love" as a method of control. Emphasis upon investigating the natural objects of the environment was the initial step in the introduction of elementary science and local geography as school subjects. A more functional approach was made to the study of language and grammar. More opportunity was given the children to exchange experience through group

discussion. Pestalozzi made a significant contribution to educational theory and practice by socializing and secularizing the work of the early common school.

The ideas of Pestalozzi were brought to America by early students and travelers in Europe, one of whom was William C. Woodbridge, who upon his return published in 1821 a textbook on geography incorporating Pestalozzian methods. Henry Barnard was another educational leader who was impressed with Pestalozzian practices which he observed in Europe while abroad in 1835. Horace Mann also spent some time in 1843 studying the educational systems of the European countries. He was forcefully impressed by the schools of Germany, Prussia particularly, which had embodied the methods of Pestalozzi in its educational practices. It was Mann's comparison of the instructional methods employed by the teachers in Massachusetts with those of Prussia, in his Seventh Annual Report, that provoked his controversy with the Boston schoolmasters. This conflict tended to spread the ideas of Pestalozzi in America.

It was not, however, until after the Civil War that the ideas of Pestalozzi affected school instruction in America to any extent. Considerable credit must go to Edward A. Sheldon, Superintendent of Schools of Oswego, New York, for spreading Pestalozzian practices in America. These schools became an experimental center visited by educators from all parts of the country who, upon returning to their own systems, attempted to introduce Pestalozzian practices. Oswego also became a training center for teachers who were much in demand not only as elementary school teachers but also as instructors in the newly established normal schools. The ultimate influence of Pestalozzi's philosophy in stressing oral expression and the study of natural objects and processes was far-reaching in its effects upon instruction in America. It led to the introduction of elementary science and mental arithmetic, and it changed the methods of instruction in geography, reading, arithmetic, drawing, and music. Many of the Pestalozzian practices, upon further experimentation, were found, however, to be unsound. The assumption that a logical analysis of school subjects into their elements resulted in an organization of school experiences in the form most conducive to learning for the child was not found valid. Many of the practices, however, founded under the name of Pestalozzi by his disciples, were at variance with the true philosophy of Pestalozzi. Much of the formalism that characterized school practice in America was contradictory to the educational principles of

Pestalozzi. In the last analysis, Pestalozzi's greatest contribution to educational theory probably resides in the keen insight he revealed into the nature of the child.

Herbart. Another influence on education in America toward the close of the 19th century was exerted by the educational conceptions of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), who was of German birth and a student of Pestalozzian theory and practice. Although Herbart died in 1841, the fruits of his ideas did not reach America until 1889. It was really a student of Herbart's by the name of Tuiskon Ziller who, in 1865, called the attention of the world to Herbartian thought by writing a book about the latter's educational ideas. Thus it was that Herbartianism did not reach America until several American students of his philosophy returned to their native land at the beginning of the last decade of the 19th century.

Among the American students of Herbart were Charles De Garmo and Charles and Frank McMurry. In 1889 De Garmo published his book, *Essentials of Methods;* in 1892 Charles McMurry published his *General Method;* and in 1897 he collaborated with Frank McMurry in publishing *The Method of the Recitation.* Each of these publications reflected the educational principles of Herbart as the authors had acquired them from Professor William Rein, a disciple of Ziller's at the University of Jena. These books were widely read in America by students of education, and they exerted a profound influence on school practices.

Although Herbart was well acquainted with the work of Pestalozzi and was fully aware of the contribution that the latter had made to education generally, he was not in sympathy with many of the Pestalozzian principles and ideals. He was more concerned with the proper articulation of the school into society than either Pestalozzi or Rousseau. He did not accept the faculty conception of the mind as sponsored by Pestalozzi, who conceived the mind as possessing certain faculties or powers that could be trained to be effective in general, even though the special situations to which they were to be applied had never been met before. He believed that learning was the process of connecting new ideas with the one already acquired. This contention led to the organization of teaching procedures in terms of formal steps. We are indebted to Professor Reisner for the following elaboration of the five formal steps —preparation, presentation, comparison and abstraction, generalization, and application—which are based upon the principles of Herbart and

which became the prevailing pattern of the different phases of recitation for many years:

> The step of preparation was intended to prepare the apperceptive masses of the pupils for the reception of new material and to establish the proper "mind set," as we might say today. As a part of this step the aim of the lesson was to be made clear so that the direction in which the exercise was leading might be plain to all and participated in by all. Under presentation the new information necessary for reaching the meaning which was the objective of the lesson would be introduced. This might be in the form of a story told by the teacher, an assignment in a book or a number of books, or a visual demonstration before the class, or it might follow the "development method" and represent a drawing out from the experience of the class such information as could assist in the discovery of the meaning. With the facts before the class the next phase of the procedure was to establish all sorts of connections among the facts or between what was newly presented and what the children already knew. This step was called comparison and abstraction, and, as its name implied, it was to result in the elimination of incorrect relationships which the pupils may have had in mind, and the clear delineation of the central and valid notion which the exercise was leading up to. Having gained the notion, it was necessary to fix it up in a handy package for compact and easily accessible storage. Accordingly, the class made up a concise formula or definition which expressed in as few words as possible, but comprehensively, the meaning of the lesson. This stage was called generalization or definition. Finally, to make a lasting impression and to guarantee its genuineness, the new notion was put to work, under the caption of application. In other words, the pupils were expected to illustrate or rediscover or otherwise employ the meaning which had been developed in the lesson in some other experience which embodied the same meaning.[1]

Even though the psychology of Herbartianism did not later stand up under critical examination, and the "five formal steps" which his followers had projected from his educational theory became a highly formalized procedure, contrary to the spirit of Herbart, yet the mark of Herbartianism still remains in many of our school practices. Herbart was the first to incorporate in his scheme for organizing instruction recognition of the attitudes and interests of the learner as an essential aspect of learning, even though his conception of attitude and interest is not now accepted. He stressed the necessity of organizing the curriculum so that all the school subjects would tend to be related in the child's experience. His

[1] Reisner, E. H., *The Evolution of the Common School,* The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. 477-478.

educational philosophy exerted a wholesome influence in combating the instructional methods of the American schools, which emphasized rote learning to the neglect of the acquisition of meanings and the understanding of relationships.

Froebel. The third member of the trio of European personalities whose educational ideas contributed to changing school practice in America was Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852). He, like Herbart, was of German extraction. He also had been affected by the work of Pestalozzi, but perhaps to a greater extent than Herbart. He recognized, along with Herbart, that education was a social process, that is, that children learn in a social situation and from each other as well as from the teacher. He emphasized the importance of the learning process in the early years of the child's life, and this interest led to the founding of the kindergarten.

To Froebel the education of the child was the process of guiding his development according to his inner tendencies and powers. It was to be expected, therefore, that the school practices developing out of this conception of the nature of the child would emphasize self-activity, freedom of expression, and play.

Froebel believed in the continuity of a child's life from infancy onward, and that self-activity, determined by the child's interests and desires and intelligently directed, was essential to the unfolding of the child's inborn capacities. His conception of self-activity was quite different from that of Pestalozzi, and a distinct advance over what Pestalozzi had thought out. He saw, more clearly than any one before him had done, the unutilized wealth of the child's world, that the child's chief characteristic is self-activity, the desirability of the child finding himself through play, and that the work of the school during these early years was to supplement the family by drawing out the child and awakening the ideal side of his nature. To these ends doing, self-activity, and expression became fundamental to the kindergarten, and movement, gesture, directed play, song, color, the story, and the human activities a part of the kindergarten technique. Nature study and school gardening were given a prominent place, and motor activity was much called into play. Advancing far beyond Pestalozzi's principle of sense impressions, which, as we have seen under object lessons, was largely passive learning, Froebel insisted on motor activity and learning by doing.[2]

Even though many of the principles and practices of the early kinder-

[2] Cubberley, E. P., *Public Education in the United States,* Revised edition, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934, pp. 458-459.

garten have been found unsound and others have been modified in light of advancing knowledge of the learning process, there is no question but that the philosophy of Froebel tended to have a wholesome effect upon changing the mechanical nature of the American elementary school of the time. The roots of many of the activities of the modern elementary school go back to the educational ideas of Froebel. The kindergarten movement, although slow in getting under way, is now recognized as a definite part of the school program in many cities.

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL THEORISTS

As was to be expected, native American educators were influenced in their educational thinking by the European philosophers. Many influential men studied in Europe. Gradually they began to shape their own theories and practices. Only a few of the most influential can be discussed here.

Parker. Another reaction to the formalism of the American school in the last quarter of the 19th century was that of the native-born Colonel Francis W. Parker (1837-1902). From 1872 to 1875 Parker had studied in Germany, and, as was evidenced by his later activities, was influenced considerably by the thinking and the theories of the European philosophers mentioned in the preceding section. Upon his return he was made Superintendent of Schools in Quincy, Massachusetts, where he aroused attention by his educational reform. In many ways Parker's work at Quincy foreshadowed the changes now taking place in the modern progressive elementary school and, to a limited extent, in the secondary school. He broke down the hard and fast lines between the separate school subjects, such as reading, arithmetic, geography, and others. He was interested in correlating these subjects so that each would make its contribution to the experiences of the child. To him subjects were not ends in themselves; they existed to promote the individual development of the child. He attempted to make the school environment one in which the children entered into the activities because they desired to do so rather than because they were forced to do so by external incentives in the form of marks, awards, and prizes.

In 1883 Parker became Principal of the Cook County Normal School at Chicago, a position which he held until 1899. In this position he ap-

plied the educational philosophy which had characterized his work at Quincy. He reflected the influence of Pestalozzi in his emphasis upon object teaching, of Froebel in his organization of the work of the kindergarten, and of Herbart in his attempt to organize instruction in such a way as to show the relationships between the subject matter of the fields of instruction. His normal school became widely known for its progressive practices. In 1899 he was elected principal of the Chicago Institute, which became a part of the University of Chicago in 1901. There for a short time before his death he became associated with John Dewey and participated in the development of an experimental school at the University of Chicago. Parker, with Dewey, is often credited as being most influential in the development of progressive education and the activity movement in the United States.

Dewey. Another native American whose educational ideas have been more instrumental in molding school practices since 1900 than any other person is John Dewey (1859-). The educational systems of many other countries have felt the influence of his philosophy. He first became known to the educational world through his work in connection with the development of an experimental elementary school at the University of Chicago from 1896 to 1903. At the time that Dewey went to Chicago, interest in Herbartianism was at its peak in the United States. Dewey, however, was not in sympathy with several of the Herbartian ideas, particularly the latter's conception of interest. In 1896 Dewey drew the attention of the students of education by attacking Herbart's intellectualistic conception of interest before a meeting of the National Herbart Society. Herbart believed that the interest of the child would be provided for if the subject matter to be taught connected with the experiential background of the child. He did not emphasize the purposeful element in learning developing out of the child's interaction with the environment. Dewey did not agree with this interpretation of interest.

While it is impossible to condense the philosophy of Dewey into a few statements without doing some violence to the meaning of his educational conceptions, several of his main ideas will be presented here. Dewey conceived the function of the school in a democracy to be concerned with the improvement of society. Accordingly, the school should be a miniature society with the unsocial features eliminated. Therefore, the organization of school life should be patterned after life outside the

school. The activities of the school, however, would not be compartmentalized in terms of the several fields of knowledge but integrated around the needs of the individual as they developed out of his interaction with the environment. The curriculum of the child would consist of the experiences which he has in meeting his needs.

Dewey rebelled against the theory that the school should prepare children for life by developing among them in advance the behavior patterns of the adult world. This "cold storage" conception of education would mean that school activities would be formal and meaningless for the child. And since society changes continuously, preparation for a fixed social order would leave the child always unprepared for the future. Instead, Dewey emphasized the necessity for guiding the child to live richly in the present on his particular level of maturity and for teaching him to solve his problems through training in how to think. He conceived education as a process of development of all aspects of child life—the mental, physical, social, and emotional—and emphasized the need of attention to the all-round development of the child.

Dewey's influence on educational affairs has grown steadily through his prolific writing and the efforts of his interpreters who have studied with him at Columbia University. It was retarded for a time by the scientific movement in education with its emphasis on the application to the social sciences of the techniques of research employed in the physical sciences, which caught the imagination of American educators during the first two decades of the 20th century. But, after the first World War, the validity of Dewey's theory of education became more obvious. His influence on educational practice has grown at a rapid rate. At present, he stands alone as the outstanding educational philosopher of this century.

Thorndike. No matter how brief the survey of the sources from which the influences giving form to our American conception of education have sprung, the name of Edward L. Thorndike (1874-), a contemporary of Dewey, cannot be omitted. His name appears large along with those of James McKeen Cattell, G. Stanley Hall, and William James, who were the first outstanding American psychologists. Thorndike was one of the early advocates of scientific measurement in education. His book, *Mental and Social Measurements,* in 1904, introduced students of education to the idea that both original nature and educational achievement might be measured

with some degree of accuracy. No school in America is today unaffected by the testing movement, of which Thorndike has been called the father. The importance of this movement has been appraised by Reisner as follows:

As is but natural in a development so new as that of mental testing, there has been considerable controversy as to the educational value of such measurements. On the positive side there can be little doubt that the whole enterprise of education has been made more accurate and more intelligent as the result of the new information which has been made available through psychological tests and measurements. It has made possible the grouping of children according to their ability. It has given a check on modes of instruction. It has made possible a statement of minimum essentials for various stages of the school program. On the other hand, complaint has been made that for the things most worth measuring no scale has yet been provided. While the student's ability to add and subtract and spell have been measured with great accuracy, it is said nothing has as yet been provided which enables one to measure the elements of character and appreciation. Some students of education have felt that the main use that has been made of the new psychological measurements has been to reduce to still greater system the old machine-like regime of the schools, which it has been the desire of progressive educators to get away from.[3]

The introduction of scientific technique in all phases of educational research has been far-reaching in its effects. The curriculum of the elementary school especially has been modified, individual differences among children have been described more accurately, and the organization of the school for meeting individual differences has been improved. For these changes and others the bulk of the credit should go to the psychology of Thorndike.

Thorndike's theory of the learning process with its emphasis on the laws of learning seemed to many persons to allow no place for the element of human purpose in controlling behavior. It appeared to many critics that the laws of learning, as stated by Thorndike—readiness, exercise, and effect—left something to be desired as a valid explanation of the real nature of learning. Many instances of learning were pointed out that were at variance with these formulations. As a result, there has been a tendency in some quarters to reject the *laws* completely, not recognizing that there is an element of truth in the laws that cannot be ignored.

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[3] Reisner, E. H., *The Evolution of the Common School*, The Macmillan Company, 1930, pp. 502-503.

When the smoke has cleared away from the educational battles of the present, the leadership of Edward L. Thorndike in the movement to derive a defensible interpretation of the nature of learning will be properly assayed as one of the pioneer movements in education in our times and as significant in education as the scientific movement in physics, chemistry, biology, and astronomy.

But, as has been intimated in the above quotation, there is increasing criticism of the theory of the learning process advocated by Thorndike and of the techniques and devices which were developed to make it function. The Gestalt school of psychology, particularly, is at variance with certain of Thorndike's conceptions. Thorndike, however, is a scientist in attitude and has not been reluctant to modify his ideas of learning as the data of his more recent researches seem to warrant it. He, like other leaders in the educational world, has been grossly misinterpreted by his followers.

Judd. Another contemporary of Dewey and Thorndike whose contribution to American education looms large is Charles H. Judd (1873-1946). Although Judd and Thorndike have disagreed on several psychological issues, both of them are representative of the scientific movement in education. It had been Judd's contention that educational problems should be solved by applying the scientific methods of analysis used in solving problems of the physical world. Judd and his associates at the University of Chicago applied the scientific approach to an investigation of the nature of the reading process. The movements of the eye while reading were first studied and other aspects of the process were investigated, leading finally to an accumulation of reliable information which has modified methods of guiding children in the acquisition of this very important ability. The objective method was also applied in investigating other subjects of the elementary school curriculum.

Judd, throughout a career abounding in educational activities of a variety of kinds, stoutly maintained that every educational problem should be solved by employing the scientific technique. In maintaining this point of view he ably defended the scientific movement against assault and constantly insisted on the necessity of challenging theory with factual investigations to prove or disprove the contentions of the theorists. Nevertheless, he was not a reactionary, but rather a scientific progressive who did much to improve educational practices and raise educational standards throughout America.

Conclusion. It has been impossible in this brief summary of educational ideas and theories to evaluate all the influences which have affected the American school and modified its internal nature and organization. For the most part, the new theories of education discussed in this chapter had most effect in the elementary school. The secondary school, under the domination of the colleges and engaged primarily in preparing students for those institutions, seems to have been, until relatively recently, impervious to any modification of its program. However, since 1930 the educational conception of Dewey has effected changes in the nature of the high school, and even higher education has felt the force of his educational theory.

At the present time the American elementary and secondary schools present a picture of contrasting theories and practices, and all schools are, as they should be, in processes of transition from older to newer practices. As is to be expected during a period of educational reconstruction, inconsistencies exist side by side even in the same school. However, with the increasing acceptance of the point of view that the school should be a dynamic social institution closely related to American life, there seems to be promise that many of the features of school practice now at variance with one another will be eliminated. New data on the nature of children and the learning process will continue to modify educational practices. As in the past, educational theory will explore new frontiers of the mind and a new force—educational science—will furnish the data upon which educational theorists will reconstruct and improve educational practice.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Explain the general educational theory underlying the practice of the common school in the 17th and 18th centuries.
2. In what ways did our early schools follow European models?
3. What were the major issues of the Common School Revival period?
4. How did Pestalozzi's ideas affect American education?
5. What was the Oswego School movement?
6. Criticize Herbart's ideas in light of present educational theory.
7. What was Froebel's contribution to educational practice?
8. Why does Colonel Parker hold a prominent place in education practice in the United States?

9. What do you consider to be Dewey's most distinctive contribution to educational theory and practice?

10. Contrast the contributions of Judd and Thorndike to educational practice in America.

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Chapter Eleven

FINANCING PUBLIC EDUCATION

IN THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS the development of our system of public schools has been treated. Attention has been directed to developing social trends and their influence upon educational practice. The function of the school in meeting these social changes has been emphasized. In the last chapter, the influences of certain educational theorists upon educational practices were appraised. In the present chapter, a systematic treatment of the problem of educational finance and school support will be given. Teachers need to know the fundamental facts of educational finance as perhaps no other citizens need to know them.

The adequate support of public education is one of the most critical problems facing the American people today. If it is important for the layman to be conversant with the financial problems of the school, how much more necessary it is for the teacher to be familiar with the methods and procedures by which school monies are raised and expended. While legal responsibility for financing the local schools is placed in the hands of the school board, the teacher should not assume that the problem of school support is the concern of only school administrators and laymen and of no immediate concern to him. One of the most effective forces in providing adequate school support is to have teachers better informed and more interested in the general problem of financing the schools.

It is of the utmost importance that both teachers and laymen know the facts concerning school support trends in school costs, and financial needs of schools in order that they may help to prevent unjust and unwise estrictions upon school support during periods of economic crisis. The facts concerning financial expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools in the United States will enable the prospective teacher to think intelligently on matters pertaining to the financial support of the schools.

SCHOOL EXPENDITURES AND PROPERTY VALUE

Total expenditure. From a purely financial point of view, education has reached the proportion of "big business" in America. By referring to Table 13, page 198, the reader will obtain at a glance some idea of the magnitude of the financial problem involved in maintaining the schools. There is no more eloquent testimony to the faith of the people in education than the story of school finance. The amounts spent for public elementary and secondary schools have increased in an amazing manner from decade to decade, with the greatest increase from 1910 to 1920 and from 1920 to 1930. The total expenditure for public elementary and secondary schools amounted to approximately $2,500,000,000 in 1944.

Those persons who are critical of all public expenditures, regardless of the purposes for which the money is spent, frequently ask whether the nation can afford to spend so much of its income on public education. This question is asked especially during times of economic stress. Educators have responded to the question by asking whether the nation can afford not to spend as much as it does for education when the welfare of the nation is at stake. It is questionable whether such a reply is a very satisfying one to those persons who think in terms of the amount of money spent, without considering value received.

One way to estimate the adequacy or inadequacy of expenditures for schools is to compare the amount of money spent for education with the amounts spent for other services and commodities when the relative value of each service and commodity is taken into consideration. In 1944 our total national income was estimated to be between 160 and 165 billion dollars. Of this amount $2,452,581,036 was spent for public elementary and secondary education. In the same year it was estimated that approximately $6,250,000,000 was spent for alcholic beverages and tobacco. If you add to this amount the money spent for soft drinks, commercial amusements, beauty parlor services, and other luxuries, it would hardly seem that the nation as a whole is spending too much of its income for educational purposes.

Value of school property. The value of school property, whether adequate or not, has steadily risen. In 1944 the value of elementary and secondary school property in the United States, represented by its investment, amounted to more than $7,500,000,000. More than 46 per cent of the

TABLE 13[1]

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL EXPENDITURES AND PROPERTY VALUE, 1870-1944

YEAR	EXPENDITURE	VALUE OF SCHOOL PROPERTY
1870	$ 63,396,666	$ 130,383,008
1880	78,094,687	209,571,718
1890	140,506,715	342,531,791
1900	214,964,618	550,069,217
1910	426,250,434	1,091,007,512
1920	1,036,151,209	2,409,719,120
1930	2,316,790,384	6,211,327,040
1934	1,720,105,229	6,624,771,206
1938	2,233,110,054	7,115,377,402
1944[2]	7,900,000,000	7,928,129,584

buildings were one-room schoolhouses. Since 1870, the time that data were first available for the entire country, the period of greatest increase in school property was between 1920 and 1930. Regardless of the steady increase in the value of school property since 1870, at present there are many communities in which children are housed in obsolescent buildings, in temporary structures, and in small schools that should be eliminated in favor of larger consolidated schools. That there is still need for additional investment in school property is adequately shown by the undesirable physical conditions of schools in many areas.

Expenditures per individual. So far our attention has been focused upon the cost of public education in the aggregate. As expenditures for, and investment value in education from decade to decade are compared, some comprehension of the magnitude and trend of the educational enterprise from a financial point of view may be obtained. The totals are so large, however, that they convey little meaning to one unacquainted with such data. Perhaps a more concrete idea of school costs may be obtained from a consideration of expenditures in terms of the individual.

[1] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38,* Chapter II, Bulletin, 1940, No. 2, p. 72.

[2] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: *Statistics of State School Systems, 1942-44,* Chapter II, Table 1, p. 14.

TABLE 14[3]

PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL EXPENDITURE PER INDIVIDUAL, 1870-1944

YEAR	EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR PER CAPITA OF POPULATION	EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE ATTENDANCE	EXPENDITURE PER DAY FOR EACH PUPIL ATTENDING
1870	$ 1.64	$ 15.55	11.8 cents
1880	1.56	12.71	9.7
1890	2.24	17.23	12.8
1900	2.84	20.21	14.0
1910	4.64	33.23	21.1
1920	9.80	64.16	39.6
1930	18.87	108.49	62.8
1934	13.54	76.22	44.4
1938	17.15	99.70	57.3
1944[4]	17.76	124.67	71.0

A study of Table 14 shows a definite trend in the direction of increasing expenditures through 1930 for public education in terms of the individual. The amount spent for each individual in the country for public elementary and secondary schools grew from $1.56 in 1880 to $18.87 in 1930 and then declined to $13.54 in 1934, followed by an increase to $17.76 in 1944. The costs per year for each pupil in average daily attendance increased from $12.71 in 1880 to $108.49 in 1930 and then decreased to $76.22 in 1934, followed by an increase to $124.67 in 1944. The cost per pupil for each day in attendance ranged from 9.7 cents in 1880 to 62.8 cents in 1930, declining to 44.4 cents in 1934 and increasing to 71.0 cents in 1944. These figures seem very modest when considered in light of the services that society expects and receives from the school.

SOURCES OF SCHOOL SUPPORT

Some knowledge of the sources of school support is essential if the teacher is to be informed concerning the financing of public education.

[3] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38,* Chapter II, Bulletin, 1940, No. 2, p. 72.

[4] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1942-44,* Chapter II, Table 1, p. 15.

The revenue for the maintenance of the system of public education is derived from Federal, state, and local sources. The extent to which each of these units participated in the support of public elementary and secondary schools during recent years may be observed in Table 15.

TABLE 15 [5]

PER CENT OF PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL INCOME FROM FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL SOURCES, 1930-1944

UNITS OF GOVERNMENT	1930	1932	1934	1936	1938	1940	1944[6]
Federal	.4	.4	1.2	.5	1.2	1.7	1.4
State	16.9	19.8	23.4	29.3	29.5	30.3	33.0
Local	82.7	79.8	75.4	70.2	69.3	68.0	65.6

It is to be noticed the the Federal government's contribution to the total support of public education is almost negligible. The data showing the extent of Federal aid to the individual states for 1945 reveal the income from Federal sources in forty-two states was less than 5 per cent. In fact, the schools' income from the Federal government was less than one per cent of the total public elementary and secondary school income in nineteen states. In only seven states did Federal aid amount to 4 per cent or more of the schools' income. The state of South Carolina received 12.0 per cent, which represented the peak contribution of the Federal government to any state.[7]

There is a pronounced tendency for the state to assume a large proportion of the financial responsibility for the schools, thereby lightening the burden of the local unit. While this trend is well defined for the nation as a whole, there is wide variation among the states. According to recent data, the schools in eleven states received more than 50 per

[5] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38,* Chapter II, Bulletin, 1940, No. 2, p. 30.

[6] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1942-44,* Chapter II, Table VIII, p. 8.

[7] Reports prepared for the Research Division, National Education Association, on *State School Finance Systems,* 1945.

cent of their elementary and secondary school income from state sources. In six states the schools received less than 10 per cent. The contribution of the remaining states ranged between 10 and 50 per cent.[8]

In terms of the average for the country, the per cent of income the local units derived from state sources has increased from 16.9 per cent in 1930 to 33.0 per cent in 1944. There is, therefore, a distinct national trend toward the states' assuming a greater share of the responsibility for supporting education in the local communities. This trend, however, has not developed in all states, but it is believed that in the future the trend toward state and Federal support of schools must continue if equal educational opportunity for all citizens is to be realized.

SPECIFIC SOURCES OF SCHOOL SUPPORT

Where does the money used within the states for the support of public schools come from? In the present section we shall describe the methods of raising funds and distributing funds for school support. Revenue for the support of public education within the states is derived chiefly from direct taxation and from appropriations from general funds. In addition, there is some revenue supplied from such sources as the permanent school funds of the several states; leasing school lands; Federal aid, to which reference has already been made; and subsidies from education foundations. All of the aforementioned sources and other minor revenue receipts amount to about 5 per cent of the total expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools. The remaining 95 per cent is raised by direct taxation and by appropriations from general funds.

Sources of state school revenue. The states differ considerably among themselves in the sources from which they derive their revenue for the support of the public schools. In the early history of public education, the local community and state depended upon the general tax on real property to raise sufficient revenue for school purposes. With the emergence of new forms of wealth in our economic structure, the property tax became increasingly more difficult to administer. Attention was then directed to other forms of wealth such as mortgages, stocks, bonds, and investments to supplement the income from the tax on property. Changes are taking place in our tax system with each meeting of the state legisla-

[8] *Ibid.*

tures; therefore, any survey of present practices in the several states is reliable only for the time at which it is made.

A survey[9] of the sources from which the states derive their share of the school revenue shows that the tax on property, definitely allocated to the support of education, is still employed in thirteen states. But in addition to this number, other states use the property tax to raise revenue for the state general fund out of which legislative appropriations are made for state aid. Apparently the general property tax is still a substantial factor in providing revenue for the state for educational purposes.

Of the other forms of taxes levied by the state and specifically earmarked for school purposes, the income and sales taxes upon commodities such as tobacco, liquor, gasoline, and the like, in one form or the other, are most frequently employed. In 1945, thirteen states taxed personal or corporation incomes, the receipts from which were designated in whole or in part for the support of the schools in those states. The income tax also contributed indirectly to the support of public education in some states through legislative appropriation from the general fund, the revenue of which was raised in part by a levy on personal incomes.

Even though the general sales tax, or tax upon commodities in general, is not considered to be an equitable method of raising revenue, it has proved to be an unusually stable source of income. For this reason many states turned to this form of taxation in the years of our economic difficulties in the 1930's. It now appears that about one-fourth of the states employ the genera sales tax to raise funds which are earmarked in whole or in part for the support of the schools. Educators do not look upon this form of tax as a desirable source of school support.

The emphasis upon the general sales tax developed out of the economic crisis in the 1930's, but the selective sales tax, a tax upon specific commodities, was not essentially a depression measure even though it was employed with more frequency after 1930. It has been estimated that one-fourth of the states were using the selective sales tax in 1945 to raise funds from which the schools benefited in whole or in part. This form of taxation is not a stable source of revenue since consumers may decrease their use of the commodities taxed, when it is applied.

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[9] Data on tax sources were obtained from Research Bulletins, National Education Association: *State School Finance Systems,* Volume XX, No. 5, November, 1942, and reports prepared for the Research Division on *State School Finance Systems,* 1945.

There are other sources to which the several states have resorted to produce revenue that is in whole or in part allocated to the public schools. Among these is the severance tax on oil, coal, and other minerals. This is a tax placed upon the severing or removing of these sources of wealth from the earth. Also, there are taxes on chain stores and on the receipts of railroads, telegraph, telephone, and express companies.

Thus it is seen that the schools derive their share of the revenue for state aid from a variety of sources. The three main general sources are legislative appropriations from the general fund, the proceeds from the various forms of taxes, and the income from the permanent school fund. An analysis of the relative significance of each of these sources reveals extreme variations among the states. In the states as a whole, about 65 to 70 per cent of the funds provided for the public schools come from legislative appropriations. Yet there are states in which no legislative appropriations for public education are made, and other states in which 80 to 90 per cent of the funds for state aid are from direct legislative appropriations. In general the proceeds from taxes account for approximately 28 to 30 per cent of state support, and the income from the permanent school funds amounts to 4 to 5 per cent.

Sources of local school revenue. It has been pointed out that on the average about 70 per cent of the total cost of public education is furnished by the local district. However, the chief source of revenue for the local school unit is the general property tax. It is patent, therefore, that if the revenue from the property tax declines, the local community must look to the state for additional subsidies or the educational system will suffer, for tax on property is about the only feasible way of raising public revenue for a subdivision of the state governmental unit.

Therefore, one of the weaknesses in the method of supporting education in the local communities is our dependence upon the general property tax. Since two-thirds of the cost of the schools is borne by the local community, a decline in national prosperity of any serious proportion affects unfavorably property values and tax collections. An optimistic sign for local school support is seen in the trend toward the state assuming more responsibility for local school revenue.

Equalizing the burden of school costs within the state. Frequent reference has been made to the great amount of autonomy that the local com-

munity enjoys in the management of its schools. However, the responsibility for guaranteeing an adequate program of education in every district rests ultimately with the state. In the early history of education the local districts needed but little aid from state sources to maintain their schools. With changes in the economic structure of society, an increased pupil population, and the demand for an extension of educational services, there have developed tremendous inequalities in the financial abilities of the local school units. As school cost increased, the local district in many states had to extend the tax on general property until its revenue producing potentialities were exhausted. Some communities then appealed for additional state aid to finance the educational program. At the same time, there were adjoining districts that could support a program of education far in advance of the poorer districts without any aid from state sources.

The larger school unit. There have been many remedies suggested to eliminate or at least to reduce the inequalities in ability among the local districts to finance the schools. One of the measures frequently mentioned by students of school administration is the creation of larger units for taxing purposes, if not for the management and supervision of the schools. Steps have been taken in many states in this direction. Aside from every other consideration, the enlargement of the base of support for educational purposes does help to equalize the burden of school costs. But in most states, even after the establishment of the larger units, there would be inequalities in the ability of these new units to support education. It would appear, then, that state funds must be depended upon to prevent the poorer districts or units from shouldering an undue burden in maintaining a program of education that is consistent with the welfare of the state.

Distribution of state aid. A variety of methods are employed by the states in apportioning state aid among the school districts. Probably state school funds are disbursed most frequently on the basis of: (1) the number of children of school age residing in the district, commonly known as the school census; (2) the number of children in average daily attendance; (3) the number of children enrolled; (4) the number of teachers employed; and (5) the number of teacher-units. Many states employ two or more of these methods and, in addition, grant funds for special pur-

poses, such as transportation and tuition of pupils, offering of certain subjects in the school program, and maintaining instruction in special classes.

Each of these methods had some justification, no doubt, at the time that it was originally adopted, but at the present time there is considerable agreement among competent students of educational finance that these methods are not adequate measures of the financial need of the local school districts. They do not take into account the varying abilities of the local units to support the educational program.

State equalization funds. Recognition of the fact that many communities could not maintain an approved type of school program even with a maximum of local effort while other districts could support an adequate program with very little local effort began to take definite form about twenty years ago. Several states initiated the practice of establishing funds for the specific purpose of ameliorating the severe inequalities among the school districts. These educational equalization funds in one form or another now prevail in about two-thirds of the states.

The primary purpose of these special funds is to supplement the local school income so that no school district will bear any greater burden in maintaining an approved minimum educational program than any other district in the state of like capacity to pay. The difference between the cost of the foundational program and the revenue of the local district will be derived from the state equalization fund. With equalized assessments of property, the tax levy for the support of the minimum program would be relatively the same in all the districts. Many states employ other methods of state aid, such as have been mentioned, in combination with the equalization fund. No doubt, these methods of distributing state school aid represent substantial advances toward equalizing the burden of school costs, but as yet they only partially equalize the burden of school support among the districts of the states.

ABILITY OF THE STATE TO SUPPORT EDUCATION

Since the support, as well as the control, of education has been historically the responsibility of the respective states, many lay people have unthinkingly assumed that the several states are equally able to support education. Any person who is familiar with the relative economic status

of the different states knows the fallacy of such an assumption. The states, like the districts within each state, are unequal in their ability to support an adequate program of public education.

One of the indices of a state's ability to finance public education is the income of the adult population. It has been estimated that in 1944 the income received per person by the civilian population varied from $519 in Mississippi to $1,539 in California. The average for the nation was about $1,130. Not only was the per capita income in California approximately three times that in Mississippi but also the ratio of children of school age to the total population in Mississippi was almost twice that of California.[10] Obviously, Mississippi cannot finance the same quality of education for its children that California can.

Many people are aware of the inequalities of educational opportunity among the several states, but they are not aware of the magnitude of these inequalities. Some measure of the differences in the quality of educational opportunity may be observed in the amounts spent on public education by the different states. In 1944 the current expense per pupil in average daily attendance in New York was approximately $184, while in Mississippi it was only $42.[11] By virtue of being born in a state that has ample economic resources the children of New York have more and better educational opportunities than the children in the poorer states. At least thirty-one states spent $100 or more per pupil in average daily attendance in 1944; six states spent less than $65. When translated into educational opportunities these differences are very significant for the welfare of the nation.

The logical question at this point is: How can the burden of school support be equitably distributed among the states? Since education is now legally a function of the state, the problem would seem to have no solution. But if public education is conceived to be of such importance to the preservation of our national life that the responsibility for its support cannot be left entirely to the individual states without regard to their economic resources, then the solution is adequate Federal aid. Only through Federal support can anything approaching educational opportunity for all the children be provided.

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[10] Estimates of U. S. Bureau of the Census and Department of Commerce.

[11] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1942-44*, Chapter II, Table 27, p. 60.

WHY SCHOOL COSTS HAVE INCREASED

The data on the financial support of education show that school costs have mounted rapidly up to the beginning of the economic depression of the early 1930's. Expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools increased from $63,330,000 in 1870 to just about $2,500,000,000 in 1944. Expenditures per pupil in average attendance rose from $15.55 for the year 1870 to $124.67 in 1944. These figures represent an increasing burden upon the taxpayer. Let us examine the factors responsible for the increasing expenditures.

Changes in purchasing power of the dollar. The purchaser of commodities knows from experience that the purchasing power of the dollar fluctuates. A dollar will buy more or less at a given time than it would at some previous time, depending upon the conditions of the market for the particular article at the moment. The purchasing power of the dollar declined from 1914 to 1930, but increased markedly during the 1930's. In the early months of 1941, however, the dollar started to decline again in purchasing power. This decline continued through the war years and the postwar years, and continues at the present writing. If changes in the purchasing power of the dollar are felt in buying food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities of life for the individual consumer, they are also felt with equal force in purchasing educational services. Therefore, educational costs increase or decrease with all other costs. Part of the decline in school costs during the 1930's may have been due to a decline in the cost of living. If there had been no need for greater educational facilities during the period, the decline might then have been justified. But such was not the case, for during the 1930's the total school enrollment increased steadily until 1936.

Increased attendance. The second factor responsible for the growing financial outlay for education is the increasing number of children attending school regularly and for a longer school term. This has been a factor in mounting school costs since 1870. The data bearing on these phases of public education are presented in Table 16, page 208. As the reader studies the figures on school attendance for several successive periods, he should obtain an appreciation of magnitude and direction of the trends in school attendance.

TABLE 16[12]

ENROLLMENT, ATTENDANCE, AND LENGTH OF SCHOOL TERM FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1870-1944

YEAR	ENROLLMENT			AVERAGE NO. DAYS ATTENDED BY EACH PUPIL ENROLLED	AVERAGE NO. DAYS SCHOOLS WERE IN SESSION
	ELEMENTARY	HIGH SCHOOL	TOTAL		
1870	6,791,295	80,227	6,871,522	78.4	132.2
1880	9,757,118	110,277	9,867,395	81.1	130.3
1890	12,519,668	202,963	12,722,631	86.3	134.7
1900	14,983,859	519,251	15,503,110	99.0	144.3
1910	16,898,791	915,061	17,813,852	113.0	157.5
1920	19,377,927	2,200,389	21,578,316	121.2	161.9
1930	21,278,593	4,399,422	25,678,015	143.0	172.7
1932	21,135,420	5,140,021	26,275,441	144.9	171.2
1934	20,765,037	5,669,156	26,434,193	145.8	171.6
1936	20,392,561	5,974,537	26,367,098	146.3	173.0
1940	18,832,098	6,601,444	25,433,542	151.7	175.0
1942	18,174,668	6,387,805	24,562,473	149.6	174.7
1944[13]	17,713,096	5,553,520	23,266,616	147.9	175.5

A casual inspection of Table 16 shows an increase in gross enrollment from 6,871,522 in 1870 to a peak enrollment of 26,434,193 in 1934. Even if the ratio between the enrollment in the elementary and high schools had remained the same as in 1870, there still would have been a substantial increase in school costs due to the increased number of children enrolled. But Table 16 shows that although the rate of increase in the enrollment in the elementary school has declined, in the secondary school it has increased greatly since 1930. Since 1910, particularly, the growth of the secondary school has been startling. For two decades successively, 1910-20 and 1920-30, the high school doubled in enrollment. And from 1930 to 1936,

[12] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1937-38, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1937-38,* Chapter II, Bulletin, 1940, No. 2, pp. 72-73, Office of Ed.

[13] Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: *Statistics of State School Systems, 1942-44,* Chapter II, Table II, p. 4, and Table 1, p 15.

the growth was even more amazing. Employment in war industries and military services accounts for the decrease in high school enrollment reported in 1944. During the immediate postwar years the high wages paid by business and industry continued to attract youth.

As an explanation of the steady growth in school costs, the growth of the high school enrollment has particular significance. The cost of a day's schooling on the high school level is generally estimated to be two and one-half times more expensive than a day's schooling on the elementary level. Therefore, the cost of education has been largely increased by the trend toward increased high school enrollment since 1910.

In addition to the growth in pupil enrollment, the length of the school term is a factor in increasing school costs. This continued to increase until 1930. A slight reduction in the number of days the schools were in session is shown for 1932, but a small increase was reported for 1934, and thereafter until 1944. General economic conditions were responsible for shortening the school term during the early years of the 1930's. Since 1900 the schools of the United States have on the average increased the length of the term by 31.5 days.

Table 16 also reflects an increasing regularity in school attendance until the onset of the late war. In spite of the decline since 1942 in the average number of days attended, there has been a total increase of 48.9 days since 1900. This factor operated to increase the expenditure for school supplies and for salaries of teachers since increased average daily attendance affects both these factors.

Improved educational opportunity. During the last seventy years there has been steady progressive improvement in the quality and quantity of educational services offered the school children of the United States. The quality of teaching has improved because teachers are more adequately prepared for their professional duties. The program of studies has been expanded and refined to provide for individual differences in aptitude, abilities, and interests of the pupils. Health and dental services, educational guidance, and many other forms of educational services are made available to the pupils in the modern school. Communities have extended themselves in constructing and maintaining a physical plant to house their educational activities. In fact, some local communities have permitted their civic pride to get the better of them in constructing more expensive school buildings than they can afford to support. All of these increased services

affect school costs. At the same time, living in general has become more costly. There is no evidence that schools have been out of line with other agencies in increasing the cost of their services to society.

Will school costs continue to increase? The answer to this question depends primarily on the nature of the changes that take place in the three major factors determining the cost of education, namely, the purchasing power of the dollar, the number of pupils attending school, and the quality and quantity of the educational opportunities provided for these pupils. An attempt to predict the future trend in the purchasing value of the dollar is a hazardous undertaking. There is, however, more evidence to justify predictions with regard to the number of pupils attending public schools in the future, and the changes that will likely take place in the nature of the services offered by the schools.

There is considerable evidence to support the contention that the depreciation of the buying power of the dollar has been the major factor contributing to the mounting costs of public education.[14] Some idea of the extent of the depreciation of the dollar is revealed in the estimates of the Research Division of the National Education Association of the fluctuations in the purchasing power of the teachers' dollar for 1912-46.[15] According to this report, the teachers' dollar was worth $1.42 in 1912; seventy-five cents in 1921; eighty-nine cents in 1931; ninety-eight cents in 1941; and seventy-three cents in 1946. In the early months of 1947 the Department of Labor estimated that the dollar would buy only sixty-six cents worth of goods and services as compared with a dollar's worth in 1941. If prices should become stabilized near present levels, it is clear that the effects would contribute to further increases in school costs.

There is no reason to expect any cessation in mounting school costs from reduced school enrollments and attendance. These factors should play an even more prominent part in increasing the cost of public education until all children and youth of school age are attending school. It is true that the elementary school enrollment has been decreasing since 1930. The upturn in birth rate will soon be reflected in the elementary attendance; the high school enrollments can be expected to increase with the

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[14] Research Bulletin, *Why Schools Cost More,* National Education Association, Vol. XVI, No. 3, May, 1938.

[15] National Education Association, *Schools and Current Economic Trends,* Research Division, Release No. 1, 1947.

elimination of those economic conditions attendant upon and following a war period.

In light of our past history it is difficult to believe that the local communities will not continue to make additional demands upon the schools for more and better educational services. If the community insists upon improved and enriched educational programs, more money must be spent for education than has been spent in the past.

Conclusion. Data presented in the present chapter indicate very clearly that the chief problems involved in securing adequate financial support for schools are: (1) the discovery of a fairer basis for local taxation than the tax on real estate; (2) the problem of equalization of opportunities within states by the practice of giving state aid to poorer districts; (3) the problem of securing Federal aid to the states in order to equalize educational opportunities among the states. It is probable, too, that increased understanding of the need for adequate school support among all those concerned with public schools is essential. Schools cannot keep pace with increasing demands unless adequately financed. The country may be forced to recognize that it cannot for long spend two to three times as much on luxuries as on public education and at the same time prepare adequately for the future.

Responsibility for the support of the public elementary and secondary schools rests mainly upon the local community. About two-thirds of the money comes from this source. There is, however, a distinct trend for the state to assume more of the financial burden for maintaining public education. Regardless of the demands for the Federal government to participate to a greater extent in supporting education, its contribution at present is insignificant.

An objective examination of those factors which are mainly responsible for changes in the cost of education does not lead to the conclusion that the peak expenditure for the schools has been reached. The two main constituents, the purchasing power of the dollar and the number of pupils attending school, are influenced by basic economic and social conditions over which local school authorities have no control. The third factor, the nature of educational services and opportunities, is in fact the only feature subject to any measure of control by the local community. There are no discernible developments in the social and economic scene that would tend to curb the increasing cost of education. There is little likelihood that the local communities will stop insisting upon additional school services. An

analysis of all factors leads to the conclusion that expenditures for education will continue.

The future support of schools is a problem to be worked out jointly by the local community, state, and nation. This problem, however, is becoming more critical because so much tax money has to be spent for expanded governmental services and financing the national debt. The Federal government should contribute more largely to school support. If it does, it is likely that such aid as the school will receive will be accompanied by some measure of control. Regardless of its historic origins, education is now a national as well as a state problem. An enlightened citizenry is the nation's first line of defense.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Do you think that the support of the schools should be decreased during periods of economic decline? Defend your answer.
2. How can equal educational opportunity be provided for every child regardless of residence?
3. What are the main sources of school revenue?
4. Does the larger school unit reduce the cost of education?
5. Why have schools costs increased?
6. Why should "ability to pay" be the basic principle of the taxing program for school support?

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Chapter Twelve

CONTROL AND ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION AS A STATE FUNCTION

INTENTIONALLY OR OTHERWISE no provision was made in the Federal Constitution for a national system of schools. Therefore, under the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, the responsibility for education devolved upon each of the several states.[1] As a result, there are 48 state systems of education. Naturally the states soon attached varied degrees of importance to the responsibility of providing schools for their people. Provisions for education received slight attention in the constitutions of several states, while in others, Massachusetts in particular, adequate provisions were made for the establishment of a system of public schools.

Under the Constitution, the original authority for education resides in the state. But the local community has always had considerable control over its educational affairs. Originally, education in America was a community enterprise. In theory, the local community derives its control over its educational system from the state. In practice, the states have taken over more and more control. The powers of the community have been delegated to it by the state. Therefore, they can be regained by the state whenever it sees fit to do so.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S PARTICIPATION

Even though education has been recognized as a function of each state, the Federal government has always been concerned with the welfare of

[1] The Tenth Amendment says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

education. It has, however, followed several different policies in aiding the several states of the Union to establish an effective system of public schools. First, grants of land were given to the states for general educational purposes. Then, land and money were given to the states to promote specialized types of education. In 1933-34 money was given directly to schools and individuals engaged in educational work. Subsequently, the Federal government subsidized a form of secondary education through the Civilian Conservation Corps (1933) and the National Youth Administration (1935).

Early provisions for Federal aid. The first efforts of the Federal government were directed to giving the states public land for educational purposes. Provision for this kind of aid was made through the Land Ordinance of 1785, which specified that one section of land in each township of the states being formed in the Northwest Territory be applied to the support of the public schools. In 1787 the Federal government exacted an agreement from the prospective purchasers of a large tract of land in Ohio that one section in every township be reserved for common schools and two complete townships for an institution of higher learning. Later the gift of land to the public schools was increased to two sections in each township of the states which were admitted to the Union between 1850 and 1890. Finally, the grants of land were increased to four sections in each township for Arizona and New Mexico admitted in 1912, and for Utah admitted to the Union in 1896. Oklahoma, admitted in 1907, received only two sections in each township, but in addition it was given $5,000,000 in money. The original thirteen states did not benefit from the gift of public land for school purposes and neither did Maine, Vermont, West Virginia, Kentucky, Texas, and Tennessee. Additional aid was given the states in the form of saline, or salt lands, and 5 per cent of the money derived from the sale of public lands within the states which was to be used for internal improvements, and in some states swamp lands were given for school purposes. It is to be noticed that the act of the Federal government in 1787, which provided for gifts of land for institutions of higher learning, marked the beginning of a national practice of granting land to new states for the establishment of state universities. Thus, the early policy of the Federal government was to encourage the states to develop a general educational program. It was not intended that any particular type of educational service be stressed more than any other.

The Morrill Act. With the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, the Federal government inaugurated a new policy of aiding and encouraging public education. The Morrill Act provided the subvention of public lands to the states for the establishment of colleges for instruction in agriculture and the mechanical arts. Thus, the Federal government initiated the policy of stimulating the development of specialized types of educational service.

The Hatch Act. The Hatch Act of 1887 provided for a yearly grant of $15,000 to each state and territory for the purpose of establishing and maintaining agricultural experiment stations at each of the land grant colleges. This amount was increased in 1895 and again in 1925 with a yearly additional increase until 1929-30, at which time the total gift to each state amounted to $90,000. This act initiated the Federal government's policy of granting money to the states for educational purposes.

The Second Morrill Act. The second Morrill Act of 1890 provided for an initial grant of $15,000 to each state and territory to help in maintaining instruction in the land grant colleges. This amount was to be increased yearly for ten years, the maximum being $25,000 a year. Later, in 1907, another law specified that the amount be increased by $5,000 each year until the maximum of $50,000 was reached.

Aid from forest reserves and oil lands. From the time of the Civil War, Federal aid was directed to institutions of higher learning. However, in 1908 Congress enacted legislation providing for 25 per cent of the income from each national Forest Reserve to be paid to the state in which the Forest Reserve was situated to be used for public roads and public schools. The Oil and Mineral Leasing Act of 1920 gave the states a percentage of the money derived from leasing public land for the extraction of oil and minerals. This money also was to be devoted to public roads and schools.

The Smith-Lever Law. The passage of the Smith-Lever Law in 1914 introduced a new principle in furnishing financial aid to education by the Federal government. This act was intended to improve life in rural communities and on the farm by disseminating information and giving instructions and demonstrations in the practices of agriculture and home economics. Federal funds to the amount of $4,580,000 by 1922-23 were

allotted for this service, but each state must match dollar for dollar the money received from the Federal government. The practice of requiring each state to match dollars represented a new principle in federal aid.

Aid during and following World War I. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 providing aid for vocational education in agriculture, home-making, industry, and commerce on the secondary school level and for the education of teachers in these fields also embodied the "matched funds" principle. The initial appropriation was $1,700,000, which amount was to be increased each year until the maximum of $7,200,000 was reached.

Aids to education in depression years. Federal aid for education continued in increasing amounts during the depression years. The George-Ellzey Act which became effective in 1934 provided additional grants to the states and territories for agriculture, vocational trades and industries, and home economics. Finally, the George-Deen Act, which became operative in 1937, authorized $12,000,000 annually for vocational education. This act differs from the other acts in that it not only increased the amount to be expended on vocational education in agriculture, trades, and industries, and home economics, and on preparation of teachers in these fields, but it also provided for vocational training in the distributive occupations—retailing, wholesaling, jobbing, commission buying, and selling. Another distinct difference was the method by which the funds were to be matched by the states and territories. Instead of being required to match dollar for dollar the funds granted by the Federal government, the states and territories were required to match only 50 per cent of the grants for the first five years, which amount was to increase by 10 per cent annually until the funds were matched dollar for dollar in 1946.

Another pronounced change in the policy of the Federal government was evident in emergency appropriations for the years 1933-34 when funds were "advanced directly to individual schools, or as wages to individuals for engaging in educational work." If it had not been for the financial aid of the Federal government, the schools in many communities would have had to be closed during 1933-34.

The change in policy that has occasioned so much discussion and debate came with the establishment of the two Federal youth agencies—the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. The Civilian Conservation Corps was established in 1933 primarily for

relief of unemployment. The CCC, however, gradually assumed an educational function. The NYA was not established until 1935, although the Federal government initiated a student aid fund for the payment of wages for useful work to needy students in colleges and universities in the winter of 1933-34. Responsibility for this program of student aid was transferred to the NYA upon its creation. The NYA also gradually assumed instructional functions even though initially its purpose was to provide "relief, work relief, and employment for persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years who are no longer in regular attendance at a school requiring full time, and who are not regularly engaged in remunerative employment." During their lifetime, both of these agencies were subsidized, controlled, and administered by Federal authority.

The trend toward Federal aid. It can be seen from the foregoing brief summary of Federal aid that there is no fixed policy that has been consistently followed. Since the passage of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, emphasis has been, however, on distributing funds on the basis of an equal appropriation by the states, and aside perhaps from certain aspects of the emergency appropriations during the depression years, Federal subsidies have been employed to stimulate the development of specialized types of educational services.

There has been, however, a growing demand for Federal aid to help equalize educational opportunity in the states of the Union. Gradual recognition of the inequalities in the abilities of the states to support financially an adequate system of general public education has led to the development of sentiment for an annual appropriation by the Federal government to assist the states to equalize educational opportunity. The increasing demand for Federal aid was reflected in 1936 in President Roosevelt's appointment of a representative committee to study the whole subject of the Federal government's relations to state and local education.

The Advisory Committee[2] reported at length in 1938 on the inequality of educational opportunity throughout the nation and the inability of many communities to maintain a program of education consistent with their general welfare. It recommended a program of Federal aid that would have amounted eventually to an annual appropriation of approximately $250,000,000. According to the report of the Committee the states or the communities were not to be required to match the money appro-

[2] The Advisory Committee on Education, *Report of the Committee*, February, 1938, United States Government Printing Office, 1938.

priated by the Federal government. It suggested that the grants should be allocated among the states according to their relative financial needs. Control of the content and processes of education was to remain with the states and local communities.

Many general education bills have been introduced in Congress in recent years. The bills usually provide for an initial Federal appropriation ranging from $150,000,000 to $300,000,000. Other provisions generally incorporated in the proposed legislation are as follows: control of the schools is reserved to the states and local communities; money appropriated by the Federal government is to supplement and not substitute for state and local school money; only public elementary and secondary schools are to benefit from Federal aid; the amount of money apportioned to each state is to be determined according to the financial need of the state; and the money is to be spent for current expenses and not for investment in school plants and for the retirement of debts.

The insistent demand, first by educators and now by social leaders as well, for the Federal government's financial participation in assisting the several states to maintain an adequate program of public education is not based alone on the widely and deeply held conviction of the people that there should be equality of educational opportunity for all American children and youth. There is another and perhaps more compelling reason for Federal assistance. The welfare of the nation requires that the program of public education provided by the several states shall enable the citizens of the states to meet intelligently the problems thrust upon this nation by developments in world affairs. To continue to debate the question of whether education is a local or national responsibility would seem to reflect a highly unrealistic attitude toward the nation's position in world leadership. The logic of events has dictated the answer to the question. Any condition affecting the safety and welfare of the nation is a matter of concern to the Federal government.

Regardless of the obvious need for Federal assistance and the growing sentiment among the people in general for it, the realistic student of education must recognize that the chances for getting a substantial appropriation for improving the quality and extending the opportunities for general education are fraught with difficulties. The National government has a staggering debt to be serviced and the unsettled state of the world necessitates heavy expenditures for military, political, and economic purposes that take a large part of its income. It is impossible to forsee when these expenditures can be reduced. There are also insistent demands from

certain groups for a reduction in taxes. These are a few difficulties that beset the attempts to obtain more Federal aid. On the other hand, it seems extremely short sighted for a nation with an annual income of $160,000,000,000 and a national budget of more than $30,000,000,000 not to provide an appropriation of two or three hundred million yearly to improve the general education of its children and youth. No one can blink the fact that the present safety and future welfare of the country are at stake in the struggle for more Federal assistance to the public schools.

FEDERAL EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

In addition to the activities which have just been enumerated the Federal government engages in many other educational projects and enterprises. It is very difficult, indeed, to make a full and complete statement of all the educational activities and agencies of our national government. These educational activities and agencies may be roughly classified as follows:

1. Institutions for the education of Government personnel, such as United States Military Academy at West Point, the War College at Washington, the Naval Academy at Annapolis, the Naval War College for Officers at Newport, etc.
2. Libraries, scientific institutions, and museums, such as the Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum, etc.
3. Education in Federal districts, such as the District of Columbia, the Canal Zone, Indian reservations, etc.
4. Education of the inhabitants of territories and outlying possessions, such as Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, etc.
5. Scientific research and the collection and dissemination of information through the various governmental departments and bureaus, such as the Department of Agriculture, Office of Education, Department of Labor, etc.

The Office of Education. In addition to giving aid to the states and territories in the form of grants of land and money, the Federal government has also rendered inestimable service to public education by collecting and publishing facts and information on the progress of public education in the United States in particular and on the educational developments in foreign countries as well. Scientific investigations of educational problems have been conducted that would not have been possible for any one of the states to have undertaken. These services have been performed

by the United States Office of Education, which was first established as a Department of Education in 1867 without representation in the President's Cabinet. The act creating the department encountered considerable opposition which finally succeeded in reducing it to the rank of a bureau in the Department of Interior in 1869, but with the name of "Office of Education." In 1870 the title changed to Bureau of Education, by which designation it was known until 1929, at which time the name, Office of Education, was restored. In 1939 the Office of Education was transferred from the Department of Interior to the newly created Federal Security Agency. The Office of Education is under the direction of a Commissioner of Education.

The duties and responsibilities of the Department were defined by the original law as follows:

> That there shall be established, at the city of Washington, a department of education, for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems, and methods of teaching, as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country.

Although hampered in its work by the lack of funds, the Office of Education has given remarkable service. It conducts educational surveys upon the request of states, communities, and institutions. Its *Biennial Survey of Education* is a compendium of information on the conditions and progress of education. Its *Educational Directory* contains a complete list of the names of schools and school officials in the United States. Members of the staff are available for speaking engagements before educational gatherings. In addition to the research of the members of the staff in specialized fields, such as primary education, school buildings, vocational education, rural education, and many others, the Office of Education in collaboration with other educational experts has conducted three national investigations—the National Survey of Secondary Education, 1929-32; the National Survey of the Education of Teachers, 1930-33; and the National Survey of School Finance, 1931-35. Special funds were provided by Congress for these three major investigations.

The Office of Education has never been accorded the financial support and dignity that it deserves. As a result, it cannot discharge adequately the duties specified in the law providing for its creation. Its position as

a subordinate office in the Federal Security Agency does not recognize fully the importance of the national concern for the welfare of public education. Several attempts to give the Office of Education a status that would enable it to render more effective service have been made in recent years, but they have never succeeded.

The National Education Association in 1919 proposed that the Office be raised to the rank of a Department with a Secretary in the President's Cabinet. It was the intention to bring together the several educational activities of the Federal government in this Department. But the recommendation also embodied the proposal that $100,000,000 a year be granted on a matched funds basis to help the states improve their school systems and promote certain phases of education. This amount was in addition to $500,000 recommended for the other activities of the Department.

The Smith-Towner Bill, introduced in 1919, embodied these proposals. This bill failed to pass but was reintroduced in 1921 under the name of Sterling-Towner Bill and was again presented in 1923 as the Sterling-Reed Bill. In 1925 it was re-presented as the Education Bill with the elimination of the recommendation for additional Federal aid. The National Advisory Committee on Education appointed by the Secretary of Interior, Ray L. Wilbur, in 1929, also in 1931, recommended that a Department of Education with a Secretary with Cabinet rank as its executive should be established in the Federal government.

FEDERAL AID VERSUS FEDERAL CONTROL

To what extent and under what conditions the Federal government should participate in supporting the program of public education is a question which has stimulated considerable discussion and debate. Educators recognize that the only way equal educational opportunity can be made available for all of the children will be through some form of Federal assistance because of inequalities in the abilities of the states to support education, yet there is a reluctance among many persons to endorse the movement for Federal aid. This hesitancy is based upon fear of Federal control. The same objection is frequently made in opposition to establishing a Federal Department of Education. There is, of course, an element of Federal control whenever grants are made on a matched funds basis or to stimulate particular types of education, as has been a

characteristic feature of the policy of the Federal government since the Morrill Act of 1862.

The National Advisory Committee on Education, reporting in 1931, while recommending that the Federal grants then being made on the matched funds basis should be continued until a sound plan for adequate Federal assistance be devised, suggested that the states be free to spend the money without matching the Federal grants, and that all future subvention should be made in aid of education in general. Furthermore, the department of education recommended by the committee was not to have any control over the objectives and processes of education.

It is to be noticed that proposed bills for aid have prohibited Federal control of the administration and supervision of the educational program in the respective states. The Advisory Committee, which was appointed by President Roosevelt and which reported in 1938, also recommended that the administration of the schools and the determination of the content and processes of education should be reserved to the states and local communities.

RELATION OF STATES AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Even though the state is the ultimate source of power, in our early history the control of educational affairs was left largely with the local community. The local district determined the program of studies, prescribed the qualifications for teachers, and defined the length of the school term. Education was then truly a community affair.

While the early attitudes toward education differed considerably among the states, the more recent revisions of the state constitutions reveal more specific mandates to the legislatures to provide for an adequate system of public education. At present, the authority delegated to the local school district varies from state to state; yet the local community exercises many powers over its own educational destiny. The authority it has in educational matters has been delegated to it by the state and can be modified or recalled, but as yet the administration and supervision of the schools rest with the community.

Because of the growing recognition that education is of more than local concern, there is a strong tendency to centralize in the hands of the state educational authorities control over those fundamental aspects of school

system that will ensure at least a minimum program of public education in every community. Cubberley has stated this emphasis very concisely in writing of the court decisions relative to the authority of the state in exercising its educational prerogative:

> Throughout the decisions on all such questions there runs a fairly uniform type, viz., that the schools are state schools, established by authority of the State to carry out a state purpose; that the Legislature of a State, having tried or permitted one method or form of administration, is not to be restrained from trying another; that the educational rights of the children are paramount; that the state school law is supreme, and cannot be superseded by any city or county charter regulation, or school board by-law or rule; that the child passes from the control of the parent when he starts to school, and remains under the control of the school until he reaches home again after the school has closed; that the rights of the parent over his child are limited, and cannot be exercised if in conflict with what the State has determined by law to be the rights of the child or the larger needs of the State; that the officers of the school system, from state superintendent down to teacher, exist in part to guarantee the educational rights of the child and in so doing act in the name of the State; that there shall be equality of educational opportunity provided; that the wealth of the State must educate the children of the State, that the scope of the school system to be provided is as determined by the Legislature; and that it is the right and duty of the State to establish minimum standards below which communities shall not be allowed to go.[3]

The state educational organization.[4] The responsibility for the establishment and maintenance of a state system of public education is usually assumed by the division in state government known as the "state department of education" or by some such title. The legislatures in carrying out the mandates of the state constitution have provided for the creation of a department in which authority for control of public education shall be vested. The early departments were small with very few duties to perform. Today, the state department usually consists of the state board of education and the superintendent, or commissioner of education, and his staff.

1. *The state board of education.* While the first state board of education was established by New York in 1784, the movement for making this agency a dynamic factor in educational affairs lagged until 1837. At

[3] Cubberley, E. P., *State School Administration,* Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927, pp. 128-129.
[4] United States Office of Education, *State Boards of Education and Chief State School Officers,* Bulletin 1940, No. 6, Monograph No. 1.

that time Massachusetts created a state board with Horace Mann as its Secretary. It was really due to the leadership of Mann that the board exerted such a powerful influence upon the educational policies of Massachusetts rather than to any powers vested in the board itself. Other states followed the example of Massachusetts until today at least thirty-nine have state boards of education.

As one examines the development of the movement, he discerns very definite trends in the manner of selection and duties of the members of the state board of education. At first, the boards consisted of ex-officio members. But with the expansion of duties and responsibilities of this agency, requiring the services of persons actively interested in educational problems, the method of selecting the members has changed. In 1945, at least thirty-one of the state boards were wholly or mostly appointed or elected; fourteen boards had no ex-officio members; and only eight boards were composed almost entirely of ex-officio members. There is considerable variation in the size of the boards, ranging from three to twelve members, with a median of seven. The term of office varies from two years to indefinite tenure with four-, five-, and six-year terms quite common. The prevailing practice is for appointment to membership by the governor rather than election by popular vote. The powers and duties of the board vary from state to state. Even though the board has come to be recognized as an essential unit in state school administration by educational authorities, yet in very few instances does it exert the leadership on state-wide educational policies that it should.

In contrast to the present status of the board, there is considerable agreement among students of educational administration as to its desirable organization, personnel, and function. First, the board should consist of citizens who are concerned with education from a state-wide point of view, eliminating the ex-officio member and also the professional educator, unless his position is such that he has a broad professional perspective and the time to devote to the general educational problems of the entire state. Members of the board should be elected by popular vote or appointed by the governor. Both methods have certain defects, but the latter seems more acceptable at the present time. Politics, religion, and occupation should not be considered in determining the fitness of the persons for membership. The board should be relatively small, consisting of probably not less than five or more than nine members for most effective functioning. The term of office should be relatively long

with membership overlapping so that there will be continuity in educational policies. The state board should be vested with sufficient powers relating to the organization, personnel, and financial support of the educational system to insure a minimum standard of educational opportunity in every community of the state. In order to fulfill this function much more technical knowledge, educational statesmanship, and practical experience with educational problems are required than the lay membership of the state board now possesses. Therefore, it should continually consult with and be advised by the chief state school officer in the formulation of its regulations and policies.

2. *The chief state school officer.* The chief state school officer is usually known as the "superintendent of public instruction" or the "commissioner of education." The movement for establishing this office met with considerable opposition in its early history because of the fear of centralizing control in the state office. In fact, New York State, after creating the first office of Superintendent of Common Schools in 1812, then abolished it in 1821, and it was not revived until 1854. The office was, however, fairly well acknowledged as essential by the middle of the 19th century and is now a permanent feature of government in all 48 states.

The duties and powers of the early state school officer were limited. Most of his time and effort were confined to clerical duties, such as compiling returns on attendance and finance and the disbursement of money to aid the local districts according to the provisions of the law. With the rapid development of public education, especially after the Civil War, the functions of the superintendent became multiplied many fold. At present, the powers of the superintendent vary from state to state. Much of his authority relates to the control of school attendance, approving school sites and buildings, certifying teachers, disbursement of state school funds, interpreting school law, organizing the program of studies, and approving textbooks. In addition to having the professional skill required for the foregoing activities, he should be an educational statesman with deep professional insight into the educational needs and problems of the state. No person in the state is in a more favorable position to exert constructive educational leadership than he. A progressive increase in the responsibilities and duties of the state superintendent will inevitably follow from the present trend toward extending state control over the administration of public education and the assumption by the

state of more of the burden for the financial support of education in the local school districts.

In view of the importance of the chief state school officer to the welfare of education, it would seem that the methods of selection, tenure, and remuneration should be such that the best professional talent in the entire country should be attracted to this type of educational administration. An examination of the prevailing method of selection, however, precludes this possibility. In 1940, thirty-two states elected the superintendent of public instruction by popular vote; in eight states he was appointed by the Governor, and in eight states he was appointed by the state board of education. Needless to say, the well qualified school administrators will gravitate toward city school administration rather than engage in a political struggle for a position, the tenure of which depends largely on political manipulation. There is agreement among students of state school administration that the superintendent should be appointed by the state board of education and should have a relatively long tenure in office. And, of course, the authority to terminate his service should be vested in the state board.

It is readily apparent that a staff of experts in their respective fields will be required to assist the superintendent in discharging his duties required by law and in carrying out the policies of the state board of education. The organization of this department and the size of the staff vary from state to state, depending upon the school population and the financial support available. At least nineteen states had twenty-five or more members each on the staff of the department in 1938.

LOCAL SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS

An examination of the internal organization of the states for school purposes presents a picture of contrasts. One must understand the historical evolution of the educational system in the several states of the Union to realize how we came to have such a tremendous number of local school districts. In the aggregate, there are more than 100,000 administrative school units in the 48 states.

In the early history of our older states, education was a matter of purely local concern. While the power for the establishment of a system of schools resided in the state, the early schools were initiated and main-

tained by the efforts of the local community. In fact, the state systems of education in the older states evolved out of organization of the scattered school districts and the final transfer of authority to the state where it legally belonged. Originally, the early local school districts were formed by a small group of families living in close proximity, frequently without regard to the boundary lines of the unit of civil government.

In view of the conditions of the time, the small local unit in the beginning served well the needs of the people of the community. But the gradual development of the concept that education was definitely a state responsibility and the inability of the small districts to maintain a program of education essential to the welfare of the state have given rise to the organization of larger school units. These larger units conformed for the most part with the boundary lines of the political or civil unit of government, such as the village, the city, or the township.

In order that the local district may be assisted in maintaining in the community a program of education which conforms to the standards of the state and also may profit from better professional leadership than they could otherwise financially afford, many states have created an intermediate unit of control between the local district on the one hand and the state on the other. These units are essential in the larger states which cannot administer and supervise directly the many remote local school systems.

The intermediate units of control differ from state to state, although certain organizational patterns occur more frequently than others in certain sections of the United States. To cite a few examples, the county is employed more frequently than any other civil division as an intermediate school unit. This type of organization is found in many southern and western states. In New England, the "supervisory union" prevails as the intermediate school unit The supervisory union results from the cooperation of two or more New England towns to provide professional supervision. The State of New York uses the "supervisory district," consisting of several townships, as the intermediate unit. Delaware, however, because of its small area has no intermediate unit between the local district and the state. The powers delegated to the intermediate school unit vary from state to state.

During recent years there has been an increasing tendency to create larger local units for school administration. The larger unit helps equalize not only the tax burden but also educational opportunity for the children.

It makes possible the employment of better prepared administrators and more competent teachers. Many savings result from its more efficient business administration.

How large should the local school unit be in order to be effective educationally and economical in maintenance? To this question there can be no categorical answer. There is no particular form of organization that would be suitable for all states. The size, geographical features, wealth, transportation facilities, and density of population are important factors which must be taken into consideration in answering the question. In attacking this problem from the standpoint of the ability of the local unit to provide economic administration and supervision of the schools, Briscoe came to the conclusion that the district should be large enough to employ at least forty to fifty teachers.[5] Another writer, Chamberlain, commits himself as follows:

> In summary, it may be said that an effective organization for local school control will provide a unit that is large enough to reduce as much as possible inequalities in tax burdens and educational opportunities, to provide capable leadership on boards of education and in the office of the superintendent, to place the appointment of every teacher and the direction of every school in the hands of a trained school executive, and to make possible schools of effective and economical size. On the other hand, it will provide a unit that is small enough in terms of topography and conditions of transportation and communication, to make efficient administration possible. In a superior organization the number of independent units with special privileges will be reduced to a minimum, each unit will include a natural economic and social community, and, in so far as possible, each will be coterminous or approximately coterminous with an established governmental unit.[6]

ORGANIZATION OF THE LOCAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

Even though there is considerable variation from state to state in the amount of authority delegated to the school district, the local community in every state has a powerful voice in the control of its schools. Much of the responsibility for the financial support and the administration and supervision of the schools is placed upon the local school district. To discharge these duties most effectively, the citizens elect, either directly

[5] Briscoe, A. O., *The Size of the Local Unit for Administration and Supervision of Public Schools,* Contribution to Education, No. 649, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935.

[6] Chamberlain, Leo M., *The Teacher and School Organization,* Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936, p. 83.

or indirectly, a board of education which in turn is vested with the legal authority to select the professional personnel and to erect and maintain adequate physical facilities for educational purposes.

The school district is a separate corporation in most instances, even though its boundary lines coincide with those of the local civil unit, such as the village or city. Usually it determines its own budget and sets its own tax rate without the supervision of the officers of the civil unit. There is some difference of opinion about the relationship of the school and the civil units, but it is the almost unanimous opinion of experts in school administration that independence in fiscal policies is essential if the school is to be free from political entanglements.

The school board. The school board is the official body vested with the legal control of the school district. Its relationships are twofold: on the one hand, it is responsible to the citizens of the community to provide for their educational needs; and on the other hand, it is directly responsible to the state for the enforcement of school laws and regulations. The educational welfare of the community depends upon how intelligently this body performs its duties.

A diversity of practices prevail relative to the size, method of selection, length of term, and duties of the board. Authorities on school administration agree, however, that the small board is more effective than the board with a large membership. A board consisting of five to nine members seems to be preferred. Large school boards with an organization of standing committees are generally frowned upon.

It is believed that if the board is small it can transact school business sitting as a committee of the whole. The entire board will then be familiar with all the important school problems for which it is legally responsible. A decided preference is shown for the selection of members on a non-partisan basis with overlapping terms of office so that there will be continuity in school policy. The board members should serve without pay.

One of the most important responsibilities of the local board of education is the selection of a superintendent of schools. The judgment shown in performing this duty is usually a good indication of the quality of leadership that the community can expect from the board in other educational affairs.

Authorities in school administration agree that the board should serve primarily as a legislative or policy-making body. It should look to the superintendent for advice in regard to school problems requiring professional skill and understanding for their solution. In such matters as selecting teachers, formulating the curriculum, setting up salary schedules, selecting textbooks, supervising instruction, dismissing teachers, and the like, the superintendent is the one from whom recommendations should come. Such problems as these demand professional preparation for their proper solution. If the board does not have enough confidence in the superintendent to accept his recommendation on these matters, it should then select a superintendent in whom it will have confidence.

The superintendent of schools. The general nature of the function of the superintendent has been already implied in the discussion of the relationship of the school board to the superintendent. The duties of this office have developed from those mainly of a clerical nature to include all the responsibilities associated with administering and supervising the entire educational program. With the increasing complexity of educational practice, it early became apparent that specialized preparation and personal qualities of leadership were required for the most effective performance of the responsibilities centering in the office of the superintendent. It is well to remember, however, that the authority of the superintendent does not come in the main from the powers vested in him by legislative enactment, but from the general recognition that it is for the best interests of education in the community for the school board to confer on the superintendent the power to exert the proper influence in providing educational opportunity.

The administrative staff and teaching personnel. It is readily apparent that the size of the superintendent's administrative staff and the teaching personnel will vary with the size of the school population and area of the school district. In the very small district the personnel includes the clerk to the superintendent, high school and elementary school principals, teachers, and the building custodians. It is usually customary for the principals to devote part, and in some cases full, time to teaching as well as carrying the administrative duties which are taken care of after school hours. As the school system grows larger the personnel expands to include special supervisors, an attendance officer or officers, a school nurse

or nurses, and perhaps, a business manager. The principals of the high school and the elementary school devote their full time to the problems of administration and supervision. Clerical help is also provided for these officers.

The organization of the large city system is much more complex. The superintendent's administrative staff includes associate and assistant superintendents and their clerical help, directors of departments, such as attendance, research, guidance, grounds and buildings, supplies and equipment, health, vocational education, and supervisors of school subjects and their assistants. In addition, there are principals of the high schools and elementary schools, each with a staff of subordinates, such as assistant principals, guidance counselors, directors of extracurricular activities, and heads or chairmen of departments in the high school. Overshadowing these officers in point of number are the regular and special teachers.

There is considerable variation in the form of organization of the superintendent's staff and the allocation of duties and responsibilities in the larger city systems. It is obviously necessary to define clearly the functions and relationships of the members of the school personnel. The responsibility for doing this rightfully belongs to the superintendent of schools, inasmuch as he is the individual directly responsible to the school board for the effectiveness of the entire educational program. If the board does not grant the superintendent the authority, it definitely shows a complete lack of confidence in his ability. There are few school board members, if any, who have sufficient experience, professional education, and technical training to carry out this very important professional function.

The teacher and local school administration. The activities of the beginning teacher involve many direct and indirect relationships with his fellow workers in the educational system. Problems arise at times that bewilder the inexperienced teacher as to the course of action he should follow and to whom he is responsible for his professional behavior. To illustrate, what is the relationship of the teacher to the school board, the superintendent, the supervisor, and the principal? In many school systems today the authority flows from the school board to the superintendent, to the principal, to the teacher. The teacher, then, is directly responsible to his principal who, in turn, is responsible to the superintendent. The other members of the administrative staff, such as

the special supervisors, work directly with the teacher but have little or no authority over the teacher except as it is delegated by the superintendent or the principal of the school.

At first sight, the flow of authority from the top down may seem to be undemocratic and to be patterned after the management of industry. As a matter of fact, authority and control are exercised in an undemocratic manner in many school systems. School organization also has been influenced by the form and structure of business organization. There is, however, a strong trend toward more democratic procedures in educational administration. Teachers are being called upon more and more to participate in determining the educational policies and procedures of the school system in which they are employed. Formerly, policies and practices were formulated by the principal or superintendent without consulting the teachers. Too many school administrators today are still employing these undemocratic methods.

It is not to be assumed that the trend toward more democratic school administration eliminates or lessens the need to allocate specific responsibilities. In the large school organization particularly, it is imperative that there should be a definite assignment of responsibilities; otherwise there will be a lack of cohesion among the staff which will eventually hinder the effectiveness of the school. The teacher should participate in determining the educational policies and procedures of the school system in which he is employed. The school children should benefit from the pooled wisdom of the entire school personnel. After the educational policies and procedures have been determined, however, responsibility for their observance must be vested in some individual. If these policies concern the whole school system, the superintendent is the logical person to effect the administration of them; if they apply only to a particular school, the principal should have the responsibility.

Summary. This study of school control shows clearly that there is no national system of schools in America. The control of schools is vested in the several states. This is in harmony with the general policy of the Federal government with respect to local government. But the Federal government has always encouraged the development of schools, in the earlier years by first giving public lands to states for school purposes, and later by special grants to the states for the encouragement of special types of educational services, such as agricultural experiment stations and voca-

tional training in agriculture and mechanical arts. In the depression years the Federal government began to grant funds to individual schools for wages, building, and other services. Pressure for increased Federal support of schools has been growing since 1930.

The Federal government also engages in many strictly Federal educational activities. It has maintained a Federal bureau or sub-department of education for many years. Attempts to develop a Federal department of education with a secretary of education in the President's cabinet have, however, failed as yet, but there is a growing sentiment for one. There has always been raised the questions of Federal control over state and local educational activities when this matter has been agitated. As yet, the states resist Federal control. The prevailing opinion seems to be that the Federal government should aid education but should not attempt to control it.

State and local education have gone through a history of varied development with the authority for education definitely in the hands of the states. The states, however, have until recently given control of educational affairs to the local community. Now there is a distinct trend toward increasing state control over local education and toward centralization of administrative authority over fundamental educational matters in the state.

The states administer schools through state boards of education in the great majority of states. There is a state superintendent or commissioner in each of the 48 states. Local control resides in the hands of a local school board. The superintendent of schools has become the professional head of local and county districts, although in some states he has no recognized legal status. In large systems, the superintendent has a technically trained administrative and supervisory staff to aid in administering and supervising the schools.

The teacher stands as the last link in the chain of school control. He works under the control of the school board and the superintendent of schools, and is legally subject to the board and superintendent. Actually, and in an increasing measure, the teacher is being asked to participate in forming educational policies and assisting in the administration of the schools.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Trace the development of the Federal government's participation in supporting the public education program.

2. In view of the lack of Federal control, how do you account for the similarity in the organization and administration of education in the several states?

3. Do you think that Federal control should accompany Federal aid? Defend your position.

4. What are the underlying reasons for the board of education functioning in a legislative capacity?

5. What are the merits and limitations of a board of education elected by popular vote?

6. How do you account for the present trend toward centralizing more control of the local school systems in the hands of the state departments of education?

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Chapter Thirteen

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

ELSEWHERE IN THIS VOLUME the origin and development of the elementary school and the educational theories which have played upon it have been briefly sketched. We are concerned at this point with the nature of elementary education as we find it at present in America and with this school as a division of the school system.

There is, we must note at the beginning, a wide range in the quality of elementary school practices. There is no "average" school as such. The quality of school life in some of the one-room rural schools is probably not much in advance of that which obtained in district schools of one hundred years ago; other rural schools offer a more wholesome and favorable learning environment than is found in some of our cities with their highly developed schemes of school organization and specialized teaching. It would be well, therefore, to confine our discussion to a description of the present conception of the *functions* of this division in our educational system, the changing *nature* of the school, and the *current types* of elementary school organization now in operation.

THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL PERIOD

By the middle of the 19th century the elementary school in America was generally regarded as including the first eight years of the child's school life, or the period of childhood from six to fourteen years of age. At the close of the 19th century, a reorganization movement was under way to delimit the public school further to a six-year elementary and a six-year secondary school. It would seem that the length of the elementary school had been reduced by two years, but since then the kindergarten has been added in many communities. Furthermore, the nursery school is gradually being recognized by educational leaders as a definite part of the elementary unit, although it has, so far, been a private or semi-private enterprise. Thus, the elementary school promises to remain an

eight-year school or even a nine-year school in the future, admitting children at three or four years of age and retaining them until twelve years of age.

The elementary school has been commonly defined in terms of school grades, and at present this period is generally considered to terminate at the end of the sixth grade. While this has been a convenient definition of the elementary school period from an administrative point of view, yet it is somewhat misleading if it is assumed that all children have reached the same level of educational development by the end of the sixth grade. The different ages at which children enter school, and more especially the differences in rates of learning, operate against it. Nevertheless, by the time the child has completed the sixth grade, usually around the age of twelve years, his elementary education is assumed to have ended.

Some students of education have defined the elementary school from the standpoint of the nature of the educational products to be achieved by the child rather than time spent in school. Among these, Morrison[1] proposed that the period during which the child is acquiring the primary reading, writing, number and social adaptations is essentially the elementary school period. He considered the elementary school as that stage in educational development "in which the pupil is capable of learning through study and use of books but is incapable of systematic personal growth, except under the constant tutorial presence and constraint of the teacher." But it is questionable whether this definition helps matters much. If we fix our attention upon the total educational growth of the individual, it is obvious that the problem of naming or defining divisions in the educational organization loses much of its significance. Instead, we should be more seriously concerned with arranging a sequence of appropriate experiences which will further the child's development without regard to classifying these experiences in a specifically designated school unit.

THE FUNCTION OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

As the student of education compares the function of the early elementary school in America with the more recent conceptions of its responsibilities he is forcibly impressed by the obligations which have been placed upon the lower division of the school system. The efforts of the early

[1] Morrison, H. C., *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary School,* Revised Edition, University of Chicago Press, 1931, p. 7.

school were centered upon the inculcation of skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Such educational outcomes as broadening the child's outlook on life and the development of social understanding and attitudes were not considered to be within the province of elementary education. The child needed direct instruction in only the three R's; his other training developed out of the process of living.

But the elementary school today is called upon to make a greater contribution to society. Our social, economic, and industrial life is very complex. The elementary school must share the burden with the high school for the induction of the child into this form of society. Other institutions, which have aided in the process in the past, seem to be losing force as supplementary educative influences. Thus, additional responsibilities must be assumed by the school if it is to serve as an integrative influence and promote social stability in American society.

It would appear, therefore, that since the elementary school is intended to reach every child in America, its program must provide for the common unspecialized needs of all children regardless of their economic status or future occupation. The elementary school of the past has been too narrow in the scope of its program. It has met the common needs of children only to a limited extent, chiefly in the acquisition of the intellectual tools of learning, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in acquainting the child with fundamental facts about the world in which he lives. It has not assumed seriously the responsibility for developing the social traits in children so essential in a democratic social order.

There are many common areas of living in which the elementary school has neglected to provide the child with opportunity for adequate, worthwhile experiences. The human activities in which every one participates, such as the care of one's health, profitable use of leisure time, an interest in and intelligent performance of socio-civic duties, unspecialized practical arts, activities relating to the three fundamental human needs of home, food, and clothing, and an intelligent appreciation of the fine arts are several of the areas of human activity in which every individual engages in the normal process of everyday living. The program of the average elementary school does not place sufficient emphasis upon participation by the child in the activities in which he needs to engage if he is to lead an effective normal life.

It is not intended that the elementary school should slacken its efforts in teaching the child to read, write, and speak correctly, to develop an



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understanding of and some facility in arithmetic, and to acquaint him with fundamental facts needed in the understanding of his environment. These accomplishments are very important for the child and the community. But it would seem that too much emphasis has been centered upon developing these abilities and understandings in the child in isolation from the situations in which the need for them arises. The evidence would seem to show that achievement in the basic skills does not suffer when they are acquired in more lifelike situations, although it does not indicate that they can be learned without effort or effective directed practice.

It is, then, the function of the elementary school to provide a program of appropriate activities that will help the child satisfy the experienced needs which develop out of his interaction with the environment. The efforts of the elementary school are further limited to the satisfaction of those needs common to life on the child's level of living. It follows logically that the activities of the school cannot be confined always within the limits of any one of the conventional organizations of school subjects, inasmuch as human needs commonly cut across subject fields and no subject in itself completely furnishes the data needed to help the individual solve his problems.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

The reader has already observed how the simple organization and the curriculum of the early elementary school, in which the students on various levels of educational growth assembled in one room to receive individual instruction, has evolved into a form of school organization wherein each teacher in the school building is responsible for instructing a group of students on a particular grade level in all the subjects of a relatively enriched curriculum. The latter form of school organization with a separate classroom for each teacher and his class emerged in urban centers shortly after the middle of the 19th century, but did not reach the rural areas until later.

Although this plan of organizing the school prevailed until the beginning of the last quarter of the century, it created much dissatisfaction. Especially were the attendant practice of annual promotions and other inflexible features questioned. At the turn of the 19th century there were several movements and forces which gave impetus to experimentation with a more satisfactory form of school organization. Among the influences

were the introduction of objective measurements which revealed in a quantitative manner the differences in ability and achievement of students and the development of a conception of education which demanded a more enriched school environment with more opportunity for student participation.

At present, the elementary school is organized for instructional purposes in many different forms. Several of these types of organization and of particular techniques for grouping pupils for instruction are well worth understanding.

The Traditional Plan. This type of organization, with each teacher responsible for the instruction of a group of students on a particular grade level, is by far the most common one. In its orthodox form one teacher gives instruction in all subjects, both the so-called fundamental branches, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, and the special subjects, such as art, music, and hygiene. A common departure is to have the home room teacher give instruction in the fundamental subjects and then have special teachers handle the special fields.

One of the main objections to the traditional plan, which led to departmentalization of instruction, was the lack of adequate preparation on the part of the teacher in all fields of instruction. This contention seemed to have increasing weight as additional subjects were added to the curriculum of the elementary school. But with the extension of the educational preparation of teachers, the objection loses force. Furthermore, the unified grade plan presents a learning situation more conducive to the integration of school experiences, as will be observed later, than other forms of school organization.

The Departmental Plan. Departmentalization, whereby the teacher gave instruction in a school subject in which he was a specialist, had its beginnings in early Colonial times with the formation of separate reading and writing schools. By 1910 this plan found its way into the upper grades and was a rather common form of school organization by that time. In its most orthodox form, one teacher gives instruction in only one subject in a particular unit of the school, but there are many variations in which the teacher will teach a combination of school subjects.

The most cogent argument against the departmental form of school organization is the lack of integration in the school life of the child. Each

teacher is responsible for so many students that he cannot exert the influence over the life of the whole child that he should. The student may tend to become merely a name on the roll book. While the form of organization is not most favorable for integrating the child's experience, yet the work of the school can be co-ordinated and integrated to a degree if the teachers work together in planning instruction.

The Platoon Plan. Of the many variations in forms of elementary school organization, the platoon plan has spread most rapidly. It was developed by Superintendent Will Wirt at Bluffton, Indiana, in 1900 and later at Gary, when he became superintendent of schools there. The feature of this type of school organization, which was widely accepted by school administrators, was the division of the school population into two groups or platoons. This division provided for a wider use of the school plant and for more specialized instruction in music, art, physical education, industrial arts, and expression. The schedule of classes was so arranged that in the morning one platoon would be given instruction in home rooms in the usual school subjects, such as reading, arithmetic, spelling, and penmanship, and the other platoon would be engaged in school activities in the auditorium, gymnasium, shops, playground, library, or other special rooms. In the afternoon the two platoons exchanged places.

Many claims have been made for the platoon plan on the assumption that it provides conditions that "make for the realization of the social aims of education." It is, however, exactly on this issue that many educators have challenged the educational soundness of the plan. The advisability of separating instruction in the fundamental subjects from the more socializing experiences of the special rooms is the question in point. It is felt by many persons that there are many factors in a platoon school, such as the artificial division of school experiences and the large number of pupils under each teacher, that seem to prevent integration of the experiences of the pupil.

Division of the school into home room and special room activities, whereby the home room teacher has each pupil for instruction in all the fundamental or tool subjects for half a day, mitigates somewhat the evil found in departmentalized schools in which all the instruction is on a departmental basis. But, even though the home room teacher integrates the experiences of the pupils in the fundamental subjects, there is still the distinct division of school experiences into two kinds: those

developing out of the formal subjects and the definitely more socializing experiences of the special rooms. Compartmentalizing school life in this manner is highly questionable. Certainly this arrangement does not facilitate the organization of all school life around a series of large integrating, socializing experiences.

It cannot be denied, however, that the platoon form of school organization makes the most economical use of the school plant. The alternation of groups between the home and special rooms makes possible the use of all the facilities of the physical plant. The pupil capacity of a school building is increased about one-third if it is organized upon a platoon basis. The matter of economy in school expenditures is a very important one and any form of school organization that will house more children without increasing the initial capital outlay is sure to receive serious attention. However, the real issue is not that of financial economy but rather of educational effectiveness, and on this issue the value of the platoon school still remains problematical.

The Winnetka Plan. The foregoing types of school organization have been founded on the assumption that classes in the several school subjects should remain intact, and that instruction should be conducted on a group basis. The Winnetka Plan, however, departs from the class-group arrangement in the fundamental subjects and puts instruction on an individual basis in those fields. The plan was originated by Dr. Frederick Burke but got its name and most widespread prominence under Superintendent Carleton W. Washburne, of Winnetka, Illinois. The work of individualizing instruction at Winnetka was initiated by Washburne in 1919.

As in the platoon plan, the curriculum of the Winnetka Plan is divided into two rather distinct types of school work. The one part consists of instruction in the fundamental skills and knowledges, and the other part provides for socialized experiences in a group setting. Instruction in the basic skills and knowledges or the "three R's" and related subjects is individualized. Accordingly, the child is given as much time as his potentialities require for achieving the minimum degree of mastery in common essentials. He must, however, master each unit before he proceeds to the next one. Group recitations have been eliminated in the fundamental skill subjects. Each child proceeds from one unit to the next without being held back for the slower pupils or hurried by the brighter ones. As a result there are no failures in the school.

The other part of the curriculum differs markedly from the first in that it consists of activities definitely social in character and provides for the special abilities and interests of the child. There are no minimum essentials to be achieved; self-expression through participation in creative group activities is the goal.

There are several features of the Winnetka Plan which are especially to be observed. The work in the common essentials must be mastered by all children, but the time allowed for this phase of the curriculum varies with the individual student. On the other hand, there are no set standards in the other half of the curriculum which is devoted to self-expression and group activities. Another feature of the plan is the placement of students in the home room according to age and social maturity. The children are transferred from one room to another as they mature physically and socially. Hence, there is a flexibility in school organization which is not present in other types of organization embodying the idea of group instruction in all phases of school life.

In its early history the Winnetka Plan was criticized by Professor Kilpatrick because of its tendency to divide the child's learning into two distinct types—individual and group.

> First and foremost, it tends to break the child's learning into two disconnected parts. One part, highly mechanical, belongs to the system of goals—a system too nearly complete in itself, too little connected with life. Stated psychologically, the danger is that the learning will not transfer. Stated in terms of life, the danger is a divided self—that the child will look on learning as something apart from life, something to be 'learned' and then put behind him. If it be rejoined that the freer classwork at Winnetka counteracts this danger, the answer comes that the freer work does seem to be in a far greater degree continuous with life, but the gap still remains between the individual drill work and the freer group work. The two parts of school do not connect. And unfortunately, in the whole discussion at Winnetka, learning by goals seems to be counted as the essential. The chosen term implies it, and it is only the time saved from the goal work that is available for the other. If further rejoinder be made that the children are happy, that they like not only the freer group work but quite as well to work for goals, then we have to say that present happiness, though a goal, can never be taken by itself as final. The question of long run effect must decide. That the Winnetka Plan of goals is a better way of doing many of the things the ordinary school tries less successfully to do, may be well admitted. But unless the danger of little transfer and the danger of the divided self can be better safeguarded, the present writer, for one, does

not believe that learning by goals will continue to hold its present prominence at Winnetka.

When we turn to the other feature of the work at Winnetka, the situation is more defensible. It is a pleasure to commend the socialized work. Here there need be no divided self. Continuity with the rest of child life is possible.[2]

Regardless of the validity of Kilpatrick's early appraisal, many modifications have been made in the Winnetka Plan that provide for a definitely more socialized learning situation. At least this impression is to be gained from a publication by Dr. Washburne.[3]

Homogeneous Grouping. Homogeneous grouping or, perhaps more accurately, ability grouping, is not essentially a complete plan of school organization. It is rather an administrative technique whereby students more nearly equal in ability to learn are grouped together for instructional purposes. The practice of sectioning students into ability groups is so extensively used that the beginning student of education should be acquainted with its merits and limitations.

The ordinary graded school is organized in a sense on a homogeneous basis because of its grouping of students according to chronological age. Nevertheless, it is obvious that there is a great variation in the abilities of the students, ranging from the extremely dull to the gifted. It has been the practice of many schools to segregate those lowest in ability and place them in a special class with appropriate modifications made in the curriculum and teaching techniques. The gifted students are sometimes placed together in what is usually called an opportunity class with the curriculum and techniques adapted to their unusual powers and talents. It is only fair to state that the superior children have not received the same consideration that the dull ones have so far as special provisions for their maximal growth have been concerned. Excluding the dull and gifted, when they have been provided for by special arrangements, the other children within the grade are then classified into three sections usually known as the slow, average, and bright.

There is much contention about the measures that should be employed to determine the section in which the children should be placed. Space here does not permit giving a detailed account of the controversy. Much

[2] National Society for the Study of Education, *Adapting the Schools to Individual Differences*, Twenty-Fourth Yearbook, Part II, 1925, pp. 284-285. By permission of the Society.

[3] Washburne, Carleton, *A Living Philosophy of Education*, The John Day Company, 1940.

of it goes back to the initial definition of ability grouping. In practice, a number of bases have been used, such as intelligence, mental age, judgment of teachers, social maturity, previous achievement, and others. Frequently a combination of these criteria have been used in forming ability groups. Because of the inadequacy of instruments of measurement and the differences in opinion concerning the purposes of ability grouping, the controversy still continues.

All the differences in opinion are not confined to the problem of determining the most reliable of the measures now in use for segregating pupils into slow, average, and fast groups. There are many educators who seriously question the desirability of grouping in terms of any of the criteria that are now employed. They believe that it implies a conception of learning mechanistic in character; that the child is not thought of as a unique personality that functions as a complete individual in every situation; that education is assumed to be the process of acquiring subject matter apart from its social contexts; and that it is inconsistent with the social philosophy of democracy.

Even in the face of the challenges that have been cast at the techniques now applied to the problem of classifying children, the practice continues apace, although with less conviction perhaps as to the ultimate effectiveness of segregation. As knowledge of the nature of the learning process increases and as more consideration to the implication of social theory for school organization is achieved, it is likely that a different basis for grouping pupils will emerge.

THE ELEMENTARY CURRICULUM

In the past, the curriculum has been conceived as being composed of the several school subjects, such as reading, spelling, arithmetic, and so forth. From the standpoint of school administration, such a conception has served a useful purpose even though, as we look back upon it now, this conception was entirely too narrow and based upon a dubious interpretation of the educative process. However, with the changing notion of the learning and the resulting importance attached to the attitudes and disposition of the child, a somewhat different conception of the term "curriculum" has emerged. The curriculum is now thought to consist of all the experiences that the student has within the school. Such a definition

includes both the curricular and extracurricular, the formal and informal activities which come within the experience of the child.

The nature of the curriculum. One of the striking features in the development of public education is the expansion of the meager program of the early elementary school to the enriched curriculum of the modern school. The present program includes instruction not only in the three R's of the early school, but in addition in literature, geography, history, social studies, elementary science, music, drawing, practical arts, health and physical education, plays and games, thrift, and character education. To these elements of the program we must add many special curricular and extracurricular activities which have become an integral part of the program of the school.

But, in spite of the multiplicity of courses of study at the present time, a lag still exists between the elementary school curriculum and American life. There are many elements of the present prescribed curriculum which do not function effectively in meeting the needs of the child. The gap between the school's curriculum and the child's curriculum persists even though much useless material, to which the student's activities were formerly presumed to relate, has been eliminated in the past score of years. If it is the function of the elementary school to provide experiences in meeting the common needs of all, regardless of sex, vocation, or social status, the curriculum must keep abreast of the changes in society. All common needs do not remain static; many will change as society changes.

The organization of the elementary curriculum. The curriculum of the traditional elementary school consists of the several school subjects. Many departures have been made from the conventional form of organization, several of which have been already mentioned, but even in the schools which do not have a strictly orthodox curriculum arrangement, the school subjects play an important role in organizing the learning experiences of the elementary school child. However, there has been dissatisfaction with the subject conception of the curriculum since before the turn of the century. Many students of education have felt that the traditional curriculum was too formal and remote from the real life of the child to assist him in meeting the needs of the contemporary world. The barriers imposed by strict adherence to departmental lines seemed to work against

relating the subject matter, regardless of its source, to the needs of the growing boy and girl.

The curriculum problem has been further complicated by the attempt of the schools to keep the program abreast of the rapidly developing social and economic life by the addition of new subjects. Generally speaking, no concerted effort was made to organize the life of the school around anything else than the school subjects. The new additions to the program were kept within self-contained compartments. The number of school subjects became so extensive that the time allotted for the normal school day was exceeded. An effort was made to eliminate from the courses material which did not function in the life of the child. Analyses were made of social usefulness of the content of arithmetic, spelling, geography, and other subjects. Many nonfunctional elements were eliminated by this procedure.

The school subject continued to remain the organizing center of the elementary school curriculum until the beginning of the present decade. Under the increasing influence of the educational philosophy of John Dewey, the emergence of a different explanation of the psychology of the learning process and the force of social and economic conditions of the time, the need for a more integrated form of school experience became apparent. There has been a distinct tendency for some time to break down the walls between fields of knowledge and organize the life of the school in the form of large units or activities which reflect the experienced needs of the students.

Among the early pioneers in the movement were John Dewey, Colonel Francis W. Parker, and J. L. Meriam. The work of the first two men has been noted in a preceding chapter. Meriam's work is to be observed in passing, particularly because it represents in the early part of the present century an abrupt departure from the practice of the time. He organized the curriculum of the elementary school at the University of Missouri around four aspects of normal child life: observation, play, stories, and handwork. Meriam felt that there was nothing to be accomplished by tinkering with the traditional program; a radical reorganization of the curriculum was the only solution to the problem.

PRESENT-DAY CENTERS OF INTEREST

At present, there is considerable experimentation in organizing the curriculum around activities of life rather than the individual subjects. One

of the movements in this direction is known as the "social functions procedure," proposed by Caswell and Campbell and employed in the reorganization of the curriculum in the Commonwealth of Virginia.[4] The social functions are those "major centers about which the activities of the individuals and the plans and problems of the group tend to cluster." The social functions selected for the Virginia course of study are as follows:

1. Protection and Conservation of Life, Property, and Natural Resources
2. Production of Goods and Services and Distribution of the Returns of Production
3. Consumption of Goods and Services
4. Communication and Transportation of Goods and Services
5. Recreation
6. Expression of Aesthetic Impulses
7. Expression of Religious Impulses
8. Education
9. Extension of Freedom
10. Integration of the Individual
11. Exploration[5]

In order to limit the scope of the curriculum for children on different levels of maturity, "centers of interest" have been selected about which the activities of the children revolve. The following centers of interest have been selected in the Virginia program:

Grade I Home and School Life

"The curriculum for Grade I grows out of the pupils' interest in the life of their home and their school."

Grade II Community Life

"In Grade II the curriculum grows out of the pupils' experiences in exploring the various phases of life in their community."

Grade III Adaptation of Life to Environmental Forces of Nature

The curriculum for Grade III deals with the "life in communities which differ from that with which the child is acquainted."

Grade IV Adaptation of Life to Advancing Physical Frontiers

"In Grade IV the center of interest is broadened to include the more complex adaptations required as physical frontiers are advanced."

[4] Caswell, Hollis L. and Campbell, Doak S., *Curriculum Development,* American Book Company, 1935, pp. 173-184.

[5] State Board of Education, *Tentative Course of Study for the Core Curriculum of Virginia Secondary Schools, Grade VIII,* pp. 15-24, Richmond, Virginia, 1934.

Grade V Effects of Inventions and Discoveries Upon Our Living

"In Grade V the pupils are exploring the inventions and discoveries which make possible a civilization in which man controls and directs natural forces more effectively than in any previous period."

Grade VI Effects of Machine Production Upon Our Living

"In this grade the children should develop an understanding of the broader implications of machine production upon the major functions of social life."

Grade VII Social Provisions for Cooperative Living

In Grade VII the child should see the far-reaching results of man's mastery of physical forces. "He should learn of the increasing complexity and interdependence of modern life resulting therefrom."

Grade VIII Adaptations of our Living Through Nature, Social and Mechanical Inventions and Discoveries

In the first year of the secondary school "the work is confined largely to an investigation of the characteristics of contemporary life which have their origin in the mechanical revolution."

Grade IX Agrarianism and Industrialism, and Their Effect Upon Our Living

In the second year of the secondary school a thorough comparison is made of "agrarianism and industrialism for the purpose of determining their relative contributions to the general welfare."

Grade X Effects of Changing Culture and Changing Social Institutions Upon Our Living

"In the third year the activities of the students should lead to an investigation of the ways in which economic and social changes have modified our culture and the effects of their modifications upon the individual and society."

Grade XI Effects of a Continuously Planning Social Order Upon Our Living

In the fourth year of the secondary school the student "should engage in such activities as will equip him for projecting ways in which our social forces and institutions might be regulated, reorganized, and coordinated to effect a greatly improved social order.[6]

It can readily be seen from the foregoing brief abstract that the social function procedure is a definite attempt to reorganize the curriculum of the elementary and secondary divisions in such a manner as to make the work of the school more closely conform to human living. The areas of human living represented by the social functions are the core of the cur-

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 13-24.

riculum to which the subject matter of the fields of knowledge is related. The centers of interest enable the school work of the child to develop out of his maturing interests. It would seem that this form of curriculum organization tends to be more conducive to the integration of the experiences of the child than a curriculum organized around the separate school subjects.

The developing curriculum and school organization. Since the primary function of school organization is to arrange the environment of the school in the most effective and wholesome form for learning, it follows logically that changes in educational theory resulting in changes in the curriculum will of necessity be reflected in the form of school organization. As our knowledge of the learning processes increases and as our notion of the social function of the school becomes more explicit, it is to be expected that our conceptions of the curriculum will undergo revision and hence influence school organization. It would seem, however, that at times plans for school organization have been formulated without due regard to their educational implications.

Initially, the efforts in departmentalizing the elementary school arose out of the lack of adequately prepared teachers and the belief that education was a process of acquiring skills and information in the several school subjects to be used presumably by the child when he became an adult. Concern for the all-round development of the child was neglected. At that time, the other institutions in society contributed more in guiding the development of the young than they do at present. As society evolved and the school had thrust on it many of the responsibilities which had been assumed by other institutions, it became necessary to provide a more enriched school environment. New experiences were added to the curriculum and complex school organizations emerged embodying the new activities in the program. But the reorganized schools perpetuated in varying degrees the idea of departmentalization and specialized teaching. Thus, with school life organized into many separate compartments and the students under the fleeting guidance of many teachers, it is at once apparent that the experiences of the child were not coordinated and balanced.

The evils of departmentalization have been lessened to a certain extent in the Winnetka and platoon plans by the addition of the creative and socializing activities to the so-called fundamental subjects. But even in

these instances it would seem impossible to relate all the school activities of the child to the satisfaction of his experienced needs, inasmuch as there is a clearly defined line of demarcation between the two divisions of the curriculum.

It is the conviction of the writers that the elementary school organization in which one group of students, approximating the same stage of development, live and work under the guidance of a well-prepared and competent teacher, produces probably the most wholesome learning environment. The teacher should be intimately acquainted with each child; he should be able to relate the activities of the curriculum around the experienced needs of the child as these needs develop. Individual and group activities will be introduced when needed and they will not be determined by specified time intervals. The common essentials will be acquired in a more purposeful situation than is possible in the ordinary departmentalized school, and the social outcomes of education will be achieved in the same process.

Summary and Conclusion. The elementary school, as it exists in America, varies from the most backward one-room rural school to highly organized and completely equipped large graded schools in our large cities. The period of elementary education has been shortened in the last fifty years to include the ages of childhood from five to twelve. A tendency to extend the elementary school period downward to the nursery school, age four, is now apparent. The last two years of the early elementary school are now included in the junior high school.

It is generally agreed that the functions of the elementary school have been broadened to include the social orientation and integration of the child. Its program has been steadily broadened to include training in all the fundamental activities of life except the strictly vocational.

In organization the elementary school has developed many forms. The one-room school, the graded school, the departmentalized school, the platoon school, the Winnetka Plan, and various forms of special ability groupings have been developed. The traditional plan may be described as that in which one teacher is responsible for the instruction of a group of students on one grade level. This plan has been criticized because one teacher must teach all subjects. Desire for specially trained teachers led to departmentalized instruction. The platoon school came in as a school of a semi-departmental type—one teacher taught the fundamental subjects and

others the special subjects. The Winnetka Plan arose from the conviction that individual differences demanded individual instruction.

Recent educational theory has criticized the departmentalized school as opposed to the need for integration of the child's experiences, and the trend in recent years seems to favor a nondepartmentalized elementary school. Of the departmentalized schools, the platoon schools seem least objectionable. The Winnetka Plan seems defective in its tendency to divide the curriculum into two unrelated parts. Homogeneous grouping seems objectionable because it implies a theory of learning of doubtful validity.

The curriculum of the elementary school was at first narrow—confined to the development of the three R's. Then it grew rapidly by addition of subjects, was somewhat reduced by elimination of useless materials, and now seems to be undergoing a change in the direction of integrated units of work as opposed to a multiplicity of special subjects. The organization of the curriculum around social functions now seems one of the most promising plans of curricular organization for the elementary and secondary schools.

It is now obvious that the elementary school must assume more responsibility for achieving the broader objectives of education. Instead of being a school for the development of the three R's, it now becomes a school for the development of the whole child from the ages of four to twelve. Its concern with the all-round development of the child has increased its importance in the eyes of educator and layman.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Why have the functions of the elementary school changed?
2. Do you think that there is any point to defining the elementary school period in terms of years? Justify your answer.
3. What forms do the present-day organizations of the elementary school take?
4. Criticize each of these forms in terms of modern educational theory.
5. What is the meaning of the term "curriculum"?
6. What should be the nature of the elementary school experiences?
7. What change is taking place in the organization of the elementary school curriculum?
8. What effect will the change in curricular organization probably have on the organization of the elementary school?

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Chapter Fourteen

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

GROWTH OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

THE GROWTH of the secondary school movement in the United States since the beginning of the century is one of the most significant social developments in the history of America. No other country can approach the record of the United States in making secondary education available for the masses. In 1890, only approximately 7 per cent of the persons of high school age were enrolled in the private and public secondary schools, but at present at least 65 per cent are in attendance. The percentage of persons of secondary school age enrolled in schools is, at present, still higher if trade schools, junior colleges, night schools, and other institutions of secondary school grade are included. In 1944 there were more than 5,500,000 students enrolled in the public secondary schools of the country.

A combination of factors is responsible for the tremendous increase in secondary school enrollments since 1900, but there are two basic forces which account for the greatest part of the growth. First, our society has become more complex; a longer period of formal education is required to prepare youth to deal with the problems of the contemporary world. Second, as society is now organized there is very little opportunity of employment for the person under eighteen to twenty years of age. Therefore, a very definite attempt is being made to retain the young people in the secondary school until they have completed its program in order to keep them profitably engaged until they can be absorbed into industry and trade.

FUNCTIONS OF THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

In theory, the public secondary school has been open to all children of high school age of all the people, but in practice it has served only the children of the parents on the upper intellectual and economic levels. The

high school has been and still is, although in a progressively diminishing degree, a selective institution. Although the public high school was originally founded to prepare students for the real business of living, it soon fell under the influence of the preparation-for-college function. Its curriculum has been primarily academic in character and has not adequately met the needs of those students who do not have intellectual interests or the desire or the necessary finances to go on to college.

The first concerted effort to free the curriculum of the secondary school from the influence of college domination and to identify the more distinctive function it should serve is probably found in the reports of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. In another chapter in this volume reference has been made to the work of the Commission, particularly the report dealing with the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education issued in 1918.[1] It will be recalled by the reader that the Commission recommended that the work of the secondary school should aim at developing competency in health, command of the fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character. In this report is found a definite effort to conceive the secondary school as an institution which is not controlled by the pressure of college entrance requirements but by the needs of the youth of America.

As long as the increasing number of students pursuing secondary education could profit in some degree from the academic and college-centered secondary school, very few changes were made in its program. But, as the number of pupils with fewer potentialities for success with the college preparatory subjects increased and found their way into the high school, the problems of the school became serious in proportion. The larger the enrollment became the more serious the problem, because the students who were responsible for the increase in enrollment were and are, for the most part, those who cannot profit from the existing program of the secondary school. The curriculum of the secondary school has been geared to the abilities of students with an intelligence quotient of 100 and higher, while those students who have recently been entering the secondary school in large numbers fall considerably below this level of intelligence. If an honest effort is made to provide an appropriate program for youth of secondary school age, who are not in school today, there will have to be marked changes made in the curriculum of the school.

[1] U. S. Bureau of Education. *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education,* Bulletin No. 35, 1918.

Changing social and economic conditions have, therefore, necessitated a revision of our conception of secondary education. In 1932 the Department of Secondary-School Principals of the National Education Association appointed a committee "to study and restate the principles and objectives of secondary education." The Committee, with Dr. Thomas H. Briggs as Chairman, issued the first report on the *Issues of Secondary Education* in 1936.[2] It was the purpose of the report to define the points of conflict in secondary education. After the issues were defined, a statement of the function of secondary education was then set forth. The ten functions which the Committee "considered sound and important for secondary schools to seek to perform" are as follows:

FUNCTIONS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

I. To continue by a definite program, though in a diminishing degree, the integration of students. This should be on an increasingly intellectual level until the desired common knowledge, appreciations, ideals, attitudes, and practices are firmly fixed.

II. To satisfy the important immediate, and probably future, needs of the students in so far as the maturity of the learner permits, guiding the behavior of youth in the light of increasingly remote, but always clearly perceived and appreciated, social and personal values.

III. To reveal higher activities of an increasingly differentiated type in the major fields of the racial heritage of experience and culture, their significant values for social living, the problems in them of contemporary life, the privileges and duties of each person as an individual and as a member of social groups; to make these fields satisfying and desired by those gifted for successful achievement and to give information as to the requirements for success in these fields and information as to where further training may be secured.

IV. To explore higher and increasingly specialized interests, aptitudes, and capacities of students, looking toward the direction of them into avenues of study and work for which they have manifested peculiar fitness.

V. To systematize knowledge previously acquired or being acquired in courses in such ways as to show the significance both of this knowledge and especially of laws and principles, with understanding of wider ranges of application than would otherwise be perceived.

VI. To establish and develop interests in the major fields of human activity as means to happiness, to social progress, and to continued growth.

[2] Department of Secondary-School Principals, *Issues of Secondary Education*, Report of the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, 1936.

VII To guide students, on the basis of exploratory and revealing courses and of other information gathered from personnel studies, as wisely as possible into wholesome and worthwhile social relationships, maximum personality adjustment, and advanced study or vocations in which they are most likely to be successful and happy.

VIII. To use in all courses as largely as possible methods that demand independent thought, involve the elementary principles of research, and provide intelligent and somewhat self-directed practice, individual and cooperative, in the appropriate desirable activities of the educated person.

IX. To begin and gradually to increase differentiated education on the evidence of capacities, aptitudes, and interests demonstrated in earlier years. Care must be taken to provide previous to and along with differentiation as balanced and extended a general education as is possible and profitable.

X. To retain each student until the law of diminishing returns begins to operate, or until he is ready for more independent study in a higher institution; and when it is manifest that he cannot or will not materially profit from further study of what can be offered, to eliminate him promptly, if possible directing him into some other school or into work for which he seems most fit.[3]

To the beginning student of education the preceding statement of functions will seem upon first examination to be vague and ambiguous. The statement, however, represents an honest attempt to restate the functions of the secondary school in our present social order; it will at least serve to point the direction of the changes which should be made in the secondary school in order to make it a more effective educational institution. With the emergence of some evidence of order and stability in our economic conditions, the function of the secondary school may be rendered more explicit. The Committee would readily admit that several of the functions are not peculiar to secondary education alone, but rather a responsibility of the entire program of public education.

SECONDARY SCHOOL INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

From the standpoint of its place in the entire educational program, the

[3] Department of Secondary School Principals, *Functions of Secondary Education,* Report of the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, 1937.

[4] The data on the conventional and reorganized school have been based mainly on the description of practice found in *The Reorganization of Secondary Education,* Monograph No. 5, National Survey of Secondary Education Bulletin, No. 17, 1932.

number of grades included in the secondary school is subject to many variations. The traditional four-year high school has given way in many communities and has been replaced by the junior high school of three grades and the senior high school of three grades. While at present about three-fifths of the secondary schools are the four-year type, yet they enroll less than one-half the students. The reorganized schools take many different forms, but they may be grouped conveniently according to three main types. The first type is the separate junior and senior high school organization. The number of grades combined in each unit varies, but usually the junior high school includes grades 7, 8, and 9, and the senior high school embraces grades 10, 11, and 12. The second type is the undivided secondary school, usually including grades 7 through 12 or 7 through 11, organized in one unit. The third type is the junior-senior high school of five to six years in length, in a single school organization, but with each unit maintaining its own identity.

The conventional four-year high school. The pupil's admission to the first grade of the conventional four-year high school usually depends upon his achievement in the last year of the elementary school. His promotion in the elementary school has been by grade, annually or semiannually, but in the high school he is promoted by subject. Instruction in the upper school is in most instances completely departmentalized. The pupil is given considerable freedom in his choice of subjects, and some guidance in selecting the courses in the program. He is also given the opportunity to participate in the extracurricular activities. Thus, the pupil entering the conventional high school experiences many abrupt changes in the internal arrangement of the school, inasmuch as the conventional elementary school is not always departmentalized and offers little opportunity in the way of choice in the selection of subjects and extracurricular activities. In addition, the class periods are usually longer in the conventional high school than in the elementary school.

The junior high school. It is common practice to admit the pupil to the 7th grade, or the first year of the junior high school, after he has completed satisfactorily the work of the sixth year of the elementary school. Occasionally, a pupil will be admitted to the junior high school without having completed the work of the 6th grade, if he is overage or if his

social development is such that the junior high school is considered a more appropriate environment for him. Promotion depends upon the pupil's doing satisfactory work in certain subjects. The two subjects most favored for promotional purposes are arithmetic and reading.

Upon his entrance to junior high school, the pupil is subjected immediately to departmentalized instruction. "The typical school provides a schedule of classes under which each pupil works with six different teachers in the 7th grade, with six in the 8th grade, and with five in the 9th grade." . . . If the technique of ability grouping is employed, it will be confined most frequently to the academic fields which include English, foreign language, mathematics, social studies, and science. In the typical school there is very little opportunity to elect subjects in the 7th grade, but freedom of choice increases in grades 8 and 9. There is generally an extensive program of extracurricular activities designed to meet the inclinations and interests of the pupil. Before the student enters the junior high school, he receives very little guidance as to choice of his program, but within the junior unit the home room, or report room, serves as a center from which the guidance activities radiate.

The senior high school. Pupils are admitted to the typical senior high school upon the completion of the program of the junior high, particularly if they have been successful in the major academic subjects. Occasionally, an overage student will be promoted to the senior high even though his work in the junior high school has been unsatisfactory. Promotion in the senior high school is strictly by subject. Each pupil meets with at least four different teachers. The typical school day consists of seven class periods of 45 minutes each. The extent of ability grouping diminishes progressively from grade to grade. The senior high school usually offers three curricula: college preparatory, general, and commercial. With the exception of English, social studies, and physical training, all subjects are elective. The extracurricular activities in the senior unit are as extensive as in the junior high school. The responsibility for guidance activities placed on the principal is in contrast to the junior high school's emphasis on the home room teacher as the guidance agent. The senior high school's guidance program is concerned mainly with the choice of a vocation and the proper sequence of subjects to pursue in preparation for future vocational activities.

INSTRUCTION IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

The traditional high school organizes instruction in mixed classes of widely differing abilities and capacities. The more modern secondary school has paid more attention to individual differences among pupils. We shall describe two types of instructional organization that have been frequently employed by those secondary schools which have departed from the traditional organization. One provides for individual rates of progress; the other uses homogeneous grouping.

The Dalton Laboratory Plan. Among the many departures from traditional practice in the secondary school, the Dalton Plan is one that best illustrates adaptation to individual differences. Miss Helen Parkhurst originated the plan and introduced it in the high school in Dalton, Massachusetts, in 1919. Although this form of school organization became known to the educational world through its adoption in Dalton High School, it is not a type of organization that is peculiar to the secondary school. Miss Parkhurst believes it to be a suitable organization device beginning with the 4th grade, or by the time that the children have acquired enough skill in the tool subjects to work independently.

Unlike the conventional practices in organization, the Dalton Plan does away with class organization. The work in each subject is divided into as many "jobs" or contracts as there are months in the school year. Each subject assignment is outlined on a job sheet for a school month. The subject "jobs" are then divided into twenty "units" of work, each "unit" corresponding roughly to the amount of work assigned for the class period under the daily recitation arrangement. The pupil is given freedom to budget his time so that he will progress at his own rate of speed. He is not "permitted to continue his study of any major subject beyond the limits of the month's work unless he has completed his contracts in every subject."

The sequence of events and the physical arrangements of the building in a Dalton school contrast sharply with the conventionally organized school. Laboratories containing the books and materials which the student will need in doing his assignments are provided in each subject. At the opening of the school day the pupils of a grade will consult with an "organization adviser" for a short time, fifteen or thirty minutes, relative to his plan of work for the day. The pupils then spend from two to three

hours in the laboratories working on their assignments. At the close of the session the pupils meet again for thirty to forty minutes to discuss their difficulties and appraise their progress.

Probably the most serious criticism of the Dalton Plan is that it is based fundamentally on a cold-storage conception of the learning process. This type of school is a place where the pupil acquires habits, skills, and knowledges which he will need later on in adult life. There is too little concern in the Dalton School for the nature of the experiences of the learner. Miss Parkhurst did not consider this problem, however, to be a serious one. She thought apparently that the chief problem of a school is to arrange the conventional curriculum in such a manner as to make it appear more palatable to the student. Nevertheless, the effort to develop traits of independence and self-reliance by having the student assume responsibility for budgeting his own time is one phase of the Dalton School to be commended.

Homogeneous grouping in the secondary school. The general problems and issues involved in grouping pupils for instructional purposes were treated briefly in the preceding chapter. At this point we shall discuss the extent to which homogeneous grouping is employed as a phase of secondary school organization. Probably the most extensive investigation of the prevalency of grouping in secondary education was reported by Billett in Monograph No. 13 of the National Survey of Secondary Education.[5] The data presented here are adapted from this source.

In a study of 8,594 high schools in the United States, Billett found that 2,740 reported the use of homogeneous grouping. Generally speaking, the high schools reorganized on the junior-senior basis made greater use of the grouping device than the conventionally organized high schools. Grouping is employed in more than three-fourths of the junior high schools. An intensive investigation of a small group, 289 schools, which had placed considerable emphasis upon ability grouping, showed that 59 per cent of all the courses in the academic fields, 39 per cent of the commercial courses, and 31 per cent of the "other nonacademic" courses were offered in classes grouped homogeneously. Classes in English, in grades 7 to 12, used homogeneous grouping most frequently, followed in descending order by mathematics, social studies, science, foreign language, com-

[5] *Provisions for Individual Differences, Marking, and Promotion,* Monograph No. 13, National Survey of Secondary Education, Bulletin No. 17, 1932.

mercial subjects, physical or health education in the classroom, physical education in the gymnasium, industrial and household arts, music, and art. As to be expected, the frequency of occurrence of ability grouping decreased from the 7th to the 12th grades. In the academic subjects the decrease was from 93 per cent in grade 7 to 28 per cent in grade 12; in the commercial subjects from 67 per cent in grade 7 to 16 per cent in grade 12; and in the nonacademic field from 54 per cent to 17 per cent in a similar range of grades. In other words, as the high school pupil progresses in these schools, he attends classes in which less and less emphasis is placed upon organization of instruction on the ability group basis.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

From a historical point of view, probably the most potent influence determining the form and content of the secondary school curriculum, from the colonial Latin grammar school to the present, has been the entrance requirements of colleges and universities. While the Latin grammar school prepared students for a career of public service in the state and church as well as for college, its curriculum was composed primarily of Latin and Greek, the subjects required for admission to college. The academy, the immediate forerunner of the public high school, was in the beginning essentially a noncollege preparatory school, but the demands of the college were soon felt in its curriculum. The academy, however, incorporated many of the more utilitarian subjects in its program along with the college preparatory courses. In fact the academy of the early 19th century usually had two groups of subjects. One consisted of the college preparatory subjects, such as Latin, Greek, natural philosophy, logic, and geography, and in the other group were the more utilitarian subjects, such as English, reading, writing, bookkeeping, arithmetic, and public speaking.

The high school movement at first represented a sincere attempt to create a public secondary school that would fit the child for the activities of life. This objective was stated specifically in the report of the School Committee of Boston in 1820, which resulted in the establishment of the first public high school in that city in 1821. The Committee deplored the conditions that required a parent to send his child to a private academy to obtain instruction in those subjects which would "fit him for active life." The curriculum designed to accomplish this objective is here reproduced.

THE STUDIES OF THE FIRST CLASS

Composition
Reading from the most approved authors
Exercises in Criticism comprising critical analyses of the language, grammar, and style of the best English authors, their errors and beauties
Declamation
Geography
Arithmetic continued

THE STUDIES OF THE SECOND CLASS

Composition
Reading
Exercises in Criticism
Declamation
} continued
Algebra
Ancient and Modern History and Chronology
Logic
Geometry
Plane Trigonometry; and its application to mensuration of Heights and Distances
Navigation
Mensuration of Surfaces and Solids
Forensic Discussion

THE STUDIES OF THE THIRD CLASS

Composition
Exercises in Criticism
Declamation
Mathematics
Logic
History; particularly that of the United States
} continued
Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy
Moral and Political Philosophy[6]

No time was lost by the new public secondary school in expanding the curriculum of the original school. New subjects were added to the program at an accelerated rate. A multiplicity of curricula emerged. It has been estimated that at least 75 new course titles were added to the secondary curriculum between 1825 and 1828. The program of the academy also expanded at the same time, but the new subjects were not for the most part of a college preparatory nature.

For the first twenty years of its existence it seems that the curriculum of the high school was relatively free from the domination of the college.

[6] Kandel, I. L., *History of Secondary Education*, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, p. 428.

But shortly after the Civil War, by 1870 and most certainly by 1880, the influence of college entrance requirements on the sequence and organization of the program became pronounced. During the latter period the addition of new subjects which did not fit into the prescriptions of the colleges and universities disturbed the higher institutions. The upshot of the matter was the appointment of the famous Committee of Ten by the National Education Association in 1892 to study the curriculum of the high school.

The personnel of the Committee of Ten was composed mainly of college administrators, professors, and headmasters of private schools. It was to be expected, therefore, that the report of the Committee would reflect the interests of the colleges. As a result, a hard and fast curriculum was proposed without regard to the interests and aspirations of high school students. The subjects proposed as suitable for the high school curriculum were as follows:

1. Languages—Latin, Greek, English, German, and French (and locally Spanish)
2. Mathematics—algebra, geometry, and trigonometry
3. General history, and the intensive study of special epochs
4. Natural history—including descriptive astronomy, meteorology, botany, zoology, physiology, geology, and ethnology, most of which subjects may conveniently be grouped under the title of physical geography
5. Physics and chemistry[7]

Such was the result of the attempt to simplify the curriculum of the high school.

The report of the Committee of Ten ushered in an era to which Rugg has applied the apt title: "Curriculum Making via National Committees." Of these committees, the report of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education was the most influential on the curriculum of the secondary school. Reports by separate committees of the Commission were published on the following subject fields: English, social studies, natural sciences, modern languages, ancient languages, household arts, manual arts, music, business, and agriculture. The general report issued in 1918, entitled "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," was the

[7] Kandel, I. L., *History of Secondary Education,* Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930, pp. 473-474.

first attempt to formulate a philosophy of secondary education. Reference has been made to this report elsewhere in this and other chapters.

Other national committees which have been formative influences on the high school curriculum were the National Committee on Mathematical Requirements, reporting in 1923, the Classical Investigation in 1925, the Modern Language Study in 1925, and the Joint Commission on Social Studies in the Schools in 1934. Of these four committees, the reports of the Joint Commission on Social Studies in the Schools have been most challenging. The other three reports represent the point of view of the subject specialist and do not reflect the broad educational vision of the Joint Commission on Social Studies.

The junior high school curriculum. The movement to extend the secondary school downward to include grades 7 and 8 and the organization of grade 9 to form the junior high school resulted in marked changes in the curriculum of these grades. The junior high school was conceived as a means of bridging the gap between the elementary and secondary schools, thereby retaining more pupils in school, providing for the individual differences among the pupils, educating for social responsibility, and providing experiences in prevocational training, exploration, and guidance. It was to be expected that the program of the new unit would be designed specifically to achieve these functions.

The curriculum of the modern junior high school represents a distinct advance over the curriculum of the early schools. An attempt has been made to serve the peculiar functions of this unit of the school system by providing for a variety of experiences which were not available in the early schools or in the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades of the 8-4 organization. In addition to English and mathematics, which hold a rather prominent place in the curriculum, the social studies, physical education, fine and practical arts, music, assembly and club activities, general science, and guidance activities are permanent features of the modern junior high school. The prevailing current practice is not to introduce election of courses until the 8th grade, at which point the student has the opportunity to select these subjects which relate to his special abilities and interests and his future vocational work. About 80 to 90 per cent of the work of the 8th grade is prescribed, but only 50 to 60 per cent of the 9th grade is required. The junior high school movement, therefore, has resulted in a greatly improved curriculum for pupils at the age levels from 12 to 15.

The senior high school curriculum. The program of the senior high school, particularly in the large high school, is more diversified than that of the junior high school because of the introduction of the principle of election on a large scale. In the small senior high school the opportunities open to the student in selecting courses are severely restricted. When the size of the school permits, it is customary to organize the subjects or courses into curricula according to the vocational choices of the students. These curricula are usually the college preparatory curriculum, the commercial curriculum, the household arts curriculum, and so forth. In those schools not adhering to the practice of formulating a specific curriculum, which the student selects upon entering high school, there are certain basic subjects or constants which the student is required to take, such as English, social studies, physical education, and other prescriptions varying from school to school. The student also elects, in addition to the constants, those courses that will enable him to fulfill his vocational aspirations.

If there is any one characteristic of the senior high school curriculum that stands out above all others, it is the ever-increasing number of courses that have been added to the program. Most of the new courses are in the nonacademic fields, such as the commercial studies, industrial arts, household arts, fine arts, and the social sciences. It has been estimated that the courses in the senior high schools have increased from about 75 to more than 300 in the last 25 years.

THE FUTURE OF THE SECONDARY CURRICULUM

The same emphasis upon the integration of the child's experiences which has been developing in the organization of the curriculum of the elementary school has been slowly making itself felt in the curriculum of the secondary school. Although the high school has been a very conservative institution, it appears that the day is not far distant when its curriculum will be conceived in terms of learning activities related more intimately to the fundamental categories of human living rather than a series of courses in the conventional fields of knowledge. The experimental programs of curriculum revision underway in Virginia, Mississippi, and other states and in certain cities are not confined to the elementary school but include the curriculum of the secondary school as a definite part of the common school program.

It was observed in the preceding chapter that the elementary school is

primarily charged with the task of providing a curriculum that will meet the common needs of all children. The secondary school is also responsible for providing on a higher level needed common experiences, but at the same time it must provide specialized activities peculiar to the aptitude and interests of adolescent youth. The same fundamental challenge to the organization of the curriculum around the conventional school subjects or fields of knowledge is applicable to the secondary school as well as to the elementary school, at least in the fields of common needs, if not in the specialized vocational fields.

The effort to organize the secondary school program in such a manner as to promote a closer relationship with life and to contribute to the integration of the experiences of the students has taken several different forms. One of the new forms is sometimes called the "broad fields" type of organization. According to this plan, instruction is organized around the broad fields of experience. The major divisions of the curriculum in accordance with this notion are such groups as science, social science, language arts, fine and practical arts, and so forth. Within these fields, conventional subject lines are erased. There are no hard and fast lines between the divisions of the curriculum similar to those found in the conventional organizations of school subjects. This leads to at least partial integration of experience.

Another curriculum plan provides for the organization of experiences around the social functions of life. The curriculum revision program of Virginia and several other states has been based on this pattern. This form of organization has been treated sufficiently in the preceding chapter and warrants no further comment.

There has also been some experimentation with a period of culture or civilization as the organizing center of instruction. For example, the work of a semester or year may revolve around the study of Colonial America or Greek civilization, or contemporary culture in other countries. All phases of the life of a people of a given time are studied in relation to each other. The assumption underlying this approach seems to be that the problems of our contemporary culture would become more intelligible if they were seen in relation to each other and not as conventionalized fields of knowledge. Many questions have been raised, however, concerning the appropriateness of this approach. It would appear to be at variance with the generally accepted principle that learning activities develop most effectively out of the present experiences of the student and that the principle of

organization most essential in learning is the establishment of a purpose or drive in response to a felt need.

Since this conception is new to most beginning students of education, we may well ask, "What form would the secondary school program take that was organized in such a manner as to promote the integration of the experiences of the student?" W. B. Featherstone has sketched a program which represents a more lifelike arrangement of school activities.[8] Reproduction of it will serve to give the reader at least one conception of a program that is more closely related to life than the curriculum that is found in the conventional secondary school today.

GENERAL PROGRAM FOR A SECONDARY SCHOOL

Grades B7, A7, and B8

	Hours Weekly
1. Social Studies ("The American Epic"), including elements from English, history, geography, art, music, etc.	10
2. Health and Recreation Activities	5
3. Mathematics, largely related to household and industrial arts	5
4. Household Arts; Industrial Arts (correlated with Social Studies where pertinent)	2-3
5. Science, largely related to household and industrial arts	2-3
6. Free activity (workshop, studio, or library, or remedial study where needed)	5

At the close of B8 semester, pupils are grouped roughly (for guidance purposes) as follows:

Group A Pupils with demonstrated capacity to do hard intellectual work, whose major interests are fairly well defined along academic or scientific lines. These are regrouped according to major subjects

Group N Pupils whose major interests are along nonacademic lines. These are regrouped according to major subjects; i. e., commercial, fine arts, industrial arts, etc.

Group U Pupils of less marked ability whose major interests are not well defined or for whom continuous general education seems best

[8] Featherstone, W. B., "New Schools for a New Day," Chapter III, *A Challenge to Secondary Education,* edited by Samuel Everett, Appleton-Century Company, 1935.

Grade A8

	Hours Weekly
1. Social Studies ("The American Epic" continued)	10
2. Health and Recreation Activities	5
3. Mathematics, largely related to household and industrial arts	5
4. Science	5
5. Choice of a language, dramatics, industrial or household arts, music, art, typewriting, everyday business, etc.	2-3
6. Free activity or remedial study	2-3

Grades B9 and A9

	Hours Weekly
1. Social Studies ("World Cultures") being typical cross-section studies of the culture or civilization of important modern peoples. These activities involve materials from history, geography, music, art, and the use of written and oral expression	10
2. Health and Recreation Activities	5
3. Science (a somewhat formal unified study based upon a general plan called "This Living World")	5
4. Choice of two of the following, to total 6-8 hours a week: A foreign language (5 hours weekly); mathematics (3-5 hours weekly); everyday business (3-5 hours weekly); household or industrial arts (3-5 hours weekly); art, music, dramatics, journalism, ceramics, crafts, etc.	6-8
5. Free activity or remedial study	2-4

Grades B10 and A10

	Hours Weekly
1. Social Studies (continued from B9-A9)	10
2. Health and Recreation Activities	5
3. Science (emphasis chiefly biological)	5
4. Choice of two of the following, one of which must be in the line of "major" interest, the other chiefly for enrichment of general education: mathematics, various commercial studies; various foreign languages; industrial, household, and fine arts	10

Grades B11 and A11

	Hours Weekly
1. Social Studies ("American Life and Institutions"), problems and projects for the interpretation of the American scene	10
2. Health and Recreation Activities	5
3. Major interest subject or subjects	10
4. General interest electives from following list: Languages (if not in major interest); science; industrial, household, and fine arts; journalism; public speaking; various offerings in literature; history, etc.; family relations; general leisure-time activities	5

Grades B12 and A12

	Hours Weekly
1. Health and Recreational Activities	5
2. Additional social studies, literature, or language activities	5
3. Major interest subjects	10
4. A laboratory science (unless included in major interest)	5
5. General interest electives	5-10[9]

Although many questions could be raised regarding certain aspects of the foregoing program, it represents a definite attempt to reorganize the secondary school curriculum on a functional basis differing markedly from the conventional organization and to integrate the experiences of the student through the organization of school activities around the major activities of life. Both the common needs and the specialized activities of youth are embodied in the program.

Another interesting program, reflecting a more functional organization of the curriculum, is reported by the Lowell Junior High School of Tulsa, Oklahoma.[10] The general arrangement of experiences is herewith reproduced.

GRADE	GENERAL EDUCATION	SPECIAL CLASSES
7	English, social studies, mathematics, science (3 periods)	Reading (remedial) Art Music Shops (clothing, wood)

[9] *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-72.

[10] Giles, H. H., McCutchen, S. P., and Zechiel, A. N., *Exploring the Curriculum*, Adventure in American Education, Vol. II, Harper & Brothers, 1942, pp. 194-196.

GRADE	GENERAL EDUCATION	SPECIAL CLASSES
8	English, social studies, mathematics, science (3 periods)	Mathematics (remedial) Typing Arts Crafts Shops (food, clothing, wood, metal) Music Physical Education
9	English, social studies, mathematics (2 periods)	Science Family Life Education Typing Music Arts and Crafts Shops (wood, clothing)

The above program developed out of an effort to increase the effectiveness of individual pupil guidance by the teacher. In the plan of organization which the above superseded, each teacher met at least 230 pupils daily. The pupil-teacher contacts were of too short duration for the teacher to know each pupil well enough to render effective guidance. Under this plan, a single teacher is responsible for the instruction of a group of students in the course listed as "General Education," which embraces several areas of activity. Since this course meets for three consecutive periods each day in the 7th and 8th grades, and for two periods each day in the 9th grade, it is possible for each teacher to be responsible for only 80 pupils. The teacher in the program is then in a position to establish close personal relations with his pupils.

What the high schools ought to teach. A stimulating report[11] by a special committee on the secondary curriculum is well worth examining, not only because it reflected the general concern of educators for the inadequacies of the curriculum, but also for the suggestions that it offers for improvement. The Committee recommended that the secondary school continue the work of the elementary schools in giving instructions in reading; that work experiences become an integral part of the curriculum; that a more effective program of instruction in the social studies be arranged;

[11] American Council on Education, *What the High Schools Ought to Teach,* Report of a Special Committee on the Secondary School Curriculum, 1940.

and that instruction in personal problems, such as physical and mental health and family life, should find a place in the program.

The Committee was also very critical of the nature of conventional subjects, such as English, mathematics, foreign languages, history, and the natural sciences, for their formalism and remoteness from the needs of youth. Finally, the Committee recognized the need for more emphasis upon unifying educational experiences so that the pupil will see the relationships among the several areas of the curriculum.

It must be admitted by any serious student of education that the public secondary school is in a critical stage of its development. Many traditional practices will have to be discarded if it is to serve the needs of youth properly. Fundamental changes in its organization and curriculum will have to be made if this institution is to achieve the purposes that society has assigned to it.

Summary. The rapid growth of the secondary school since 1900 has been one of the most remarkable developments in American educational history. Since that time the percentage of those of secondary school age actually enrolled in school has increased from 7 to at least 65 per cent. In 1944 more than 6,000,000 students were enrolled in the secondary schools, public and private. This growth has had its effect on changing the functions of the secondary school. Whereas once it reached only those who wished to prepare for the higher positions in the world of the professions, now it became a school for everybody. It can no longer remain solely a college preparatory school.

The increasing number of pupils finding their way into the secondary school and changing social conditions have made it necessary to redefine the functions of this school. The Committee on Functions of Secondary Education in 1937 enumerated ten functions it should seek to perform. The import of this Committee's recommendations was that the secondary school must concern itself with an improved plan of general education as well as with the special needs and interests of youth.

The organization of the secondary school, traditionally a four-year school enrolling children from 14 to 18, became to a marked extent a six-year school, creating a new division, the junior high school, made up of grades 7 to 9. This school was organized to bridge the gap between the elementary and the secondary school.

The instructional organization of the high school, in spite of such de-

partures as the Dalton laboratory plan, remained departmental. The high school experimented with homogeneous grouping and other schemes for improving instruction, but its curriculum remained to a large extent modeled after the colleges and dominated by them. The willingness of 250 colleges to accept students graduating from the high schools that participated in the experiment sponsored by the Progressive Education Association would seem to indicate that the colleges will lessen this control of the high school curriculum. The junior high school introduced some innovations. The senior high school has also become more sensitive to the special needs of pupils of different interests and levels of ability and has introduced a variety of curricula, such as the commercial, general, industrial arts, household arts, and others. The multiplicity of courses in a metropolitan high school is now nearly as great as those in a large college.

Meanwhile the movement for an integrated curriculum, which has been making rapid headway in the elementary school, soon became felt in the secondary school. The trend now is away from conventionalized formal courses toward those more concerned with problems of human living and the integration of personality. Progress is being made, but it is very slow. Many fundamental changes in organization, methods, and curriculum are under way that will make the secondary school a more effective institution, but the speed with which these changes are being made needs to be accelerated.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Enumerate the conditions responsible for the growth of the secondary school in the United States since 1900.
2. What are the most important functions and issues of the secondary school?
3. What types of instructional organization are commonly found in the secondary school?
4. Evaluate the Dalton Plan in terms of modern educational theory.
5. What social and economic conditions have influenced the objectives and functions of the secondary school?
6. Trace the influence of national committees on the high school curriculum.
7. What effect has the movement toward integration had upon the organization of the senior high school curriculum?

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Chapter Fifteen

THE TEACHER AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Responsibility of school for parent education. The school has a definite responsibility to educate the parents and other citizens of the community as well as the pupils. The neglect of this important function has retarded educational progress in many communities. Changes in educational practices have been opposed in many instances simply because no attempt was made by the teachers, supervisors, and administrators to interpret to the parents and patrons of the community the modifications which in themselves were educationally desirable. Frequently, the school has been inadequately financed because the community had never developed any appreciation of the financial needs of the local school system. Fortunately, school people are coming to realize that the community must be prepared to accept and support improvements in the educational program. They now recognize that opposition to change and reluctance to support the schools on the part of the community are, in many instances, an indication of their failure in educational leadership.

By way of illustrating the failure of the school to establish close relationships with the home, one of the writers recalls the experience of a new elementary school teacher in a small community who broke too abruptly with local school practices by substituting chairs and small tables for the permanent desks and by not placing in the hands of the younger children a reading book to be taken home to be studied in the evening. While these modifications of the school environment were simple in nature, yet they were met with opposition from many parents and other school patrons in the community. Concerted pressure was soon exerted first on the teacher

and then on the school board members to have the teacher change her ways. The parents did not understand the educational justification for making any changes in even the physical rearrangement of the schoolroom. No effort had been made to guide the parents in reconstructing their attitudes toward school practices. Many teachers and administrators have had similar experiences.

Importance of interpreting school to community. The task of interpreting the school to the community is, therefore, of paramount importance. It is important not only because the school depends upon the community for its financial support, but more especially because the school cannot realize its potentialities as an educational institution unless its constituents are familiar with its purposes and in sympathy with the methods employed to achieve these purposes. In too many communities the only objective in establishing wholesome school and community relations would appear to be to protect the financial welfare of the school. As a result the only time the educational leaders try to develop a favorable attitude toward education is when a crisis arises in the financial affairs of the schools, resulting in the levying of additional taxes, or when a favorable vote is needed for a bond issue for school buildings. Obviously, the citizens of the community are not likely to be in the most receptive frame of mind, if they are never approached by the school people and given an understanding of local school conditions except in times of financial distress.

Experience would seem to show that those school systems carrying forward a continuous program of public relations which is concerned with informing the community on the educational contributions of the schools, as well as on the financial policies and practices, develop the most wholesome attitude toward education in the community. There is then little need to go to the public periodically with high-powered publicity campaigns to create a favorable attitude toward financial support for the school system. The increasing emphasis on the development of public relations programs is direct evidence that school people have accepted the responsibility for educating the public.

Why public relations? The prospective teacher may not appreciate fully the importance of developing in the community a sympathetic attitude toward the school. He may feel, as some teachers do, that his activities and relationships should be confined to the school building. He may think that it is futile to try to develop understanding in the community of the purposes

and processes of education, that these matters are of a technical nature, and are not for the layman. It is true that many of the teacher's activities require technical skill, but the purpose of the public relations program is not to develop teaching skills in the parent and citizen, nor to develop the ability to compute unit school costs. Instead, the purpose is to inform the community of the changes in behavior the school is attempting to bring about in the pupils and the conditions most conducive to realizing these behavior changes. When the public is kept informed on what the school is trying to do, the extent to which it is accomplishing its objectives, and the conditions standing in the way of further progress, the requests of the school for the cooperation of the community in educational matters are not likely to be received unsympathetically. No informed parent is going to oppose any change or development in the schools that is intended to advance the welfare of his children. But adults, like children, are not inclined to participate in any undertaking that does not have some meaning for them.

The teacher's activities and public relations. It is not to be assumed that the problem of interpreting the educational program to the community is one that should be placed on the shoulders of any one individual. If the public is to be informed on the local educational situation, it is essential that everyone engaged in the school enterprises—the board of education, the administrative staff, the teachers, and educational organizations—cooperate in the undertaking. Inasmuch as we are concerned here primarily with the obligations of the teacher, we shall consider only his responsibilities and activities in connection with the program of public relations.

There are a good many constructive activities in which the teacher can engage that will promote the development of an effective public relations program. Every school should sponsor school projects of one kind or another that will help in interpreting the work of the school to the general public. The teacher is called upon to help with these group activities, such as publicity campaigns, theatricals, pageants, and others. But the teacher's most effective work in the public relations program is achieved through his personal and professional relations with the parents and patrons of the school. The teacher who can establish congenial relationships with the parents and who can instill respect for and confidence in the educational program of the school holds a key position in any program intended to enlist the financial and moral support of the community.

Of all the activities in which the teacher participates, home visitation is by far the most important. The full benefits of this activity have been realized by few schools. Meeting the parent in his home gives the teacher an opportunity to establish a favorable attitude toward the school, and at the same time makes him better informed on the social and economic backgrounds of the pupils, and thus equips him to guide the learning of the child more effectively. Of these two values of home visitations, the second is more important. A pupil who is well adjusted and happy in his school life is a more formative influence on the parent's attitude toward the school than any amount of "high pressure" publicity.

The teacher's knowledge. Teachers generally have been criticized for their lack of understanding of the larger social issues and problems in our national life and the world at large. They have been censured as well for their ignorance not only of the local community, but also of the educational system in which they function. Their energies have been so closely devoted to the immediate problems of instruction within the schoolrooms that they have not developed an understanding of the social and economic orientation of the institution of education itself. And consequently, their value as agents for the dissemination of information and the interpretation of the educational program in the local community is necessarily limited.

This lack of knowledge and understanding on the part of the teachers was quite apparent in the early years of the 1930's, when there was a general movement for reducing school expenditures. In some communities the schools were temporarily closed. In the early phases of the retrenchment program the efforts of the teachers to combat the strategy of the local politicians and, in many instances, of well-meaning citizens, met with little success. Too often the teachers could not talk intelligently to the layman about the contribution of education to the community. They had little knowledge of the services of the local school program aside from those with which they were connected in line of immediate duty. Not one teacher in a hundred had insight into the general problem of taxation in the United States. The average teacher's knowledge of local school finance did not extend much beyond knowing that support for education was provided by public funds. Obviously, the teachers were ill-equipped to meet the attack of those persons and of organized interests in the local communities that were insisting on reducing drastically the costs of public

education without taking into consideration the consequences of such action.

What should the teacher know about his school? In 1933 the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education took up "the task of collecting the facts concerning the crises in education, of taking these facts to the public, and of giving advice and assistance to school people." The Department of Secondary-School Principals cooperated with the Joint Emergency Commission by devoting an issue of the Bulletin to the problem of educational interpretation. In order to indicate the range of the teacher's information about his school, the following check list was prepared:

KNOWING YOUR SCHOOL

A check list of selected items every teacher should know about his school

If you were talking with a patron of your school could you acquaint him with the ideas and facts below or answer his questions concerning them?

NOTE: On the items in this list which lend themselves to comparison the teacher should be familiar with the facts not only in his own community but also in the larger units of county, state, and nation.

Contributions of the School

_____Provides good educational opportunities for all children.
_____Provides educational opportunities through group action at a cost far lower than they could be secured by individuals.
_____Provides regular and wholesome employment of the child's time.
_____Assumes many duties the home formerly cared for.
_____Develops an intelligent citizenry—the basis of social and business progress.
_____Provides adult educational opportunities.
_____Serves as a center of community activities.
_____Provides housing and sponsorship for the group activities of youth.
_____Serves as an agency for performing school functions.
As shown by history of local school system.

Economic Values of the School

_____Money circulating in community as a result of schools—salaries, expenditures for supplies and equipment.
_____Increased value of property due to schools.
_____Increased earning capacity of the individual due to education in the community.

_____Increased demand for and consumption of many modern products as a result of education.
_____Increased incentives to industries to locate in the community.
_____Higher wages because children are kept out of labor markets.
_____Value of custodial service for all children of school age six hours per day.

Educational Opportunities for Pupils

_____Curriculum and extracurricular offerings.
_____Reasons for recent changes in organization, curriculum, or method.
_____Standards of buildings and equipment in relation to health of pupils and effectiveness of their work.
_____Extent of physical welfare activities for pupils.
_____Special opportunities provided for atypical children.
_____The length of the school year.
_____Per cent of retardation among pupils as a measure of the school's efficiency.
_____Holding power of the school.
_____Extent to which the services of the school have been omitted or curtailed due to reduced financial support.

School Finance

_____Status of board of education—fiscally independent or otherwise.
_____Amount of school budget.
_____The tax levy for schools; for all other public services such as fire and police protection, roads, and public buildings.
_____Kind of tax furnishing most of school revenue.
_____Amount and proportion of revenue coming from local, state, and national sources.
_____The distribution of the tax dollar; the school dollar.
_____Per cent of the annual expenditure which goes for educational services; for debt service.
_____The per cent school costs are of the tax collections.
_____The per cent the value of school property is of the wealth of the district.
_____The value of public school property per child in average daily attendance.
_____The cost of current expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance.
_____The indebtedness of the school system, both floating and bonded.
_____Reasons for financial policy of school system.
_____Financial ability of local unit to support its schools properly and consideration of whether assistance from a larger unit is needed.

_____How much school costs have risen since 1914 and why.
_____Extent of reduction of school budget.
_____Constructive economies effected to meet reduced income.
_____Suggestions as to how school finances might be placed upon a sounder basis in the future.

Teachers' Salaries and Services

_____The salary schedule.
_____The average salary of teachers; of custodians.
_____How teachers' salaries compare with those of other individuals of like training.
_____Did teachers' incomes rise along with incomes of other workers in prosperous times?
_____Training and certification requirements.
_____The average teacher load.
_____Number and per cent of teachers attending summer school.
_____Increased responsibilities of teachers.

The interest of the public in school news. Just as the teacher must be sensitive to the interests and needs of the pupils in order to guide learning in the most economical and effective manner, so must he be informed on the interests of the public if he is to be an effective agent in the public school relations program. However, on the basis of the evidence presented by Farley[2] it would seem that the interests of the school patrons have not been accorded the proper respect by those officials responsible for the dissemination of school news. The emphasis placed on school news items appearing in the daily papers, in terms of space, was at variance with the desires of the public for school information. After collecting the opinions of some 5,000 school patrons as to the topics of school news in which they were interested, Farley then analyzed representative newspapers to determine the amount of space devoted to the different aspects of the educational program. He found that school patrons were interested in obtaining information on the progress of the students, methods of instruction, the health of the children, courses of study, values of the educational program, and the discipline and behavior of the pupils. These are all matters closely related to the immediate welfare of the child. They are important factors

[1] Department of Secondary-School Principals, *Meeting the Emergency in Education,* Bulletin No. 46, 1933, pp. 20-21.

[2] Farley, Belmont M., *What to Tell the People About the Public Schools,* Teachers College Contributions, No. 355, Columbia University, 1929.

in influencing the child's attitude toward the school. But Farley did not find that these phases of the school's program were the ones to which the newspapers gave the most space. According to the amount of newspaper space given to reporting items of school news, extracurricular activities, and other phases of the educational program such as school building, fiscal affairs, and the activities of the Parent-Teacher Associations and school officers ranked high. The evidence shows a difference of opinion between the newspapers and school patrons as to the relative values of the items of school news.

THE PUBLIC RELATIONS PROGRAM

While those aspects of the educational program that have a direct bearing on the child's welfare have a very high public relations value, there are many community activities and services in which the school participates that should not be ignored by the school authorities responsible for the public relations program. Some communities did not fully appreciate the magnitude of the additional responsibilities placed on the school during World War II and the educational adjustments that were necessary in the immediate postwar years. The local communities in general have not been reluctant in the past to assign additional tasks to the school; there is no reason to believe that there will be any change in this practice. Therefore, the public relations program should provide information on all aspects of the school program in order that the patrons may have an intelligent appreciation of the activities and needs of the local schools.

Reporting achievement: a teacher's public relations activity. Among the professional duties of the teacher important for their public relations value no mention has been made of the influence of the teacher in the activity of reporting the progress of the pupils. Every parent is interested in the progress of his child in his school activities. Farley's investigation showed the item to rank first in importance in the judgment of the school patrons. Yet the value of this contact with the parent for establishing congenial relations between the home and the school has been fully realized in but few communities.

It is unnecessary to relate the criticisms of the ordinary report card that is carried periodically to the homes by the pupils. The main objections will be discussed in Chapter 16. As a device for interpreting the progress of the pupil to the parent, the average report card has very little value; as

an instrument for establishing cooperative relations with the home, it is relatively impotent. Yet a school report card which would be intelligible to the parent, indicating the important traits the school was attempting to achieve and the success the pupil was having toward achieving the objectives, would be a very powerful instrument in interpreting the work of the school and in enlisting the cooperation of the parents. In addition, if the parent were encouraged to confer personally with the teacher, many false impressions could be avoided and a better mutual understanding could be established.

Stimulating school visitation. The teacher will also have an opportunity to meet the parents through his activities in connection with other phases of the public relations program. In many communities the school has made an effort to establish closer relations with its constituents through such activities as school exhibits, commencements, visiting days, patrons' nights, and others. While the teacher's contact with the citizens of the community should not be confined to these occasions, yet these affairs serve as an inducement in getting to the school many parents who would otherwise stay away. Many people visit these special school events who would not or could not call during the regular school day. These affairs serve a useful purpose in creating a situation in which the teacher can meet the parent in an environment most conducive to the development of a favorable attitude toward the work of the school.

The Parent-Teacher Association. The Parent-Teacher Association should be one of the most influential social organizations contributing to a better understanding between the home and the school. The roots of this organization go back to the middle of the 19th century, when the mothers formed in groups to discuss the problems of the child and his adjustment to school life. The origin of the present national association dates from 1897, when a group of women meeting in Washington organized the National Congress of Mothers. According to Butterworth, the original objectives of the National Congress of Mothers were: "the education of parents for child development; the cooperation of home and school; the promotion of the kindergarten movement; the securing of legislation for neglected and dependent children; and the education of young people for parenthood."[3] The name of the organization was changed to the National

[3] Butterworth, Julian E., *The Parent-Teacher Association and Its Work*, The Macmillan Company, 1929, p. 7.

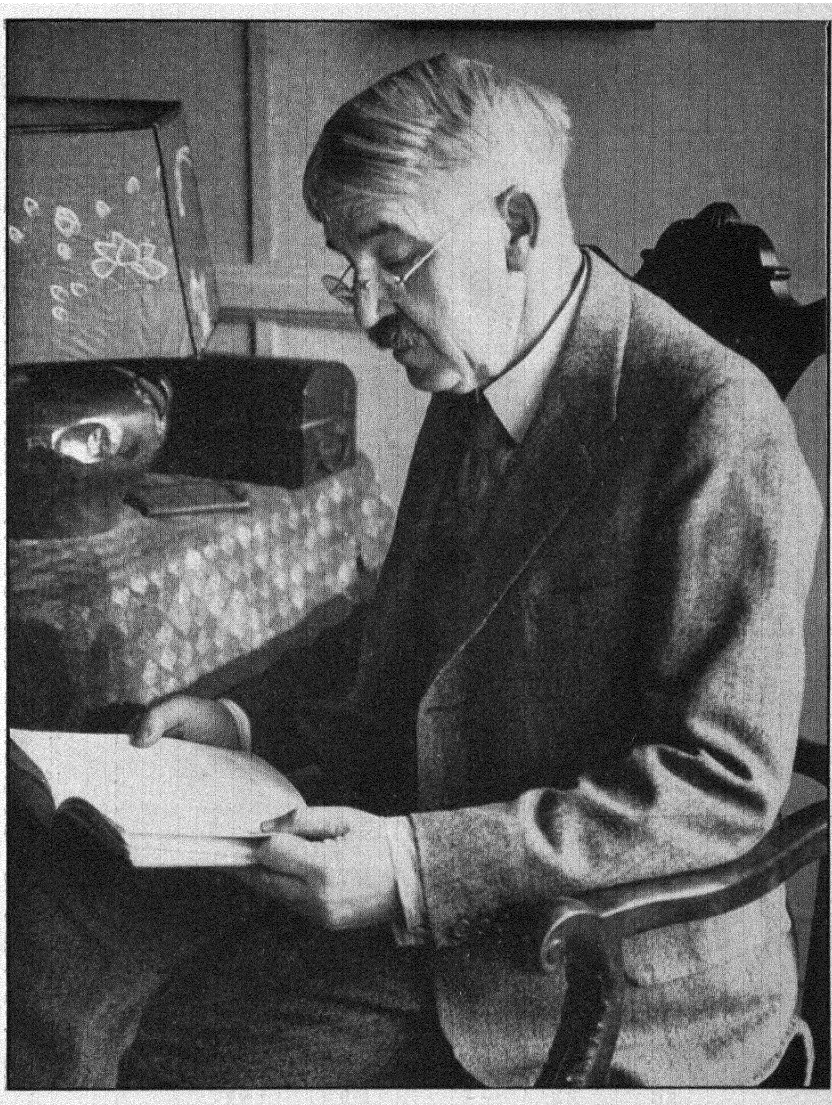
Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations in 1908. The name was changed again in 1924 to the National Congress of Parents and Teachers.

Growth in membership in the National Congress of Parents and Teachers has been remarkable. No statistics on membership are available before 1912, but in that year it had a total membership of 31,672. By 1945, the membership had mounted to more than 3,000,000 and there were at least 27,000 local units affiliated with the National Congress. A member of a local unit affiliated with the National Congress becomes a member of the state and national organizations.

The Parent-Teacher Association met considerable opposition from the educators in the early history of the movement. There are still many school people who, while not actively opposed to the formation of a local association, do nothing in the way of encouraging such an organization. The opposition to the movement developed out of the fear that the association would assume some of the prerogatives of the school officials and teachers. Certain instances in which local associations had exceeded the bounds of their advisory functions contributed to the uneasiness of the opposing educators. Experience would seem to show that the reluctance of school administrators and teachers to identify themselves with the local Parent-Teacher Association has been in part responsible for many associations, not being cooperative in their efforts to solve the common problems of the school and the home.

In view of the apparent lack of consistency between the avowed purposes of the Parent-Teacher Association and the activities in which many associations engaged, an effort was made by Elmer S. Holbeck in 1934 to "evaluate, in terms of accomplishment and potentialities for accomplishment, the aims, activities, program, and work of the Parent-Teacher Association."[4] From an analysis of the literature, sixteen objectives were compiled which seemingly represented the important goals of the Parent-Teacher Associations' activities. These objectives of the Parent-Teacher Association were first ranked in order of their importance by forty officials of the Association and then by forty educational administrators. As a result of this procedure, Holbeck found considerable agreement between the officers of the Parent-Teacher Association and the school administra-

[4] Holbeck, Elmer, *An Analysis of the Activities and Potentialities for Achievement of the Parent-Teacher Association with Recommendations,* Contribution to Education, No. 601, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1934.



Ewing Galloway

John Dewey, a champion of the democratic school system



Ewing Galloway

A community forum with teachers and parents

tors as to the relative importance of the several objectives. Among the more important purposes of the Parent-Teacher Association there seemed to be some difference of opinion in regard to solving such school problems as home work, reading habits, and so forth. It appeared that the school administrators felt that the solution to these problems was one that for the most part was an essential responsibility of the school. It should be noted, however, that the administrators did not feel that the problems were those for which the school was solely responsible. They merely did not rank them so high in importance as objectives of the Parent-Teacher Association as did the officers of the latter organization.

Holbeck also found considerable agreement between Parent-Teacher Association officials and school administrators in regard to the importance of the major activities of the Association as revealed in the literature.[5] However, after analyzing the specific activities which were being carried on by one hundred associations, Holbeck came to the conclusion that there was a discrepancy between the objectives and activities which were considered important by the association officials and educators and the activities in which the local associations were engaging.[6] For example, *making material gifts to the school* was ranked low in importance as both a function and a major activity, but it was found that this activity was engaged in by many local associations.

The Parent-Teacher Association should be a strong influence in every community in the development of better home and school relations. It has not realized its potentialities in this direction in many communities because of the reluctance of teachers and educators to participate in the formation of its policies and the direction of its activities into the most useful channels. It is to be expected that if a group of parents interested in cooperating with the school is ignored by the teachers and school officials, a feeling of distrust and perhaps suspicion will develop. If the interest and efforts of the parents and patrons are not recognized and accepted, and redirected if necessary, it is logical to assume that the patrons will make their interest felt in the direction that seems wisest to them. In too many instances the educational program has suffered from the misdirected efforts of well-intentioned people. The Parent-Teacher Association should be a vital instrument for establishing direct contacts between parents and

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55.

teachers, thereby putting the teacher in a more favorable position to guide the behavior of the children and at the same time to contribute to the development of a cooperative attitude on the part of the parents. It can only achieve the purposes for which it was created by the teachers and the parents working together on the solution of those problems which neither can solve singly.

Application of teaching principles to educational interpretation. The principles the teacher follows in his work with the pupils are also appropriate to employ in his activities in educating the public. Just as many teachers are not so effective as they should be because they have violated acceptable principles of teaching, so many programs of public relations fall short because they have not followed sound educational principles. Every intelligent teacher recognizes the fact that the past experiences of the child must be taken into account in planning for new experiences. This fact also must be considered in interpreting the schools to the public. The attitudes, interests, and activities of the parents and patrons should be analyzed carefully for clues to the possible next steps of the educational staff in its relations with the community. The teacher is well aware that the desired response or behavior is not always developed in all pupils by the same activity. In the public relations program every effort should be made to reach all the citizens of the community with information and activities that hold some meaning for them. The teacher also has the responsibility for improving the behavior of the students. He must suggest new interests, attitudes, and activities more wholesome than the ones the student now has. So must the educational staff in its relation with the public try to raise the level of interests in the educational program. In some communities the only interest of the community is in the success of the football or basketball team. While the school people have to recognize the importance of this interest, they also have the obligation to attempt to direct the interests of the community to more important phases of the educational program. The effective teacher is sensitive to the need for a variety of class activities so that every student will have the opportunity to take an active part in the class period. Likewise the public relations program should provide for differences in the capacities of the citizens of the local community to understand and to interpret the educational program and to participate actively in its promotion. Finally the good teacher recognizes the moral responsibility to be honest with his students. The information that the

school disseminates in the community must also be characterized by honesty and truthfulness.[7]

Summary. Every teacher should assume his share of the responsibility for educating the community. Interpreting the schools to the public is an important problem which cannot be solved successfully by the efforts of any one individual in the school organization. The same educational principles which apply to teaching in the classroom are equally pertinent to the activities in connection with educating the parent. The teacher should prepare himself for his public relations responsibilities as carefully as he prepares for his classroom activities. Preparation for one is also preparation for the other, for there is no line of demarcation between these two phases of the teacher's behavior. The teacher should be well-informed on all aspects of the local school situation—educational, physical, and financial. He should be familiar with the interests of the parents so that he may deal with them wisely. He should engage in individual and community activities that will contribute to stimulating interest in those phases of the school's program which need the cooperation of the community. The Parent-Teacher Association and other organizations concerned with the educational welfare of the community should receive his active support.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. What factors in the educational situation in the past have contributed to developing in the teacher the attitude that his responsibilities for educating the public were not of major importance?
2. Why should home visitation be an important activity for the teacher?
3. Are there any items upon which the teacher should be informed but which are not included in the statement of the Joint Commission on the emergency of education? If so, what are they?
4. Analyze the school news items appearing in a local newspaper to determine the importance that the editor attaches to news value of the several aspects of the local educational program.
5. Examine the activities of a local Parent-Teacher Association in light of objectives of the organization.
6. Why is it not possible for the school to achieve its true purposes unless the community is in sympathy with its program?

[7] Department of Superintendence, *Critical Problems in School Administration*, Twelfth Yearbook, 1934, pp. 236-239.

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Chapter Sixteen

APPRAISING THE OUTCOMES OF EDUCATION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF APPRAISAL METHODS

MEASUREMENT HAS ALWAYS BEEN a feature of educational practice. The examination—oral, written, or both—has long been employed as the chief instrument for measuring the outcomes of learning. The importance of the written examination in American schools dates from the historic written examination of the Boston School Committee in 1845. It had been customary for the Committee to make an annual inspection of the schools and in addition administer an oral examination to the pupils. With the growth of the school population the task of testing the pupils became overwhelming. In 1845 the Committee attempted to use the written rather than the oral technique in discharging its duties as an examining body. The results of the experiment were so successful that Horace Mann, then Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, extolled through *The Common School Journal* the merits of the written examination as an instrument for measuring pupil achievement. Several claims were made by Mann for the new instrument of measurement. He contended that the written examination was fair, impartial, and thorough; that it revealed the ease or difficulty of the individual questions; and that it was particularly useful in determining the efficiency of the teacher. It is to be noted that Mann was pleading for the adoption of what is now known as the essay type of testing. Notwithstanding the efforts of Mann, the general adoption of the written examination did not come until later.

After the essay form of testing finally achieved respectability in the eyes

of the educators of the United States, it became the main technique by means of which teachers measured the progress of their students. In 1897 a new approach to the measurement of school achievement made its appearance in the United States in the form of an objective spelling test constructed by Dr. J. M. Rice. Later, Dr. Rice devised similar tests in arithmetic and composition. But it should be mentioned here that the educational historian usually gives credit to Reverend George Fisher, an English schoolmaster, for the original attempt to devise more objective methods for measuring the achievements of students. It seems that the Reverend Mr. Fisher in 1864 constructed a *Scale Book* which included sample questions in the several school subjects and typical answers that were rated on a five-point scale.

The beginning of objective testing. The real impetus to the objective examination movement in the United States, however, came with the publication of a book by E. L. Thorndike on *Mental and Social Measurements* in 1904. This volume dealt with the principles of test construction and was used as a first handbook by those persons interested in measurement. Thorndike has been called "the father of educational measurement." In 1908 C. W. Stone published the first standardized test in arithmetic, and the movement for measuring school achievement objectively was under way. During the initial stages of the movement, attention was devoted to devising tests for the elementary school subjects, but today standardized objective tests are available for practically every subject offered in the elementary and secondary schools.

The development of informal objective tests. Aside from the element of cost, the standardized test was not always an appropriate or suitable instrument for measuring instruction. There was a need for more frequent checking of the progress of learning than at the end of the course or semester. Also the educational outcomes measured by the test items of the standardized test did not always square with the objectives of the individual teacher. The technique employed in the standardized test was soon carried over by teachers to the construction of informal examinations that were more in conformance with local needs. The unstandardized objective test is commonly known as the *new type test* or the *informal objective test.*

The present status of appraisal. At present there are three types of pencil and paper measuring devices: the essay examination, the standardized

test, and the informal objective test. Regardless of the criticism which has been directed against it, the essay test is still employed with great frequency. The informal objective test is also firmly established in practice. These two methods of measuring progress in learning are essentially teaching as well as testing instruments; i.e., they can be used for teaching the child the elements involved in the test and for appraising progress periodically. The use of the standardized examination has grown with great rapidity, but it should be said that because of its nature the teacher cannot depend up it as an instrument to measure the learning process in its intermediate stages. The standardized test finds its greatest usefulness in comparing the status of achievement of the local school with achievement for the country at large.

In addition to the pencil and paper methods of testing the outcomes of instruction, every teacher estimates at times the progress of learning by informally observing the behavior of the pupil in his learning activities. The questions and suggestions of the pupils; the voluntary projects in which he engages; and the attitudes, understandings, interests, and traits that he reflects in his relations with others are frequently genuine evidence of growth. Teachers generally have not taken the pains, however, to identify these more intangible evidences of achievement. If more care were given by the teachers in observing the behavior of the child in informal situations for evidences of growth, less emphasis would need to be placed on the construction of the more formal instruments for measuring the outcomes of instruction.

THE PURPOSE OF APPRAISAL

Tests and examinations have been used for so many different purposes that they have fallen into disrepute in certain educational circles. The fundamental purpose of any sort of measuring device is to determine the progress the pupil is making in his learning experiences. Measurement is, therefore, an integral aspect of the teaching-learning process. Unless the pupil knows how well he is doing in his learning activities, he is not in a position to modify his efforts, he has no standard to use when faced with a similar situation. Every intelligent individual is sensitive to the amount of his success in what he is doing. But he does not wait until he has completed his work before determining his success, as is done in educational practice. He is constantly judging each successive step and redirecting his efforts when he feels that the result requires it. If the teacher is

en rapport with the learning process as it develops, he will also keep checking the pupil's progress so that with his greater maturity and experience he will be able to guide the pupil's activities in the right way. It seems, however, that this diagnostic function of examination and tests has been forced into a secondary position in many situations. Too frequently the primary function of the examination is to survey achievement, to stimulate students to additional effort, to enforce standards, or to determine honors and awards.

The pupil's progress in learning cannot be measured or estimated except in terms of some standards or points of reference, which in school practice are known as the objectives of education. These objectives furnish direction to the learning activities of the pupil. If the teacher and pupil have no particular changes in behavior to work toward, they will have no standards against which to measure progress. Any scheme of testing or measuring the progress of the pupil must be sufficiently comprehensive to produce evidence of the extent to which objectives of the course of study or the particular unit have been achieved. Thus, it will be necessary for the teacher and pupil to employ all the valid devices available for measuring the progress and outcomes of learning. The essay test and the objective test must be supplemented by the informal observation, the use of checking lists, inventories, and scales. The teacher must constantly analyze and evaluate the activities of the pupil for evidence which will throw light on the headway the pupil is making toward the objectives of instruction.

THE CRITERIA OF APPRAISAL

What standards or criteria should be employed in judging the accuracy and effectiveness of the instruments used to measure the progress of learning? The three commonly recognized qualities of any good test or examination are validity, reliability, and objectivity. Since every teacher should be concerned about the effectiveness of his particular methods and instruments to measure the pupil's growth, some attention will be given the accepted standards against which he can check his measuring techniques and devices.

Validity. For any test to be valid it must measure the extent to which the objectives of instruction have been achieved. If one of the objectives of a class project or unit in history is to develop an understanding and ap-

preciation of the foreign policy of the United States since World War I, any pencil and paper test, or evidence reflected in the informal behavior of the pupil, should be of such a nature that it indicates the growth of the pupil toward the objective. If the test items or questions deal only with the acquisition of trivial elements of subject matter, needless to say, the test lacks validity. If, on the other hand, the questions of the pencil and paper test deal with subject matter essential to the achievement of the objective, the test possesses validity. Obviously, there would be other valid techniques which the teacher should be alert to use in appraising the growth of the pupil, such as identifying and recording evidences of the interest he shows in current news relating to our foreign policy, noting the contributions he makes in class discussion, his inclination to participate in pertinent individual and group activities, his spontaneous comments and questions, and others.

Validity is, however, relative and some testing devices are more valid than others. The teacher should be the best judge of the validity of a specific test or device for a particular group of pupils whom he has guided in a common enterprise. But there is no use to deny the fact that many teachers have not been sensitive to their responsibility to use valid instruments of measurement, simply because they do not clearly understand the changes they are trying to bring about in the behavior of the pupil. It is impossible for them to measure the progress of the pupil toward the achievement of the objective, if they are not sure of the particular objective itself.

Reliability. The second important criterion of the value of a test is its reliability. This refers to the accuracy and consistency with which the test actually measures. Reliability is also relative, but a reasonably reliable test would be one on which the scores made by a certain group of pupils at one time would be identical with the scores of the same group on a duplicate copy (the same number of questions identical in difficulty, testing the same trait) given at another time. And the test would be equally reliable if the scores were identical with the scores of an equally able group of pupils having the same background and training on the same test.

Reliability is obviously an aspect of validity. A valid test must be reliable or it will not be valid. But a test can be reliable without being valid. In other words, a test may measure accurately and consistently

some particular trait or ability but not the particular trait or ability which is the objective of instruction.

There are several statistical methods for determining the reliability of a test. For practical purposes, however, it is not necessary for the teacher to determine reliability. To insure reliability in a test the main requirement is to have a sufficient number of items in the test to sample adequately the pupil's progress toward the objective of instruction. Experts in testing have demonstrated that the greater the number of test items included, the higher the reliability of the test. Thus, to increase the reliability of a given test, the teacher should increase the number of its items.

Objectivity. The third commonly recognized standard for judging the worth of an instrument of measurement is its objectivity. Any test is objective to the extent that qualified persons agree as to the correct answer for each question or item in the test. In other words, objectivity as a characteristic of testing means that prejudices and irrelevant factors do not color the judgment of the scorer. The essay test was criticized for its subjectivity because it appeared that the judgment of the scorer was unduly influenced by factors other than the correctness of the answer. But the variation between the ratings or scores assigned to an essay test by competent judges cannot be attributed entirely to the subjectivity of the scorers. The persons rating the tests are not always in agreement as to the particular objectives of the project or undertaking which the test is presumed to measure.

Objectivity is a quality which should be sought in all measuring devices, whether they be objective or new type tests, essay tests, or other devices used in identifying the traits that the pupil reflects in informal classroom activities. It is essential that irrelevant factors, such as peculiarities in temperament, physical indisposition, and bias on the part of the scorer do not interfere in estimating the extent to which the pupils have achieved a particular educational objective. If different scorers have the same view with regard to the educational objective of the undertaking, the objectivity of their judgments will depend on the extent to which they agree on the evidence of achievement.

THE WRITTEN EXAMINATION

Every teacher in the modern school uses the essay test in one form or another to measure the achievement of his pupils. The objective test,

also, while a relatively new device, has found its way into school practice with such rapidity that most pupils have had some experience with it during their school career. The prospective teacher, however, should be more familiar with the various methods for estimating outcomes of learning than may be obtained from taking tests and examinations as a student. He should be sensitive to the merits and limitations of the several instruments of measurement. It would seem desirable now to consider more carefully the various devices for measuring learning.

The essay test. The reader from experience will be reasonably familiar with the essay test. He will recall that questions usually begin with who, what, when, describe, discuss, classify, explain, or some other interrogative or directive term. This type of test has been considered easy to construct. But if the teacher is concerned with the quality of each question, it is doubtful whether the construction of the essay test is as simple a matter as it seems. If care is taken in the preparation of the examination to see that the test questions relate to the objectives of instruction and are stated in such a way as to leave no doubt in the mind of the pupil as to their meaning, more time and reflection are required in their preparation than are given to the average essay test.

Aside from the small number of questions permitted by the essay examination, the most frequently mentioned defect has been the subjective nature of its scoring. Considerable evidence has been produced to show that teachers of the same subject vary widely in the score that they would assign to the same examination paper. For example, different teachers of history scoring the same history examination paper will assign scores ranging from 40 to 90 per cent. There is, however, some question as to whether such differences are due entirely to the nature of the essay examination itself. It is contended by certain educators that the differences in scoring may be attributed largely to differences in the objectives of the raters. The outcomes that a teacher is seeking with a particular group of children are frequently peculiar to the pupils and teacher. It is obvious that another person, not knowing the pupils, the particular circumstances in which the unit was carried forward, and the educational values which the teacher was striving to achieve, would only by chance agree with the teacher of the group on the score which each pupil should receive on an essay examination. To assume immediately, however, that any difference in judgment is due entirely to the subjective nature of the

scoring of the essay test would not seem warranted, unless, of course, the teacher is grossly incompetent to judge the work of children.

It is generally agreed that the essay test is the best instrument available to use in measuring the pupil's ability to organize and express his ideas. Through it the teacher may obtain an insight into the thinking processes of the pupil which he could obtain in no other way. The freedom of expression that the pupil enjoys frequently leads him to reveal evidences of achievement that would not be brought to light by the objective technique of testing.

THE OBJECTIVE EXAMINATION

One of the chief advantages claimed for the objective test or examination is the objectivity of its scoring. Irrelevant factors do not influence the score of the pupil. The scoring is such a simple matter that it may be done by anyone provided with an answer key. Little time is consumed in the scoring process as contrasted with the scoring of the essay test. Again, the objective test permits the extensive sampling of the pupil's achievement within a short period of time. The pupil does very little, if any, writing, usually indicating the correct answer by a check mark. Finally, the pupil taking the test cannot cover up his lack of knowledge by deception. He must respond to each item in the test or omit answering it.

Types of test items. Many different types of objective test items have been devised. Ruch and Rice[1] report the results of an analysis of 375 examinations submitted in a nation-wide objective examination contest in which there were seventeen principal types of test items revealed. The completion, true-false, multiple choice, matching, and identification types accounted for more than 90 per cent of the items. There were many variations within each principal type. To familiarize the reader with the variety of test item forms, an example of each of the principal types, taken from Ruch and Rice's investigation, are here reproduced:

I *True-False Type*

The story of Beowulf lets us know something of Anglo-Saxon ideals. True False

[1] Ruch, G. M., and Rice, G. A., *Specimen Objective Examinations*, Scott, Foresman and Company, 1930.

II *Completion Type*

The first explorers of the Great Lakes region claimed the land in the name of *France.*

III *Multiple-Choice Type*

Heat travels along a metal rod to the opposite end by a method called *radiation convection conduction.*

IV *Matching Type*

Place the number corresponding to one of the numbers in the left-hand column on the line provided in the right-hand column, indicating the word you select for it to match.

1. leaves	10	lentils
2. stalks	8	cauliflower
3. bulbs	6	yams
4. seaweeds	3	leeks
5. tubers	5	potatoes
6. tuberous roots	7	carrots
7. succulent roots	4	Ceylon moss
8. flowers	9	okra
9. fruits	1	cabbage
10. seeds	2	asparagus

V *Rearrangement Exercise Type*

Arrange these "issues" according to the order of their appearance in American political history.

(5) Reduction of the surtax
(3) Free coinage of silver
(1) Internal improvements at national expense
(2) "54-40 or fight"
(4) Entering League of Nations

VI *Analogy Type*

The "Book of the Dead" was to the Egyptians what the *Zend Avesta* was to the Persians, and what the *Bible* was to the Hebrews, and what the *Koran* was to the Mohammedans.

VII *Identification Type*

Identify the following by naming the story in which it occurs.

1. The pillar of fire by night
2. The Sea Maid
3. The man who wanted to write a story, but was laughed at by his wife

VIII *Reproduction from Memory Type*

Quote ten lines from "As You Like It."

IX *Deduction from Premise Type*

The following formulas are correct: K_2O HCl H_3PO_4 ZnO H_2SO_4 CaO KOH KNO_3 Cr_2O_3

Indicate by a number at the right the valence of each of the following:

Hydrogen _____	Phosphate radical _____
Potassium _____	Calcium _____
Chlorine _____	Nitrate radical _____
Zinc _____	Chromium _____

X *Construction Type*

Draw a horizontal line 3-1/16" and divide it geometrically into five (5) equal parts.

XI *Correction of Form Type*

Draw a line through the word in each sentence which is unnecessarily or incorrectly used.

1. I feel pretty good.
2. Who did you see?
3. They don't know nothing.

XII *Cross-Out and Redundancy Type*

(a) Cross out the words that make the statements incorrect.

Poe's literary work is remarkable for its artistic finish, realism, sadness, moral ideals, and special technique.

(b) Cross out the redundancies.

The man was tall, fat, corpulent, and handsome.

XIII *Computation Type*

The sales were $15,000, sales expense $400, and cost of goods sold $10,000. What was the gross selling profit?

XIV *Map Location Type*

These are the usual exercises in locating cities, rivers, trade routes, etc., on maps. The maps usually have the names of such features replaced by numbers or letters.

XV *Translations*

These are the familiar exercises in all language teaching.

XVI *Pronounciation or Scansion*

Such exercises are rare but occasionally pupils were asked to mark the pronunciation of words or the scansion of lines in poetry.

XVII *Essay Questions*

In English, particularly, many teachers felt that certain discussion questions were needed as complements to the objective types. In almost all cases the required answers were short paragraphs or single sentences, reasonably objective in their evaluation.[2]

New uses of the objective technique. One of the criticisms of the objective technique has been its emphasis upon testing the educational outcomes known as facts and information. It has been contended by many educators that the objective test does not lend itself to measuring the more flexible traits. That the objective technique has more possibilities for measuring these more dynamic objectives of education than has been fully realized to date may be observed in the uses which have been made of it by the Progressive Education Association in its Eight-Year Study of thirty experimental high schools. One of the evaluation instruments constructed for this study was designed to measure the student's ability to apply scientific principles in the solution of the problems of living. As an example, one of the tests is given below.[3]

Directions: In each of the following exercises a problem is given. Below each problem are two lists of statements. The first list contains statements which can be used to answer the problem. Place a check mark (√) in the

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[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 12-22.

[3] Smith, E. R., Tyler, R. W., and the Evaluation Staff, *Appraising and Recording Student Progress*, Harper & Bros., 1942, pp. 80-90.

parentheses after the statement or statements which answer the problem. The second list contains statements which can be used to explain the right answers. Place a check mark (√) in the parentheses after the statement or statements which give the reasons for the right answers. Some of the other statements are true but do not explain the right answers; do not check these. In doing these exercises, then, you are to place a check mark (√) in the parentheses after the statements which answer the problems and which give the reasons for the RIGHT answers.

In warm weather people who do not have refrigerators sometimes wrap a bottle of milk in a wet towel and place it where there is a good circulation of air. Would a bottle of milk so treated stay sweet as long as a similar bottle of milk without a wet towel?

A bottle wrapped with the wet towel would stay sweet.

a. longer than without the wet towel ( ) a.

b. not as long as without the wet towel ( ) b.

c. the same length of time—the wet towel would make no difference ( ) c.

Check the statements below which give the reason or reasons for your explanation above.

d. Thunderstorms hasten the souring of milk ( ) d.

e. The souring of milk is the result of the growth and life processes of bacteria ( ) e.

f. Wrapping the bottle prevents bacteria from getting into the milk ( ) f.

g. A wet towel could not interfere with the growth of bacteria in the milk ( ) g.

h. Wrapping keeps out the air and hinders bacterial growth ( ) h.

i. Evaporation is accompanied by an absorption of heat ( ) i.

j. Milkmen often advise housewives to wrap bottles in wet towels ( ) j.

k. Just as many foods are wrapped in cellophane to keep in moisture, so is milk kept sweet by wrapping a wet towel around the bottle to keep the moisture in ( ) k.

l. Bacteria do not grow so rapidly when temperatures are kept low ( ) l.

It is to be noted that the above test situation was not designed to measure the student's knowledge. It does not purport to measure what the student has stored in his memory; instead, the purpose of it is to measure his ability to apply the knowledge he has acquired, which is the real test of genuine learning.

This example is, of course, the result of only one of the many attempts to measure objectively outcomes of the learning process that early appeared to be unmeasurable. It is apparent now that the objective technique in testing can be adapted to measuring all sorts of educational objectives. Probably one of the reasons for its being employed more frequently in the past in measuring the factual outcomes of learning and not methods of thinking, interests, attitudes, and the more general traits is that the teachers have stressed the acquisition of information as the major educational objective.

MEASURING VERSUS EVALUATING LEARNING

So far in this chapter attention has been upon the different kinds of techniques available for estimating and measuring the outcomes of the learning process and the qualities that should be sought in every instrument of measurement. It has been implied that when the teacher employs a test to measure the progress of learning, he is merely attempting to arrive at a description of the learning status of the student at a particular point in its development. The teacher's effort is similar to that of a person employing a foot rule to measure the size of a desk. The test the teacher uses is the instrument of measurement just as the foot rule is an instrument of measurement. A good measuring instrument in either instance is objective; it does not fluctuate in its reliability according to the changing fancy of the person employing it.

When the teacher faces the problem of evaluating learning, he is not concerned so much with describing the status of learning at a particular time or point; he is, instead, really concerned with judging the worth or value of the learning being measured. In order to evaluate learning, or for that matter anything else, there must be some standard of reference or criterion. A description of the size of a desk in terms of feet and inches is valueless except in so far as it is an indication that the desk will serve the peculiar purpose of the person who is to use it. The purposes the desk

is to serve are the standards of references in judging its worth or value. So must learning be evaluated in terms of its purposes. The important question the teacher should ask himself is: "Does the test measure what it should measure?" Some clues as to what the test should measure are found in the social objectives of education. If the objectives of education are those traits that society desires to have developed in its children, then these become the standards of reference in judging the value of the learning of the student. Learning should be evaluated in light of the extent to which it contributes to the achievement of its objectives.

REPORTING PROGRESS IN LEARNING

It has been customary practice to report periodically to the pupil and parent a statement of the former's success in learning. The report card has been considered an essential device of educational administration. It is looked upon by the pupil and parent as an official statement of the school as to the progress the pupil is making in his learning experiences. It is the cause of much joy as well as sorrow and, therefore, affects directly or indirectly the attitude of the child toward the work of the school. The threat of failure has been employed and is still being used by some teachers as a method of getting pupils to apply themselves to the tasks of the school, even though the practice is regarded as undesirable. The record of the pupil's success follows him from grade to grade and from school to school, and it is accepted presumably as a valid account of the learning achievements and status of the child.

It would seem to follow that any device which looms so large in the life of the child should be of such a nature as to reveal reliably to the pupil and parent the progress of the learner toward the goals or objectives of education. It is seriously questioned, however, whether the practice that has been followed in reporting school marks and grades is intelligible and meaningful to either the child or his parent. Current methods for reporting progress would appear in many instances to be neither valid nor reliable. The causes for the increasing dissatisfaction will become more explicit in the following discussion of the common method employed by the school in reporting progress.

Absolute marking plan. The absolute marking plan is based on the assumption that the pupil's achievement should be reported according to the

degree of success that he had in reaching an external standard of some sort. The characteristic method of reporting is by means of a 100 per cent scale. The pupil receiving 100 per cent in a subject is presumed to have attained the standard of achievement set for him. The passing mark is arbitrarily determined at a point on the scale ranging anywhere from 60 to 80 per cent. As worked out in practice, the standard to be attained is usually conceived in terms of quotas of subject matter that have been determined by the teacher or school as the desired level of achievement in the subject. Strictly speaking, the ability of the pupil, whose progress is being reported, is not to be taken into consideration. According to this plan the percentage grade should represent the extent to which he has achieved the externally determined standard.

In addition to the implication that the only phase of the pupil's progress worth reporting is the success he is having in acquiring knowledge, the absolute marking system is open to other criticism. Measuring the achievement of pupils during the period of general education against an arbitrary standard would seem to be a highly questionable practice. More attention will be given later in the discussion to this objection.

Many school administrators have been reluctant to change to some other intelligible method of reporting grades on the grounds that the parent and the pupil understand the percentage system. But as a matter of fact, the employment of the percentage scale is a highly ambiguous method in most instances. Somehow in actual practice the standard of 100 per cent has become synonymous with perfection in school achievement. The parent, if not the teacher, has thus interpreted it. The ambiguity in the mind of the layman, with regard to school achievement, resulting from such an interpretation cannot be easily dispelled. For example, if a pupil receives a mark of 100 in history, what does this mean so far as his growth in history is concerned? Has he acquired the allotted amount of history information perfectly? Can he draw inferences from historical data perfectly? Can he apply historical generalizations to new situations perfectly? Has he developed a perfect attitude toward the study of history? If he receives 70 per cent, has he just seven-tenths of these informations, abilities, dispositions, and interests? Any educator knows that the standards of perfection differ from teacher to teacher. A few teachers may employ the percentage system to indicate the extent to which the pupils have achieved the standards that have been predetermined. But some think of the pupils' progress in relation to the other members of the

class. There are other teachers who report progress in terms of the pupil's capacity. And with still other teachers, the pupil percentage grade is a combination of these and other factors.

Finally, to believe that any teacher can discriminate between forty different levels of achievement, assuming a passing mark of 60, is without justification when experimental evidence would seem to show that human judgment can distinguish between only five to seven levels. The employment of the percentage system is, however, on the decrease, and where it is still being used marks are reported in multiples of five or ten, such as 60, 65, 70, 75, etc., or 60, 70, 80, 90, 100. Such a modification is desirable, but it does not remove the fundamental objection to the practice of reporting a pupil's progress according to his success in achieving a standard which may not take into account his potentialities.

The relative marking plan. Reporting the pupil's achievement by comparing it with the achievement of others in the group, or in relative terms, has come into prominence more recently. Usually marks are reported by means of alphabetic letters, such as A, B, C, D, and E. Some schools use numerals, such as 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The pupils having the highest achievement in the class receive an A, those next high receive a B, and so on. The potentialities of the pupil are not taken into account in reporting his growth. His progress is determined by comparing his achievements with the achievement of the other members of the class.

The most important objection to the relative grading plan is the unwholesome effects of reporting a child's progress in relation to the achievement of other children. While the practice tends to stimulate among some pupils an atmosphere of competition for school marks, it would seem to have a demoralizing influence upon the sensitive children and promote indifference among the more callous ones. If the school is concerned with developing a wholesome attitude in the child toward the work of the school and toward his fellow pupils, it is necessary in awarding marks to take into account the capacities of the pupil.

Many teachers are not disposed to consider the bad effect of relative grading upon the child's attitude. They argue that the achievement of the individual in adult society is compared with that of his fellows, and that he is rewarded for his work accordingly. They conclude, if the adult world rewards its workers on a relative basis, why should not the school follow the same practice? After all, they insist, school should prepare for life.

There are several fallacies embodied in the foregoing contentions, but space permits mentioning only two. First, school marks are not rewards for the student's work in school in the same sense that money is the reward for the services of the worker in business and industry. School marks are intended to reveal the child's progress in his learning activities. They are not essentially rewards for his achievement.

It must be acknowledged that in many kinds of endeavor society compares the achievement of the individual with the accomplishment of others and distributes the reward accordingly. The adult, however, does have some control over the choice of those with whom he is to compete. He is to a degree able to select his life's work in terms of his capacities. The child in school has no such control; he must work with the group to which he is assigned.

The employment of an alphabetic letter in the relative grading plan as an index of the pupil's growth is just as ambiguous as giving a per cent mark in the absolute grading system. To state the progress of the pupil by using a single letter certainly is not very informative to the pupil or to the parent in showing the extent to which the child has achieved the educational objectives of the curriculum. Both the parent and pupil need more specific knowledge to be intelligent about the present status of the child's progress.

Individual marking plan. According to the individual grading plan, both the pupil's actual achievement and his potentialities for achievement are taken into consideration. He is not judged according to his success in achieving an external standard as he is with the absolute grading system, nor is his progress compared with the progress of other pupils as it is with the relative grading system. The individual marking plan demands that the pupil's progress be compared with his potentialities for achievement. The school's report is based on this comparison. Individual grading tends to eliminate the demoralizing effects of competition with others who may be superior or inferior in ability. It also tends to abolish the feeling of futility and inadequacy that often develops when the pupil is compelled to struggle toward levels of achievement, arbitrarily set by the teacher or school, which far exceed his potential abilities.

Many educators object to the individual grading plan on the grounds that the school has a definite responsibility to society for guiding students in the acquisition of certain common knowledges, understandings, and

abilities. For example, society demands that every child be able to read, to write, to spell, to compute, and that he possess certain common attitudes, facts, and understandings. It is maintained that to give a pupil a passing grade on a favorable report when he has not attained the desired minimum level of achievement in these areas is misleading to both the parent and the child.

It is extremely important, in the interest of both the individual and society, that every child have some degree of achievement in mastering those intellectual tools essential to meeting the common needs. Individuals differ in their capacities to learn. Thus society cannot demand a uniform attainment for all people in the important common areas of learning. It is the school's responsibility to insist that every child work up to the fullest extent of his potential ability. It would also appear to be the school's responsibility to report the child's progress in the common areas of learning in relation to his potentialities.

It seems obvious, however, that a report of progress will not be any more meaningful to the parent and his child if the latter's achievement is indicated by the use of a single symbol, such as the letter B, or 90 per cent. The report form should embody a written statement or some other more time-saving method which deals with the individual achievement of the pupil, in relation to his potentialities, toward the educational objectives of the course or courses. For the most part, the average report card confines its record to an indication of the pupil's success with the habits, skills, and knowledges. It should be of much more concern to the child and parent that the child is developing attitudes, interests, methods of thinking, and other important generalized traits up to the extent of his ability. It is the child's success in these more important educational objectives that should be of chief interest to the parent. The report form of the progressive school includes such a record.

Marking in professional courses. So far discussion of marking has been confined to the methods and standards for judging the achievement of pupils on the general educational level where the experiences are unspecialized, requiring no unusual aptitude or ability. Most of the courses in the field of general education are required of all pupils inasmuch as they deal with the common areas of experience with which every pupil should have contact. Thus, the school has the responsibility for providing desirable learning experiences in which the dullest pupil will have some success.

In these general courses it would appear that the most defensible grading system is based on a comparison of the pupil's achievement with his potentialities.

In professional courses the problem of marking the student who is preparing to serve society is a different matter. The number of practitioners whose services society can utilize is limited. Only those persons who have the ability to attain the standards of achievement in skill, information, and attitude which will protect society from incompetency, should be permitted to practice. Standards should be high and selection severe. We are not concerned here so much with the good intentions and zeal of the individual as we are with protecting the welfare of society.

The report form. In the preceding discussion the traditional methods employed by the school in reporting the achievement of the pupil have been criticized because of their ambiguous nature. It was further contended that the seeming complacency on the part of schools relative to the meaningless methods of reporting the progress of the pupil is probably due to the fact that the teachers themselves do not have a clear-cut notion of the particular changes which they should bring about in the behavior of the pupil, aside from the acquisition of subject matter. With the increasing recognition of the integrated nature of human behavior and the emphasis upon educating the whole child, it is apparent that the report of the pupil's achievement should not only be meaningful to the pupil and parent but should also include information on many different aspects of the growth of the pupil toward the objectives of instruction.

Many forward looking schools have been alert to the defects of the traditional report card, and they have been experimenting with report devices which would state more clearly and reliably the progress of the pupil. Among the many different experiments reported in educational literature, Wrinkle's description of practice in the secondary school of Colorado State College of Education is well worth examining.[4] The general objectives sought by the school were first identified as follows: "(1) self-direction, (2) social adjustment, (3) breadth of interest, (4) participation, (5) personal attractiveness, (6) oral expression, (7) written expression, (8) basic reading skills, (9) location of learning materials, and (10) care of materials and equipment."[5] From among the general outcomes

[4] Wrinkle, William L., *The New High School in the Making*, American Book Company, 1938, pp. 265-283.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

the staff selected those which were the particular goals of each of the following aspects of the curriculum: language arts, science, social studies, and mathematics, and the arts and physical activities. One form then included the outcomes peculiar to the language arts division of the curriculum, another the science, social studies, and mathematics division, and the third the arts and physical activities division. The teachers of the several curriculum divisions evaluated the achievement of the pupil on each outcome according to the following standards: distinctly superior, satisfactory, needs to make improvement, unsatisfactory, and no evaluation, by using the letters H, S, N, U, and O respectively. In order to define and clarify the meaning of the outcomes, examples were given of the behavior of the pupil possessing the particular trait. For example, the pupil who was self-directive was considered to possess the following trait in varying degrees:

1. The student is regular and prompt in attendance except for approved cause.
2. Moves from one situation to another without wasting time.
3. Begins work promptly and continues until it is time to stop.
4. Engages in effective activity with a minimum of supervision.
5. Meets his responsibilities promptly and carries out agreements.
6. Is intelligent in the selection of problems for study and in the organization of his study plans.
7. Intelligently follows plans and directions after they have been set up and explained.
8. Is critical of his own activities and seeks advice and criticism in the interest of making improvements.
9. Reacts in a positive manner to and profits by criticism.
10. Utilizes previous experiences in meeting new problems.
11. Has justifiable confidence in himself but is not overconfident.
12. Has courage and perseverance which keep him on the job even though the work is difficult.[6]

The above mentioned experiment represents one of the many—but still too few—efforts to make the report card an instrument which will be meaningful to the parent and pupil and at the same time serve as a valuable device for educational guidance. It represents an attempt to report the success the learner is having in achieving those important attitudes, methods, and traits which are the unifying factors in human behavior. If the purpose of education is to make desirable changes in the behavior

[6] *Ibid.* p. 277-278.

of children, why should the report card not indicate the progress the child is making toward these objectives of instruction?

Summary. The measurement of the progress of a child in school has always been a part of the duties of the teacher. Before 1900 measurement was almost entirely subjective; that is, it depended solely upon the personal judgment of the teacher. Since then it has been the ambition of the educational scientist to make measurement more objective. Thorndike in 1904 published the first book on scientific measurement.

The first tests of an objective character were developed on the elementary school level. Today tests are available for every level and for practically every subject. These objective tests are of two types: standardized tests, and informal, or nonstandardized tests. The latter make more frequent objective measurement by the teacher possible.

The fundamental purpose of measurement is to determine the progress being made by the pupil in learning. A good test has validity, reliability, and objectivity. The essay examination, which was first used in Boston in 1845, has been criticized for its lack of objectivity; but the lack of agreement of the markers of these tests may be chiefly due to lack of agreement as to the objectives to be measured, rather than to a fundamental weakness in this kind of measurement. The essay examination is useful for measuring the ability of the pupil to organize and express his ideas.

The objective examination employs many types of test items, is easy to score and has a high degree of objectivity. It is claimed that it has been used chiefly to measure factual knowledge; but more recently new devices have been used to appraise reasoning, judgment, and other aspects of thinking. This type of test is being improved to measure and evaluate learning in terms of the extent to which the pupil is reaching the objectives of education.

Closely related to the problem of measurement, is the problem of using school marks and of reporting to the parent the progress being made by his child. Three types of marking plans are in current use: (1) the absolute; (2) the relative; and (3) the individual plan. The absolute plan measures the child's progress according to some rigid standard external to the real situation. The relative plan measures a child in terms of comparison of his progress with others in his class. The individual plan measures the child in terms of his capacity. The trend is toward the use of individual marking plans in courses on the general education level.

Reports of progress are also undergoing rapid change at present. The tendency is toward the use of a report form which not only reports progress in the achieving of skill and knowledge, but also records the degree to which the child is developing the understanding, attitudes, and traits which democracy desires for its citizens. Such a report tends to take the form of a written letter or a very greatly modified and more personalized report card to the parent.

Study and Discussion Questions

1. Trace the early development of measurement in America.
2. What is the fundamental purpose of educational measurement?
3. Explain the meaning of validity, reliability, and objectivity as standards for evaluating tests and examinations.
4. Summarize the merits and limitations of the essay examination. The objective examination.
5. What are the chief characteristics of the absolute marking plan? The relative marking plan?
6. In what way, if any, is the individual marking plan open to criticism?
7. Can you justify a different standard for measuring achievement in professional courses? Discuss.
8. How much confidence should the teacher place in evidences of progress as revealed through his observation of the informal activities of the pupils?
9. Enumerate the items of information which should appear on a report card.

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