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DIRECTOR OF THE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION,

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VOLUMES IN

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THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM—Douglass and others

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AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION—Douglass and Grieder

TEACHING IN HIGH SCHOOL—Douglass and Mills

AMERICAN PUBLIC EDUCATION

AN INTRODUCTION

By

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PREFACE

American Public Education has been written in recognition of, and to advance, today's developing trend toward teacher education rather than teacher training. Designed as a textbook for sophomores, juniors, and seniors in such courses as Public Education in the United States, The American School System, and Introduction to Education, it does not materially overlap the content of courses in Methods, Curriculum, Principles of Education, Principles of Secondary (or Elementary) Education, or School Administration. With adequate supplementation, it may also be used in classes of graduate students.

This book is definitely based upon recognition of the essential need for teachers to participate democratically in the problems of the profession, of the local school system, of the curriculum, and of all other elements of the whole educational program. It provides a compact body of information and discussion of the following areas important in the preparation of teachers—before service and in service—which sum up the essentials of knowledge and understanding constituting a minimum adequate preparation.

1. The organization, support, and control of education in the United States—national, state, and local, by official and by unofficial agencies.
2. The functions and organization of American education at its various levels, and the articulation of its units and levels with each other and with the community.
3. The composition of and relations within its personnel: pupils, teachers, service employees, and administrators, with special attention given to the problems of improving the staff and to the changing nature of the pupil personnel.
4. The status and problems of curricular and extracurricular programs and activities.
5. The differences and similarities between American education and education in other countries.
6. The character of the profession—its organizations and special problems.
7. The development of present conditions and problems in American education.
8. Current trends and probable future developments.

In the preparation of this volume, the needs and interests of four groups of readers have been kept in mind: (a) students in institutions of higher education who are preparing for teaching or for administrative or supervisory positions; (b) teachers in service who have never systematically prepared themselves in this field, or whose preparation was obtained years ago; (c) students in classes in political science, or in education, who have as one of their principal objectives the development of an acquaintanceship with the American school system; (d) general readers who may wish to acquire as a part of their understanding of American democracy and its institutions a good picture of the American school system.

American Public Education has been written with a definitely forward-looking point of view. Time was when professional education of teachers was concentrated rather exclusively upon the details of classroom procedure, psychology, history of education, and principles of education. Apparently the teacher was to be concerned only with the details of his own classroom and with little reference to, or vision of, its relation to the rest of his school and school system, and to education in general. That period has passed.

The authors are men of varied and wide experience in education, including teaching in rural school, elementary school, high school, teachers college, and university, in almost every section of the United States. Both have been principals and superintendents of schools. They have visited more than a thousand schools, and have acted as consultants for many city, county, and state school systems. One author has been particularly active in curriculum, methods, and guidance; the other has specialized in school administration and the history of education.

Obviously indebted to hundreds of writers of books and articles, the authors are also indebted to thousands of former students in their classes, particularly in summer school. Special acknowledgment is made of the assistance of Lloyd H. Elliott, departmental assistant at the time the manuscript was being completed.

The authors are deeply grateful to the Research Division of the National Education Association and to the United States Office of Education for data of many kinds on American schools.

To colleagues in institutions educating teachers and administrators everywhere, this work is submitted in the hope and belief that many will enjoy using it as a textbook.

HARL R. DOUGLASS
CALVIN GRIEDER

Boulder, Colorado
May, 1948

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AMERICAN
PUBLIC EDUCATION

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

A survey of the American school system is a survey of one of the greatest social institutions of the United States, and, indeed, of the world. Its greatness lies not only in its extensive and multifarious activities and services, but also in its ideals and philosophy. Both quantitatively and qualitatively, public education in the United States possesses attributes which are unique or nearly so.

To a student of the social history of this country, the record of the evolution, growth, status, and problems of the educational system is most interesting. In the relatively short period of three centuries, profound changes have occurred in the American people's concept of the importance and purposes of education, and in their ideas of what constitutes adequate provision for the conduct of education. A long series of problems and issues has confronted Americans at various times, many of which have been resolved, and many of which remain to be satisfactorily met. Unlike educational developments in many other countries, this has been achieved through an evolutionary process, not by revolution or by fiat.

1. The Quantitative Scope of Education

Accustomed to the present school system, the American people are prone to take for granted the vast scope of the educational enterprise. They are used to thinking in fairly large terms in general, and are more or less blasé about them. Yet, while keenly aware that they may take some pardonable pride in the quantitative magnitude of the school system, they recognize that there is much to be done to make it adequate.

To most foreigners, the magnitude of American educational undertakings is amazing. No other nation has equalled our achievements, although some nations, especially Britain and the U.S.S.R., are beginning to press us.

A few data on the extent of American education will orient the reader on the current status. Some items are changing and will

change more rapidly during the decades of the fifties and sixties, but the figures given here are true for the late forties.

Numbers Enrolled.—Of the total population of the United States, now approaching 150 million, about 20 per cent are enrolled in elementary, secondary, and higher education—one in every five. This means that about thirty million boys and girls, young men and women are enrolled in some sort of school. In public schools there are roughly twenty-five million; in nonpublic elementary and secondary schools, three million; and in higher education three million. Of the children five to seventeen years of age, more than 80 per cent, a ratio far higher than in any other country, are enrolled in public schools alone, and more than 90 per cent in either public or nonpublic.

Almost five million children are transported in school buses every school day—a number larger than the total population of Switzerland, and 50 per cent more than the population of Norway.

Teaching and Nonteaching Staff.—To teach these vast numbers of pupils, more than a million instructors are required—nearly 900,000 teachers and administrators in the public schools, the rest in nonpublic schools and higher institutions. In addition there are almost as many persons engaged in nonteaching, school-related work, such as secretarial and clerical service, food service, transportation, professional services of various kinds in health, architecture, etc.

Of the nation's total working force of some sixty million, 2 per cent earns its living in educational work. In many institutions of higher learning, education is the primary vocational outlet for their graduates.

Finances.—To pay for the operation of public elementary and secondary schools, about three billion dollars are spent annually. Another billion is required for nonpublic schools and public and nonpublic higher institutions. Approximately $140 per pupil per year is spent for public school services. While a strong case can be made out demonstrating the inadequacy of these amounts, they represent the high point in American school expenditures, and are exceeded in no other country with the possible exception of the U.S.S.R. (according to Russian official reports), and Britain (in proportion to national income).

In their 200,000 school buildings the American people have an investment of eight billion dollars—probably worth at least twelve billion dollars at current construction costs.

Administrative Units.—There are forty-eight state school systems, and 300 state boards concerned in the administration of various kinds of tax-supported educational programs. About 100,000 school districts administered by boards of education involving more than 300,000 school directors are in charge of schools at the local level.

The School Program.—Quantitatively the school program has become more and more inclusive at all levels, but especially in higher education. At the secondary school level it is not unusual to find fifty or sixty unit-courses offered in the larger schools. Large universities provide hundreds of courses. The concept of the work proper to both high school and higher institutions has been vastly expanded from the early tradition of a classical and literary type of curriculum.

Level of Schooling Attained.—In 1940 the median amount of schooling of all people more than eighteen years of age was approximately ten years. Nearly one in three were high school graduates. More than 6 per cent of the entire population more than eighteen years old had attended college, and more than 3 per cent held college degrees. Data on the proportions of adults who are high school or college graduates rapidly grow out of date. The percentages are constantly increasing; most of those who die are older people with less education than the younger folk who take their places. In 1940, for example, those of ages twenty to twenty-four years had almost three years more schooling than those twenty-five years or older.

In 1947 the level reached in school by the population of the United States eighteen years old or beyond was approximately as follows:

	Per Cent
Beyond fourth grade	90
Elementary school graduates	60
High school graduates	30
Some college	12
College graduates	6

The percentage of those who today graduate from elementary school is about 80 per cent of the starting group, and from high school 50 per cent. It is estimated that by 1960 nearly half the population will be high school graduates.

These data, and others (which the reader may wish to look up in the Biennial Survey of Education published by the U. S. Office

of Education), indicate that education in the United States is a very considerable and growing enterprise.

2. Important Qualitative Aspects of the School System

In this section only a few of the more significant qualitative characteristics of the American school system are touched upon, but these are sufficient to provide orientation for more detailed study and discussion.

The American School as a School of Citizenship.—American schools are distinctly institutions whose chief goal is the fostering of good citizenship.. While schooling a generation or two ago and earlier was urged primarily as a means of individual improvement—"to get ahead in the world"—today the school is justified largely as an instrument for the improvement of society. Compulsory support of schools by taxation, and compulsory attendance, are signs of this philosophy.

This does not mean that individual growth is neglected, for it is generally agreed that men and women who are competent in their chosen work, and in parenthood, and who know how to take care of their physical needs, etc., are likely to be better citizens than they otherwise would be. However, emphasis is placed on learning to work and play with others, on sharing responsibilities, on contributing to group activities in various ways that individuals can contribute.

It is not the purpose of the American school to perpetuate the status quo, or to force individual adjustment to prevailing modes of thought and action. The school has a dual social objective: (a) to conserve the best elements of the American way of life, and (b) to eliminate, modify, or improve those aspects of the culture which ought to be eliminated or changed. The school serves as the agent of society in striving toward the realization of this purpose. It takes its cue for establishing standards of evaluation from society as expressed through constitutions, statutes, and public opinion.

The School and Intelligent Leadership and Followership.—It is an American tradition that qualities of leadership can be found among individuals whose social and economic status do not seem favorable. The schools are unquestionably this nation's greatest instrumentality for discovering and fostering leadership abilities among children and youth. The schools also are concerned with

An Interesting Illustration of the Universality of American Education; with No Recognition of Racial, National or Creedal Differences.

(Courtesy San Francisco Public Schools)

developing qualities of leadership in children and youth who superficially appear to be totally lacking in them.

Intelligently conceived school programs when staffed by skillful teachers undoubtedly bring to light a great deal of leadership material. By providing opportunity for the exercising of leadership in instructional and extracurricular activities, the schools serve to promote leadership in many varied situations.

It is recognized, of course, that all persons cannot be leaders in all respects, and some do not possess leadership qualities or abilities in any respect. Therefore an important function of American schools is the cultivation of intelligent followership. Everyone is a follower in some ways, although he may be a leader in one or more other ways. In the United States, high value is attached to participation by all in local, state, and national public affairs, as well as in purely family and neighborhood activities. This being so, it is necessary to educate for intelligent, cooperative participation, besides educating for leadership. The schools of the United States generally do regard both leadership and followership as extremely important elements in their philosophy and practice.

Social Mobility and the Schools.—In the United States today no rigid social castes are recognized. By providing schools for the children of all and by requiring parents to send their children to school (whether public or private), the states have effectively killed the class distinctions of an earlier day. It is no longer a controlling tradition that son shall follow in father's footsteps. It is no longer the belief that "one should be content with the station in life to which God has assigned him."

There can be no doubt that by making secondary and higher education widely accessible, the American people have made social mobility one of the distinguishing characteristics of American life. The schools, by adapting their programs to the needs, interests, and abilities of children and youth, are seeking to carry out the American principle that no barriers be erected to equal opportunity for all. Although this objective has not been fully accomplished, the schools are in the forefront of the fight to make it so.

Social Integration Through a Common School System.—Although American schools are managed through forty-eight state school systems and many thousands of local authorities, there is nevertheless considerable similarity at the elementary, secondary, and higher levels. The quality of schooling may range from very inferior

to very superior, yet the general objectives are similar throughout the land. This is especially true at the elementary level, where objectives and functions have been most clearly defined and most definitely agreed upon.

In the United States the integrating effect of the public schools must be accepted as very great. There is no formal recognition in this country of a dual plan of education—one type for the masses, the other for the élite. Private schools, including parochial schools, are allowed to operate, under state approval and regulation, but only 10 per cent of the children attend them, and their objectives are not significantly at variance with those of the public schools.

The necessity for integration of the many state and local school systems is illustrated by the migratory character of our population, resulting in the movement of a large proportion of children from one state to another, and a much larger proportion from school district to district. It is the exception rather than the rule for children to complete twelve years of schooling in one district. It is unlikely that serious damage is done to the majority of such migrants, since education is conducted along similar lines throughout the land; but some harm is done to children who must attend schools of low quality. Thus one of the pressing problems of American education is to see that a foundation program of educational opportunity is made available to all children. The framework is there, and likenesses surpass differences among the several state school systems.

3. Room for Improvement

An impressive bill of particulars can be submitted on the positive aspects of the American school system, briefly touched upon in the foregoing paragraphs. There is also a doleful side, the details of which warrant some limitation on pride and optimism. The roseate and naïve generalization frequently heard that the people of the United States have always been enthusiastic for education is not entirely borne out by facts.

Schooling and School Attendance.—While a substantial gain has been made in the last generation in the average level of schooling attained, the census of 1940 reported that the typical level of schooling attained by persons twenty-five years of age and older was only 8.4 years. Ten million adults were reported as having less than a fifth-grade education, and three million had no schooling at all.

Nearly 700,000 young men were rejected for service in the armed forces during World War II because of mental and educational deficiencies. Half of these could sign their names only with a mark. These are conditions about which the United States cannot be complacent.

The Bureau of the Census reported in 1946 that in the preceding year only 65 per cent of the sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds were enrolled in school, and in the age group eighteen to nineteen only 21 per cent.[1] Certainly there is room for much improvement in getting and keeping teen-age children in school. It is also estimated that about 5 per cent of children six to thirteen are not attending school regularly, and 8 per cent of those fourteen and fifteen years of age. Almost five million youngsters in every generation are denied educational opportunities equivalent to graduation from elementary school.

Exodus of Teachers.—During the years of World War II about one third of the qualified teachers left the profession. In 1946–47 one teacher in eight was teaching on an emergency or substandard certificate. In some states the ratio was one in four, and in rural areas one in two. Institutions engaged in teacher education reported tremendous decreases in the numbers of prospective teachers, the national decrease being 60 per cent.

Few teachers who had left the schools were returning in the late forties, and very few of the million veterans in the colleges and universities manifested an interest in teaching. In 1947 it was estimated that the teacher shortage would continue for at least a decade.

The chief reasons for the exodus of teachers and the persistence of the shortage are low salaries and unfavorable conditions of work.

Need for More Financial Support.—Many studies published during the forties made a strong case for more financial support for education. Toward the end of the decade it was rather generally agreed that the nation would have to double its school expenditures if adequate educational opportunities are to be provided. In comparison with Britain and the U.S.S.R., the level of support was shown to be relatively low, considering the resources available.

While vast increases must be made in the amounts allocated for salaries, large outlays are also necessary for schoolhouse construction, transportation of rural children, more and better materials of instruction, especially audio-visual aids. Experts declare that be-

[1] *Bulletin* of the Bureau of the Census, July 23, 1946, Series P–S, No. 9, p. 3, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1946.

tween eight and ten billion dollars' worth of schoolhouse construction is necessary for additional buildings and for replacement of old buildings. Forty per cent of the schools are more than forty years old.

Inefficient District System.—While substantial progress has been made in the last quarter-century in the reorganization of school districts, half of the states still have much to do in this area. School districts in these states are too small, too poor financially, to provide satisfactory educational opportunities.

Actualization of the American Philosophy of Education.—Every well informed and honest student of the American educational scene must recognize the necessity of putting more fully into practice the American philosophy of education. Ideals are far in advance of practice—a condition which is to be expected, but which also provides challenges and opportunities for improvement.

Many school systems, schools, and schoolrooms are not conducted in a genuinely democratic manner. Many children do not have adequate educational opportunities. The program of instruction and extracurricular activities stands in need of improvement in many schools, with respect to both objectives and methods.

There is no reason to be discouraged about the defects of American schools. Great progress has been made in past generations. Great progress can be made in this and future generations, if continuous efforts, guided by leaders of sound judgment and high moral standards, are made. Looking back only twenty-five or thirty years should give us encouragement and inspiration for the next few decades.

With all its faults and weaknesses, the American educational system yet stands out as the most comprehensive and most democratic program of education in the world. In order to continue to hold this position of leadership in public education, it is essential to imbue those who work in the schools (and to only a lesser extent the general public) with an awareness of what is valuable from the past, what is important in the present, and what is promising or needful for the future.

4. The Study of the American School System

Need for Professionally Informed School Personnel.—One who enters the teaching profession should acquire an adequate and definite conception of its nature, its history, its organization, support, control, and program. He should become familiar with the problems

which confront teachers and administrators generally in the United States. He should be prepared to understand issues and needs which will demand his attention, and be ready to assist in determining suitable future developments.

As in all extensive institutions, comparatively few among the school personnel of the nation can attain positions of national and state leadership. But to cooperate intelligently with worthy leaders, school faculties must be well informed. In local school systems there is a very great need for professionally informed and professionally motivated teachers and administrators, for leadership and cooperation in the many different phases of educational work. The teaching profession is responsible to a large extent not only for the improvement of educational service, but also for the improvement of the profession itself.

For teachers and administrators in service it is necessary to keep abreast of developments in American education. Statistics and ideas change through the years, and unless one periodically studies the educational scene he loses touch with recent and current developments.

For the Nonteacher.—It is recognized that some who study this book will not become teachers. It should serve them in fulfilling their objectives, whether to become more useful citizens or better parents. As future members of school boards, legislatures, other public bodies, or simply as private citizens, a sound knowledge of American education and its problems should enable them to carry out their obligations intelligently and constructively.

The Plan of This Book.—This book was carefully planned both to serve the purposes indicated above and to avoid overlapping specialized courses to be found in most curricula for teacher education. Topics for study and discussion are included for each chapter. Among the selected references listed at the end of the book, chapter by chapter, many will be found of unusual interest. The nineteen chapters that follow are organized about the following subjects:

First, the story of the development of education in the United States is given in Chapters 2 and 3. This is followed by a discussion of the curriculum and co-curriculum in Chapters 4 and 5. Next a series of four chapters is devoted to state, local, and federal relations to education, and unofficial influences on the schools.

The functions, objectives, organization, and articulation of the levels of education—elementary, secondary, and higher—are discussed in Chapters 10 and 11. Pupil personnel is dealt with next,

followed by two chapters on educational personnel and the major problems of the teaching profession. In Chapter 15 the status and problems of financial support of education are taken up. Since an understanding of educational practice in other lands is of great importance today, two chapters are included on education in several other nations.

The improvement of American education through scientific study and its application is treated in Chapter 18. This is followed by a chapter on the relations of schools to their communities. The book concludes with an analysis of present trends and probable future developments.

Chapter 2

EARLY AMERICAN SCHOOLS

The development of the educational system of the United States from the meager provisions made by the struggling seaboard colonies of the seventeenth century to today's vast and complex program is one of the outstanding achievements of modern civilization.

During the first two hundred years of our educational history, dating from the English colonization in Massachusetts, there was a great deal of fumbling, as the pioneers of social problems felt their way. Several different Old World formulas for instruction were tried in the colonial and early national period. Eventually these plans were found wanting, and our forefathers either were compelled to invent or happened upon new modes of action.

The oft-mentioned "American faith in education" is only partially evident in the story of our schools. It is doubtful if the great majority of the people ever possessed much interest in the problems of providing educational services. The debt for such advances as were made is owed to only a few, as is usually the case with matters related to improvement of the general welfare.

In this chapter a glimpse of early American schools is afforded. The period began with the establishment of the Boston Latin Grammar School in 1635 and of Harvard College in 1636, and ended about the time that Horace Mann acceded to the post of secretary of the Massachusetts state board of education in 1837. The selection of this approximate date as the dividing point between this account and that given in the next chapter is made because it marked the end of the formative period—characterized largely by imitation of European forms and by trial and error—and the beginning of a century of continuous growth and development along more typically American lines. The 1830's are also important in American history as marking the era of Jacksonian Democracy, and the beginning of new currents of action and thought in politics, economics, and other social aspects besides education.

1. Variations of Background for Education

The settlement of Massachusetts and other parts of New England by the Pilgrims and the Puritans was a most fortunate thing for

American education, for these people had been reared in the Calvinistic tradition, which had its source in the Protestant Reformation. They "believed in" mass education as a matter of religious principle. When Luther substituted the authority of the Bible for the authority of the Church, he preached that each person stood in direct relationship to God. It followed, then, that everyone must be able to read and understand God's word. Accepted by other religious sects of the period, this was the basis for Protestant recognition of the importance of elementary education for all—young and old, rich and poor, male and female. This is the chief reason for the leadership in educational matters which Massachusetts and other New England settlements possessed throughout the colonial period.

The religious background of Massachusetts' educational efforts is well illustrated by the second school law enacted by the General Court (the legislature), in 1647. This act, usually referred to as "the old deluder, Satan, law," is quoted here in the quaint phraseology of the time:

> It being one cheife proiect of ye ould deluder, Satan, to keepe men from the knowledge of ye Scriptures, as in formr times by keeping ym in an unknowne tongue, so in these lattr times by perswading from ye use of tongues, yt so at least ye true sence & meaning of ye originall might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, yt learning may not be buried in ye grave of or fathrs in ye church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting or endeavors,—
>
> It is therefore ordred, yt evry towneship in this iurisdiction, aftr ye Lord hath increased yr number to 50 householdrs, shall then forthwth appoint one wthin their towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write & reade, whose wages shall be paid eithr by ye parents or mastrs of such children, or by ye inhabitants in genrall, by way of supply, as ye maior part of those yt ordr ye prudentials of ye towne shall appoint; provided those yt send their children be not oppressed by paying much more yn they can have ym taught for in othr townes; & it is furthr ordered, yt where any towne shall increase to ye numbr of 100 families or householdrs, they shall set up a grammar schoole, ye mr thereof being able to instruct youth so farr as they shall be fited for ye university, provided, yt if any towne neglect ye performance hereof above one yeare, yt every such towne shall pay 5£ to ye next schoole till they shall performe this order.[1]

[1] E. P. Cubberley, *Readings in Public Education in the United States*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., pp. 18–19.

Such favorable ground for popular education was not found in the southern and middle colonies. The people who settled there had different backgrounds and traditions. In the South, schooling was largely limited to private efforts by families who could afford to employ tutors, and to the provision of charity schools for paupers. The middle class was, as is still often the case with provisions for social welfare, left largely out in the cold.

In the middle colonies there was a great mixture of ideas about education. The people who settled in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and Pennsylvania came from several different nations, and represented several different faiths. What came to be the dominant type of practice with respect to education was the provision of parochial schools by the parish churches of the various faiths, and of pauper schools for nonmembers too poor to employ private teachers.

The *principle* of education for all children was recognized in the first two school laws (Massachusetts) enacted in the New World: in the law of 1647 quoted above, and in the law of 1642, which provided that parents and masters should be accountable to the civil authorities "concerning their calling and implyment of their children, especially of their ability to read & understand the principles of religion & the capitall lawes of this country. . . ." Other New England colonies recognized the same principle.

The following discussion first treats of elementary education, then secondary education, and lastly of the early beginnings of higher education. Only highlights can be given, but the attempt is made to convey to the student the essential quality or "flavor" of our early schools.[2]

2. Elementary Education

Paucity of Content and Crude Methods.—A very limited idea of the content of elementary schooling prevailed—this applies, in fact, generally to all the colonies and to the infant states of the early national period. The "Three R's"—reading, writing, and, in some

[2] Historical data on the development of state and local administration of education and on federal educational activities are given in Chapters 6 to 8.

The student is earnestly encouraged to read widely in the selected references listed at the end of the book. He is urged, too, to put his critical faculties into high gear, both in his study of this chapter and the readings, and to reflect on facts presented and on conclusions drawn. The interpretation of history is highly subjective, and the authors make no claim that their interpretation is the only acceptable one. There are many exceptions to the generalizations made in the following pages, some worse and some better than the conditions mentioned.

schools, arithmetic—constituted the subject matter. All three were taught in a way that seems to us quite wasteful and crude. The materials of instruction were extremely limited, and the goal seems not so much to have been the imparting of useful knowledge as it was to keep the children occupied and out of the way. In most places the pupils were given a very strong exposure to religious sentiments in their reading and writing lessons. In those days American schools were a long way from being truly secular.

Reading. For reading (the most richly developed subject in modern elementary schools) the materials of instruction were very poor. This was due, no doubt, to the scarcity of books and paper for making books in the New World. It was not until around 1800 that textbooks began to come into general use.

The earliest "textbooks" were the hornbooks, which were used in England as early as 1450. They consisted of a sheet of paper (in earlier times parchment), attached to a wooden paddle and protected by a thin, transparent sheet of horn. Typically the hornbooks bore the alphabet, a set of syllables, such as *ab, eb, ib,* etc., and the Lord's Prayer. Samplers of similar content were also used, and making samplers was a widespread "learning activity." The catechism, the Psalter, and the Bible was used by more advanced pupils.

In 1691 *The New England Primer* made its appearance in Boston, and it enjoyed a vogue in its successive editions for more than a century and a half. The *Primer,* as it was edited for Puritan use, was heavily weighted with religion. The 1777 edition included the following contents. It began with a child's morning and evening prayer. Then were given the alphabet, with vowels, consonants, capitals, small letters, and lists of spelling words classified by numbers of syllables from one to five. Next was a moral lesson. This was followed by the alphabet in rhyme. Then came the catechism, a child's grace for mealtime, an alphabet of lessons for youth, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, Dr. Watts's cradle hymn, "Hush, my Babe," and other like pieces. A picture showing the burning at the stake of John Rogers, a London minister, was accompanied by a long rhymed piece, "Advice to Children," which the victim left to his wife and children. The Shorter Westminster Catechism was one of the major features of the book, as was another briefer catechism by John Patton, "Spiritual Milk for American Babes, Drawn out of the Breasts of both Testaments, for their Souls Nourishment." Finally there was a rhymed dialog in which Christ, Youth, and Satan take part, ending with the Youth's going to hell as a penalty for not heed-

ing Christ's entreaties to turn from sin. *The New England Primer* is said to have "taught millions to read, and not one to sin." All this was really adult material and had nothing in it of juvenile interest—it was merely "watered down" to make it appear superficially of interest to children.

It was not until about the time of the American Revolution that the stranglehold of such learning material was loosened. In 1785 Noah Webster's *Third Part Reader* appeared,[3] the first reader completely an American product and the first of a long series of readers, almost or entirely secular, which had wide use. Much of their content consisted of orations. Webster's *American Spelling Book*, the famous "blue-backed speller," issued originally in 1783, went through hundreds of editions. It was selling a million copies a year by 1842, and its circulation to 1880 is estimated to have exceeded 80,000,000 copies. These books initiated a long line of readers and spellers of distinctively American content and outlook.

Writing. Next in importance to reading was writing, until arithmetic became established in the curriculum. As early as 1730 a copybook was published in Boston, with the title *The Young Secretary's Guide*. This and other writing books presented an intricate analysis of the lines, hooks, and curves of letters, with rules for combining them into characters and words. The modern successors of these works are the well known penmanship manuals used in most schools, and the models tacked up on many schoolroom walls.

The introduction of slates in the early nineteenth century released the masters from "setting the copy," so that they could spend more time supervising the pupils' efforts. Since paper was expensive, the use of slates permitted more practice than had been possible before; blackboards helped in the same way when they came into use a little later. The emphasis in the early days was more on "artistic" writing than on legibility. This attitude persisted clear down to the late nineteenth century, with its "Spencerian" style of handwriting.

Arithmetic. In some schools arithmetic was taught from the beginning of the colonial era, but it was not required at first. It was more often found in the southern and middle colonies than in New England. The purpose was to prepare boys for commercial occupations, especially in trade with England and Holland. By 1789 arithmetic was a legally required subject of study in Massachusetts and

[3] Webster's Speller was the *First Part* and his grammar the *Second Part* of a three-book series. The formal name of the reader was *An American Selection.*

New Hampshire, and by 1797 in Vermont. Yale required it as an entrance subject in 1745.

The first American arithmetic book was a reprint of an English work by Hodder which appeared in Boston in 1719. Ten years later Isaac Greenwood published the first written by an American. Thomas Dilworth's book, *The Schoolmaster's Assistant,* published in London in 1743, ran through many editions, and its leadership in America was not challenged until 1788, when Nicholas Pike's *New & Complete System of Arithmetic* appeared.

Most of the arithmetic books consisted largely of rules for all kinds of number situations. Pike's book, for example, had twenty-one pages of rules for reducing different kinds of money to American values. Most of the problems were of the puzzle type, with the emphasis on "disciplinary values," not on practical application. Among the authors' books is a copy of another famous textbook, *Arithmetic upon the Inductive Method of Instruction,* copyrighted by Warren Colbourn in 1826. It may surprise the student that little more than one hundred years ago children were compelled to study such problems as these, selected from hundreds of like nature:

384 is $\frac{1286}{13846}$ of what number?

If $\frac{8}{15}$ of a barrel of flour will serve a family $\frac{13}{17}$ of a month, how long will one barrel serve them?

Two men talking of their ages, one said he was $37\frac{3847}{14783}$ years old, and the other said he was $64\frac{213}{250}$ years old. What was the difference of their ages?

Many problems involved computations relating to purchases of wine, brandy, beer, and lottery tickets, none of which are tolerated in arithmetics today. Many were couched in terms which superficially give the impression that the problems were of practical significance, but the values used were so improbable that the problems actually were of little or no use in life situations. Colbourn did advocate class instruction and the inductive method, which influenced writers and teachers of arithmetic until the Civil War period.

Aggravating the ordinary difficulties of teaching and learning arithmetic in those times was the poor quality of printing and proofreading. A great many errors occurred in the problems and the answers in the textbooks, something with which we seldom if ever have to cope.

Other School Subjects. From time to time other subjects made their appearance. The Reverend Jedidiah Morse, father of Samuel F. B. Morse, published the first geography textbook in America in 1783. It was better than some of its successors, which consisted solely of questions and answers, along the line of a catechism, totally lacking in illustrations and maps. (Figure 1 shows a page from Dwight's geography, illustrating the catechetical style of that book.)

Except sporadically, history, science, art, music, and physical education, now taken for granted in elementary schools, were not found in the schools of the colonial and early national period. It was not until after the middle of the nineteenth century that the elementary curriculum as we know it took shape. And even though some of the same names are used to designate subject matter today, the changes in content, organization, and methods of teaching have been vast. The schools did not attempt to be all-inclusive in the curriculum, as we can readily see. Children got their physical exercise doing chores and going to and from school. They also learned most of what they knew of manners and morals at home.

Apprenticeship.—An important element in early American society was apprenticeship. The first school laws specified that parents and masters should teach the children a suitable trade, as well as the rudiments of reading, writing, and ciphering. Generally, the practice of apprenticeship was limited to the children of the poor, and to orphans and illegitimate children. Inherited from England, the system did operate to the advantage of some children, and it helped to supply artisans and craftsmen who were badly needed. It was a sort of compulsory school plan for the groups mentioned, albeit not universally carried out. Laws governing apprenticeship and protecting children from neglect and exploitation by masters were passed in most of the colonies well up into the nineteenth century.[4]

Elementary Schooling Not Universal.—Elementary schooling was by no means universal in the early days. Girls were seldom admitted to schools, but learned home arts from their mothers. In New England some were sent for a bit of rudimentary learning to "dame schools." These were groups of youngsters taken into their homes by housewives for two or three hours a day, and taught informally

[4] The text of the apprenticeship agreement for twelve-year-old Benjamin Franklin, entered into by his parents and elder brother James, a printer, may be read in James Parton's *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin,* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1882, Vol. I, p. 53.

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OF TENNESSEE.

Q. What is the situation of Tennessee?

A. It lies between 35° and 36° 30′ north latitude, is 400 miles in length and 104 in breadth.

Q. What are the boundaries?

A. It is bounded on the north by Kentucky; on the east by North Carolina; on the south by Georgia and the Mississippi territory, and on the west by the Mississippi.

Q. What are the civil divisions?

A. Five districts and 38 counties.

Q. What rivers does it contain?

A. The Mississippi, Tennessee, Cumberland, Holston, Clinch, Wolf and Hatchee.

Q. What mountains doth it contain?

A. The Unaka mountains separate it from North Carolina. Clinch mountain divides the waters of Holston and Clinch rivers; and Cumberland mountain separates the western part of the territory from the eastern part.

Q. What are the principal towns?

A. Knoxville, the seat of government, on the north side of Holston river. Nashville, on the south bank of Cumberland river. Jonesborough in the district of Washington.

Q. What is the number of inhabitants?

A. In 1791 the number was 35,691. In 1800 it contained 105,602. In 1810 it had 261,727.

Q. What is the number of militia?

A. In 1812 it was 25,910 infantry, and 357 cavalry; aggregate 29,183.

Q. What is its government?

A. It has a form of government similar to those of the other states.

Q. What are the vegetable productions?

A. Majestic red cedars, oak, hickory, black and white walnut, sycamore, locusts, elm, hornbean, mulberry, cherry and sugar maple. Wheat is cultivated to great advantage.

Q. What animals are found here?

A. The buffaloe, deer, elk, bear, beaver, otter, panther, wild cat, musk rat, raccoon, fox, wolf and squirrel, patridges, quails, pigeons, wild turkeys, geese and swans. The rivers are stored with trout, perch, cat fish, buffaloe fish, red horse, eels, &c.

Q. What mineral productions have been discovered?

A. Iron and lead mines. Coppers, allum and nitre have been found in caves. Salt springs are very frequent, and there is limestone in great plenty.

Q. What is the climate?

Figure 1. A Page from *A System of Universal Geography for Common Schools*, by Reverend Nathaniel Dwight
Northampton (Mass.): Simeon Butler, 1817.

while the women did their household tasks. In some cases each child paid a cent or two a day for tuition. When girls were admitted to regular schools they attended while the boys were not at school, after regular school hours, or in the periods when boys had vacations.

Teachers.—In the colonial and early national period the teachers of young children were not specially prepared for the work. One writer states that they were as good as the times demanded, but this is a shallow judgment. Most of the teachers were men, except in the "dame schools." There was no such thing as certification of teachers. There was no provision made for the preparation of school personnel in this land for about 200 years, save slight attempts to prepare teachers in some academies and to instruct monitors in the Lancasterian schools (mentioned below). In 1823 the Reverend Samuel R. Hall organized on his own initiative the first normal school, at Concord, Vermont, to prepare young men and women for teaching in the common schools. The three-year curriculum was typical of the academies of the day, with only the addition of a course in the "Art of Teaching" in the third term of the third year, some observation of teaching, and practice teaching in the rural schools during the winter.

The first public appropriations for the education of teachers were made in 1834 in New York, where one academy in each of the eight judicial districts was given state support. By this time the preparation of teachers in academies had become fairly common practice, but the work done was almost entirely academic. There had not yet been developed a body of professional knowledge, psychology, or even a well defined philosophy of education.

There was no real profession of teaching at the elementary level. Anyone who wanted to teach and could prevail on school authorities to employ him could have a position. Often these persons were ne'er-do-wells, or sickly people. Some were indentured servants, who had earned passage from England by promising to teach school a certain number of years. Where church authority was strong, especially in New England, teachers had to be approved by the ministers. This is the origin of teacher certification.

Not all common-school teachers were unworthy. Elsbree[5] concludes that the colonial schoolmasters were relatively about as "good" as their contemporaries. Teachers performed many community services, as a rule, often in connection with church work. Such tasks as

[5] Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, Ch. 2.

grave digging, bell ringing, choir directing, and taking care of the church building were common. In some towns the teacher was the town crier. The common-school teacher's social status varied from rather high to low, but typically it was probably low, judging from the scanty evidence available. Economically his status was very low.

School Organization and Administration.—The term "common school," as used in these pages with reference to colonial and early American schools, has a special meaning. There was no classification of pupils by grades. All the children in school were in one group, and each child progressed at his own rate. There was some informal grouping, usually with beginners. Grading was developed gradually, as school enrollments expanded, as a matter of administrative convenience. Pupils were classified into two groups at first, then three, but it took until the middle of the nineteenth century to arrive at the eight-grade elementary school.

Each community managed its own schools with little or no interference or supervision from any central authority. Even when cities began to grow big, schools kept their independence and autonomy. The "district school" in our early history did not necessarily mean a rural school, as it does now. Many district schools were found in the largest cities, entirely self-governing under the laws of the states.

The *principle* of state authority was enunciated early, as explained in Chapter 6. However, the *practice* of state authority was very feeble throughout the colonial and early national period. Not until during the latter half of the nineteenth century was there general acceptance of principles that are now taken for granted. Standards and regulations concerning the curriculum of the schools, the qualifications of teachers, the adequacy of schoolhouses, and the financial support of schools were developed in a halting and stumbling way. In the period under discussion, only the merest beginnings were made in the exercise of state authority.

Financial Support.—The ordinary mode of supporting the common schools, other than charity schools for paupers, was by payments made by parents of school children. These payments were called "rates," and varied from a few cents to several dollars per child per term. Payments in kind were frequently required, too, such as wood for the stove. People with no children in school were thus excused from school support. The idea that schools were a social institution had not yet been widely grasped. Rates were common until 1850. Lotteries, the proceeds of liquor licenses, and other

questionable forms of financial support were also widely resorted to. Dedham, Massachusetts, claims the distinction of maintaining the first free public school supported by general taxation. On January 1, 1644, the inhabitants voted "to rayse the some of twenty pounds p. annum toward the maintaining of a schoole mr to keep a free schoole in our sd towne."

3. Four Educational Types Imported from Britain

The Sunday School.—Four interesting types of elementary school made a brief appearance during the earlier national period, all of British origin. The Sunday School idea was imported from England in 1786 in Virginia, and the movement spread in the southern and middle states. The Sunday school was a secular school taught on Sunday. Its inception was humanitarian, and it was supported by philanthropy. Its goal was to give children who worked the other six days of the week at least the rudiments of common learning. By 1824 the Sunday school had been taken over largely by the churches and had been converted to the church or Bible school, as we know it. The effect of the secular Sunday school was to spread the idea of common schooling for all, including the children of the poor. It helped to mitigate class distinctions, and to remove the stigma of having to declare oneself a pauper in order to get his children into a free school.

School Societies.—The "school societies" which were organized during the first quarter of the nineteenth century in many cities were the result of another plan to extend schooling. Dependent almost entirely on philanthropy, the schools were operated by the societies for children not cared for by parochial schools and whose parents could not afford to pay tutors. They were really pauper schools operated on a private charity basis, with a little city or state aid in a few cases. The most famous and successful was the New York Free School Society, of which DeWitt Clinton was long the president and to which he contributed substantial annual gifts. It continued operations until 1853, when it turned over its large properties to the municipal board of education. The chief significance of the school societies is the fact that they manifested the slowly growing interest of the American people in the extension of educational opportunities.

The Monitorial School.—The third English importation was the monitorial school, sometimes called the Lancasterian school after its

originator, Joseph Lancaster, an English Quaker. Promulgated in 1803 in England, Lancaster's plan of instruction was brought to the United States in 1806. In both countries it created much interest, because it looked like a cheap and effective method of mass education at the elementary level. The idea arrived at an opportune time to capitalize on the educational interest created by the Sunday school and the school societies.

The heart of the scheme was the use of older pupils in their early teens as teachers of younger boys and girls, with one paid schoolmaster in general charge of any number of pupils, even several hundred. Each day's lessons were taught by the master to the monitors, who in turn imparted the same information to their charges. Groups of ten youngsters were assigned to each monitor. Instruction, if such it can be called, was carried on by drill, with charts, slates, and memory work. Military precision seems to have characterized the plan, with every activity highly routinized.

Naturally such a plan of schooling was very cheap, in terms of financial cost. The cost per pupil per year ranged from around one dollar to three dollars—very low even considering the great purchasing power of the dollar in those days. And during the quarter-century of its vogue in many American cities, the monitorial school, through its economy, undoubtedly did some good in spreading the idea of schooling for all, without regard to class distinctions. Its cheapness made elementary education for all seem feasible. The schools did bring to many children a bare minimum of educational opportunity which they otherwise would have lacked, and kept them from running wild in the streets. But the whole idea, with the possible exception of its use of class instruction, was unsound educationally. It was based on the premises that the mere imparting of rudimentary information is education, and that a teacher needs only to keep half a jump ahead of the children—a fallacy, by the way, which has not entirely disappeared. By 1830 the plan had been largely displaced by more intelligent approaches, except here and there where it was continued until mid-century.

The Infant School.—Finally, from Scotland came the "Infant School," originated by Robert Owen, later renowned for his utopian settlement at New Harmony, Indiana. A factory owner with a humanitarian streak, Owen attempted to mitigate the evils related to the employment of children of six and seven years in his mills at Lanark by getting them to school at the age of three! About fifteen

years later the idea took hold in Boston and then in many other of the larger cities. It was not unusual to require children entering the common schools to be able to read and write, and some infant schools were set up to meet this requirement, thus replacing the dame schools. Children were taken in some places at the age of two, and until about six or seven, and taught by mass methods all kinds of factual—and in the main useless—information, far beyond their understanding.[6] By 1840 the infant schools were largely absorbed by the common schools. The kindergartens and nursery schools that we know are not the direct descendants of the infant school, but had a different origin.

All these mechanical methods of schooling, touted as economical, efficient, low in cost, rich in results, sort of "Royal roads to learning," missed by a wide margin meeting the educational needs of children. American travelers to Europe, who were interested in education and recorded their observations in books, lectures, and reports upon their return home, brought many new ideas. Earliest was the introduction of the realistic and sensible methods used by the great Swiss educator J. H. Pestalozzi. He advocated much first-hand experience and activity for his pupils. One of the teachers in his school, Joseph Neef, came to America in 1806, eventually winding up at New Harmony in 1825. Although he wrote on Pestalozzian methods and taught in schools in several states according to those methods, his work was obscured by the social, political, and economic ideas of the New Harmony community. Pestalozzian and other European influences began to take hold in the United States during the 1830's. A summary is given of this development in Chapter 3.

4. Secondary Education

Secondary Education Highly Selective.—Throughout the period covered by this chapter, and indeed beyond, secondary education was highly selective. There was no widespread belief that secondary schooling should be made available to adolescents generally—whether on a fee, charity, or tax-supported basis. Even elementary schools had not attained that stage. The dominant purpose of secondary education was preparation of the pupils for college. The only exceptions were found in some academies which offered, besides col-

[6] See Paul Monroe, *Founding of the American Public School System*, Vol. I, pp. 372 ff., for some well-nigh incredible examples of what mere babes were expected to learn.

lege preparatory subjects, terminal courses such as bookkeeping, surveying, and navigation.

The Latin Grammar School.—Three types of secondary schools developed. The first, the Latin grammar school, was initiated by the Puritans in 1635 at Boston, when that settlement was only five years old. In 1647 the General Court (legislature) of the colony required every town (township) of one hundred families to support a grammar school or pay a fine of £5 to a neighboring school. Frequently it was cheaper and easier to pay the fine than to run a school, but at least the law was a concrete expression of legislative, if not public, opinion. The grammar school was a direct importation from England, and spread through all the colonies in varying degrees, except Georgia. Its most fertile ground was New England, and even there the grammar school never became a popular or democratic institution.

The grammar school curriculum consisted almost entirely of the classics in Latin and Greek. In colonial times Latin and Greek were still in use by members of the clergy and the legal profession. Yet it is most likely that the mastery of the classics was espoused not so much for their usefulness as for the purpose of identifying the more promising students as material for college, somewhat as the Ph.D. requirement of foreign languages is still retained by universities. Girls were not admitted. By the end of the eighteenth century the grammar schools had almost disappeared. They failed to meet the needs of the people; their activities were too far removed from the pressing concerns of everyday life. And while in some places the grammar schools were supported by taxes and were tuition free, in many instances fees were required. In this, as in their curriculum and purpose, the schools were not democratic.

The Academy.—The need for men better trained to cope with problems related to taming the wilderness and developing commerce and industry led to the rise of the second type of secondary school, the academy, in the early part of the eighteenth century. The curriculum was less standardized, even though the classics predominated. New subjects of study appeared, as noted above. The aims were, in general, as follows: (1) to prepare *boys* for college; (2) to fit boys for practical leadership in life work other than careers requiring college preparation; (3) to prepare teachers for the elementary schools; (4) to give girls an opportunity to share in education above the elementary level; (5) to afford some opportunity for general cultural

attainments through the study of history, science, modern languages, English grammar and composition; and (6) to bring money into the town—the "Chamber of Commerce aim."

Most academies were supported, in part at least, by tuition fees; in some states grants of money and land were made. After the middle of the nineteenth century many academies were taken over by public school systems. The academies reached their greatest eminence about 1860, when there were about 6,000. Then the high school began to overtake them.

One of the most notable academies was the one founded at Philadelphia in 1751 through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. Dissatisfied with the undemocratic and formal regimen of the grammar schools, Franklin proposed in 1743 a new type of school which would lay stress on subjects deemed more useful than the classics. "It would be well," he wrote, if the students would be taught "everything that is useful and everything that is ornamental. But art is long, and their time is short. It is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and most ornamental, regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended." Drawing, bookkeeping, arithmetic, geometry, English grammar and composition, history, geography, logic, languages, government, natural history, agriculture, commerce, mechanics, religion, sports, and physical education all had a place in this school's program. Of the three divisions organized as the Latin, Mathematical, and English schools, the first developed into the University of Pennsylvania (1755), and the other two were subordinated to carry on as preparatory schools for half a century. Thus, although Franklin's attempts at reform were largely nullified, and were far ahead of his times, their influence helped liberalize secondary education as it developed in the nineteenth century.

The High School.—As the Latin grammar school gave way to the academy, the latter was destined to yield to a new and characteristically American institution, the high school. The first high school was established at Boston, in 1821, as the English Classical School, to parallel the Latin grammar school. Latin and Greek were tossed out in favor of English literature, mathematics, science, logic, and history. In 1824, the name of the institution, probably adopted from a popular Scottish type of school, was changed to English High School. Only boys were admitted, but in 1826 a girls' high school was opened and was immediately swamped

with an enrollment far larger than had been anticipated or could be handled. It was closed in two years, and the girls were provided for in a dressed-up course in the upper (grammar) grades of the elementary schools. By 1840 fourteen towns (townships) and cities in Massachusetts had public high schools. By that time, schools of similar character were founded in New York, Pennsylvania, and a few other states. Gradually the high school, as an integral part of the public school system, spread through all states.

The high school arose in response to a demand for free, publicly controlled secondary education. Some of the earlier high schools were in reality academies, in the sense that they were controlled by self-perpetuating boards of control, and were wholly or partly supported by tuition fees. Some were joint-stock companies. Some were granted local or state aid. In the latter case, sentiment gradually developed for free admission to all children, and for boards elected by and responsible to the public, even though less elaborate programs of study might be offered, as was often the case. Again Massachusetts led the way with the law of 1827, which required that every town of 500 families or more maintain a high school which should teach United States history, bookkeeping, algebra, geometry, and surveying. In towns of 4,000 or more, Greek, Latin, history, logic, and rhetoric were also prescribed. This law was sponsored by James G. Carter, father of the American normal school, mentioned in Chapter 13.

A Demand for Free Public High Schools.—Undoubtedly the emergence of a laboring class, concomitant with the rise of factories and the development of new territory westward, had much to do with the demand for free public high schools that were not governed by the goal of college preparation. For a generation, beginning about 1830, workingmen's associations, the forerunners of today's labor unions, agitated for free public secondary education. In this they were backed by organizations of educators, which appeared in rather large numbers throughout the country. Both groups based their reasoning on the need, ably expounded by many of the nation's outstanding statesmen since Franklin's time, for an enlightened electorate in a republic. The arguments pro and con have been well summarized by Cubberley, to whom the reader is referred.[7] The disadvantages of a lack of schooling and the denial of opportunities

[7] E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Rev. Ed.), Ch. 6.

for their children to enjoy better living standards became apparent to working people.

The resistance to extending school advantages to all children, regardless of their family status, was extremely bitter. Large taxpayers opposed free schooling, as did childless people. The electorate in all states was limited to property owners. Only after a long, uphill struggle against tremendous odds was public secondary education won. Even in our day there are some aspects in which the ideal of *free* public high schools has not been fully attained.

Secondary School Teachers.—Teachers in the Latin grammar schools, and to a lesser extent in the academies, were better qualified than the schoolmasters of the common schools. Many held degrees from English universities or had attended universities for a time. They were somewhat better paid than teachers in the lower schools, and occupied positions of considerable honor in their communities. In some cases, they served in the same school for many years, and their schools became, as Emerson has said, "the shadow of the man."

A few became famous for the unusual quality of their work. Ezekiel Cheever (1614–1708) taught seventy-one years in New England schools, thirty-eight of them as head of the Boston Latin School. Cheever's Latin textbook was widely used for decades. Elijah Corlett (1611–1687) served forty-three years as head of the Cambridge Latin School.

5. Going to School in the Early Days

The school life of a youngster today seems almost heavenly compared with the experience of a boy or girl in the old days.

All schoolhouses of the period covered in this chapter were primitive. A typical schoolroom was furnished only with a teacher's desk and stool, and rude, backless benches, sometimes with a paralle desk board but often without. The modern conveniences of cup boards, blackboards, windows, good heating, good artificial lighting toilets, etc., which are taken for granted today were lacking. Some schools had no playground space at all, and few had any play equipment. In general, the schoolhouses were insanitary, unhygienic, cold and drafty in winter, dark, and uncomfortable.

In some schools such conditions were coupled with long school days of seven or eight hours, commencing at seven o'clock in the morning in summer, and eight in the winter. Some town schools were in session six days a week and extended through ten or eleven

months of the year. However, the typical length of time spent in school per year about 1800 has been estimated as being only four months. Of course, it must be remembered that many children did not attend at all.

Discipline was harsh, even to the point of cruelty. Teachers were expected to be "masters" in the literal sense, and were failures if they could not keep the upper hand. Whipping, standing in the corner, the use of the dunce cap, and other cruel forms of punishment were commonplace. For the vast majority of children, schoolrooms were in reality torture chambers.

6. Higher Education

The Colonial Colleges.—Very early in colonial Massachusetts, an active interest in higher education resulted in the establishment of Harvard College in 1636. The colonists founded the college "to advance learning, and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministery to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust." Entrance was open to boys who showed the proper degree of mastery of Latin and Greek. The purpose of the college was to prepare ministers. By 1776 nine colonial colleges had been organized, and all are still flourishing. Popularly referred to now as the "Ivy League," their present names and the dates of establishment, in addition to Harvard, are: William and Mary, in Virginia, 1693; Yale, Connecticut, 1701; Princeton, New Jersey, 1746; Columbia, New York City, 1754; University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1755; Brown, Providence, R. I., 1764; Rutgers, New Jersey, 1766; and Dartmouth, New Hampshire, 1769.

While the founding of these colleges (except Pennsylvania) was dominated by religious motives, the founders were also interested in promoting the advancement of knowledge generally. It is clear that, at least among the responsible colonial leaders, colleges were considered an essential element of society. The curricula of the early institutions were, it is true, extremely narrow, and continued so until the middle of the eighteenth century. The classics, logic, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology took most of the time, with scant attention to mathematics, science, and history. All the colonial colleges were under private auspices, although most of them received local and colonial grants of money and land.

Enrollments were very small, and remained so until the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the colonial period the entire

faculty sometimes consisted of the president, assisted by one or two tutors. The first graduating classes included fewer than ten students. In 1815 graduating classes were still small: Harvard, 66; Yale, 69; Princeton, 40; William and Mary, 40; Pennsylvania, 15. Generally speaking, the colleges were rather aristocratic. Until only a few decades ago, students at Harvard were seated according to the status of their families, a custom handed down from olden times.

Early Growth of Higher Education.—Eight states had made beginnings in providing state universities by 1825. In several states "administrative universities," functionally roughly similar to state education departments, were organized. Only one, the University of the State of New York, survives. Each new state after the Revolution established a state university, and in time most of the original thirteen did likewise.

In addition to the nine colonial institutions, about thirty private colleges were organized between 1776 and 1820. Between that date and the Civil War the pace was accelerated, with 200 more being established. In addition to the well established professional field of the ministry, professional study in medicine, law, engineering, and in some sciences was begun during the late colonial and early national era.

Limited Opportunities for Women.—Opportunities for higher education were not extended to women, as a general rule, until after 1820. Opponents of collegiate study for women contended that the exacting intellectual demands of higher education would undermine women's health, reveal their "innate mental inferiority," rob them of all feminine charm, and "lead them to neglect home and children in feverish pursuit of Greek roots or the intricacies of quadratic equations." Coeducation was unthinkable. Not all men felt this way, but it was unquestionably the prevailing attitude. Many private academies for girls were established during the first half-century after the Revolution, but the real beginnings of higher education for women are found in some of the female seminaries. Outstanding among them were the Troy (N. Y.) Seminary founded in 1821 by Emma Willard after fourteen years of similar work in Vermont; Mount Holyoke (Mass.) Seminary, founded by Mary Lyon in 1836, now a leading college for women; and Hartford Female Seminary, established in 1825 by Catherine Beecher. Professional education for women was unknown until later.

7. A Brief Appraisal

Were the schools of the colonial and early national period adapted to the needs of a people wresting their livelihood from the wilderness? Were our forefathers convinced of the values of schooling for the general population?

With respect to the first question, it must be admitted that some of the products of our early system of education were undeniably great. Such leaders as Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Jay, Henry, the Adamses, Monroe, and Hamilton made contributions that have probably never been equalled. Many of the fundamental documents of our system of government were wrought by them: the Declaration of Independence, the Virginia constitution, the Constitution of the United States, the Federalist Papers, the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787, and many more. Those who attended our first institutionalized forms of schools, the grammar schools and colleges, did become the leaders of society, in industry, commerce, religions, the professions, and government.

Yet there is still a question as to whether a classical education could by itself adequately meet the needs of the whole people as fully as some other type more in tune with the problems of setting up a new nation in the wilderness. It is certain that if today a colony of 10,000 Americans were to migrate to the wilds of the African interior, it would not limit its educational activities so narrowly to a classical curriculum.

On the second question, several considerations point to a negative answer. With all due credit to the leaders who supported schools, and in the light of the dominant beliefs of the time, there is still no doubt that the rank and file of the people were not sold on schools for all children. The limitation of opportunity for girls, the selective character of the secondary schools, the great dependence on philanthropy for schools, the poor esteem in which teachers were held, the inferior requirements imposed on those who taught, and the grudging provision of school facilities—these and other facts lead one to be conservative in ascribing a high interest in mass education to our forefathers.

One must not forget, however, that there were many other concerns in everyday individual and group life. Material resources of all kinds were either scarce or hard to get in usable form. The one great thing that we should regard with pride and thankfulness is the fact that these pioneers laid sound foundations for the public

school system which is one of the chief glories of American life in the twentieth century. The chapter which follows brings the story up to our own day. Building on two hundred years of slow development, the educational enterprise during the third century of our history made more rapid progress than that which characterized the earlier period.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Discuss the relation of the various religious backgrounds of the colonies to their educational provisions.
2. Make a table on colonial colleges, giving date of founding, founders, purposes, and curricula. Include figures on enrollment in early days and selected dates down to the present.
3. Examine a textbook used in American schools during the period treated in this chapter, and compare it systematically with a modern textbook in the same subject.
4. Analyze and summarize the tendencies in the colonial and early national periods leading to the assumption of educational responsibility by public authorities.
5. Compare the suitability of the "district school" for meeting the needs of children in the early days of our history and in the present.
6. Discuss and illustrate the importance of philanthropy in providing schools in the period covered by this chapter.
7. Did the private and charity schools help or hinder the development of public schools? Explain how.
8. What kinds of schools and what kind of curriculum can you suggest as being better suited to the needs of the colonies than the kinds they actually adopted?
9. Discuss the characteristics of the three types of secondary schools described in this chapter, and explain the reasons for the adoption of the different types.
10. How do you account for the slight attention given to the education of girls and women?
11. Evaluate the use of apprenticeship in the colonies.
12. Describe the teaching personnel of the colonial period, with respect to preparation, personal traits, social and economic status.

Chapter 3

A CENTURY OF EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Andrew Jackson was the first President elected from the rugged and independent pioneer class, and his accession to office in 1829 marked the beginning of a new era in American democracy. The very fact that he could be elected was a sign that new currents of thought and action had begun to flow in American life. As the lands west of the Appalachians became settled, and as the development of manufacturing accelerated, the people were confronted with many new social and economic problems. Education was only one of the many social concerns of the times.

As has been shown in Chapter 2, the schools of the colonial and early national period were strongly dominated by religious interests. There was no system of free public schools anywhere. Families too poor to pay school fees or for private instruction could send their children only to parish schools or pauper schools, or in some cases to schools provided by private charity. Many children did not attend school, and those who did went for very short terms as a rule. The development of state school systems was in an embryonic stage, while the small-district system of school administration grew rampant. Textbooks were scarce, expensive, and poor in quality. There were no provisions for the preparation of teachers. Schoolhouses and equipment were of the rudest sort.

1. Social and Economic Changes

Beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, a veritable social revolution took place, which continued to approximately 1900. Changes took place which were of great significance to both the basic idea of education at public expense and the content of the curriculum.

Agriculture and Industry.—Through the gradual mechanization of industry and agriculture, production was stepped up to give Americans ever higher material standards of living, and make possible the withdrawal of children from labor. With increased in-

dustrialization, workingmen's associations began to take form, and their demands for more equitable treatment of labor led to many social reforms. The chief plank in labor's platform through the second quarter of the century was equal universal education. Labor had an ardent belief that "knowledge is power," and working people had everything to gain and nothing to lose from the provision of public schools.

The people who settled the West were not disposed to recognize the old social class structure which prevailed in the East. They did not tolerate the two-class schools of the older states, which provided free schooling only for paupers. Nor did they favor giving as much attention to the classics as was given in the academies and grammar schools of the older states. More attention to the practical arts and sciences was demanded—which in earlier times were more or less taken care of in the home.

Growth of Cities.—Urban development progressed apace throughout the century, bringing with it problems of dealing with large numbers of children in the schools. While the census of 1830 showed an urban population of only 7 per cent, by 1880 cities had 29 per cent of the population, and by 1940 about 56 per cent. This concentration of population in cities assisted indirectly in providing for educational needs by making possible longer school terms and greater flexibility in grouping and scheduling pupils. On the other hand, problems of schoolhouse construction and playground development, and problems of delinquency and the use of leisure time multiplied.

Mobility of the Population.—With the advent of fast and easy transportation by rail, automobile, and airplane, Americans became a highly mobile people. This development has introduced complications in the schooling of individual children as they change from school to school within states or in different states. The solution of the problem of affording continuity for such children has not been achieved fully. However, there can be little question that the evolution of a fairly uniform system of schools, commonly referred to as the "American school system," has been furthered by this very fact of mobility. Mobility also has focused attention on the need for adequate educational opportunities in all parts of the nation.

An Aging Population.—The changing age-structure of the population, illustrated by the fact that there are approximately half as many children per thousand adults now as there were a century ago,

is a condition that has important implications for public education. The burden of educable children is vastly lightened—the greater proportion of adults should be able to carry the load easier than ever before. Counterbalancing this, however, the need for adult education is greatly intensified, partly because large numbers of adults never completed even an elementary schooling, and partly because of the rapid changes in industry and social organization during the last generation or two. Other social needs related to the care of the aged have also increased, so that the total burden of public services, far from being lightened, in comparison with an earlier era, is larger than ever.

The Status of Women Improved.—The period of the last 100 years has also witnessed a radical change in the status of women. Whereas a century ago there were practically no vocational outlets for women except as domestics, teachers, and homemakers, there are today almost no limits. Women of a century ago had almost no opportunities for higher education, and most girls never progressed beyond elementary school. Now the same proportions of girls and boys complete high school, and there are few barriers to higher education and professional specialization for women.

Immigration.—The immigration of millions of Europeans during the period under consideration forced the schools to serve as agencies of "Americanization." Since 1920 this aspect of service has declined in importance, and increasing emphasis has been directed toward the development of good citizenship habits and attitudes among children and youth. Currently the fostering of "world citizenship" is of primary concern—as peoples are forced to face the issue of total mutual destruction or world understanding and cooperation. The atomic bomb has brought home, as never before, the absolutely crucial necessity of learning to live peaceably together.

These tremendous and exciting developments, and many more, of the last century have made the United States of the present quite different from the little nation of Jackson's time—so different that any comparison is almost like comparing different planets. While these changes were being gradually wrought, the nation's schools, too, were undergoing many changes. Let us turn now specifically to a brief consideration of educational growth and change. The student is urged to keep in mind the question, "Have American schools kept pace with or lagged behind other social and economic developments?"

2. Developments in Elementary Education

During the middle half of the 1800's, American education underwent a transformation which brought the schools of 1875 to essentially the system we now know. To be sure, refinements have occurred since then, but the major features had become clearly apparent. After trying out and casting off a series of various experiments in education (described in the preceding chapter) our people gradually adopted a tax-supported, free, graded elementary school, and a four-year, tax-supported, free high school. During the same period, state universities, teachers' colleges, and land-grant colleges, supported mostly by taxation, were founded in large numbers. Thus by 1875 the "ladder" system of public education was completed, enabling an individual to progress from elementary school through higher education. Generally speaking, the schools are free, except at the college level, in the sense that fees for tuition are not imposed, and gradually the elementary and secondary schools are being made completely free even to the provision of books and supplies.

Establishment of Graded Schools.—The most important achievement prior to the Civil War was the firm establishment of the graded elementary school. The "common" school of the colonial and early national period was an ungraded school, which attempted to meet the needs of individual pupils ranging from five to twenty years of age. When school enrollments increased, and as the weaknesses and inefficiency of the ungraded school became manifest, the grouping of pupils was adopted as a better plan of organization. At first the pupils were divided into two groups: the "primary" group and the "grammar" group. Then three levels were used: primary, intermediate, and grammar. Finally, by 1850 the arrangement of eight grades was making swift progress toward becoming the standard, and it remained the dominant plan until the reorganization movement of the early part of the present century.

The influence of travelers to Europe was responsible to a large degree for the rapid spread of the graded school idea. The widely circulated reports of Horace Mann and Calvin E. Stowe on the Prussian eight-year *Volksschule* ("people's" or "common" school), in the 1830's, were especially important in converting our people to the graded school idea. Another important document was a translated report on the German schools by Victor Cousin, an outstanding leader of education in France. Of course, the sheer necessity of

finding some workable method of dealing with large numbers of children also played an important part in the new development.

The Schools Made Free.—A second important change in the elementary school was the abrogation of tuition fees, or, as they were called at the time, "rates." Today it is unthinkable that parents should be charged fees for their children in school, but the fee system was in general use until the middle of the century. It was only after much bitter contention that "rates" were abolished as an important source of school revenue. Contrary to the free-school viewpoint, held by the intelligent and more enlightened, free schools were opposed by many of the wealthy, the childless, the foreign elements, the rural dwellers, the South, social and political conservatives, and the unschooled. Much of the opposition came from those who would have benefited most from free schools.

The question of tax-supported schools was an issue which had been dodged for generations, so that it is no wonder that half a century of intense agitation was required to effect a change. Philanthropy, lotteries, tuition fees, charity, and state school funds had always carried the load, and the idea of general taxation was hard for many people to swallow. Free schools had always been thought of as schools for paupers. Furthermore, the intense feeling of localism and independence caused people to be suspicious of any tendency toward increasing governmental authority, whether local, state, or national.

Secularization of Schools.—The strong religious emphasis in the schools gradually succumbed during the mid-century, and the schools became secular—or at least largely so, even as now. From 1850 on, most of the states provided by constitution or statute that public funds could not be used for sectarian schools, and that no sectarian instruction might be given in public schools. The constitutional guarantee of religious freedom made such a development inevitable. In colonial times, when communities were largely or entirely of one faith, the question was of little significance. With the influx of millions of immigrants of many different religious affiliations, the question became red hot.

The controversy raged in all parts of the country, being especially bitter in Massachusetts and New York. The ultimate outcome was the fundamental, democratic principle that free and public schools in America must be secular. No other answer could fit our way of life. The principle has, in the main, been consistently observed in practice. However, most public schools, it is safe to state, violate it in some

ways. Nominal violations probably do not merit much attention, but vigilance must be exercised to prevent the breakdown of the sound and democratic principle of secularism in American public schools. No other position is tenable.

The Idea of Universal Schooling.—Concurrent with the changes described above, there was a growing conviction that elementary schooling was the birthright of every American child. Beginning with Massachusetts in 1852, compulsory school attendance laws had been enacted in every state by 1918. It is estimated now that more than 95 per cent of the children in the age-group six to fourteen are enrolled in school.

The peak enrollment in elementary grades (including kindergarten and grades 1–6) was reached in 1929–30, with a total of 21,278,593. This was a gain over 1900 of approximately 42 per cent. While large, this gain was not in line with the 62 per cent increase of total population in the same period, undoubtedly because of the growing proportion of older people. After 1930 there was a continued decline in elementary school enrollment, so that by the middle 1940's it was only 18,175,000, more than three million less than the top. The low birth rates of the 1930's accounted for this drop, and the downward trend was not arrested until the late forties, following a substantial (although probably temporary) rise in number and rate of births during and immediately following World War II.

3. The Growth of Secondary Education

Growth and Decline of the Academy.—The academy, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, originated in colonial times. Its greatest extent and influence were attained in the period from 1830 to 1860. It is impossible to state accurately how many academies there were at any given date, or the total enrollment. However, it has been estimated that in 1850 there were about 6,000 academies, with an enrollment of approximately 260,000. This was the high point in the history of the American academy. After 1860 it rapidly gave place to the public high school.

Expansion of the High School.—The high school experienced very slow growth for a generation following the establishment in 1821 of the first school of this kind. The wave of popular demand for extension of free elementary education, mentioned above, gradually widened to include secondary education. In the second quarter

of the nineteenth century the demand for publicly supported high schools open to all became widespread. Massachusetts again took the lead, enacting in 1827 a law requiring every town of 500 families or more to provide a high school. By 1860 there were perhaps between 400 and 500 public high schools. In the decade of the eighties, the high school enrollment finally overtook that of the academies. By 1890 public high schools enrolled two thirds of those attending secondary schools, by 1910 four fifths, and for the last quarter of a century they have enrolled between 90 and 95 per cent.

High school enrollment in 1900 included approximately 15 per cent of the children of ages fourteen to seventeen inclusive. In 1930 it reached 47 per cent, and in 1940 it jumped to 68 per cent, which is only slightly less than the present ratio. While these gains are impressive, there are still about three in every ten children of high school age not enrolled. The following table shows the rapid growth of high schools and enrollment from 1890 to 1947. It will be noted that prior to the thirties, the number of pupils roughly doubled every decade.

TABLE 1

GROWTH IN NUMBER OF PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS AND PUPILS ENROLLED, 1890–1947 (GRADES 9–12)

Year	Number of High Schools	Enrollment [b]
1890	2,526	202,963
1900	6,005	519,251
1910	10,213	915,061
1920	14,326	2,200,389
1930	23,930	4,399,422
1940	26,000 [a]	6,601,444
1947[c]	—	5,700,000

[a] Estimated on basis of data from U. S. Office of Education. Includes regular 4-year high schools, junior high schools, senior high schools, and 6-year high schools.

[b] Source: Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1939–40 and 1941–42*, Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Office, 1944, Table 1, p. 45.

[c] Data for 1947 from *School Life* 30 (Jan. 1948): 29.

Two developments account primarily for the rapid growth of secondary education, in addition to the general social and economic trends favoring its expansion: the Kalamazoo case in Michigan, in

1872–74, and the positive movement for the reorganization of secondary education during the period 1890–1920.

The famous Kalamazoo case grew out of the decision of the school board to levy a tax for a high school. A taxpayer sued to restrain the board from so doing, and the case was carried to the state supreme court. The decision, written by the great Chief Justice Cooley, upheld the school board. The high school was thus given definite status in Michigan as part of the "common school" system provided for in the state constitution. This decision influenced courts in other states, and is rightly regarded as a landmark in the development of public education.

4. Reorganization of Secondary Education

The movement to reorganize education is still under way, but the main lines of reorganization were crystallized by 1920. Reorganization has an important bearing on elementary education, but since its major significance relates to secondary education, it seems fitting to take notice of it at this point. The term *reorganization* is used to denote the revision of the grade arrangement from the traditional 8–4 plan of elementary and high schools to the plan of six years for elementary and six years for secondary. Secondary schools under reorganization assume various grade combinations, such as 3–3, 2–4, or six grades in one school. In its later and current phases, reorganization also took in grades 13 and 14 or junior college. The movement is by no means at an end; new plans are still being proposed, and, in some instances, tried out, such as the 6–4–4 plan championed by Koos, Proctor, Cooper, Douglass, and most other specialists in secondary education.

It is unlikely that there will ever be a uniform system of school organization in the United States, and there is no need for strict uniformity. As the schools extend their services downward, upward, and outward, to serve preschool and post-high school groups, new plans will inevitably appear. Now, however, and probably for a long time to come, the dominant scheme is that of a six-year elementary school (frequently prefaced with kindergarten, and sometimes with one or two years of nursery school), and six years of secondary school (sometimes followed by two years of junior college).

Reasons for Reorganization.—The early impetus for reorganization was given by President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University

in addresses and articles in the late eighties and early nineties. Eliot advocated reducing the eight years of elementary schooling to six, thereby commencing secondary education two years earlier, and hence permitting college entrance two years earlier. He made out a strong case, citing particularly the waste of time in devoting eight years to the teaching of the fundamentals. As a result of his agitation and the interest of other educational leaders, committees were set up by the organization we now know as the National Education Association, to study the problem and report.

Several influential committees brought in reports between 1893 and 1913: the Committee of Ten on secondary school studies, the Committee of Fifteen, which dealt mostly with the organization and method of elementary school studies, the Committee on College Entrance, and the Committee on Economy of Time. The general trend of findings of all these groups was to support the reorganization of schools on a 6–6 basis. Their recommendations were based on the belief that six years was enough for a good grounding in the fundamental tool subjects, and that the mental and physical changes in children at about twelve years of age required schooling of a different sort from that followed up to that age. The junior high school was advocated as an exploratory, transitional school between elementary and senior high schools, with a beginning by the pupils of secondary studies with progressively less attention to the tool subjects. Even though the committees were dominated by college subject specialists, and their approach was not scientific, their work led to a great deal of scientific study of school problems and helped to standardize somewhat educational practice. The most unfavorable effect was the placing of too high a premium on preparation for college entrance as the main goal of the lower schools.

One interesting change in the direction of thinking was the new meaning given to the phrase "economy of time." The early exponents of reorganization were profoundly convinced that at least two years could be saved between the first grade and college graduation. This idea was given up, though, and the ultimate outcome may be summed up as follows: Not the same education in *less* time, but better education in the *same* time.

In 1909–11 the first junior high schools were established, in Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Columbus, to put into practice some of the theories long discussed. The idea spread rapidly; so that by 1930 there were about 4,000 junior high schools. Now more than two thirds of all secondary school pupils attend reorganized schools.

The Junior College.—The reorganization movement reached beyond the high school into the college. At the turn of the century, President William Rainey Harper of the University of Chicago advocated that grades 13 and 14 be devoted to general education, as part of public school work, or organized as a "lower division" in colleges. Upon completion of this level, students would be presumed to be ready for professional specialization. The first public junior college, comprising grades 13 and 14, was set up in 1902 at Joliet, Illinois. Until 1920 the junior college idea experienced slow adoption, but by 1930 there were 429 junior colleges, enrolling nearly 70,000 students. In 1947 there were approximately 700, with total enrollment of 300,000. About 55 per cent are private schools and the rest public. They are found in every state but Nevada. The public type are more numerous in the West and Midwest where endowed institutions of higher education are less numerous than in the older eastern states.

Reorganization of secondary school and college work is not at an end. Most colleges and universities have adopted the plan of a two-year lower division, thus following the junior college idea, but some are experimenting still further. Notable is the practice of the University of Chicago in admitting superior pupils upon completion of the tenth grade for first-year college work. At the end of four years (14th grade), they receive a bachelor's degree. If they wish to work for a master's degree they remain normally three years more. Here and there other institutions are experimenting with acceleration and various types of reorganization of college work. It is well established now that "general education" should be largely or wholly accomplished by the end of the sophomore year (grade 14).

5. Growth of Higher Education

Curriculum Reform and Expansion.—Between 1820 and the end of the Civil War some 200 colleges and universities were founded, bringing the total to about 260. All were small and struggling institutions, but the foundations for our far-flung system of higher education were well laid. Despite meager economic resources and small student bodies, public interest in higher education was fairly high. All the new states, and most of the original thirteen, founded state universities.

Beginnings were also made toward liberalizing the traditional classical and ecclesiastical curriculum. The study of modern foreign languages, natural and physical sciences, English literature, history

and political science, and engineering was introduced in such leading institutions as the College of William and Mary, Columbia, and Harvard. Professional schools for law, medicine, education, engineering, and other fields were set up in large numbers as part of university facilities.

Graduate Study.—Prior to 1876 very little opportunity for graduate work was offered in American universities. In that year, Johns Hopkins University at Baltimore was founded with the specific aim of providing staff and facilities for graduate study and research. Clark University in Massachusetts and the University of Chicago early followed this lead. Now several hundred institutions afford opportunities for graduate study at the master's and doctor's level. All the large state universities and many of the larger privately controlled institutions possess graduate professional schools; many smaller public and private colleges engage to a limited extent in graduate work.

Growth Since the Civil War.—Since the Civil War higher education has flourished, particularly between 1890 and 1935. In 1885, for example, only a half-dozen institutions reported enrollments in excess of 250 students, and the total enrollment of regular, full-time students in 1890 was only 156,000, or 3 per cent of the population 18 to 21 years of age. By 1935 there were approximately 1,600 institutions with total enrollment of 1,208,000, or 13 per cent of the population 18 to 21. The year 1940 saw the number of institutions climb to 1,800 (including junior colleges), and enrollment of about 1,500,000, highest up to that time. The effect of the "GI Bill of Rights" (see Chapter 8) stimulated college attendance in the late 1940's, so that more than two million students were enrolled. Several hundred thousand additional persons are enrolled in extension and correspondence courses. College and university administrative and instructional staff increased from 16,000 in 1890 to about 140,000 in the 1940's, almost a ninefold growth.[1]

The increase in endowments and other forms of financial support has outstripped the increase in enrollment and staff. In the last fifty years total income has multiplied at least twenty-four times, from approximately 35 million dollars to more than 850 million dollars per year. Endowments total nearly 2 billion dollars, and are still growing.

[1] It is interesting to know that all the nine colonial colleges are today flourishing institutions, with enrollments in the thousands and possessing large endowments.

The enactment of the Morrill Act in 1862, providing for the establishment of land-grant colleges (discussed in Chapter 8), was the first "shot in the arm" for college and university expansion. Then during the last decade of the nineteenth century, many institutions began to extend their services by offering correspondence courses, extension classes, summer sessions, and graduate work. A third factor in the remarkable growth of higher education was the passage in 1914 of the Smith-Lever Act providing for extension work by state agricultural colleges. Most recently, the GI Bill has encouraged hundreds of thousands to pursue their education beyond high school. Throughout the last half-century the steadily rising standard of living, the increasing complexity of public and private life, and the development of specialization in industry and the professions have created a rising demand for education beyond the secondary level. There is little doubt that, if higher institutions adapt their policies and practices to new requirements, their enrollment will continue at a high level for many years, and may go even higher.

In one way the American high school and the colleges and universities may be regarded as being still in their infancy. The U. S. Office of Education reported recently that in 1944 one fourth of all the people in the United States with a complete secondary school education had been graduated since 1940 and were under 23 years of age; one half had been graduated since 1935, and three fourths since 1925. About 94 per cent of the 24.5 million persons who had been graduated from secondary schools since 1870 were still living. At the college level, one fourth of all graduates living in 1944 had received their bachelor's degree in the last six years; one half in the last twelve years, and three fourths in the last twenty-one years.[2]

One serious problem still to be solved is that of making higher education available to more young men and women at less cost. The trend toward more public support of higher education and more scholarships for worthy students is marked, yet much remains to be done. Publicly supported institutions depend on student fees for about one sixth of their income, on the average, with a very wide range above and below this. (In privately controlled institutions the students bear about one half the cost.) The junior college and state university movements have brought education beyond secondary

[2] See the *N.E.A. Journal* for April, 1946, p. 208, for a table listing number of men and women high school and college graduates, 1870–1944.

school within the reach of many, but many more are still unable, for economic reasons, to take advantage of these opportunities.

The growth of preparation of school personnel as one of the chief functions of institutions of higher education is discussed in Chapter 13.

6. Evolution of Modern American Education

Besides the growth of the last century discussed above, a number of important changes in outlook, content, and practice have occurred in American education generally. In the remaining pages of this chapter such changes are briefly identified.[3]

Changes in Philosophy of Education.—In the period under consideration, there have been marked changes in the philosophy, curriculum, and methods of our schools. A century or so ago, the elementary school was the only one attended by most people, and many attended for only short periods. Little more than literacy was the objective in these "common schools," and there was no attempt at articulation with secondary schools. The elementary school was itself a terminal school.

Secondary education then was the privilege of a very few. Generally the reasons for attendance were to prepare for college entrance, with the ministry as the goal, or to prepare for other careers upon completion of secondary school. Tuition fees, as we have seen, were ordinarily charged at both school levels. The demand for free schools open to all, first at the elementary level, later at the secondary, was premised on the need for an enlightened electorate and on the democratic concept of equal opportunity for all. But the schools did not effectively serve these ideals, and attendance was more closely related to individual and personal than to social goals.

A marked shift to the social values of education began late in the nineteenth century, partly as the effect of the work of Herbart (1776–1841), the German philosopher, as well as that of the Swiss educational reformer Pestalozzi (1746–1827), and another German, Froebel (1782–1852). They emphasized the values of education for the improvement of society, as contrasted with mere personal advancement. John Dewey, the great American educational philosopher and teacher, developed and refined the social philosophy of education during the first half of the present century. Now it is agreed

[3] Since only the highlights can be given here, the student is urged to do specialized reading on various aspects.

by educational leaders that a publicly supported, free system of schools, and required school attendance, are justifiable primarily on the grounds of social welfare. Individual improvement is not neglected, but it plays second fiddle to the larger goal of conserving the best in our way of life and eliminating or improving the rest.

It was not uncommon, even as recently as the 1920's, to hear commencement speeches and see articles in which the "money value" of education to the individual was stressed. Symptomatic of the change of outlook noted above is the almost total lack of such reference today.

Curriculum Development.—Curriculum change has been on a heroic scale, partly by revision of content and partly by addition of new content. In the elementary grades, at the beginning of this period, more than 90 per cent of a child's school time was devoted to the "Three R's," and even then the major emphasis was on reading and writing, with scant attention given to arithmetic. Only rarely were such subjects as geography, sewing, and bookkeeping included. Through the efforts of Horace Mann, James G. Carter, Henry Barnard, and other leaders of the "educational awakening," the elementary school curriculum was rapidly expanded during the mid-century. Besides their influence, the gradual freeing of the United States from dependence on Europe politically, economically, and culturally created a more favorable milieu for educational progress than was formerly the case. Textbooks by American writers (mentioned in Chapter 2) appeared in increasing volume and were written with more appeal for American pupils. People turned their attention more and more to the problems of a new and growing nation, an attitude that filtered into and influenced the schools.

By 1850 the amount of time in a typical school spent directly and specifically on the "Three R's" had declined to about 70 per cent, by 1900 to 60 per cent. Since then it has dropped to between 45 and 50 per cent. If half or less of a child's time is now devoted to what used to be the *entire* curriculum, the question naturally arises as to what is done in the other half.

The answer is that many new subjects have been added, and that the concept of the "fundamentals" has been vastly broadened. Between 1850 and 1900, the following subjects were added in most schools: nature study and science, drawing, physical training, music, sewing, cooking, manual training, and history. Geography and spelling had been added earlier. About one fourth of the time is now

given to the so-called "content subjects," (history and geography—or social studies—and science), and one fourth to the "special subjects" —art, music, physical education and health, and practical arts. A great reduction in the amount of time formerly expended on arithmetic, the language arts, and writing has made room for this expansion. Amazingly, pupil achievement in the fundamentals is better, if anything, than in the years when far more time was spent upon them. Reorganization and revision of content and grade placement are constantly under way, but this is essentially the picture in the middle of the twentieth century.

In the secondary school curriculum, a similar evolution took place, although it occurred later. The general acceptance of science, history, and practical arts was well won by the last decade of the nineteenth century, but only during the last generation have music, art, physical education, commercial subjects, vocational education, and other social studies besides history and geography been widely adopted as standard elements. As recently as thirty to forty years ago most high schools offered only sixteen to twenty units of subject matter. Now large high schools offer forty to sixty units, and even in small schools it is not uncommon to find as many as thirty units, allowing considerably more flexibility in pupils' programs.

In secondary schools a recent movement has been the development of a "core curriculum," which includes content and experiences deemed of such high importance that all pupils should participate in them. Core curricula include the study of English, basic social studies, science, physical education and health, some mathematics, and aspects of community life. Some schools reserve as much as half a day for this type of general education, with the other half free for pupils' choices to meet individual needs or interests. The core curriculum idea is expressed in most schools by the requirement of certain subjects, with electives provided for pupils to choose from. No generally accepted pattern has yet emerged.

It is apparent that curriculum reform seems to be a perpetual activity. However, there is an important distinction to be made between the approach to curriculum revision of the last quarter-century and that of earlier times. The old approach was that of armchair philosophizing, while the modern is that of philosophy *plus* analysis of life activities, needs, and interests of various groups. Indubitably the latter approach is more defensible and more fruitful; utilizing it in increasing measure, the schools will meet our people's requirements more fully.

New Methods of Instruction.—Merely to mention curriculum changes by no means does justice to the changes that have taken place in elementary and secondary schooling. With the change in interpretation of the purposes of education, methods of teaching have been radically modified. No longer is the elementary school regarded as the only school which most children will attend. Nor is it conceived of as a place to cram subject matter into a child willy-nilly. Supplanting these old ideas, objectives today include the cultivation of wholesome attitudes and ideals for personal and civic life, and the inculcation of skills and habits to enable a child to discharge effectively responsibilities in many various rôles. The nature of children, child growth, and learning has been studied vigorously, especially in the last three or four decades, and methods of instruction have been gradually changed to accord with the findings. Even now practice lags behind knowledge, and the limits of knowledge are being ever pushed back.

The great contributions of Pestalozzi, influenced by Rousseau, were his insistence on replacing mere rote learning with actual experience, so far as possible, and his interpretation of child nature. He believed that children were born good, or at least not bad, and that discipline should be mild. He held that education should be a matter of "drawing out" a child, not merely pouring into him the facts and figures of textbooks, and that instruction should proceed "in the order of nature," that is, from the simple to the more complex.

It remained for Herbart to systematize method on a more nearly scientific basis. Pestalozzi's ideas had been widely disseminated by graduates of normal schools from 1860 on, especially by teachers prepared at Oswego, New York, under the leadership of Edward Sheldon. With keen and logical analysis, Herbart modified Pestalozzi's conclusions (which had been based upon observation), and developed a system of instructional method which was tardily recognized in this country, a recognition, however, which swept American educators by storm during the two decades beginning about 1890. In 1892 American disciples organized the National Herbart Society (since 1900 called the National Society for the Study of Education), whose yearbooks contain some of the best educational literature published in this country. The Herbartian "five formal steps" of method, the emphasis on literature and history, the social conception of education, and the scientific approach to the solution of educational problems are still of high significance today.

The "scientific movement" in education of our century stems from the work of such men as Herbart, G. Stanley Hall of Clark University, and J. M. Rice, one of the early leaders of standardized testing. Since 1900 many thousands of investigations of the learning process, the teaching process, pupil achievement and intelligence, and every other phase of education have been made. Thousands of school surveys of all kinds have also been conducted in order to get the facts and then to do something about them. The idea behind all this activity is simply this: to teach children and youth better than they have been taught before, and to enable them to become better persons and citizens—in all their multifarious pursuits—than preceding generations.

Discipline.—The changed concept of discipline which has developed in the last century throws an interesting sidelight on changing methods. Teachers, or "masters," in the old days were expected to control their charges by physical strength if other means were of no avail. Although great teachers of all ages have counseled mild discipline, it was not the rule in our schools a hundred years ago. Cruel and excessive physical punishment was the rule, many examples of which can be found readily in standard textbooks on the history of education. The ideas of self-discipline, group discipline through social approval and disapproval, and the importance of interest and values of school subjects and activities for discipline were not appreciated.

In today's schools much attention is given to the mental hygiene of children. The causes of "discipline problems" are sought, and correctives applied. There has also been a radical change in ideas of what constitutes bad conduct. Mental hygienists and teachers have not always agreed on definitions of "bad" conduct. Emphasis today is directed toward the wholesome development of each pupil's personality, whereas a century ago all pupils were expected to conform rather closely to one pattern. An illustration of the penalties designed to enforce this conformity is given below, from the records of a North Carolina academy in 1848. Most schools had some such set of rules, although few were as detailed as this.

LASHES: RULES OF STOKES COUNTY ACADEMY: 1848

November 10, 1848: Wm. A. Chaffin, Master

Boys and Girls Playing Together, 4; Quareling, 4; Fighting, 5; Fighting at School, 5; Quareling at School, 3; Gambleing or Beting, 4; Playing at

Cards at School, 10; Climbing for Every foot Over three feet up a tree, 1; Telling Lyes, 7; Telling Tales Out of School, 8; Nick-naming Each other, 4; Giving Each Other Ill Names, 3; Fighting Each Other in time of Books, 2; Swaring at School, 8; Blackgarding Each Other, 6; for Misbehaving to Girls, 10; For Leaving School Without Leave of the Teacher, 4; Going Home with each other without Leave of the Teacher, 4; for Drinking Spirituous Liquors at School, 8; Making Swings & Swinging on Them, 7; For Misbehaving when a Stranger is in the House, 6; For waring Long Finger Nails, 2; For Not Making a bow when a Stranger Comes in or goes out, 3; Misbehaving to Persons on the Road, 4; For Not Making a bow when you Meet a Person, 4; For Going to Girl's Play Places, 3; Girles Going to Boys Play Places, 2; Coming to School with Dirty face and Hands, 2; For Caling Each Other Liars, 4; For Playing Bandy, 10; For Bloting Your Copy Book, 2; For not making a bow when you go home or when you come away, 4; For Wrestling at School, 4; Scuffling at School, 4; For not Making a bow when going out to go home, 2; For Weting Each Other Washing at Play time, 2; For Hollowing & Hooping Going Home, 3; For Delaying Time Going home or Coming to School, 4; For Not Making a bow when you Come in or go Out, 2; For Throwing Any Thing Harder than your trab ball, 4; For Every Word you mis In your Hart Leson without Good Excuse, 1: For Not Saying yes Sir & no Sir or yes marm or no marm, 2; For Troubleing Each others Writing affares, 2; For Not washing at playtime when going to Books, 4; For Going & Playing about the Mill or Creek, 6; For Going about the Barn or doing any Mischief about the Place, 7.[4]

It is not an exaggeration to state that the curriculum and methods of American schools, while radically different from those our forefathers knew, have evolved less by design than by chance, opportunism, and imitation. An interesting exception to this general rule is the work of the Progressive Education Association, organized in 1918, and known since 1945 as the American Education Fellowship. Its membership comprised of "frontier thinkers," the Association deliberately set out to jolt American school practice out of the rut into which it had got, with respect to both methods and curriculum.

The P.E.A., through an aggressive program of publication, teaching, and investigation, has wielded an influence far out of proportion to its size. It has constantly advocated giving more recognition to the needs and interests of children, not merely in preparation for adulthood, but as children with problems of their own—in other words, making the "whole child" the center of instruction. It has

[4] C. L. Coon (editor), *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790–1840—a documentary history,* Raleigh (N. C.): North Carolina Historical Commission, 1915.

had a profound effect on methods, in its emphasis on pupil activity, elementary research by pupils, and group enterprises. Heavy weight has been placed on genuinely democratic relations among pupils, between pupils and teachers, and between teachers and administrators. The Association, although it created much opposition by its extreme stand in its early years, has had a marked and abiding influence on school practice. In assisting, along with other agencies, the breaking of the traditional lockstep of education, and in promoting the practice of democracy in education, the Association leavened the whole American school system.

Other groups too numerous to mention have had much influence on school curriculum and methods. Outstanding are the National Society for the Study of Education aforementioned, the Educational Policies Commission of the N.E.A. and various N.E.A. departments, state departments of education, and university schools and departments of education. The regional accrediting associations, such as the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools (largest and most influential of the six regional associations), organized since 1895 in voluntary programs of self-improvement, have also made important contributions to educational progress.

7. Extensions of School Service

Although incidental mention has been made of several types of school extensions, beyond and below the ordinary twelve-year public school program, specific mention should be made of the leading developments in this area. A century ago none of the enterprises to be named were in existence. They all are now important parts of our educational service, and undoubtedly will become of even greater importance in years to come.

The Kindergarten.—First of the permanent extensions of school service was the kindergarten, and its growth has been steady and substantial if not spectacular. About a hundred years ago, the German teacher Friedrich Froebel operated a school for young children in which play and instruction were interwoven, with games, songs, and pupil activity the dominating characteristics. The idea was brought to this country by Mrs. Carl Schurz, who set up a private kindergarten in the German-speaking community of Watertown, Wisconsin, in 1855. The first English-speaking kindergarten, also a private venture, was established in Boston by Elizabeth Pea-

body in 1860. Similar schools were founded in a number of cities, and in 1873 the first public school kindergarten was opened in St. Louis under the direction of Susan Blow, who wrote and spoke prolifically on the subject.

Thereafter the kindergarten idea spread fairly rapidly, so that by 1900 most of the larger cities included kindergartens as a regular part of the elementary school program. By 1930 there were approximately three quarters of a million enrolled in kindergartens, an increase of 30 per cent over 1920. In 1940 a decline was reported, but since then the enrollment has risen to exceed the 1930 peak. As small cities, towns, and rural communities adopt the kindergarten, its enrollment will no doubt approximate that of the first grade. The kindergarten has earned the respect of educators and laymen alike as a medium for preparing children for first grade, and for the wholesome development of young children individually and socially. It has done much to remove the dreariness from the early school years. Its good influence on schoolroom design, furnishing, and decoration, and on school methods and activities, has pervaded the whole elementary school program.

The Nursery School.—A further downward extension has appeared on the scene since about 1910, in the form of the nursery school or preschool. The nursery school, serving children of two to five years of age, has not been widely adopted by public school systems. Thus far it has been sponsored chiefly by the federal government, by university child welfare research stations, and by private enterprise. During the depression and World War II the government subsidized hundreds of nursery schools and "child-care centers," in the first instance as an unemployment relief measure, and in the second instance to relieve mothers working in war industries. Much interest is evinced in the nursery school, especially as a means to help young children in underprivileged urban communities. Its growth as a regular part of the school system will no doubt be limited and slow.

Extension Work of Higher Education.—At the upper end of the school program, the junior college has already been sufficiently treated, as has the development of state institutions of higher education. Adult education for persons beyond regular school age has been conducted mostly by university summer session and extension services, the extension services of the land-grant colleges, evening schools in the public schools, and by private enterprise. There are

innumerable agencies, clubs, and activities which properly fall under the head of adult education, but only a small proportion of the whole is assumed by public authorities. Most large cities offer evening classes for adults and continuation classes for working youth. Evening schools have enrolled more than two million students in recent years.

Adult Education.—Adult education in the broad sense of the term (including private and public endeavors) has a respectable history of about a century. The change in emphasis through the years is interesting to note. In the middle of the nineteenth century the major emphasis was on provision of opportunities for adults who had not completed elementary schooling—that is, the literacy objective. Late in that century and for the first quarter of the twentieth century, due to the influx of tens of millions of immigrants, major emphasis was laid on Americanization. Currently, additional preparation for job-changing or vocational self-improvement and avocational interests receive the most stress.

That there is a vast interest in and demand for adult education on a broad scale is apparent from data given in Chapter 8 on federal depression and wartime emergency projects. There is impressive evidence, furthermore, of the need for adult education in the 1940 census statistics. The figures show that 2,800,000 persons over twenty-five years of age had less than one year of formal schooling, and an additional 7,300,000 had only one to four years of schooling.

8. Education of Girls and Women

It was many years after the establishment of early colonial schools before girls were given educational opportunities comparable to those for boys. They were taught at home, in the dame school, in private schools or by tutors. Later, instruction was given to girls separately by the local schoolmaster in such time as he could spare from his regular duties, sometimes on the Thursday half-holiday, before or after regular school hours, or in vacation periods. Secondary education and higher education were not available to girls at all. Late in the eighteenth century the rise of academies alleviated this deplorable situation slightly, but girls were not accepted on a basis of full equality. It was the conviction that girls and women could profit from intellectual studies that led Mary Lyon, Catherine Beecher, and Emma Willard in the early nineteenth century, to

found the girls' schools referred to in the preceding chapter. These institutions, and others of the period, were not full-fledged colleges but approximated high grade academies. Their success served to demonstrate that girls were capable of more than merely elementary schooling. In more recent years, the ratio of girls and boys in high school has been about equal, and no one would dream now of denying girls full equality of status in secondary education.

Admission of Women to Colleges.—No institutions of collegiate rank admitted women at the beginning of the Jacksonian period, much less was there any idea of coeducation. However, the first opportunity for women's education at the college level did come in coeducational institutions. Oberlin College in Ohio is usually accorded the honor of being the first institution of unquestioned college calibre which admitted women, which it did from the day of its founding in 1833. The going was slow, for by 1865 the bachelor's degree had been awarded to only seventy-nine women, an average of about two a year.

Against great odds and in the face of much ridicule and venomous antagonism, other colleges followed this lead. "Female colleges" were set up in many states, frequently under denominational auspices. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the opportunities for college work for women increased steadily, and the standards improved. State universities, land-grant colleges, and teachers colleges almost invariably admitted women equally with men. During this period, the notion that women should be educated on a par with men became generally accepted. Women today are admitted on equal terms with men in most American institutions of higher education.

Vocational and Professional Education.—Preparation of women for careers in the learned professions had hard sledding, too, until 1900, and even later on a much reduced scale. With the sole exception of teaching, there were practically no professional outlets for women. Teaching became such a popular career for women that the proportion of women teachers rose from less than 50 per cent at the beginning of the period treated in this chapter to 70 per cent in 1900, and 86 per cent in 1920. Since then the proportion has been about 80 per cent, except during World War II when it went a few notches higher. The first degree in medicine granted to a woman was received by Elizabeth Blackwell in 1849. The first woman to be graduated from a theological school was Antoinette Blackwell (no relation to Elizabeth), who completed the course at Oberlin in 1851

In law, the first woman to receive a degree was Ada Kepler, who completed the course in 1870. By 1900, it is reported that women were studying in every professional field except veterinary medicine.

The phenomenal development of the United States as a commercial and industrial nation created many opportunities for careers for women, and made their education more necessary than ever before. The invention of the typewriter, to cite just one outstanding example, created jobs for millions of women in office work. The two world wars opened many technical and professional fields to women that previously had been closed or difficult to break into. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to think of any field in which women are not now successfully engaged. The growing percentage of women enrolled in institutions of higher education is revealed by the following tabulation:

Year	Per Cent of Women Enrolled
1900	24
1910	27
1920	38
1930	42
1940	39

During the years of World War II the ratio of men to women students dropped to 1:2, but following the war the proportion of men recovered and somewhat exceeded its former scope. The long-time outlook is for a "normal" ratio of about 55:45.

9. The Rise of Professional School Administration

The development of the profession of school administrator occurred in the period considered in this chapter and should be noted here. There were no school superintendents before 1837. Early schools were administered either by the community, through town meetings, or by existing civil officers. In the early national period, school boards were provided for in the laws of most states, and they managed the schools with the assistance of principals or head teachers.

This *modus operandi* became inadequate as the number of pupils increased, and problems of grading, schoolhouse construction, curriculum revisions, and so on, multiplied in volume and complexity. School boards lacked the competence and time to discharge their edu-

cational responsibilities satisfactorily. Finally, in 1837, Buffalo and Louisville appointed full-time superintendents of schools, and thereafter most cities rapidly did likewise. By 1900 practically all school systems, large and small, had adopted the practice of employing superintendents.

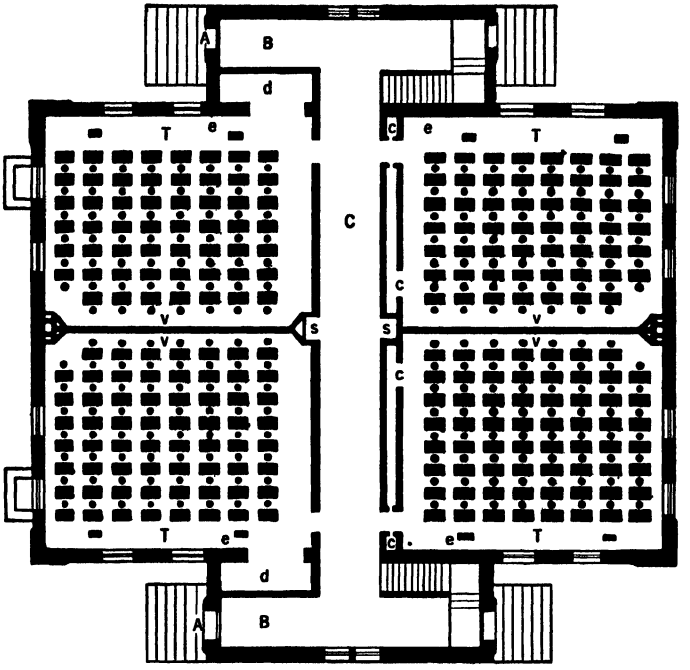
The path of the superintendent in the early decades was a rough one (and still is in many cases). School boards were unwilling to give up their executive powers, and limited superintendents usually to supervision of instruction. Business affairs were reserved to the boards. School principals, occupying positions hallowed by time, and who were virtually kings in their own schools, hampered superintendents at every turn.

While there are still some city school boards who follow the nineteenth century pattern, the trend of the last thirty or forty years has been to make the superintendent the executive head of the entire school system, accountable to the board. As superintendents have demonstrated their competence in the various aspects of administration, boards have shown more confidence in them and have invested superintendents and their professional associates with more responsibility.

10. Improvement of Schoolhousing

The change in schoolhouse design is graphically illustrated in the cuts presented in the following pages. Just 100 years ago (1848), Henry Barnard, Commissioner of Public Schools in Rhode Island (in 1867 appointed first United States Commissioner of Education), published the first American book on school architecture. He included many plans for schools newly built or in process of construction. Typical of the schools of that day is the floor plan shown in Figure 2, with a room in each corner, each room accommodating fifty-five pupils. This school was designed as the Quincy Grammar School in Boston. It had three floors of classrooms, for about 650 pupils, and an auditorium on the fourth floor.

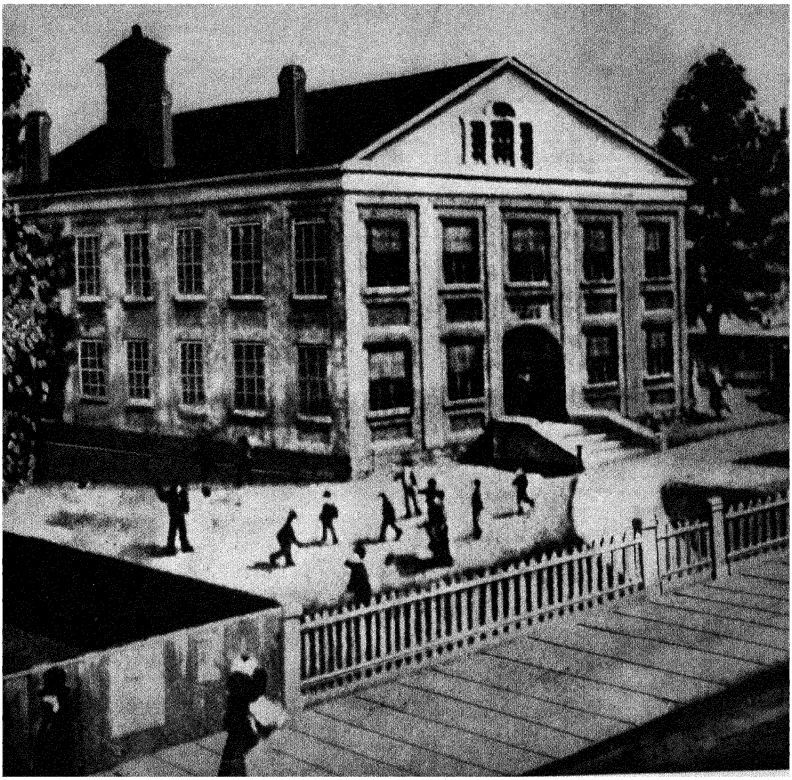
Another good example, showing the classrooms assigned to the "Male Department" and the "Female Department," is given in Figure 3. This school was also opened in 1848, at Newburyport, Massachusetts. Each of the two classrooms on the second floor accommodated sixty-four children. On the lower floor was a hall for "general exercises," or school assemblies, and four small recitation rooms. This building and its site cost $26,000.



PLAN OF FIRST FLOOR

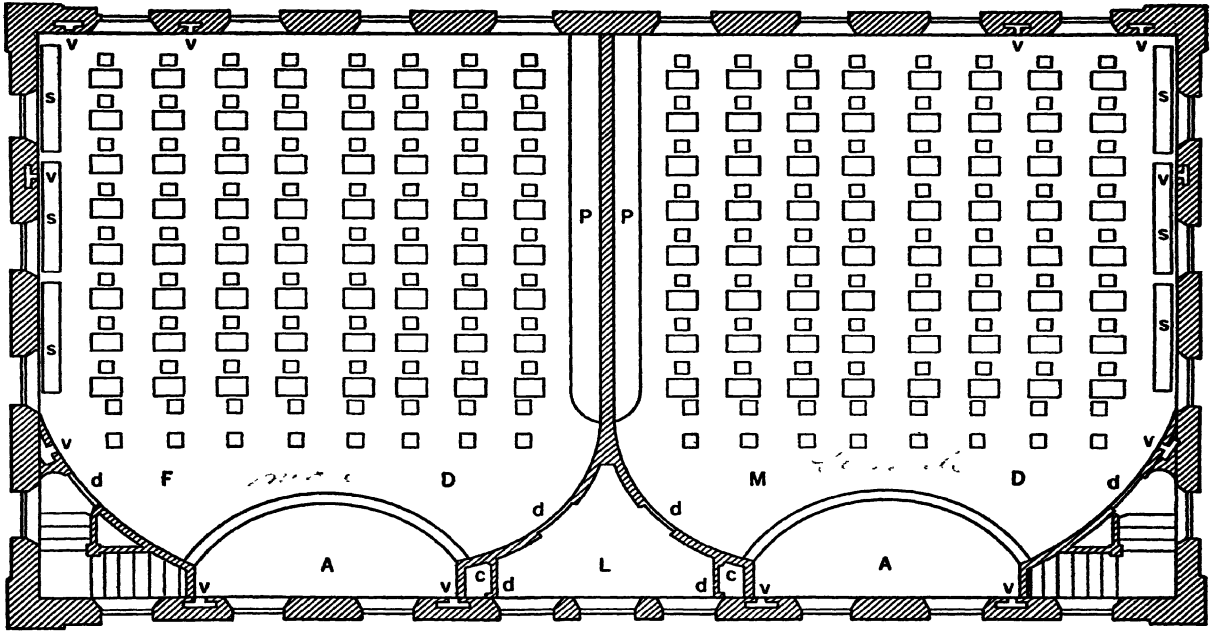
A, A—Front doors.
B, B—Entries.
C—Corridor or hall.
T, T, T, T—Teachers' platform 24 by 5½ feet.
r, r, r, r—Hot-air flues.
v, v, v, v—Preston's Ventilators for controlling the flues in the partition wall, which communicate with the iron smoke pipes near the top of the building. This plan is adopted in the first story only.
e, e, e, e—indicates the location of the flues of Emerson's Ventilators in the second, third and fourth stories.
s—Sink.
c, c, c, c—Closets.
d, d,—Closets 10 by 11 feet.

Figure 2. Floor Plan of Quincy (Mass.) Grammar School, Built in 1847
(From Barnard, *School Architecture*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1848)



Public School No. 1, Chicago, 1845, Locally Referred to as "Alderman Miltimore's Folly," Because of Its "Excessive" Cost of $7,800

(From *One Hundred Years of Educational Progress.* Chicago: Board of Education, 1945.)



M, D—Room for Male Department.
F, D—Room for Female Department.
A, A—Raised platforms for teachers' desks.
L—Principal's room.
C, C—Closets.

p, p—Raised platforms under the black-boards.
s, s, s, s, s, s—Settees.
d, d, d, d, d, d—Doors.
v, v, v, v, v, v, v, v, v, v, v, v—Ventilating flues.

Figure 3. Floor Plan (upper story) of Putnam Free School, Newburyport (Mass.), opened in 1848
(From Barnard, *op. cit.*)

Figure 4. Floor Plan of a Modern Elementary School
(From *The Nation's Schools* 38 (August, 1946), by permisson of the editor and Walker, Norwick and Templin, architects)

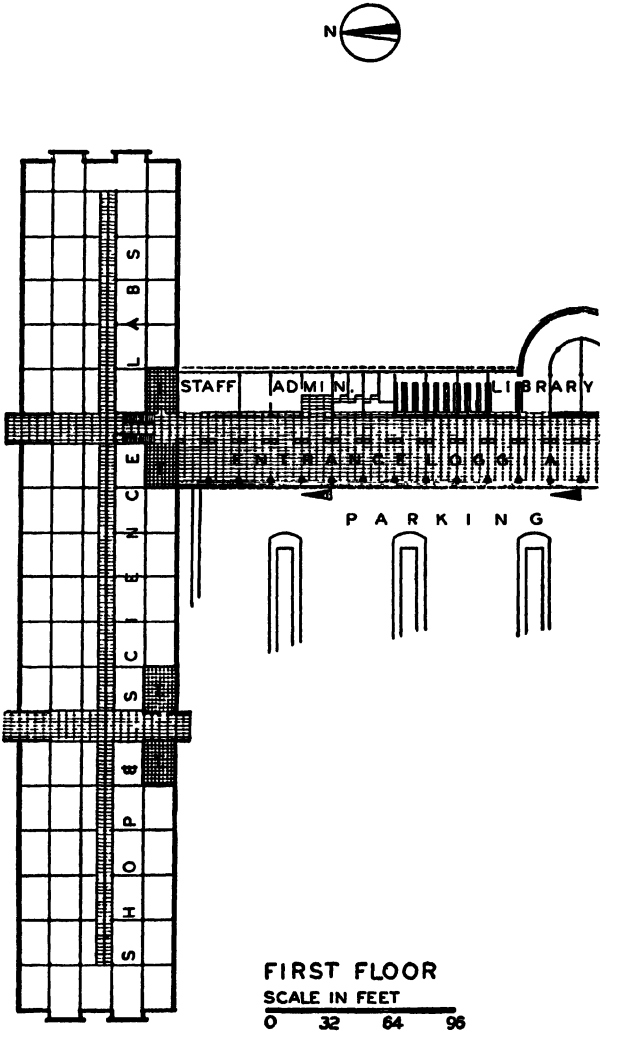
In the little city of Chicago in 1845, Public School No. 1, locally known as "Alderman Ira Miltimore's Folly," was built at an expenditure of $7,800. The mayor, in his inaugural address, opined that "the Common Council should either sell the new school or convert it into an insane asylum in which to incarcerate those responsible for its construction,"—a revealing sidelight on the sentiments of some citizens of that time about public education. This schoolhouse, of a design which remained in favor until late in the nineteenth century, housed 543 pupils, on a lot 60 x 80 feet, about one-tenth of an acre. An exterior view is shown in the accompanying photograph.

The science and art of schoolhouse planning have come of age only within the last quarter century. Research studies on every aspect of design and equipment have been and are being carried on in large numbers. Schools of many different styles and characteristics are built to accommodate various educational programs and related community activities, but the "corridor type" has become the dominant type, as opposed to the earlier "closed type" with a room in each corner. Many illustrations and floor plans of modern school design may be found in current periodicals;[5] hence only two examples are presented here in Figures 4 and 5. Much attention is now given to the adequacy of school sites, with three acres recommended as a minimum for any school, five to ten for large elementary schools, and ten to twenty acres or more for junior and senior high schools. The contrast between schools of a century ago and now can be readily noted by examining the cuts given here. Not apparent in the figures is the improvement of lighting, interior decoration, seating, specialized equipment for all kinds of classroom work, and other aspects which the reader can best learn about by visiting some good modern schools.

11. Major Types of Schools in Various Periods

To assist the reader in grasping the over-all development of American schools as presented in this and the preceding chapter, Figure 6 shows the various types of schools dominant in each of the several periods of our history. More than any other approach, a review of the characteristics of each type and the problems it was intended to meet, its failures and successes, will help the student to consolidate in his own mind the major trends.

[5] See especially the *American School Board Journal*, *The Nation's Schools*, *School Executive*, and the yearbook *American School and University*.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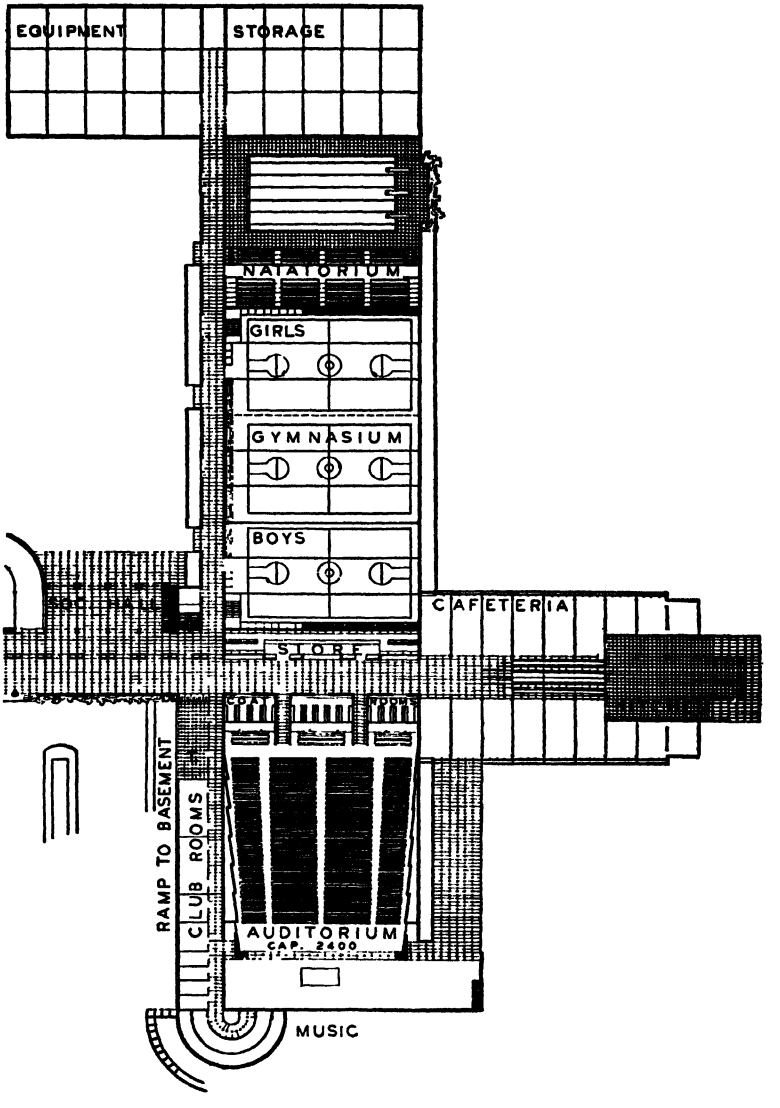


Figure 5. Plan of First Floor for a Modern High School
(From *The Architectural Forum* 78 (May, 1943), by permission of the editor and Perkins, Wheeler and Will, architects)

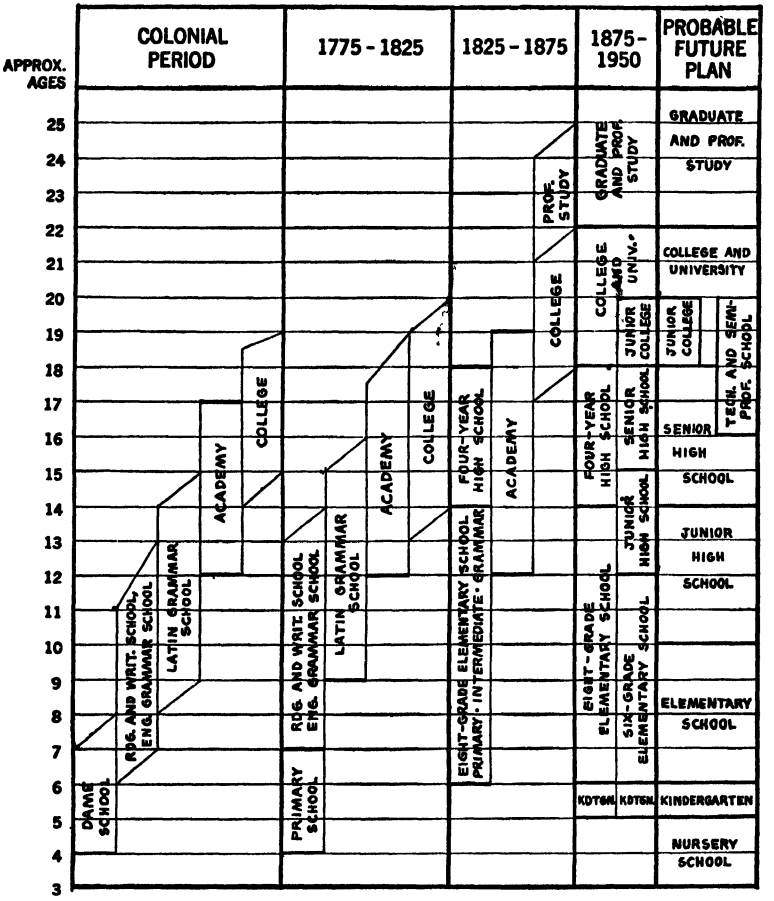


Figure 6. Dominant Types of Schools During Various Periods of American Educational Development

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Explain the decline of educational control by religious bodies and the increase of governmental control during the nineteenth century.
2. What were the most important European influences on American education during the middle of the nineteenth century? What was the contribution of each to American educational philosophy or practice?

3. Explain the rapid growth of the high school and the decline of the academy after 1860.
4. What part did women take in the "educational awakening" of the nineteenth century?
5. Would it be possible, and desirable, to operate schools today along the lines of the "common school" of a century ago?
6. What were the qualifications sought for in teachers one hundred years ago?
7. Why did methods of school support widely used up to about seventy-five years ago become unacceptable, and what methods of support superseded them?
8. Collect at least a dozen statements made by national leaders in the last 150 years on the importance of public education. What is the main current of thought in such expressions?
9. List seven or eight important characteristics of the American school system for each of these three periods: 1835–65; 1865–95; 1895 to the present.
10. Discuss the influence of labor organizations on the extension of public school opportunities during the period treated in this chapter.
11. For what significant educational work is each of the following persons noted? Henry Barnard; Susan T. Blow; John Dewey; Daniel C. Gilman; G. Stanley Hall; William Rainey Harper; William T. Harris; William James; Mary Lyon; Horace Mann; Francis Parker.
12. Compare schoolhouses of a century ago with standards for school buildings today. Illustrate with pictures or diagrams.
13. Make a pictorial map showing historical highlights of educational progress in the United States from colonial times to the present.
14. Many leaders in government, business, industry and the professions have been products of "the little red schoolhouse." Why is it now generally regarded as an anachronism?
15. Summarize the social and economic forces that influenced the vast expansion of school enrollment since 1890.
16. Point out extensions of school service almost unheard of fifty or sixty years ago, but generally accepted today.
17. What modifications, if any, have been made in the objectives of American education in the last half century?
18. Compare the growth of higher education in the period 1850–1900 with that in the period since then. Point out the chief characteristics of higher education development in each period.

Chapter 4

THE SCOPE, OBJECTIVES, AND FUNCTIONS OF THE DIFFERENT LEVELS

1. The Objectives of American Schools

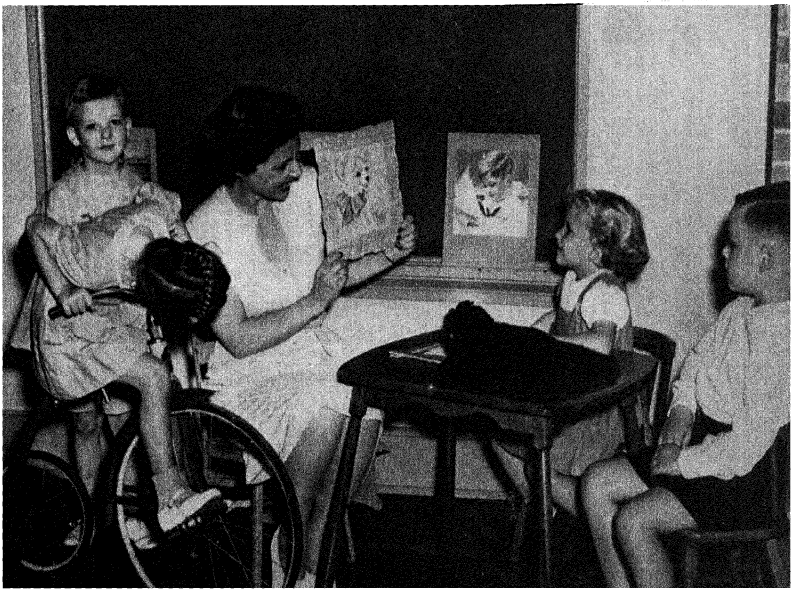
In recent years increasing attention has been given to the formulation of the objectives and functions of education and to adapting institutional materials and methods to objectives. Previously, teachers and educators generally were liable to the accusation that they were like the fanatic defined by Bernard Shaw: "one who, having lost sight of his objectives, redoubles his efforts." In general, they taught without question what had been taught before them, their chief concern being to get it "learned." Two approaches to the identification of objectives and functions of education in the United States have been employed—the psychological and the sociological. In the more widely accepted statements of objectives the results of both approaches are used. It is perfectly logical and necessary that both approaches should be employed.

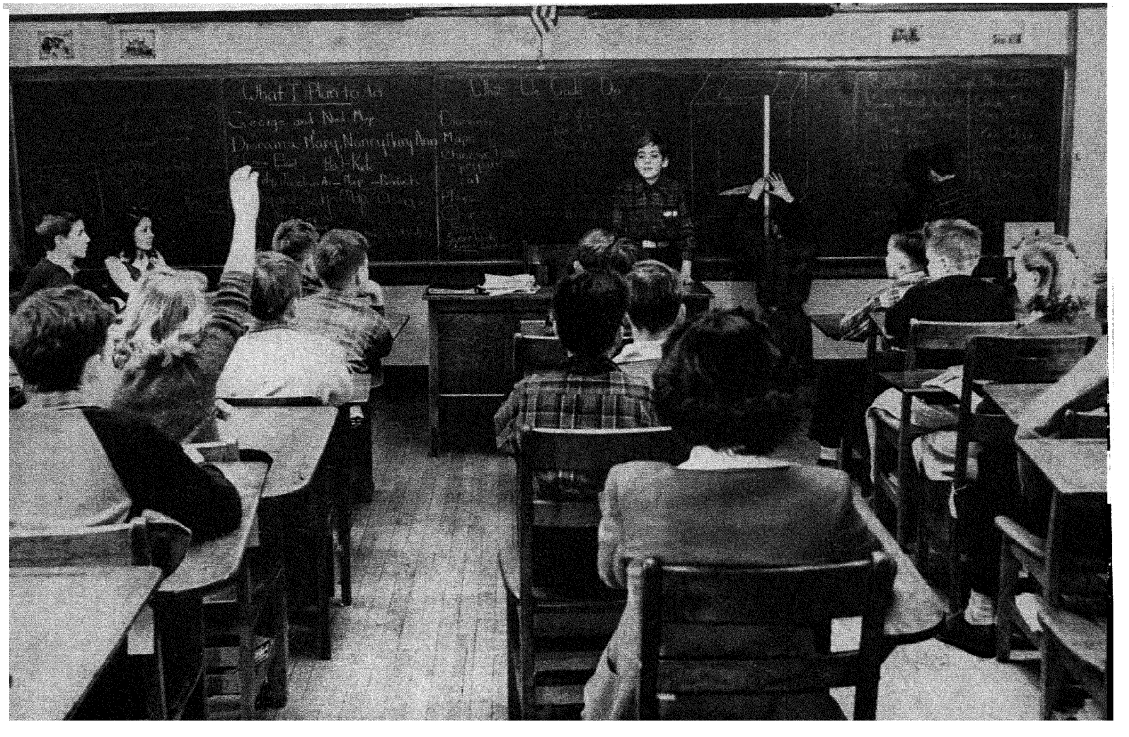
In the sociological approach, the attempt is made to discover what are the educational needs of society, and what are the educational needs of the individual for fitting into and assisting in the operation and in the evolution of society as he will find it. Usually the sociological formulation is based upon an analysis of the activities of the individual in society, and upon an analysis of the philosophy, institutions, conditions, problems and defects of society—local, national and world—as it exists and as it is likely to exist in the near future. From such an analysis, objectives are likely to be stated in such terms as Good Citizenship, Efficient Home Membership, Worthy Use of Leisure, and Vocational Efficiency; and functions will be defined in such terms as Integration, Differentiation, Adaptation, Preparation, and the like.

Statements of the objectives based primarily upon the psychological approach are likely to be phrased in such terms as "developing mental powers," and "growth of a healthy personality"—in other words, in terms of the development of the individual for any and

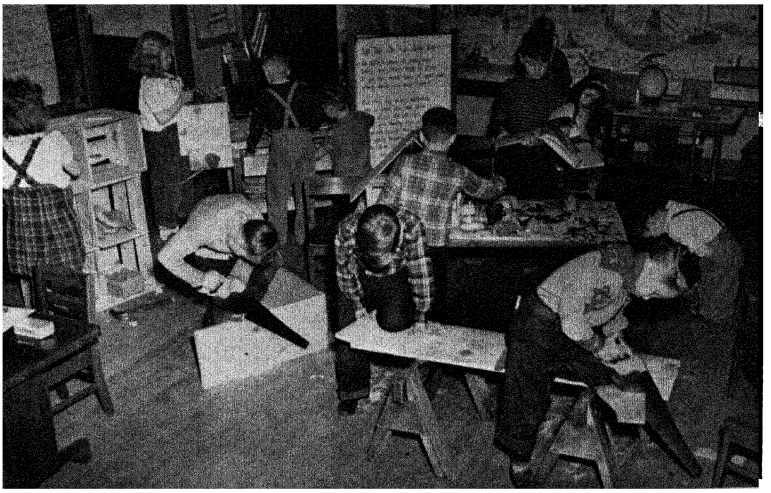
Mid-morning Lunch Time in a Nursery School at Tacoma
(Courtesy Washington State Dairy Council)

Happy Kindergarten Children on the First Day of School
(Courtesy Webster Groves, Mo., Public Schools)





An Elementary Class at Winnetka, Ill., Using Democratic Procedures in Planning a Class Project



Varied Activity in the Second Grade of a Modern Elementary School
(Courtesy Rochester, Minn., Public Schools)

Dental Clinic in a Senior High School at Houston, Texas

Students needing dental care are given treatment while other students observe and listen to the dentist's explanation. Emphasis is placed on the importance of taking care of the teeth.

Memphis High School Girls Apply What They Have Learned in Sewing to the Designing and Making of Attractive Home Furnishings

all purposes, social or individual, socially acceptable or not. The focus of attention is upon developing the individual rather than upon the purposes for which he is to be developed.

To constitute a most serviceable statement, objectives must be developed through a harmonious synthesis of both approaches. Course-of-study makers and teachers should be assisting individuals not only to develop themselves fully, but to develop themselves for specific and clearly defined purposes.

Among the more widely circulated statements of the objectives of American education are the following (note that while each may lean somewhat to the psychological or the sociological, each involves both approaches):

OBJECTIVES AS FORMULATED BY EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

I. THE OBJECTIVES OF SELF-REALIZATION

The Inquiring Mind. The educated person has an appetite for learning.

Speech. The educated person can speak the mother tongue clearly.

Reading. The educated person reads the mother tongue efficiently.

Writing. The educated person writes the mother tongue effectively.

Number. The educated person solves his problems of counting and calculating.

Sight and Hearing. The educated person is skilled in listening and observing.

Health Knowledge. The educated person understands the basic facts concerning health and disease.

Health Habits. The educated person protects his own health and that of his dependents.

Public Health. The educated person works to improve the health of the community.

Recreation. The educated person is participant and spectator in many sports and other pastimes.

Intellectual Interests. The educated person has mental resources for the use of leisure.

Esthetic Interests. The educated person appreciates beauty.

Character. The educated person gives responsible direction to his own life.

II. THE OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

Respect for Humanity. The educated person puts human relationships first.

Friendships. The educated person enjoys a rich, sincere, and varied social life.

Cooperation. The educated person can work and play with others.

Courtesy. The educated person observes the amenities of social behavior.

Appreciation of the Home. The educated person appreciates the family as a social institution.

Conservation of the Home. The educated person conserves family ideals.

Homemaking. The educated person is skilled in homemaking.

Democracy in the Home. The educated person maintains democratic family relationships.

III. The Objectives of Economic Efficiency

Work. The educated producer knows the satisfaction of good workmanship.

Occupational Information. The educated producer understands the requirements and opportunities for various jobs.

Occupational Choice. The educated producer has selected his occupation.

Occupational Efficiency. The educated producer succeeds in his chosen vocation.

Occupational Adjustment. The educated producer maintains and improves his efficiency.

Occupational Appreciation. The educated producer appreciates the social value of his work.

Personal Economics. The educated consumer plans the economics of his own life.

Consumer Judgment. The educated consumer develops standards for guiding his expenditures.

Efficiency in Buying. The educated consumer is an informed and skillful buyer.

Consumer Protection. The educated consumer takes appropriate measures to safeguard his interests.

IV. The Objectives of Civic Responsibility

Social Justice. The educated citizen is sensitive to the disparities of human circumstance.

Social Activity. The educated citizen acts to correct unsatisfactory conditions.

Social Understanding. The educated citizen seeks to understand social structures and social processes.

Critical Judgment. The educated citizen has defenses against propaganda.

Tolerance. The educated citizen respects honest differences of opinion.

Conservation. The educated citizen has a regard for the nation's resources.

Social Applications of Science. The educated citizen measures scientific advance by its contribution to the general welfare.

World Citizenship. The educated citizen is a cooperating member of the world community.

Law Observance. The educated citizen respects the law.
Economic Literacy. The educated citizen is economically literate.
Political Citizenship. The educated citizen accepts his civic duties.
Devotion to Democracy. The educated citizen acts upon an unswerving loyalty to democratic ideals.[1]

Douglass's American Youth Commission Statement.—Objectives as restated by Harl R. Douglass, [1937], for the American Youth Commission, are based upon the statement in 1918 of the Committee of N.E.A. on Reorganization of Secondary Education in its *Cardinal Principles of Education.*

There are certain types of activities in which all individuals in American life are certain to engage:

1. Each individual must be in effect a citizen whether he is an alien or a national. He will be a member of many groups cooperating for mutual benefit and for the benefit of society—local, national, civic, recreational, economic, religious, and many other types. The school should play a major part in preparing him to participate effectively in these group activities and to assist in giving direction to them.

2. The home may be singled out for especial consideration because of its peculiar function and significance in human life. The fact that direct preparation for participation in this primary social unit has never been thoroughly attempted in the schools is neither a valid indication that preparation for those activities making for happy and effective homes is not of first rank importance, nor evidence that schools have not made indirectly a very material contribution in that direction.

3. All people should be educated to the effective use of recreation. The increasing need for attention to the development of tastes, skills, interests, and habits which will insure happy enjoyment of leisure time is hardly debatable.

4. Practically all persons must engage in service to others as a means of obtaining a share in the total goods and services available to society and all such need preparation for vocational life.

In addition to the objectives to education suggested by these four types of activities, which are to some extent mutually exclusive, there are three other objectives which must be kept clearly in view:

5. Physical health.

6. Effective and healthy personality and individuality.

7. The development of such information, interests, and skills as will prepare young people for continued study—in college and throughout life.[2]

[1] See "Some Educators Define Their Goals," in Beulah Amidon, *Democracy's Challenge to Education,* New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1940, pp. 28–38. Also: *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy,* Washington: National Education Association, 1938, pp. 50, 72, 90, 108.

[2] *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America,* American Council on Education, pp. 13–14.

From a comparison of these statements it should be evident not only that both the psychological and the sociological approaches are almost invariably used, but also that the statements are in close agreement. Broad ultimate objectives are stated in terms of classes of activities in which the learner will be called upon to engage.

Education in a Democratic Society.—George S. Counts, eminent authority in educational sociology, has given an excellent outline of a public school program for a democratic system. His proposal consists of two divisions as follows:

1. Such a school system should seek to promote and develop certain habits, dispositions, and loyalties. These are as follows: (a) A sense of competence and adequacy in the individual person which is necessary for war on an exploitive society, and whose development implies that the schools must give up systems of measurement, classification, and instruction which subordinate the individual to other ends and place him in a scheme of fixed quantitative relationships. (b) Allegiance to human equality and brotherhood; outrage at poverty, injustice, and special privilege. (c) Loyalty to free discussion and the refusal to tolerate appeals to prestige, arbitrary power, and the submergence of minorities. (d) Fair-mindedness, integrity, and the scientific spirit, so that criticism and discussion may be honest and informed and not based on ignorance, gossip, or malice. (e) Appreciation of character, training, and ability. (f) The obligation to work and to contribute to the common good, which implies the end of everything in education that makes for a privileged parasitism. (g) Devotion to the common good.

2. There are certain areas of knowledge and certain insights the democratic school should seek to develop. (a) A knowledge of the story of American democracy and its economic, social, and cultural evolution. (b) A knowledge of the present status of American society. (c) A knowledge of the origins and rise of industrial society. (d) An insight into present crucial conflicts and contradictions, such as those between the democratic tradition and economic oligarchy, or between individual capitalism and industrial integration. (e) An insight into current social ideas and programs, such as those of communism, fascism, and the New Deal. (f) An understanding of the agencies and methods of propaganda, such as newspapers, radio, and motion pictures. (g) A knowledge of important popular organizations through which popular power is made articulate, such as the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the National Labor Relations Board.[8]

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[8] The above summary, based upon Counts's discussion, *The Schools Can Teach Democracy*, John Day Co., is reproduced from *Education in American Democracy*, by James L. Mursell, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., pp. 302, 303.

Functions of Education.—In seeking to achieve the objectives of education, the schools must function appropriately. The functions of American education are implied in the foregoing statements of objectives. They may be stated explicitly. Two of the best statements ever made of the functions of American education have been contributed by Alexander J. Inglis. Although intended for secondary schools, with the exception of one of the selective functions, the following is a great statement of the functions of education at all levels.

1. Adjustive or adaptive: educating to be able to adjust to conditions, problems, people, ideas, etc.
2. Integrative: giving common ideals, attitudes, understandings, appreciation to bind us together.
3. Differentiative: developing our individual talents and training to be specialists.
4. Propaedeutic: developing appropriate skills, habits, vocabulary, interests, and understanding to enable us to continue our education at higher levels.
5. Selective: identifying and keeping on in school those who should continue beyond the minimum levels for all.
6. Diagnostic and directive: discovering aptitudes and interests in educational and vocational tasks, and assisting young people to discover themselves and to make decisions about their futures in harmony with their potentialities.[4]

While it should be obvious that the objectives and functions for elementary education, secondary education and the other levels of education are the same, different emphases are given some of them at different levels. These and the peculiar functions of the various levels will be discussed in the subsequent pages of this chapter.

Objectives Achieved Through Outcomes.—When one begins to break down the broad objectives of education into more immediate and specific ones, it is noted that the immediate objectives tend to relate to a small number of types of psychological growth—acquisition of specific information, general principles and concepts, habits, skills, interests, ideals, attitudes, and tastes. In the past, education in the United States, as elsewhere in civilized societies, has emphasized very disproportionately the permanence of the usefulness of acquiring information and subject-matter skills in achieving the objectives of education.

[4] Alexander Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., pp. 375–378.

To illustrate, in becoming an efficient home member one must acquire appropriate information, concepts, habits, skills, ideals, and other outcomes of learning. Information, the least permanent of all, has been overstressed and ideals and concepts underappreciated.

2. The Preprimary Level

Reasons for Preprimary School.—Within recent years the great importance of adequate care and education of children of preschool age has become much more widely recognized. In the first place, it is now believed that the increasing incidence of mental disorders and personality defects among adults and adolescents have at least part of their origin in unfavorable psychological environment in the first few years of childhood.

Secondly, an increased number of mothers are employed and some custodial care of children for at least part of the day is necessary if the mothers are to be at work outside the home. Finally, it is believed that the diet, rest, exercise, and play regimen with other children, carried out under a trained nursery school teacher, contributes to better health and social development. There are those who believe that at least part of the training of young children should be in the hands of specially trained and experienced people, rather than wholly in the hands of amateurs who may or may not be effective.

The Nursery School.—The educational objectives of the nursery school may be outlined as follows:

1. To train children in proper attitudes and habits of emotional response to their environment, particularly the human environment.
2. To train in good health habits and tastes.
3. To develop muscular coordination and basic big-muscle skills.
4. To provide good social training in play and work.
5. To provide appropriate food, rest, and premedical attention and examination.
6. To assist in the formation of correct pronunciation and language skills and habits.
7. To provide, by example, conferences and supervised assistance for training mothers in child care and upbringing.

The nursery school is intended to give very little intellectual training—certainly not in formal school subjects or by direct formal methods. The beneficial results of nursery school training have been summarized by Foster and Mattson as follows:

First, the physical effects which will result from a well-planned routine with balanced activity and rest, play out-of-doors, and for the full-day school, nutritious meals.

Second, the mental effects of a rich environment, varied experiences, and contact with adults who are ready to answer the child's questions and to encourage him to find out for himself.

Third, a gain in social maturity as a result of contacts with more adults and with many more children than is possible in most homes.

Fourth, a richer emotional life, perhaps a relief from strained relations in the family, perhaps an encouragement of latent precocity, but surely a gradual learning of what emotional responses are acceptable to others and advance in the understanding of the when, why and how of emotional expression.

Fifth, an increase in appreciation of the home—a heightened interest in his toys, more varied types of play, a happy reunion with his parents when no one is tired out or bored from too prolonged association with the others.[5]

Many colleges and universities provide complete training programs for nursery school teachers—in departments of home economics, institutes of child welfare, departments of education, departments of psychology, and combinations of these departments.

Nursery schools are being established by the hundreds every year; in many cities they are provided as part of the public school system. There also are several thousand independent nursery schools, particularly in cities where the public schools do not yet include a nursery school. During World War II many were founded and operated with federal aid under the Lanham Act, especially in cities where war industries were employing mothers. Their success has served to stimulate demands for nursery schools in peace time.

It seems only logical to expect that publicly supported nursery schools will be established increasingly each year, until they will be found in practically all but rural schools, and in areas in the South and sections of the prairie states where income is markedly below national levels.

The increased employment of mothers, the greater importance attached to proper emotional, social, and health training in the early years, and the increased recognition of the importance of a frequently unfortunate environment in crowded homes with relatively ignorant parents of low economic and cultural levels, combine to make the case for establishing public nursery schools in the social interest compelling.

[5] Josephine C. Foster and Marion L. Mattson, *Nursery School Education*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., p. 12.

The Kindergarten.—Much more commonly found, as a part of the public school system, is the kindergarten. Established first in a few cities in the United States in the eighties, its use expanded slowly in the next quarter century. Since 1920, however, it has spread more rapidly, though in the depression years it disappeared temporarily from many cities. It is probable today that about one child in three attends kindergarten.

The special objectives and functions of the kindergarten are much the same as those of the nursery school. Less attention is given to the diet and physical care of children and to the training of parents. More emphasis is placed upon social education, particularly in group play and work. Emphasis also is placed upon developing a love for nature—flowers, plants, insects, and animals—and for beauty, particularly in school surroundings. Only in kindergartens operated by inferior teachers is there failure to attempt to develop pupil initiative and to provide for much free activity, particularly physical activity.

The kindergarten is a transitional educational enterprise bridging the gap between home and school, or between nursery school and formal school. Some attention is given to establishing the basis for study and school discipline in the first grade. Studies made in Kentucky, Michigan, and New York reveal that of those children who have attended kindergarten, a very small per cent are required to repeat the first grade. An even better record is found where the nursery school is a part of the public elementary school.

The objectives and functions of the kindergarten are similar to those of the primary grades. It continues to emphasize the social training of the nursery school and a regimen for physical and mental health. It emphasizes play, storytelling, and the simpler creative arts. Its program for achieving its peculiar functions is indicated by the schedule of activities given on page 102. The special functions of the kindergarten are well illustrated by the device for evaluating progress at the end of the kindergarten as used in the Boston public schools.

1. Health habits: Does the child stand well? Does he come to school with a clean face, hands and nails? Does he brush his teeth, use handkerchief, cover cough, etc.? Does he keep hands away from face? Wash hands after going to toilet, and before eating?

2. Physical controls: Is the child normally active? Does he skip rhythmically, using both feet? Does he walk up and down stairs correctly? Attend to personal needs? Show manual dexterity in handling materials?

In carrying chairs and other objects? In using tools such as scissors, crayons, brushes? In catching a ball?

3. Emotional control: Is the child joyous? Responsive? Confident? Demonstrative? Shy? Sulky? Oversensitive? Aggressive? Quick-tempered? Excitable?

4. Citizenship habits: Is the child industrious? Orderly? Obedient? Kind? Courteous? Co-operative? Dependable? Self-controlled? Does he show qualities of leadership?

5. Mental controls: Does the child show initiative? Is he able to concentrate? Does he complete work begun?

6. Activities: Does the child speak plainly? Answer questions intelligently? Express ideas clearly?

7. Art and handwork: Is the child creative in his use of plastic, art, constructive, and permanent play material?

8. Music: Does the child sing alone? Match tones? Sing with the group? Respond to rhythm? [6]

The kindergarten first developed in largest numbers in Wisconsin, where a majority of children of appropriate age attended kindergarten. It has spread to all sections of the country, particularly in urban areas, except in the less prosperous sections. In 1946, among approximately 3,500 cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants, nearly 2,000 of them provided at least one kindergarten. The enrollment is now approximately a million children, a third of all five-year-olds.

3. The Elementary School

The boundaries of elementary education are not clearly defined. The beginnings are made in the nursery school and the kindergarten, and the secondary and higher schools continue the functions and the objectives of elementary education. There has been in recent decades much debate on the question whether the seventh and eighth grades are elementary education or secondary education. It is not essential that this question be answered unequivocally. Perhaps the best practical answer is that grades 1 through 6 are predominantly elementary education, that grades 7, 8, and 9 are both elementary and secondary education, and that grades 10, 11, and 12 are predominantly secondary education.

It is interesting to note that in school systems of other countries what is called secondary education begins in separate schools usually at the age of eleven or twelve, in Germany before World War II at

[6] A. A. Douglass, *The American School System*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., p. 244.

the age of nine or ten. As a matter of fact, while some subjects usually thought of as secondary education, e.g., foreign languages, are begun earlier than in the United States, much of the curriculum of the first few years of foreign secondary schools includes a considerable amount of what is ordinarily considered elementary education. The early beginning of secondary education is in reality a provision for segregation of the children of the upper classes, and the providing of special training for the brighter elementary school children who would, unlike the majority, go beyond elementary education. Those who do not go on to secondary schools, attend elementary schools in leading European countries until the age of fourteen. In the United States, the seven-year elementary school formerly characteristic of southern schools has in recent years been definitely on the way out.

The objectives and the functions of elementary education are those for the entire school system. Nevertheless, the emphasis upon the different objectives and functions, as well as the means of achieving them, is somewhat different at the various levels. In the elementary school, of necessity much greater emphasis must be placed upon the three R's. Whatever else is taught through the means of the printed page, written work and numbers must be given primary attention. Below are listed some of the distinctive characteristics of the elementary school with regard to its peculiar emphasis upon the objectives and functions of education.

1. To develop fundamental intellectual skills:
   a. To get adequate meaning with reasonable speed from printed material.
   b. To spell correctly the more commonly used words.
   c. By learning to express facts in reasonably correct and clear language, orally and in writing.
   d. By developing habits and skills in clear thinking.
   e. By acquiring reasonable speed and accuracy in fundamental arithmetical processes and in the ability to solve quantitative problems.
2. To lay the basis for intelligent citizenship:
   a. By developing ideals and attitudes favorable to political, economic, and social democracy.
   b. By developing appreciative cooperative attitudes toward others of different national and racial origins and to other countries.
   c. Through a knowledge of simpler facts and appreciation of community, city, state, and national governments.

d. By acquiring familiarity with and appreciation of the more important facts and lines of development in the history of our nation.

3. To assist in the formation of a high degree of social character and responsibility including moral and ethical concepts, attitudes and habits:
   a. By developing ideals, habits, and attitudes of fair dealing, cooperation, responsibility, respect for the rights of others, self-reliance.
   b. By developing prejudices against such attitudes and habits as lack of cooperativeness, excessive selfishness, dishonesty, unwillingness to assume responsibility, etc.
4. To contribute to the development of the tastes and practices that are conducive to use of leisure time in such ways as to bring satisfaction and that are harmonious with the welfare of society:
   a. By developing interests and appreciation of a wide variety of games, sports, of reading materials, hobbies and work experience, social activities, music, and arts and crafts.
   b. By developing habits and skills in various fields of cooperative leisure activity.
   c. By developing understanding of and appropriate ideals to counteract the dangers and weaknesses of certain unsocial types of leisure activities.
   d. By developing interests, information, and understanding of various areas and activities in science and nature.
5. To contribute to physical health and safety:
   a. By gaining knowledge of the structure, functioning, and care of the body.
   b. By developing appropriate interests and attitudes toward physical well-being of oneself, community, and society at large.
   c. By encouraging the development of habits of living known to have high health values and by avoiding those likely to be inimical to health.
   d. By providing physical and health examinations and by encouraging corrective measures.
   e. By providing (1) efficient supplementary services, such as school lunch and medical and dental service to children unable to pay for it, and (2) special attention for those suffering from remediable health and physical defects.

These objectives of the elementary school were stated somewhat differently by a committee of the American Association of School Administrators:

Any proper respect for the rights of the child and the welfare of the community dictates that during this elementary school period education shall:

1. Advance the child, although by no means perfect him, in his ability to read, write, speak correctly the English language, and to know and to use intelligently the elementary processes of arithmetic. . . .

2. Advance the child in his ability to know and to observe the laws of physical and mental health and well-being and to appreciate the meaning of life and of nature. . . .

3. Advance the child in his ability to know and to appreciate the geography and history of his own community, state, and nation, and of the world at large; to sense his share in the social, civic, and industrial order of such a democracy as ours, and to meet to the full the obligations which such a knowledge and appreciation should engender, to the end that justice, sympathy, and loyalty may characterize his personal and community life. . . .

4. Advance the child in his ability to share intelligently and appreciatively in the fine and the useful arts through the pursuit of music, drawing, and literature; of manual training and the household arts as they are related to the three great universal needs of food, clothing, and shelter. . . .[7]

A committee of teachers and administrators in the state of New York expressed elementary school objectives as follows:

It is the function of the public elementary school to help every child:

1. To understand and practice desirable social relationships.
2. To discover and develop his own desirable individual aptitudes.
3. To cultivate the habit of critical thinking.
4. To appreciate and desire worth-while activities.
5. To gain command of the common integrating knowledge and skills.
6. To develop a sound body and normal mental attitudes.[8]

Teachers and parents of Winnetka, Illinois, drew up the following:

1. To give the children a thorough grounding in the common-school subjects, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, history, geography, and science.

2. To train the children for wise, patriotic, and responsible citizenship.

3. To develop each child's individuality—his special interests and abilities.

4. To help each child toward a balanced, happy, and well-adjusted emotional life, on which alone sound character can be built.[9]

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[7] *The Articulation of the Units of American Education, Seventh Yearbook* of the Department of Superintendence, pp. 84–85.

[8] Chris A. DeYoung, *Introduction to American Public Education,* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., p. 178.

[9] *Your Child and Your School,* Winnetka (Ill.): Parent-Teachers Association, p. 4.

The elementary school is characterized by several other conditions and qualities of significance.

1. Teachers: largely women and usually older than secondary school teachers, less well educated in academic and cultural areas, better trained in psychology of childhood and in educational methods; assigned in large part on a nondepartmental basis.
2. Buildings: housed in smaller buildings closer to the homes of pupils, older buildings on the average, with provision in the minority only for libraries, gymnasiums, shop, laboratories, and auditoriums.
3. Less provision for separate extracurricular activities.
4. Curriculum: less provision for electives.
5. Methods of teaching: more authoritarian (except in progressive schools), less home study, more recitation and less telling and discussion, greater use of daily assignments and less of large units.

Recent Progressive Trend.—In spite of the teachings of the great educational pioneers and reformers—Comenius, Pestalozzi, Basedow and others—not until the second decade of the present century did the old authoritarian, disciplinary, child-as-a-miniature-adult concepts undergo any widespread reform in practice. Since 1915, particularly under the impact of the writings and teachings of John Dewey, Junius L. Meriam, William Heard Kilpatrick, and other progressive teachers and their disciples, the elementary schools in many cities have undergone radical transformation.

In "progressive" schools the curriculum is selected and organized around child interests and needs rather than adult needs as conceived by teachers and curriculum makers. Much more provision is made for pupil-initiative and pupil-participation in planning. Much more time is spent in creative, social, and manual activities. Much less effort is expended in head-on attempts to get materials "learned." Much more effort is made to link learning activities with community life and problems. Much more attention is given to developing habits, skills, and attitudes of cooperation through actually cooperating in learning activities; and very much less encouragement is given to competitive, individualistic motivation and interests.

In most progressive schools, subject-matter lines are lost sight of to a considerable extent. Large units of study with "life-centers," topics, problems, and projects related to life activities as children see them in the communities tend to replace, in part, the regular, logically organized subjects. Drill when employed is an accessory and done separately, as at Winnetka, Illinois, where arithmetic is taught largely as needed.

Many of the champions of progressive education have made unproven (probably unprovable) and exaggerated claims with respect to its values. Many critics, who include many unwilling to expend the time and effort required to teach progressively as well as some who could not succeed with such a program, have claimed disastrous results would certainly follow, especially with respect to the mastery of fundamentals. Many parents, familiar with the old order, are confused and speak critically of the movement. What people are not up on they are usually down on. Many satirical, popular writers and columnists, in discussing elementary education, have produced interesting reading of a critical nature. Some schools have abandoned progressive education after a short superficial trial.

Much of the criticism of progressive education exemplifies a phenomenon characteristic of many critics of American education and American life in general; it is a tendency to deprecate the present in favor of the past. This is an indirect form of boasting and of conscious or unconscious exaggeration in an effort to make the critics seem superior. Such criticism not only implies the possession of intellectual morale and "high standards," but also intellectual abilities, which, they would have us believe, were necessary for success when they were in school.

Two things need to be said relative to the soundness of the ideas and practices of progressive education. In the first place, many teachers with a superficial or erroneous understanding of its philosophy, objectives, and principles, or with little skill and ingenuity for putting them into practice, have done things in the name of progressive education that would cause Dewey, Kilpatrick, and other prophets of the faith to shudder and turn away.

In its favor, it should be pointed out that where educational results have been compared, the pupils in progressive schools have not turned out to be appreciably inferior in the "fundamentals." As to other objectives, what little reliable evidence there is seems to indicate superior growth in initiative, self-reliance, self-expression, creative abilities, intellectual interests, and the amount of reading. The graduates of progressive secondary schools have done at least as well in college as those from more conventional schools.

Many "plans" of elementary school organization, curriculum, and teaching have been developed, including the Gary platoon plan, the Winnetka plan,[10] the Meriam plan, the McDade plan in Chicago, the Bronxville, New York, plan, the Dalton, Massachusetts, laboratory

[10] See Chapter 11, "The Curriculum of American Schools."

plan, and the community school at Glencoe, Illinois, at Holtville, Alabama, and elsewhere. Each constitutes a different combination of progressive and conventional ideas and practices. As put into practice in many other places they tend to differ still further. Also, as the years pass, practices tend to change in schools which have developed progressive methods. The net result is a fairly widespread trend in elementary education toward the use in some form of all the newer principles and procedures.

4. The Secondary School Level

The objectives, functions, and programs of secondary education have undergone many radical changes in our national history. Originally, the secondary school was a place to prepare the intellectual élite of masculine youth for college, principally by means of languages—Latin, Greek, and English. It then became a school to fit for life all boys and girls of average or better intelligence. Later it became an institution primarily for mental discipline and preparation for college by means of foreign languages, mathematics, science, history, and English. It has recently become a school to prepare all youths of appropriate ages for all walks and responsibilities of life.

Objectives of Secondary Education.—With very minor modification, the sweeping statements of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education, which seemed quite radical to many in 1918, would be accepted today as the objectives of secondary education. These objectives as stated earlier in this chapter were:[11]

1. Health
2. Command of the fundamental processes
3. Vocational efficiency
4. Worthy home membership
5. Civic participation
6. Worthy use of leisure time
7. Ethical character

Functions of Secondary Education.—An excellent statement of the functions of secondary education was made by Thomas H. Briggs and his Committee on Orientation of the National Association of Secondary School Principals:

1. Integration. To continue by a definite program, though in a diminishing degree, the integration of students. This should be on an increasingly

[11] *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, U. S. Office of Education, 1918, No. 35.

intellectual level until the desired common knowledge, appreciations, ideals, attitudes, and practices are firmly fixed.

2. *Satisfaction of Needs.* To satisfy the important, immediate, and probable future needs of the students, insofar 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.

3. *Revelation of Racial Heritage.* 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 fitted for successful achievement and to give information as to requirements for success in these fields and information as to where further training may be secured.

4. *Exploration of Interests, Aptitudes, and Capacities.* To explore high and increasingly specialized interests, aptitudes, and capacities of students, looking toward the direction of them into avenues of study and of work for which they have manifested peculiar fitness.

5. *Systematization and Application of Knowledge.* To systematize knowledge previously acquired or being acquired in course in such ways as to show the significance both of this knowledge and especially of the laws and principles with understandings of wider ranges of application than would otherwise be perceived.

6. *Establishment and Direction of Interests.* To establish and to develop interests in the major fields of human activity as means to happiness, to social progress, and to continued growth.

7. *Guidance.* To guide pupils, on the basis of exploratory and revealing courses and of other information gathered from personnel studies, as wisely as possible into wholesome and worth-while social relationships, maximum personality adjustment, and advanced study or vocations in which they are more likely to be successful and happy.

8. *Differentiation and General Education.* 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.

9. *Methods of Teaching and Learning.* 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.

10. *Retention and Direction of Pupils.* 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.[12]

The Junior High School.—Although commonly classified as a secondary school, the junior high school program is as much of the nature of elementary education as of secondary education. Originally intended as a means for the earlier introduction of secondary school studies, recent developments have brought about exactly the opposite phenomenon. Instead of the earlier introduction of foreign languages, algebra, and vocational education, these fields are being or have been pushed up and out into the senior high schools. They have been evacuated to make room for a better mastery of the fundamentals and intermediate subjects.

Even promotion by subject and departmental assignment of teachers so traditionally characteristic of secondary schools have been abandoned, at least in part, in many junior high schools.

The junior high school was established to meet certain felt needs in America's education, including better provision for articulation between elementary education and secondary education; better provision for individual differences; better prepared teachers for grades 7 and 8; segregation and an enriched curriculum, and more extracurricular activity participation for pubescents; reduction of pupil elimination in grade 9; better housing for grades 7 and 8, and for better transition in teaching methods and discipline from those of the elementary school to those of the secondary school. The functions and points of special emphasis naturally are closely related to these felt needs.

Several statements of the peculiar functions of the junior high school are especially worthy of note. Most recent is one by Gruhn and Douglass which was the result of a study participated in by outstanding leaders in secondary education. It presented the following functions:

Functions of the Junior High School

Function I. Integration

To provide learning experiences in which pupils may use the skills, attitudes, interests, ideals, and understandings previously acquired in such a way that these will become coordinated and integrated into effective and wholesome pupil behavior.

[12] Thomas H. Briggs, *Secondary Education*, New York: The Macmillan Co., "The Special Functions of Secondary Education," pp. 252–288; also, Department of Secondary School Principals, *Bulletin* No. 64, National Education Association.

To provide for all pupils a broad, general, and common education in the basic knowledges and skills which will lead to wholesome, well-integrated behavior, attitudes, interests, ideals, and understandings.

Function II. Exploration

To lead pupils to discover and explore their specialized interests, aptitudes, and abilities as a basis for decisions regarding educational opportunities.

To lead pupils to discover and explore their specialized interests, aptitudes, and abilities as a basis for present and future vocational decisions.

To stimulate pupils and provide opportunities for them to develop a continually widening range of cultural, social, civic, avocational, and recreational interests.

Function III. Guidance

To assist pupils to make intelligent decisions regarding present educational activities and opportunities and to prepare them to make future educational decisions.

To assist pupils to make intelligent decisions regarding present vocational opportunities and to prepare them to make future vocational decisions.

To assist pupils to make satisfactory mental, emotional, and social adjustments in their growth toward wholesome, well-adjusted personalities.

To stimulate and prepare pupils to participate as effectively as possible in learning activities so that they may reach the maximum development of their personal powers and qualities.

Function IV. Differentiation

To provide differentiated educational facilities and opportunities suited to the varying backgrounds, interests, aptitudes, abilities, personalities, and needs of pupils in order that each pupil may realize most economically and completely the ultimate aims of education.

Function V. Socialization

To provide increasingly for learning experiences designed to prepare pupils for effective and satisfying participation in the present complex social order.

To provide increasingly for learning experiences designed to prepare pupils to adjust themselves and contribute to future developments and changes in that social order.

Function VI. Articulation

To provide a gradual transition from pre-adolescent education to an educational program suited to the needs and interests of adolescent boys and girls.[18]

[18] William T. Gruhn and Harl R. Douglass, *The Modern Junior High School*, New York: The Ronald Press Co., pp. 59–60.

Since the junior high school is essentially a transitional and an intermediate school, its curriculum, type of teachers, program of extracurricular activities, classroom methods, and all phases of its program and its administration should partake of the nature of a transitional program—midway between what obtains in the upper grades of the elementary school and what obtains in the senior high school. The primary functions of the junior high school should be safe and effective transition, and exploration of self and of learning. Its other functions and objectives are those of education in general and to some extent those of the elementary school and secondary schools.

Characteristics of Modern Secondary Education in America.—To a very large extent this statement of functions outlines the program of a modern secondary school.

Among the more noteworthy features of the more modern secondary schools may be mentioned the following:

1. A practical and applied philosophy of education on the part of the staff, including daily consciousness of the objectives of education, the concept of teaching as guiding growth, an adequate appreciation of the importance of mental hygiene and developing personality, and an adequate recognition of the role and responsibility of the school as a social institution and teachers as agents of society for preparing young people to take their places in evolving industrial democracy upon which world peace and progress heavily depend.
2. Pointing of all instructional materials and methods in all subjects and other educational activities—including student clubs, teams and other organizations—toward the broad general objectives of education, whether civic, social, vocational, health, or home and leisure efficiency.
3. Very definite and special provision every day in every grade for education for community, state, national, and world citizenship.
4. Instruction making much use of visual aids, learning activity, library and current reading materials, community resources, and problems.
5. Provision for guidance—educational, vocational, social, health, personal and personality, leisure and ethical—of a high level of competence.
6. Adequate data available to teachers and counselors concerning individual pupils and student body as a whole: mental ability, aptitudes, scholarship, interests, health, home environment, educational and vocational plans, extracurricular and extraschool

interests and activities, character and personality, history, and ratings.

7. Adequate provisions for pupils deviating significantly from the average in ability, aptitudes, interests, probable future needs in vocation and nonvocational life, educational achievement, study skills and habits, and
8. A staff with the culture, knowledge, interests, and tastes of highly educated people—individuals who read regularly and widely, including much not so readily available material, and who keep oriented in the rapidly changing world.

Controversial Issues in Secondary Education.—Thomas H. Briggs, one of the nation's great leaders and thinkers in the field of secondary education, and his Committee on Orientation of the National Association of Secondary School Principals prepared in 1935 a list of the ten major issues in secondary education. They are listed below.

1. Shall secondary education be provided at public expense for all normal individuals, or for only a limited number?

2. Shall secondary education retain all pupils in school as long as they wish to remain, or shall it transfer them to other agencies under educational supervision when, in the judgment of the school authorities, these agencies promise to serve better the pupils' immediate and probable future needs?

3. Shall secondary education be concerned only with the welfare and progress of the individual, or with these only as they promise to contribute to the welfare and progress of society?

4. Shall secondary education provide a common curriculum for all, or differentiated offerings?

5. Shall secondary education include vocational training, or shall it be restricted to general education?

6. Shall secondary education be primarily directed toward preparation for advanced studies, or shall it be primarily concerned with the value of its own courses, regardless of a student's future academic career?

7. Shall secondary education accept conventional school subjects as fundamental categories under which school experiences shall be classified and presented to students, or shall it arrange and present experiences in fundamental categories directly related to the performance of such functions of secondary schools in a democracy as increasing the ability and the desire better to meet sociocivic, economic, health, leisure-time, vocational, and preprofessional problems and situations?

8. Shall secondary education present merely organized knowledge, or shall it assume responsibility for attitudes and ideals?

9. Shall secondary education seek merely the adjustment of students to prevailing social ideals, or shall it seek the reconstruction of society?

10. Granting that education is a "gradual, continuous, unitary process," shall secondary education be presented as a phase of such a process, or shall it be organized as a distinct but closely articulating part of the entire educational program, with peculiarly emphasized functions of its own? [14]

It can be said that today fairly definite answers have been made in prevailing theory and practice to most of the questions involved.

1. Secondary education shall be provided for all normal individuals.
2. Secondary education shall retain and make appropriate provisions for all pupils as long as they wish to remain.
3. Secondary education is concerned both with the welfare and progress of individuals as individuals, but even more so with them as they are important to the welfare and progress of society.
4. Secondary education shall provide for all pupils a large core of the curriculum with appropriate adjustment to individuals and supplemented by electives in vocational, leisure, and cultural subjects.
5. Secondary education shall provide training for vocation, through (1) the common core in English, social studies, mathematics and science, (2) general vocational subjects, e.g., general business, general shop, and (3) specific vocational subjects, shorthand, agriculture, and machineshop work.
6. Secondary education shall be primarily directed toward preparing for life in all its phases, which includes preparing for further study as an incidental objective in school or college and out.
7. The curriculum shall consist of learning materials and activities organized to a considerable extent as subjects of knowledge and learning rather than in terms of objectives. But subject boundary lines shall be distinct; relationships to life shall be constantly studied; correlation of each subject with others, especially as they combine in solving life problems, shall be provided; and, in instances where competent and interested teachers are available, two or more fields may be taught as one, e.g., English and the social studies.
8. Education shall be concerned as much, perhaps more, with developing ideals, attitudes, and interests as with organized knowledge.
9. Secondary education shall be aimed, not only to insure that students be adjusted to the prevailing social ideals and institutions, but also to insure that they be equipped with interests, in-

[14] Department of Secondary School Principals, *Bulletin* No. 59, "Issues of Secondary Education," National Education Association.

sights, ideals, and habits of open-mindedness which will make them function as teachers and followers in an intelligent evolution of society and social relationships.

10. Secondary education shall, at least for the time, organize as a distinct but closely articulated unit with somewhat unique emphasis upon some of the functions of education.

Most of these questions, maybe all of them, are being answered as Professor Briggs years ago had answered them in his own mind. The discussion provoked by his statement has accelerated the shift in practice and in the minds of laggards.

Perhaps a few other important issues in American secondary education are still to be settled. Among them may be mentioned the following:

1. Shall extracurricular activities be absorbed and made a part of the curriculum?
2. Shall the student at the end of the tenth grade (16 years) be offered an alternative road that would divide his day between school and work (four to six hours of common and vocational education plus three to five hours of work)?
3. Shall guidance be a matter for technical specialists principally, for the classroom teachers principally, or for both according to their training and opportunities, respectively?
4. Shall teachers insist uncompromisingly upon the right to teach, or to have youth become familiar with and think about, all the more important problems and questions that confront society in the United States, or shall they avoid consideration of controversial questions?
5. To what extent shall pressure groups determine what shall be taught and thought about in the schools?
6. Shall teachers follow predetermined courses of study and adopted textbooks, or shall each develop his courses of study largely as he teaches?
7. To what extent shall tests emphasizing subject-matter information and skills be employed?
8. Shall the grades 11, 12, 13, and 14 be organized as a coordinate program of general plus vocational education following the four-year program of general and prevocational education in grades 7, 8, 9, and 10?
9. Shall final examinations and marks be continued and, if so, shall as much importance be attached to them as in the past?
10. Shall growth and educational materials be organized around and measured by "standard" units of credits, or organized around and measured by competence in life activities?

5. Higher Education

The Objectives and Functions of Higher Education.—Institutions of higher education have been established primarily for two general purposes: broad, cultural education at higher levels, and vocational education at the professional level. The functions of higher cultural education have been ably stated by President Isaiah Bowman of Johns Hopkins University as follows:

1. An *understanding* of the realities of experience toward which we have an evolving attitude: knowledge is not a standardized body of fact and doctrine but an incomplete revelation of the world that is constantly enlarged by new investigation.

2. *Experience* in critical methods of work: the use of sources, the value of logical processes, the need for analysis, each of which has varying significance according to the nature of the field of investigation.

3. A knowledge of the *history of science and learning:* how men made progress in learning to observe and to think and how that progress came to benefit mankind.

4. An appreciation and some *technical study* of the *environment:* man's geographical surroundings, man working under measurable conditions, man and nature in interaction. The closely associated study of alternative choices, opportunities, limitations, and compulsions of the environment and not the study of civilization in a vacuum, as if man did it all himself without regard to terrain.

5. An *experimental knowledge* of the way the modern world works: the applications of humanitarian concepts, the growth of codes, and the origin and present-day operation of social machinery.

6. The acquisition of an *outlook or a philosophy* that embraces all men understandingly in their different environments, occupations, and cultures.[15]

Naturally, in schools of law, engineering, medicine, and in other professional schools, the greater emphasis is upon vocational education. In colleges of arts and sciences, the emphasis theoretically is upon a liberal and cultural education; yet even in these the vocational objective is prominent. Approximately half of the students of the first two years are preparing to enter some professional school. They are premedics, prelaw, and prebusiness students. Unfortunately for the purposes of liberal education, these courses have been formulated and taught as preprofessional education.

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[15] Isaiah Bowman, *The Graduate School in American Democracy*, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, p. 9.

Research and Graduate Work as Functions of Higher Education.—Beginning at Johns Hopkins in 1881, and with increasing frequency since 1900, graduate departments and schools have been established in practically all universities and land-grant colleges and in many teachers and independent arts colleges. While other agencies for research have been developed in recent decades, especially in the fields of science, engineering, economics, and business, institutions of higher learning continue to be the paramount sources of research findings, particularly in the more cultural fields, such as history, literature, sociology, political science, and mathematics.

Research is carried on by professors, assistants, and graduate students with the usual library and laboratory equipment being somewhat supplemented for these purposes. In an increasing number of institutions, particularly in agriculture, research funds are made available by state and federal appropriations, from the general funds of the institutions and through gifts of individuals and corporations. Increasingly, time is made available for research-minded professors to do more research and less teaching.

Graduate work has spread into all fields. Originating in academic departments, graduate work is now provided in all professional fields. In some instances the professional school, particularly in the case of law, medicine, business and education, is a graduate school, requiring the completion of a baccalaureate curriculum for entrance.

Public Service as a Function of Higher Education.—The talents of highly trained specialists on faculties of institutions of higher education in the United States are being employed increasingly for public service other than teaching. They are frequently asked to carry on investigations, to give expert advice, and to serve governmental and private agencies. Professors of education have conducted surveys or acted as consultants for state, county, and city school systems. Economists and political scientists have given assistance in formulating and recommending improved programs of legislation. Plant pathologists have assisted in stamping out diseases in crops; scientists in bacteriology, public health, and medicine have lent expert assistance in matters of community, state, and national health. Most spectacular were the services of scientists in chemical warfare and in developing the atomic bomb. Although sometimes deprecated, feared, and ridiculed as impractical or radical, the college professor has made numerous and invaluable contributions to the solution of many important practical problems of health, business, industry,

education, agriculture, social welfare, and government. Only in the field of amusement has higher education failed to make a creditable showing. Professors have been of little use in producing moving pictures. They have contributed little to the development of crooning, jazz and the more popular radio programs. In the field of athletics, however, the college has gone deeply into the field of commercialized amusement and in such a way as to constitute a serious danger.

Trends and Characteristics of the Program of Higher Education in the United States.—In recent years there has been a distinct reaction against extension, specialization, and segmentation of the college curriculum. The late President L. D. Coffman of the University of Minnesota once told his faculty that it had become almost impossible for a student to get a well rounded general education as the result of specialization and expansion of the various fields. Fields had been split up into departments, departments into an ever increasing multitude of courses, most of them considered absolutely essential in the education of students majoring in the department, and "a new course added every time a new instructor who had just completed a Ph.D. thesis was added to the staff."

Beginning in the thirties at Columbia College, University of Chicago, and the University of Minnesota, broad survey and foundation courses were developed in the sociological sciences, the physical sciences, etc., and in recent years many other institutions have done likewise. Unfortunately, most of these courses were not integrated around life problems and were more of the nature of mixtures or combinations. They were also preponderantly designed for specialization in the fields, as indeed most lower division courses have been. Neither in four-year colleges nor in junior colleges were they terminal in nature, except in rare instances.

More recently this movement, in combination with a reaction against the elective system and assuming the character of a common curriculum in the lower division years, has taken the form of a new type of *general* education. It is intended to provide a continuation of general education begun in the high school, and presents courses designed to be of great value for those who would not become specialists in the fields, e.g., the social studies for future physicians, lawyers, etc.[16]

[16] Of the plans of this sort, the one at Harvard University, though not one of the most acceptable, has received the most publicity through the report of a special committee that studied the problem for two years, *General Education in a Free Society.*

While not affecting greatly the education of engineers, pharmacists, and others for whom professional study begins in the first college year, in recent years there have been some minimum gestures in the direction of assuring some cultural and general education for students preparing for those professions. By such provision it is hoped that college students may be freed from provincialism and may better understand the world in which they live as it exists outside of their vocations.

Among other noteworthy trends has been the proliferation of graduate professional curricula and degrees, including those for the Doctor of Jurisprudence, Master of Engineering, Master of Education, Doctor of Education, Master of Business Education, Master of Music Education, Master of Physical Education, Master of Personnel Service, and others.

The traditional concept of a liberal cultural education is that of a program consisting largely of such tool courses as mathematics and foreign languages, and of courses in history, classical literature, and science, detached from their application to and significance for civilization of today. This concept is being revamped so as to direct more attention to current civilization, culture, and related problems, and to integrate with them such of the traditional subject matter as may be pertinent.

Examinations.—American institutions of higher education have been unique in their failure to require the passing of examinations for entrance and the passing of final comprehensive examinations for degrees. Both admission and graduation have become matters of credits. While our practices have been constantly under fire by the minority, nothing has happened until recently to reverse this trend.

In recent years comprehensive examinations over fields and over the lower division work have been employed for the purposes of selection, validation of credits, and for motivation. It is no doubt unfortunate that these tests do not measure all the more important outcomes of learning, but constitute, instead, measures of the temporary acquisition of easily tested subject-matter information.

Guidance and Counseling.—Following the lead of the lower schools, institutions of higher education in the past quarter-century have begun to attach much more importance to assisting young people to solve their problems and prepare for life by means other than formal courses. Provisions have been made in many institutions for giving information and counseling prior to and during registration.

In many institutions specialized counselors supplement the work of untrained faculty advisers, whose counseling has been seriously questioned as unreliable and not always disinterested.

A new type of person with special training for the work is replacing the dean of men and dean of women in many institutions; in fact, there is an increasing tendency to abolish both of these positions and substitute a dean of students. Collaborating with him are a number of counselors who have specialized in various fields—housing managers, sponsors of social life, psychiatrists, mental hygienists, student loan and scholarship advisers, health service counselors, and others.

In many institutions testing bureaus have been established to give and score tests, to gather information generally, to interpret it, and to aid other counselors in its interpretation. Investigations of factors that condition the students' scholastic success are carried on and supported by institutional funds. In short, the college not only seems to be peeking from its ivory towers at the life around and below, but it is also beginning to take cognizance of its potentialities for educating for the world of today.

The Junior College.—Just as it is a question whether the junior high school is an elementary school or a secondary school, so it is debatable whether the junior college is a secondary school or an institution of higher education. While in reality its program is a continuation of secondary education and parallels that of the upper years of secondary institutions in leading European countries, its nonvocational program is quite similar in content to the first two years of colleges and universities. It is probably true that in a great many institutions those responsible for the program of junior colleges have aped the college, hoping to be thought of as "college" professors, deans and presidents, rather than to develop a program more appropriate to their special functions, to their needs and constituency, and to modern practice at that level. In fact many of them are continuing a program abandoned or revamped by the modern college several years back.

Special Functions of the Junior College.—The junior college has been established primarily to meet certain definite needs and to perform the following functions:

1. To make it possible for a larger number of young people to continue their education beyond the high school.

2. To provide better articulation between high school and college and to reduce the amount of duplication in the curriculum of high schools and the first two years of college.
3. To provide a fairly complete unit of terminal education—vocational and nonvocational—for those who would not or should not attend a four-year college.
4. To provide a program of general education which will enable immature and less well-to-do students to prepare for college beyond the first two years.
5. To provide opportunities for guidance and exploration, particularly for young people undecided about amount and nature of further education.

The first function of the junior college is being effectively fulfilled for those communities fortunate enough to have one. The second function has been largely ignored. The third has been shelved, or only partially attempted, in many schools—particularly smaller ones —in favor of the fourth, but in increasing number at least creditable attempts are being made to fulfill the third function. Particularly stimulating toward this goal were the studies and publications of the American Association of Junior Colleges in the early forties relative to terminal education and the need for vocational training during the war period. The guidance function has, no doubt, been well served in many cases, though it is not to be credited to any well organized program of effective guidance by well trained counselors, as no such program exists as yet in most junior colleges.

There are many vocations for which two years of post high school education are sufficient, and very appropriate curricula preparing for at least a few of these are being developed in many junior colleges. Among such types of work for which vocational training in a junior college is appropriate are the following: retail salesmen; junior and assistant mechanical, electrical and civil engineers; insurance and real estate salesmen; horticulturists and agriculturists; cosmetic and beauty shop employees; junior dietitians; junior nurses; landscape designers; building tradesmen; contractors; foresters; recreational leaders; auto repairmen; electricians; printers; secretaries; junior accountants; business machine operators; banking employees; ground airplane workers; air line hostesses, etc.

Vocational education is becoming more and more a field for the junior college years and less and less for the grades below the twelfth.

Terminal general education at the junior college level has been provided for in some universities, e.g., the General College of the

University of Minnesota. At the University of Chicago the Bachelor of Arts degree is awarded upon completion of work in the College at the end of the sophomore year. In most junior colleges, the degree Associate in Arts is now awarded.

The junior college has been criticized because of the mediocre quality of its staff as compared with college and university staffs. The average amount of college training of junior college teachers is at present only slightly more than five years beyond high school as compared to an average of more than six years in arts colleges. It is also criticized on the score of low morale of scholarship, considered almost certain to exist in small institutions with the students living at home. Nevertheless, studies of the scholastic success of junior college graduates after transferring to colleges and universities indicate rather uniformly that, for a given amount of native intellectual ability, the transfers from junior colleges do as well as students who spend the first two years in the institutions in which the investigations were made. The transfers from public junior colleges do better than those from independent institutions. The latter transfers made much better grades while in junior college than after entering college or university.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Compare the different statements of objectives given in the text and discover what, if any, peculiarities each statement has as compared with the others.
2. Write a 500- to 600-word paper, or prepare a 5-minute talk, on "The Relation of Educational Objectives to the Underlying Philosophy of Society."
3. Be able to explain clearly each of the functions of secondary education and give examples of how the school operates to fulfill each.
4. Sum up in a few words the more important purposes which the nursery school serves; the kindergarten; the elementary school; the secondary school; the college.
5. Some objectives are presented in terms of development of the individual, others in terms of the activities of society. Give examples of each.
6. What are the *special* purposes which the junior high school serves?
7. Give examples of how a junior high school might fulfill each of the functions given by Gruhn and Douglass.
8. What is your answer to each of the issues described by Briggs?
9. What is your answer to each of the other issues given in the chapter?
10. Can you mention two characteristics of secondary education in the United States other than those mentioned in this chapter?

11. Could there be a university without students? If so, what would its functions be and the activities of the staff?
12. What do you think are the chief weaknesses of:
    a. Higher education in the United States?
    b. Secondary education in the United States?
    c. Elementary education in the United States?
    Explain each answer.
13 What are the *special* purposes and peculiar values of the junior college? Its principal weaknesses?

Chapter 5

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND ARTICULATION

1. Unit Levels of Organization

Development of the 8–4 Plan.—In previous chapters there has been traced the development of the graded eight-year elementary school and the four-year secondary school, the academy and the high school. Beginning about 1830, American education was characterized for more than half a century by a zealous struggle to bring about a twelve-year graded school system. Just as the ungraded schools of the century prior to 1800 became unified and divided into departments—primary, intermediate, and grammar grade—American elementary schools through the middle half of the nineteenth century, first here and there and then more numerously, shifted to a plan of "graded" organization, in which one grade a year was the normal rate of pupil progress.

By 1890 the battle had been won. Even in the South where seven-year elementary schools and private secondary schools continued in large numbers—partly because of tradition, partly because of a lack of belief in education for the masses, and partly because of poor financial conditions after the War Between the States—the graded elementary school and the four-year high school formed the conventional pattern of organization. Hardly had the schools of the country achieved the goal of graded articulation, when the 8–4 plan became the subject of question and criticism.

Dissatisfaction with the 8–4 Plan.—There were several principal items of dissatisfaction. Foremost were the criticisms growing out of what was considered excessive elimination of youngsters from certain grades in the schools.

Excessive Elimination. Studies by Strayer, Thorndike, Ayres, Cornman, and Blan, published between 1905 and 1915, called attention to the fact that pupils tended to cease attending school in alarming numbers in grades 7, 8, and 9—more than half of those who had started school being eliminated in these grades. Among the im-

plications were the accusations that the schools and their programs were not suited to the needs of boys and girls of from twelve to fifteen years of age.

Lack of Articulation. It was believed that there was too great a "gap" or lack of articulation between the elementary school and the high school—too sharp a shift between elementary school curriculum of many subjects and high school curriculum of four or five, several of them new ones—and between the methods and discipline of two types of teachers. This gap, it was claimed, resulted in the maladjustment of many pupils in the ninth grade and in much of the elimination of pupils at the end of grade 8 and at the end of or in grade 9.

College Entrance Delayed. Another criticism, which today would be lightly regarded but which thirty to forty years ago was very potent, was that secondary education should be begun earlier. Those advancing this point of view, of which Charles W. Eliot, then president of Harvard University, was among the leaders, demanded that students be prepared to enter college earlier so that those following professional and graduate curricula requiring more than four years of college attendance would not be unduly delayed in entering upon their professional careers.

Age Segregation Advocated. Still others claimed that prepubescent, pubescent, and adolescent young people should be segregated and given programs of education suitable to their stage of physiological and social development. They claimed that twelve- and thirteen-year-old boys and girls should not be required to attend a school with primary grade children and that fourteen-year-olds should not attend secondary school with mature young men and women.

Still others insisted upon changes in the instructional organization, advocating the departmentalization of college-trained teachers in grades 7 and 8. They insisted that in those grades there were few capable of teaching effectively all the different subjects, and that the two years of training above high school (common in those days for elementary school teachers) was not enough for teaching literature, history, and science in grades 7 and 8.

Demand for Enrichment of Course Study. Adding weight to the case for reorganization was the demand for expansion of the instructional program in the upper grades to include shop work, phys-

ical education, household arts, and other electives. Economical provision for adequate instruction in these subjects called for combining the upper grades of several schools into one school, housing for which not only would include shops, kitchens, and typing rooms, but libraries, cafeterias, and gymnasiums.

Need for Better Adaption to Individual Differences. Closely associated with these was the increased demand for better adaption to variations among the students. The development of mental tests and their increased use brought into relief the magnitude of differences in mental ability among school children. The growing tendency of boys and girls to continue in school until at least fourteen years of age increased the urgency of this problem, and by so doing seemed to call for a new school with electives, with guidance programs, and with a much wider variety and more adequate program of extracurricular activities.

Plans for Reorganization.—Some cities attempted to make adequate adjustments, including departmental assignment of teachers in grades 7 and 8. Remedies included the establishment, particularly between 1910 and 1920, of two-year and three-year junior high schools; in a few cities, four-year junior high schools were established. In some smaller cities, and in an occasional larger city, six-year high schools were established. In the North, two-year junior high schools almost invariably included grades 7 and 8. In the South, the grades included were usually grades 6 and 7, though occasionally grades 7 and 8, the eighth being the first year of the high school. Likewise, three-year schools in the North usually included grades 7, 8, and 9, rarely 6, 7, and 8, or 8, 9, and 10. In the South, the common practice has been to include grades 6, 7, and 8 in junior high schools.

Since 1920 there has been a continuing trend toward the establishment of a great variety of schools. Advocated by a large majority of national leaders in secondary education, 6–4–4 plans have developed here and there, including a four-year junior high and a four-year junior college. Among the various plans of organization are the following:

8–4	6–3–3	5–2–4
7–5	6–2–4	5–3–3
6–6	6–4–2	7–2–3
7–4	6–4–4	7–3–2
	5–3–4	8–2–2

The principal types of organization for today and previous periods in American education are shown in Figure 7.

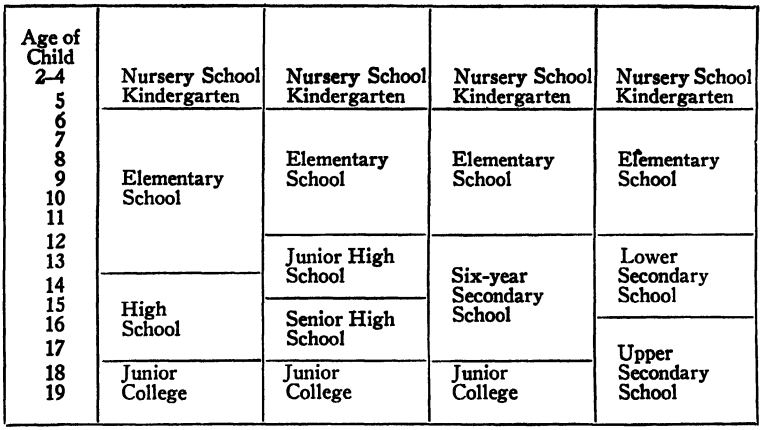


Figure 7. Types of Present School Organization in the United States

Among the most important factors determining the plan of organization adopted locally has been the availability and adaptability of existing housing to the enrollments at various levels. In the early days of the development of junior high schools, both elementary and high schools frequently were overcrowded. The solution was to build a new junior high school, or to build a new senior high school and use the old high school building for a junior high school.

Recent Shifts.—In some places the availability of housing seemed to favor some other plan, e.g., 7–2–3. In some cities the plan of organization has been changed from time to time in order to make the most economical use of available buildings. For example, in Rochester, New York, where the 6–3–3 plan was well established by 1920, in more recent years a variety of types of organization has been employed. Because of relatively small increases in population and a declining birth rate, rooms became vacant in some elementary schools, while because of the increasing tendency for adolescents to remain in school longer, high school buildings became crowded. As a solution, in some elementary schools the seventh grade was retained in the building, and in a few both seventh and eighth grades. In Atlanta, Georgia, the 6–3–3 plan was replaced in 1947 by a 7–5 plan through which a larger number of smaller community high schools

were established throughout the city and elementary school buildings were utilized to capacity.

2. Pre-Elementary Education

As early as 1837 a great pioneer in education, Friedrich Froebel, started a kindergarten at Blankenburg, Germany. Froebel was among the first to realize the great importance of having education before the age of six, and the inadequacy of most homes to provide appropriate training. His book, *Mother Play and Nursery Songs,* published in 1843, and his training school for kindergarten teachers were influential in stimulating thought and action in the United States. In the fifties and sixties kindergartens, usually nonpublic schools, were established in various places in this country. In 1873, Susan Blow established in St. Louis the first permanent kindergarten operated as a part of the public school system.

Throughout the eighties and nineties the idea spread and by 1900 kindergartens were being operated in many cities—some as parts of the public schools and some as private affairs. The movement was given impetus by the attention given to the methods of Maria Montessori of Italy between 1910 and 1920. In 1913 a kindergarten division was established in the United States Office of Education.

The nursery school had a similar history. With the kindergarten it has a common origin in the ideas of some of the great European pioneers in educational theory and practice. Day nurseries, usually of a private type, began to be established in this country about 1900 and have spread steadily until today it is probable they number approximately a thousand. The manpower shortage in World War II and the increase in numbers of mothers working outside of home gave impetus to the establishment of nursery schools and kindergartens.

Nursery schools vary in the ages of children served, but in general those enrolled are of ages two, three, and four. Whenever the group is large enough, the school is divided into two or more groups according to age or general social development and play interests.

The nursery school is not to be confused with "day nurseries." While the latter no doubt render some worth-while educational service, it is not their main purpose. The latter are established primarily for the purpose of providing physical care, safety, and comfort to small children while their mothers are at work or engaged in some other activity. Their staffs do not ordinarily include individuals who have had much formal training in childhood education.

In many cities the 8–4 organization and the 6–3–3 plan have become k–8–4 and k–6–3–3 or n–k–8–4 and n–k–6–3–3. It is more than likely that the typical school system of a few years hence will include at least the kindergarten and that the majority of city schools will also provide the nursery school. This is indicated not only by the spreading recognition of the value of kindergarten and nursery school training, but also because of the desire of mothers to have a few hours of freedom from the responsibility of the care of children while they shop, do their housework, and participate in feminine social functions.

Below are typical kindergarten and nursery school schedules:

PROGRAM FOR THE KINDERGARTEN [1]

9–9:50	Self-chosen Activities. Woodwork, painting, modeling, sewing, care of pets and plants, block building and construction, or other work related to class activities.
9:50–10:05	Group Discussion. Examination and criticism of work and making further plans for work.
10:05–10:15	Recess.
10:15–10:45	Cleanliness Habits; Morning Lunch. Children serve themselves with orange juice; sit at tables in two groups, each with a teacher; conversation is carried on; habits of courtesy are observed.
10:45–11	Rest Period. Children lie down on mat on floor in relaxed position while music is played softly.
11–11:15	Literature, Science. Stories read by teacher, stories freely discussed by children; stories told by children; discussion of animals, plants, insects, brought in by children; etc. Songs chosen by children and teacher, rhythms, and imaginative, spontaneous expression of children's response to music.
11:15–11:25	Recess.
11:25–11:55	Music and games.
11:55–12	Dismissal.

KINDERGARTEN TIME SCHEDULE [2]

Morning Session (Older Group)

8:45–9:40	Self-chosen activities, conferences, putting materials away. Excursions.
9:40–10:10	Personal hygiene, preparation for lunch, lunch.

[1] "Teachers' Guide to Child Development," U. S. Office of Education, *Bulletin* 1930, No. 26, p. 182.

[2] Roger Sherman School, New Haven, Connecticut.

10:25–11:05 Music: singing, music appreciation, music interpretation, rhythms, games.

10:10–10:25 Rest.

11:05–11:25 Group period: stories, poems, pictures, conversation.

11:25–11:30 Putting on wraps, and dismissal.

Afternoon Session

12:45–1:40 Self-chosen activities, conferences, putting materials away (excursions).

1:40–2:10 Personal hygiene, preparation for rest, rest. (A lunch period is not included in the afternoon session.)

2:10–2:40 Music: singing, music appreciation, music interpretation, rhythms, games.

2:40–3:00 Group period: stories, poems, pictures, conversation.

3:00 Dismissal. (A longer period is allotted in cold weather so that the children may put on their own wraps.)

The activity period is conducted outdoors from April to June. Games and apparatus work are carried on outdoors when weather permits.

A Laboratory-School Program for Four-Year-Olds[3]

9–10 Play indoors.
10–11 Play outdoors.
Midmorning lunch.
After lunch, reading of stories or sense-training games.
Play for 30 or 40 minutes.
Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, 15-minute music lesson.

3. Organization of the Elementary School

Departmentalization.—Throughout the twenties and thirties, there were tendencies toward departmentalization in the elementary school. As teachers with more college training, degrees, and specialized education came to teach in large numbers in elementary schools, it was only natural to expect a desire on the part of many to teach in their fields of specialization. In this connection, it must be remembered that the period 1900–30 was one in which there developed a great respect for the specialist, for the expert. One result of this trend was an overemphasis upon educating children in compartmentalized subject-matter fields. In many schools the departmentali-

[3] Caroline Pratt and Jessie Stanton, *Before Books*, as quoted in Ilse Forest, *The School for the Child from Two to Eight*, Boston: Ginn & Co., p. 132.

zation in the elementary schools took the form of sheer specialization, e.g., one teacher teaching only arithmetic, another only music, another only history, etc. In some schools this practice extended into the primary grades, but ordinarily was not found below the fourth or fifth grade.

Since 1935, the tendency toward complete departmentalization has lost ground steadily until today it is rarely employed below grade 7 and there usually only in junior high schools. Even in the junior high school there has been since 1945 a tendency toward having teachers teach in broad fields. The more modern tendency has been given impetus by the trend toward "core" courses of study.

The Platoon Plan.—A much more justifiable practice in the elementary school was the "platoon plan." Developed first in a form usually modified where adopted, it has become widely employed in one form or another, though often not referred to as the platoon plan. Under this plan the pupils are classified arbitrarily by chance into two groups, let us say Group A and Group B. The schedule is so constructed that when Group A is in class in regular classrooms, Group B is in the auditorium, the gymnasium, the library, music rooms, art rooms, shops, household arts units, science classrooms, or on the playground. At other periods in the day the schedule calls for reversing the groups.

In the scores of larger cities where the plan is still employed, it usually involves a limited departmentalization, all subjects of one group—several conventional academic subjects—being taught to a given section of 25 to 35 pupils by one teacher, the "home room" teacher, and the other subjects, physical education, art, music, science, etc., being taught by specialists. Each home room teacher would ordinarily teach two groups, usually dividing his or her time equally between the two.

While the platoon plan is quite economical, making maximum use of the building and of the time of teachers, it constitutes a rather heavy load for teachers and it has not gained widespread acceptance. In many schools instead of the platoon plan, the home room teacher teaches only one group of pupils and is relieved of the responsibility for the other, teaching instead two or three "special" subjects, e.g., physical education, music, penmanship, and art.

The Winnetka Plan.—The Winnetka plan, so much talked of in the twenties and the thirties, has not gained widespread use. Under

this plan the curriculum was divided into two parts: (1) the fundamentals and (2) other subjects. Students proceeded at individual rates in the fundamentals and with the group in other subjects. The theory was that all children should master the fundamentals and what they could in other subjects as they went along.

Grouping in the Primary Grades.—There has been for a quarter-century, both in thinking and in practice, a trend toward grouping children according to their educational status and ability, and toward elimination of failure and repetition of grades except in rare cases. Typical of this movement is the Individual Pupil Program Plan. The following quotation describes a sound application of the plan:

> An individual pupil progress plan provides for continuous, steady, wholesome growth of each individual child, each child a part of a working group of children whose stage of development and whose learning rate are comparable, but with sufficient range of interests and experiences to insure a stimulating exchange of ideas within the group. In such an organization promotion takes place infrequently, possibly at the end of the child's fourth year in school and at the end of the child's seventh year in school. Adjustments of individual children are made at any time. Emphasis is upon child development. Two or three working groups may be found in each classroom depending upon the school. Each group progresses at its own rate. No child is forced into a situation which is beyond him and no child is compelled to experience boredom which comes from a program which is too limited in its opportunities and which has too slow a tempo.[4]

On this basis the following plan was developed:

1. The organization would cover a period of seven years (kindergarten through grade 6).
2. The first four years would be called the primary school and the last three years be termed the upper elementary school.
3. In the first school experience the child would be assigned to the informal environment of the kindergarten, where he would find his own interest level. Under the guidance of the teacher he would be given the experiences which would help him to make the difficult transition from the home to the school.
4. Some time during the first year the child would be given mental tests. These results together with his physical, social, and emotional adjustment would determine his first grouping.
5. Each instructional unit would include two or three working groups. Children with comparable rates of development and learning would be grouped together.

[4] Mary O. Pottenger, "An Individual Pupil Progress Plan of Organization for the Elementary School," Springfield (Mass.) Public Schools.

6. Progress would be based upon the child's development, physical, mental, social, and emotional.
7. Acceleration and retardation should be limited to one year and should be distributed throughout the entire elementary period as seems best for the child.
8. Teachers generally should be allowed to remain with their groups for at least two years.
9. Promotion should not be regarded as a reward, but should mark a stage in the pupil's progress. Adjustment and pupil placement should be substituted for the term failure.

Age Span of the Elementary School.—When our graded elementary school was being developed, it is probable that one of the influences in determining how many years should be allotted to the elementary school was the fact that the German Volksschule was eight years in scope. Until recently public education was not at all well developed in Great Britain with the result that our schools tended to follow German patterns.

In France, Norway, Scotland, Japan, and in many other countries, a different pattern has existed. Elementary education has been a matter of five or six years, usually for children of ages six through eleven. When in the United States the 8–4 plan was beginning to be replaced by 6–3–3 schools, this fact was repeatedly pointed out and used as an argument for reorganization.

From a physiological point of view the ages six to eleven are those typical of immaturity for boys; twelve to fourteen for maturing, and fifteen on for maturity, and for girls six to ten, eleven to thirteen, and fourteen on.

It is becoming clear that in the United States grades 1–6 (ages six to eleven) are to constitute the period of elementary education; grades 7–9 (ages twelve to fourteen), the period for transition, intermediate, or junior high school education, and ages fifteen to seventeen, or fifteen to nineteen, the period of secondary education.

Organization of Rural Schools.—In rural communities population is sparsely settled. In the great majority of rural communities in the United States, enough boys and girls to warrant the employment of more than one or two teachers cannot be brought together in one school without bringing them from so wide an area as to make walking to school impossible because of the great distance.

With the development of hard-surfaced roads and good motor vehicles, there is less necessity for enduring longer so many one-room schools. In the United States there are approximately 95,000

one-room rural schools. While here and there a one-room school is still the most practical provision for education in the community, it is probable that there is not sufficient reason in at least three-fourths of the instances for the failure to abandon the one-room school and transport boys and girls to a larger school.

The four- to six-room school possesses many advantages when compared with a one-room school—advantages relative to housing, equipment, curriculum, teachers, extracurricular activities and socializing opportunities. These are discussed in Chapter 7.

Better rural education is one of the most important problems of education in the United States. In spite of the influence of radio, movies, hard-surfaced roads and automobiles, parcel post and more reading, the rural population is far behind urban population in general culture—in length of years spent in school, in books and other reading material in the home, in literacy, in health, and in correction of speech.

While some of the backwardness of the rural population may be attributed to lower general mental ability, less opportunity to talk to each other and less opportunity to profit by contact and example of well educated people, it is also probably the result of poorer schools. In rural areas schools are characterized by shorter terms, poorer attendance, more meager curriculum, more antiquated methods, more poorly paid and less well trained teachers. There is strong reason to believe that the better teachers leave, even when increased salary is no material inducement, in order to live in more interesting communities, in better homes, and where there is more cultural stimulus—to say nothing of more attractive possibilities for marriage.

Time Schedule for a Rural School.—While there is considerable variation from school to school as the result of differences in curricula, grade placement of subjects, relative emphasis upon different subjects, combinations of subjects, number of grades represented, and other factors, the schedule at the top of the following page is typical of a one-room rural school.

A Typical Grade Schedule.—For a class and a teacher of a single room in a city elementary school, in which an integrated core-curriculum is not employed, the typical schedule at the bottom of the following page is shown. Because of variation in grade placement, relative emphasis upon subjects and other similar factors, there will be minor variations between this schedule and those for other schools.

SCHEDULE FOR ONE-ROOM SCHOOL

GRADES 1 THROUGH 8

Period Begins	Minutes Per Day	Activity	Study or Special Activity (Grades 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8)
8:50	10	Opening Exercise	For all grades
9:00	20	Reading and Language	X X Read.-Language Seat Work
9:20	20	Reading and Language	X Reading and Language Seat Work
9:40	15	Reading and Language	Arithmetic X[a] X Arithmetic
9:55	15	Literature and Language	Arithmetic X X
10:10	15	Reading and Language	Arithmetic X X Arithmetic
10:25	15	Supervised Play	All grades
10:40	15	Language[a]	X X X X Arithmetic
10:55	15	Language	Seat Work Art X X X X
11:10	50	Arithmetic and Language[b] Guidance	All grades
12:00	60	Lunch-Supervised Play	All grades
1:00	20	Social Studies and Language[c]	X X X History-Geography
1:20	30	History and Geography[d]	Soc. Study X X X Geog.-Hist.
1:50	30	History and Geography	Soc. Study History-Geog. X X
2:20	15	Supervised Play	All grades
2:35	15	Silent Reading Science and Language	All grades Reading X X X Reading
2:50[e]	25	Science and Language	Seat work—Any subject X X
3:15	20	Art and Music[f]	All grades
3:35	20	Activity Period	All grades
3:55	5	Dismissal	All grades

X denotes class instruction for those grades. Study as indicated for all other grades.

[a] Spelling and writing may be taught on odd and even days or vice versa.
[b] Work on primary arithmetic may be started in this period.
[c] Reading activities must be correlated to provide for lack of reading time.
[d] History and geography units must be correlated because of time.
[e] Many systems advise dismissal of primary grades at this point.
[f] A division of days would seem advisable.

FIFTH GRADE SCHEDULE

Period Begins	Minutes of Time	Activity
8:45	15	Opening exercises: Health check, songs, devotional, current events, and other activities of an informal nature.
9:00	80	Arithmetic and science: Either correlated or one following the other.
10:20	20	Recreation and rest—directed play.
10:40	80	Language period—spelling, writing, and reading.
12:00	60	Lunch, rest, and directed play.
1:00	30	Music activities.
1:30	30	Art and practical art.
2:00	60	Social studies.
3:00	15	Recreation and rest—directed play.
3:15	30	Reading and library period.
3:45		Dismissal.

Time Schedule for a Secondary School.—In Figure 8 is shown a typical time schedule for a small four-year high school. Schedules for larger schools are built upon the same principles to provide for more elective subjects and a large number of duplicate class sections.

8:30– 8:45	Home Room and Activities—All Grades			
8:50– 9:50	Eng. I	Geometry	World History	Biology
9:55–10:55	Eng. II	Gen. Math.	American History	[c]Chemistry
11:00–12:00	Eng. III	Algebra II	Civics	Gen. Science
Lunch				
1:00– 2:00	Eng. IV	Algebra I	Physics[c]	Home Ec. I
2:05– 3:05	Foreign Language I	Economics or Sociology	Foreign Language II	Home Ec. II
3:10– 4:00[a]	Physical Education and Music[b]			
	Activities (extracurricular), including athletics, etc.			

[a] Alternate days and groups.
[b] Periods may be rearranged to meet local conditions.
[c] Usually given in alternate years.

Figure 8. Typical Time Schedule for a Small High School

4. Organization at the Secondary School Level

Comprehensive versus Specialized Schools.—Four-year public high schools and senior high schools are usually comprehensive schools as far as the funds available will permit. Comprehensive schools are those in which curricula and courses are offered to meet the needs of all students. There are still a hundred or so specialized (usually vocational) secondary schools, but the trend in that direction passed its peak in the first quarter of this century and has steadily lost momentum. In that period, there were established—usually in the larger cities—high schools of commerce, vocational high schools, technical high schools, high schools for girls, etc.

The principal arguments in favor of the specialized high schools are as follows:

1. It was believed that the traditional program of the existing secondary schools should be saved from contamination, and the needs of the academically minded pupils thereby best served.

2. Some believe that it is desirable to segregate the young people destined to enter employment on the completion of high school from those who will go on to college.
3. It is felt by some that this is the only means by which the non-academically minded pupil can be prepared for economic security.
4. Some further feel that the specialized high school can provide a good exploratory ground in which pupils may intelligently make choices of occupations rather than by falling into them later by chance.
5. Students electing vocational curricula in the comprehensive high schools become class conscious and are often discriminated against socially by students electing college-preparatory curricula.
6. Because the foregoing is true, many students elect general or college-preparatory curricula, though their real interests and needs demand vocational curricula.
7. The administration of most comprehensive schools is neither sympathetic toward programs of vocational education nor informed concerning them, and as a result the realization of most effective programs of vocational education is extremely difficult to achieve.
8. It is much easier to develop a desirable vocational morale in the specialized high school.
9. By concentrating vocational preparation for a city in specialized high schools, it is possible to provide adequate, if not exceptional, equipment and instruction with less duplication and at not excessive cost.

These arguments for the specialized high school, it has seemed, are not as weighty as those against it which include the following:

1. It tends to break down the spirit and practice of democracy in American secondary education.
2. It tends to lessen the value of cultural training by concentrating on narrow, technical, bread-and-butter types of training.
3. It does not serve the needs of the enrolled pupils, because students usually attend the nearest high school without reference to its adaptability to their needs.
4. It develops economic class consciousness.
5. It emphasizes vocational education disproportionately and prepares more workers in certain vocational pursuits than industry and commerce will absorb.
6. It hastens a premature choice of vocation and the decision as to education beyond the high school.
7. It weakens the vocational departments in the comprehensive, general, or academic high schools.

The Small High School.—In the United States, not only elementary but also secondary schools are found in almost every community of any size. More than half of the public high schools enroll fewer than 125 students and more than three fourths of them fewer than 200. While it is splendid that high schools are numerous enough that only a small minority of the population live too far away from one for the children to go to high school, it must be recognized that the small high school possesses a number of serious limitations, and that wherever possible, small high schools should be consolidated and the pupils transported. Among the more serious limitations are the following:

1. The meager, bookish curriculum offered.
2. The inadequate equipment—library, gymnasium, shops, laboratories, etc.
3. The inferior opportunities for social experiences as compared with larger schools.
4. The inferior staff who will accept lower salaries and undesirable living conditions of the rural schools.

The Junior High School.—The typical junior high school of today is a three-year school including grades 7, 8, and 9. About one in twenty is a two-year school, usually including grades 7 and 8 in eleven-year school systems. Only about one in 100 junior schools is of the four-year type, and almost always includes grades 7, 8, 9, and 10. It is distinctly not a place for vocational or college preparatory education, except as subjects which prepare for all walks of life prepare for vocation and for college. In the junior high, departmentalization is the rule, though assignment of teachers is frequently on the basis of broad fields, e.g., all the English subjects or all the social studies. The standard minimum education for junior high school teachers is four years of college.

Promotion by subject is fairly common but is giving ground to promotion by grade, particularly as the result of the tendency to promote almost every pupil every year. Provision for electives below grade 9 in recent years has been narrowed to a choice between shop and household arts (grades 7 and 8) and between music and art (grade 8). Even in grade 9 there has been a tendency to require a common core of English, social studies, science, and sometimes mathematics.

Six-Year Secondary Schools.—Most communities are not sufficiently populous to maintain separate secondary school plants for

junior and senior high schools, yet in many of these communities there has been the desire to organize the schools along the lines of the 6–3–3 plan. Growing out of this situation and spreading rapidly in the twenties and thirties, six-year secondary schools now outnumber the junior high schools and bid fair to overtake four-year high schools in number.

In these schools the upper six grades are housed in one building, have a common principal, and usually are taught by the same teachers. In most respects they constitute a single school. Advantages of the six-year school include:

1. A better and more highly trained principal may be employed than if separate principals are employed for the junior and the senior high school.
2. The principal may devote more time to administration and supervision and less to teaching.
3. It is possible to achieve more complete departmentalization of the teaching staff; if separate schools were established, teachers would be required to teach in two or more subject fields.
4. Better articulation between the two divisions is attainable because (a) with the teaching staff serving in both divisions there can be a more complete articulation of subject matter of the two divisions, and (b) it is easier to arrange for ninth grade students, ready for some tenth grade courses, to go ahead with them while carrying ninth grade subjects.
5. It eliminates the necessity for transfer from one school to another at the end of the ninth grade, and consequently encourages students to continue in high school after completing the ninth grade.
6. For those junior high school students who cannot be expected to graduate from high school there can be provided in the senior high school years vocational, industrial, and household arts courses.
7. It provides an opportunity for more economical use of expensive rooms and equipment: one gymnasium, swimming pool, auditorium, library, and administrative office serving both divisions. The same applies to such special classrooms and their equipment as household arts, music, art, and scientific laboratories.
8. Economy can also be realized in the construction of one large building instead of two smaller ones.

There are important disadvantages which cannot be ignored and should be held to a minimum. They include:

1. The tendency to neglect the extracurricular program of the pupils of the lower grades.

2. The tendency for teachers to neglect the pupils and the subjects of the lower grades.
3. The tendency of teachers to expect too much of pupils of the lower grades.
4. The tendency of the pupils of the lower grades to take on too soon the sophistication of those of the upper grades.

The Summer High School.—The summer high school is operated in fewer than a third of the districts maintaining secondary schools and enrolls usually less than 10 per cent, often no more than 5 per cent, of all high school pupils. It is usually a school primarily for rehabilitating the failing or near-failing students and for enabling students to reduce the time spent for graduating, and is operated for from six to ten weeks, usually eight. Almost invariably, tuition is charged; there are no extracurricular activities; it is in session only about four hours a day, frequently mornings; and the student earns on the average two semester credits or a single one-year unit of credit.

Before the war, when young people of high school age found it difficult to find congenial employment, the summer camp movement grew and spread very markedly. As an educational enterprise, it has unique and definitely superior advantage over the typical summer school, providing as it does training in work, in outdoor life, in group living, in physical education, in democracy, and in developing responsibilities through work.

The Evening or Night School.—Secondary education and vocational education on the secondary school level are often offered in the evening for students who cannot attend day schools. In recent years the evening school has become less and less a secondary school and more and more an institution for adult education. Increasingly, high school graduation is being accepted as the minimum educational attainment before school-leaving for all who can profit by that much schooling. For many of these students the cooperative or diversified occupations plan of half-time at school, half-time at work schedule is taking the place of a full work day and evening school.

There are several limitations of the evening school for young people of high school age. Prominent are the following: (1) the evening is not a good time for class work, (2) there is not time or opportunity for most students to prepare between class meetings, (3) it constitutes a temptation for students to leave school and accept full-time jobs, expecting to "finish in evening school," an expectation realized only in a small number of instances.

Nonpublic Secondary Schools.—As was pointed out earlier in this volume, there were no truly public secondary schools in this country until toward the middle of the nineteenth century, the first ones being established between 1820 and 1850. Indeed, the public high school did not enroll the majority of secondary school students until sometime in the 70's, while as early as 1860 there were approximately 6,000 nonpublic academies in the United States. Nonpublic secondary schools today enroll less than 10 per cent of all secondary school pupils. They fall into a variety of classifications: (1) college preparatory or terminal, (2) progressive or conventional, (3) denominational or secular, (4) boarding or day schools, and (5) coeducational or limited to boys or girls.

Certain important groups of these schools are as follows:

1. The conventional college preparatory boarding schools are located in larger number in the East. These are characterized by antiquated curricula and courses of study, small classes, highly paid and well trained teachers, students of superior intelligence and of exceptional economic status. Their principal aim is preparation for college entrance examinations, which explains largely their limited educational value in spite of superior teachers and students of greater capabilities. Of course, important reasons for continued patronage at high tuition rates is the desire of wealthy people to have their children come to know the children of other wealthy and influential parents and to maintain or enhance the social prestige of the family.

2. Progressive schools—sometimes also enrolling many children of well to do parents—whose principal characteristic is that they concentrate on goals other than passing college entrance examinations, e.g., upon development of personality, character, initiative, intellectual and humane interests, and understanding of contemporary civilization. The graduates of these schools are not particularly distinguished for passing examinations, but maintain themselves in college or university amazingly well.

3. Among denominational schools, the Catholic schools are growing rapidly in numbers and enrollments, and improving in quality. With the exception of approximately 100 schools, non-Catholic denominational schools, once so common throughout the United States, have become rather mediocre institutions, patronized principally by parents who wish to make certain of religious bias on the part of their offspring and to some extent by parents who wish special

attention for dull or problem children, or by parents who wish to make at least some pretension at social aristocracy.

The great majority of denominational schools are commonplace in every respect—ordinary teachers, ordinary curricula and courses of study, and ordinary students.

4. Finally, there are various commercial projects. These are confined principally to vocational (largely business) schools, but with some representation of schools claiming special advantages in the way of coaching for college entrance examinations, of training for character in boarding school, or of merely caring for children with no homes. There are more than a thousand of these schools of a variety too great to characterize, but enrolling pupils of high school age. They are entirely self-supporting and profit seeking. Some are very effective for specialized vocational purposes.

The Junior College.—Since 1880 the percentage of young people of high school age staying on to graduate from high school has increased amazingly, high school enrollments doubling every decade from 1880 to 1930 and increasing in the thirties from slightly more than four millions to almost seven millions. During the same period, the need and opportunities for young people to work steadily decreased until, in the thirties, it became difficult for youths under twenty-one to find regular remunerative employment except as unskilled labor or at dead-end jobs. Also, during this period parents became increasingly able to support children to a more advanced age.

As a result of these developments, there was a growing demand that the local school system extend its offering two years. The idea had been suggested a generation earlier by leaders in American education who felt that the course material included in the first two years of college—science, English, history, foreign languages, etc.—more nearly approached the character of secondary than of higher education. Also influential was the practice in European countries of teaching the subjects of the first two years of our colleges in their secondary schools. Local pride in having "a junior college" did the rest. From the fifty-two junior colleges existing in 1919–1920, their number grew until by 1948 there were approximately 700 junior colleges in the United States with an enrollment of approximately 300,000 students.

About half of our junior colleges are public institutions and about half are church schools. The latter are located largely in the south-

ern and border states. The public institutions are found more commonly in the West and Middle West. Some are operated by a single school district—usually a city of some size—some are county, and some are combined-districts institutions. All of these public schools receive some of their revenues from taxation, some almost all of it, some only a little. Of the latter, some are almost self-supporting from tuition charges. These are practically all located in the Middle West, East and South. On the Pacific Coast and to a considerable extent in all states west of the Mississippi, tuition is usually nominal.

The teachers in the main have master's degrees but not doctor's degrees. They teach on the average about four classes a day, or the equivalent, and their salaries average about 20–25 per cent more than high school teachers in the same locality.

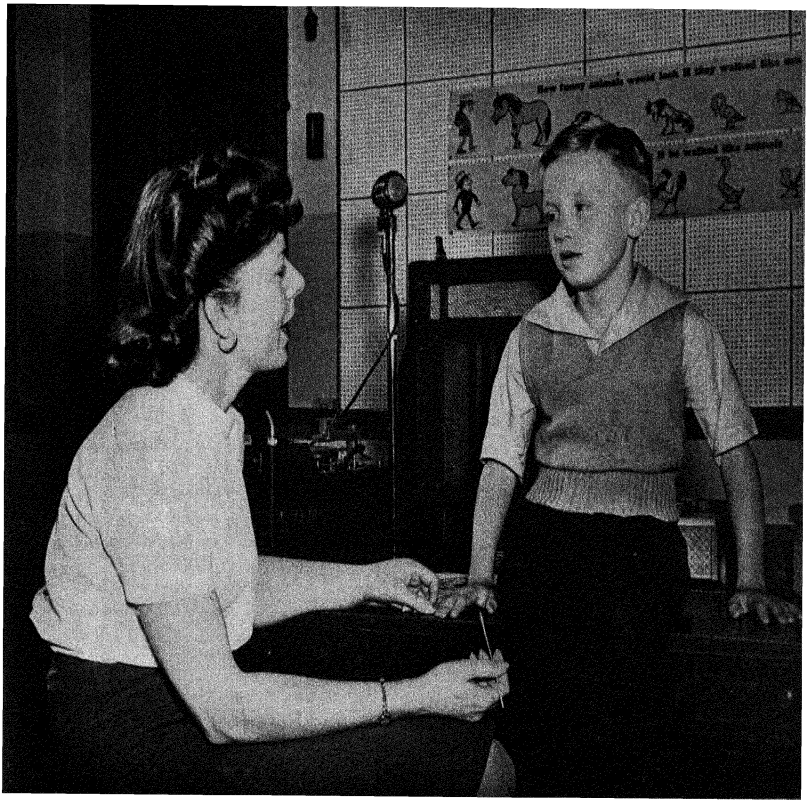
More than 95 per cent of the junior colleges in the United States are two-year schools—composed of grades 13 and 14. Although the great majority of leaders in secondary education advocate a four-year institution made up of grades 11 through 14, their advice has not been followed. This is the result principally of three factors: (1) the complications resulting for athletic schedules—especially the effect upon the local high school, (2) the desire of junior college heads and teachers to be considered college teachers, and (3) the fact that in some junior college districts two or more high schools have already existed, as in county high school districts.

5. Organization for the Exceptional Child, and for Vocational Education

Children in many cases differ sufficiently from the norm to call for differentiated educational content and organization. Of these there are several types of the physically handicapped, the mentally weak, and the gifted child.

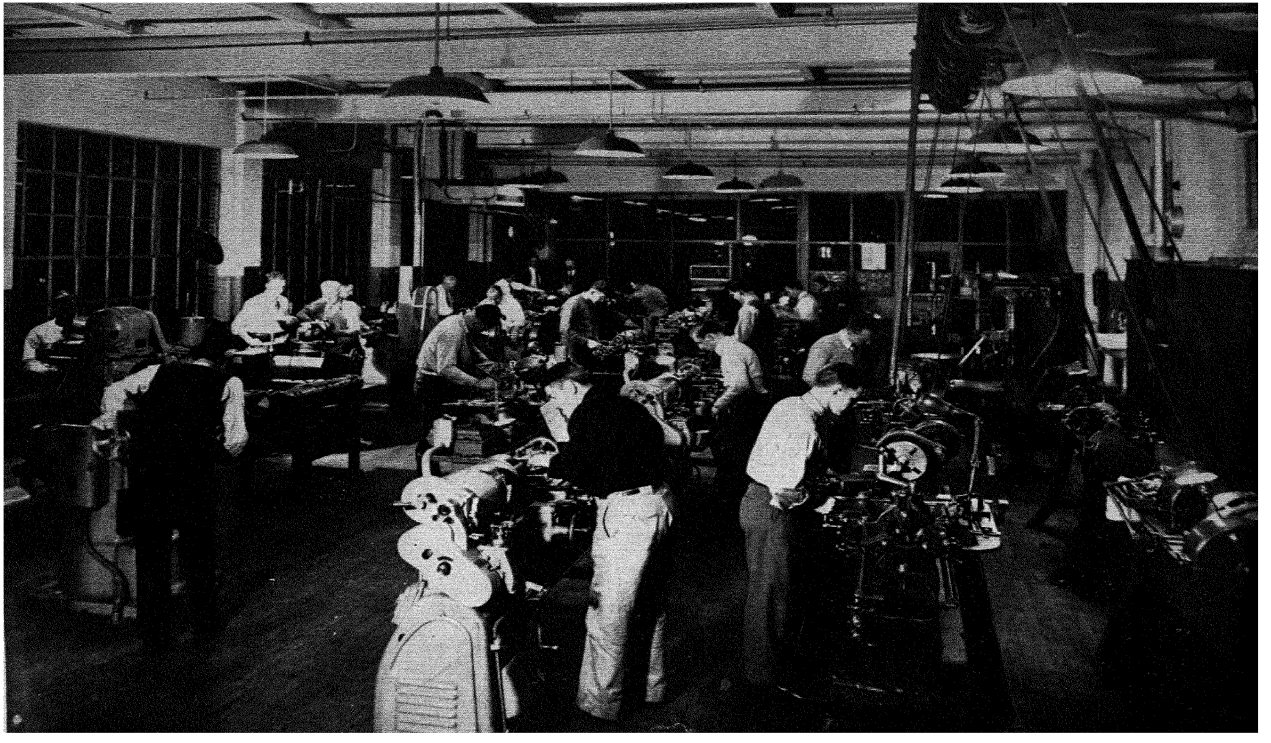
For the Physically Handicapped.—For some time, larger school systems have attempted to make special provision for the physically handicapped. There are schools and classes for the blind and for the near blind, for the hard of hearing, for tuberculous children, for those suffering from malnutrition, for those with speech defects.

For the blind, those who cannot speak and those whose hearing is past use of hearing aids, special separate schools are necessary. Only states or large cities can afford to establish these. This is equally true for feeble-minded and demented children. Special schemes, such as the use of Braille (raised dot) manuscripts in the case of the blind, sign language for the speechless, and lip reading



Special Attention for Handicapped Pupils Is Illustrated Here

A teacher especially prepared for speech correction is helping a youngster overcome his difficulty. (Courtesy Topeka Public Schools)



An Evening Class in Machine Shop at a Wilmington Vocational School

for the deaf, may enable blind and deaf children to continue to be educated somewhat after the fashion of the normal child.

Crippled children need less special attention and may be taught in conventional classes. In many cases, however, special exercises and instruction may enable them to overcome, or at least reduce, the handicap from which they suffer.

An increasing number of schools are making special provision for tuberculous boys and girls. These consist principally of rest periods, of arrangements for doing work in a half recumbent position, exposure to sunlight and fresh air, and assistance in matters of diet.

Children with speech defects are receiving increasing assistance. The grave importance of speech defects—the dangerous effect upon the happiness and the personality of the child—has been recognized and an increasing number of schools are identifying early those with speech disorders and providing special instruction. For most cases not only special training in the use of speech apparatus is indicated but also special psychological training, e.g., casualness, sense of humor, calmness. In a surprising number of cases most encouraging progress is made, even where there is some physical defect such as a cleft palate—psychologically perhaps the most dangerous of speech defects.

Organization for the Nonachiever.—In recent years, it has been discovered that there is a large and perhaps increasing number of youngsters who get as far as high school with only rudimentary ability to read or to calculate, to write or to speak correctly, or to express themselves clearly.

Tests have revealed that, in the typical seventh grade, one or more youngsters have the reading ability of the average fourth grader, and one or more are similarly deficient in arithmetic, in language, in composition or in some other fundamental skill. Again, at the ninth grade of four-year high schools, similar deficiencies are discovered. The situation has become increasingly serious with the spread of the practice of promoting practically all youngsters every year. It does not seem wise or practical to encourage these young people to attempt the work of the grades in which they are enrolled, and which lie ahead of them, before attempting to reduce their handicaps.

Several methods are being employed to meet the situation. Many schools form special remedial classes in reading, language, and arithmetic at various grade levels. The most deficient pupils are assigned

to these, although usually not for more than a single subject in any one year. In an increasing number of schools, special sections with a different course of study are formed for the slower and less able in the seventh and eighth grades. Except for the mildly deficient pupil, this approach seems better. Usually the grossly deficient child is unable to carry the remedial work in addition to a full program of new work. Already special textbooks have appeared for such sections in seventh and eighth grade arithmetic. The logical consequence is to continue the arithmetic sequence at least through the ninth grade if these children are to reach the proficiency of the typical normal eighth grade graduate.

It may prove necessary to provide remedial or slow-moving classes in several school subjects throughout the school system, if we are to hold to the idea that youngsters should be promoted every year and be taught in classes with others of similar age, maturity, and social interests and habits. To do this in small schools is impossible. Adjustments of some sort within classes will have to be made.

Part-Time and Continuation Courses.—For those who leave school, provision is made in many cities for part-time study. In many states it is compulsory for students leaving school before a certain age, usually sixteen (in some seventeen or eighteen), and not having completed high school to attend school a few hours each week, usually six to eight hours. The law is not well enforced in many localities. This is called continuation education. In a few cities there are schools designated as continuation schools, though usually the students attend any convenient high school which provides for continuation students. A substantial part of federal funds made available for vocational education by the Smith-Hughes, George-Deen, and George-Barden Acts is spent on part-time or continuation classes.

Harl R. Douglass, in his report on education of youth for the American Youth Commission, made the following proposals, each of which involves a provision for vocational education:[5]

Part-time cooperative schools, providing concomitantly on approximately half time each, work and life experience, and education for citizenship, home life, health, and vocation.

Short-term schools, such as the Minnesota Schools of Agriculture, for youth not high-school graduates.

[5] Harl R. Douglass, *Secondary Education for Youth in America,* American Council on Education, pp. 134–135.

Revised versions of the CCC camps organized under the direction of local boards and devoting half time to community service and half time to education.

Reorganized college programs intended for less scholarly youth, such as the General College of the University of Minnesota, the C.W.E.S. Colleges in Chicago, and the Emergency Colleges in Michigan.

Terminal four-year junior colleges with vocational and citizenship curricula.

Vocational schools of approximately junior-college grade, such as those in the state of New York.

Vocational education for adults is being offered by an increasing number of agencies in addition to the public schools, including religious, labor, business, and industrial organizations. Business and industrial organizations also provide daytime vocational training in what are sometimes called vestibule schools for new employees, as well as combined training for increased efficiency and advanced positions.

Work-Study Plans.—Until recent years, young people who went to school almost invariably went to school full time until they quit to go to work full time—frequently called the "all or none" policy. For many decades young people have had less work to do at home or on odd jobs—after school, Saturdays, or in summer. More recently there has been an increasing recognition of the educational value of work experience and of the untoward effects of letting young people grow up without work experience.

Work experience, as it is now generally recognized, possesses very important potential values. Among them are:

1. The learning of the meaning of work, of the dignity of labor and of the value of things produced by labor.
2. The opportunity to explore and evaluate one's interests and capacities in various kinds of work.
3. The acquisition of a sense of responsibility which grows out of work of a serious nature.
4. The learning of adult values and points of view from association with adults on the job.
5. The acquisition of vocational information and the skills of at least one vocation.
6. The satisfaction of the desire of young people to be active at something real and of value.
7. The opportunity to earn some money needed by many young people to clothe themselves and to participate in social life normal for young people of their age.

Before the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in 1938, Douglass said:

> I am quite certain that the best interests of society and of at least one fourth of all youth are not best served by requiring full-time attendance at school beyond the age of sixteen. I am convinced that for some, if not for the majority, an equal division of time (exclusive of time needed for sleep, toilet, and extras) between work, study, and play or recreation (approximately four hours each daily), is far better soil for the nurture of healthy adolescent personalities.[6]

The establishment of work-study programs spread rapidly, both just before and during World War II—in the former period because of the recognized educational need for work experience, and in the latter because of the manpower shortage.

The important features of good work-study plans are as follows:

1. Approximately one third of the youth's day (when not asleep) is spent at work, one third in study, and one third in play and personal activities. In some instances, one youngster of a pair is on a job one week and at school the next week; the other alternates with him.
2. There is a four-sided agreement between employer, student, school, and parent.
3. The student is given opportunities to learn the job or business, as well as to work at it.
4. The student is paid a wage slightly less than the prevailing rate of pay for such work in the community.
5. The student is as responsible in every way as if he had been employed in the conventional out-of-school manner.
6. The school provides supervision of both student and employer, guiding the student toward the best attitude toward his work and employer, rating the student, and guiding the employer away from the exploitation of his apprentice.
7. The parent understands and approves the whole arrangement, is kept informed by the school's coordinator, and is urged to assist the coordinator in developing good work attitudes on the part of the student.
8. The student's educational program is not entirely directly related to his work, but includes education for citizenship, in science, and probably in English and mathematics.
9. The student carries three subjects at school and is graduated in five years, or in four years if the school is large enough to provide instruction twelve months in the year.

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[6] "Youth and the Schools." *North Central Association Quarterly*, XIII:224–231.

Douglass and Kornegay found that in 173 schools in eight southeastern states training was provided in 193 different occupations. Most of the 193 occupations fell into the following types of occupations:

1. Retail selling.
2. Mechanical, building, and electrical trades.
3. Industries and factories.
4. Assisting in personal service—nursing, beauty culture.
5. Wholesale businesses.
6. Bookkeeping, typing, secretarial work—stores, banks, etc.
7. Assistants to professional men—doctors, dentists, etc.
8. Printing and newspaper work.[7]

The types of occupations involved in any one school necessarily are influenced by types of vocations represented in the community.

6. Types of Organization for Higher Education

Types of Institutions.—There has developed in the United States a variety of rather clear-cut differentiated types of institutions: the state university, the large endowed university, the agricultural and engineering college, the independent liberal arts college, the teachers college, the state general college, and the municipal college or university. Table 2 shows the number and types of institutions of higher education in 1944. In 1947 the number had increased to 1,753.

The University.—A university is a group of associated schools and colleges, each with somewhat separate faculty, curriculum and administrative officers, but with a common president, board of regents, and other officers, campus, housing facilities, health service, and athletic program units, and usually with common sources of financial support. Among schools and colleges frequently included within a university are those for instruction in the arts and sciences, law, medicine, engineering, education, journalism, nursing, pharmacy, and graduate courses.

Ordinarily all matters of curricula, degrees, courses of study, and requirements for graduation are determined by the faculty of the particular school, usually after recommendations by committees of the university or college, and with the approval of the president, faculty, and governing board of the university. While state uni-

[7] Harl R. Douglass and Alonzo D. Kornegay, "Diversified Occupation Plans of Vocational Education," *Industrial Arts and Vocational Education*, XXXI:288–289.

TABLE 2

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN THE UNITED STATES, TYPE AND CONTROL, 1943–44 [a]

Type of Institution	State Control	District or City Control	Private Control	Denominational Control		Total
				Protestant	Roman Catholic	
White Institutions:						
College or university	105	14	181	247	143	690
Professional school	17	1	150	69	24	261
Teachers college	161	5	16	1	9	192
Normal school	5	2	8	3	2	20
Junior college	42	171	86	105	29	433
Negro Institutions:						
College or university	17	2	6	36	1	62
Professional school	1	—	4	2	—	7
Teachers college	11	3	—	1	—	15
Normal school	—	—	—	—	—	—
Junior College	1	3	2	16	—	22
Total:						
White institutions	330	193	441	425	207	1,596
Negro institutions	30	8	12	55	1	106
Grand Total	360	201	453	480	208	1,702

[a] *Educational Directory, 1943–44,* Part III, p. 7, U. S. Office of Education.

versities, except in cases where their charters specifically exempt them, are legally under the control of the state legislature, the state lawmaking bodies wisely refrain, except in rare and usually unfortunate instances, from legislating for the universities, beyond the passage of appropriations for their support.

State universities vary widely on the basis of quality and nature of educational program, salaries paid teaching staff, size, and source of income. Theoretically established for and free to all qualified students in the state, tuition and fees and living costs have been increased in the last few decades in many states to such an extent as to restrict attendance somewhat to the sons and daughters of the upper economic classes. As yet, in democratic United States, we have not adopted means of assuring that the best intellects of the country will be trained for service. A study in the state of Pennsylvania in 1937–38 showed that for every bright high school graduate going to college in that state there was at least one who did not enter college.

Perhaps the best, at least the best supported, institutions of higher education in the United States are to be found among such independent endowed universities as Harvard, Yale, Chicago, and Stanford. There are dozens of others of lesser reputation. While

inclined to be conservative and slow to adapt to changing needs of a changing society, these institutions in general are characterized by better paid and more productive teachers, more carefully selected and abler students from higher levels of economic status, and smaller classes.

The "A. and M." College.—The agricultural and engineering colleges and universities (including a few independent colleges and a larger number of state-supported institutions) are often spoken of as land grant colleges because in 1862 Congress through the Morrill Act gave to each state in the Union 30,000 acres of public land for each senator and representative in Congress for the support of a college to teach agriculture, mechanical arts, and military tactics. As is usual in such situations, the professors, deans, and presidents sought from the beginning not to train farmers and mechanics, but scientists and engineers, as is the case today.

Every state and each of our three territories have institutions which qualify as land grant colleges and receive annual funds from the federal government. In seventeen states the land grant college is the state university, in three states semi-independent institutions are designated for the benefits, and in all the rest separate state colleges are maintained. In general, they are more democratic, less expensive to the students, and, with few exceptions, have rather well paid and well trained teachers. Here are trained many specialists in home economics, research and government workers in many aspects of agriculture and agricultural sciences, vocational teachers in those two fields, as well as engineers of various types.

The Independent Arts College.—The independent liberal arts college was in practically every instance at first a denominational venture, though in many cases the relationship today between school and denomination has become rather vague. They are supported variously—by endowments, gifts, largely by tuition and denominational contributions—some more by one method and some more by others. In this class fall more than a score of such splendid colleges as Oberlin, Swarthmore, and Pomona, as well as hundreds of weak little schools with small enrollments and poorly paid and weak teaching staffs.

In this group are the majority of the weaker institutions of higher education, which would serve the cause of education best if they were either to become junior colleges or to give up the struggle for existence. Many parents who wish to have their youngsters live in the Christian atmosphere of a particular denomination are either

ill-informed or not discriminating with respect to those things which are ordinarily thought of as the heart of a college education.

The Teachers College.—The teachers college as a separate institution is the outgrowth of the normal school. Like independent arts colleges, teachers colleges vary in quality from extreme to extreme. Some of the best, like those of Greeley, Colorado, and at Cedar Falls, Iowa, have, on the whole, well trained and fairly well paid staffs—though definitely not so well paid as the better universities. From these on down, this group covers a wide range, there being a considerable number of institutions of mediocre quality and almost a hundred of definitely inferior level. Only the best 10 to 20 per cent of the teachers colleges have well balanced and well trained staffs and offerings in departments other than education. On the whole, particularly in the South, the intellectual capacities of the students of these colleges run somewhat lower than those of the students at universities.

As school enrollments approached a leveling off stage in the thirties and as teachers tended to stay in the profession longer, the need for newly trained teachers diminished materially until World War II. As a consequence, teachers colleges were forced to train for fields other than teaching or accept small enrollments and consequently smaller student bodies and less financial support. In most instances where permitted, they chose the former, training young people for business, for home life and in some instances even for trades and for agriculture. They also encouraged many students not interested in any kind of vocational training as such to come for a general liberal education. More recently some of these colleges have dropped the word "Teachers" from their titles, e.g., Western State (Teachers) College.

The Municipal Institution.—Largely a development of the twentieth century is the municipal college or university. Supported by city taxes and student tuition and fees, these institutions, with rare exceptions, as universities leave much to be desired. With relatively poorly trained faculties, the schools and colleges of law, pharmacy, education, and nursing are hardly of the same calibre as those of state universities. They do, however, enable young people in metropolitan communities to go on for higher education without leaving home, and hence many attend who could not otherwise afford it. Those who confine their efforts to the college of arts and sciences are in most instances able to approach the average quality of the independent arts college and the weaker universities.

There are about thirty municipal four-year institutions of higher education which in 1947 enrolled 108,565 students. The larger ones are listed here:

Institution	Enrollment
1. The City College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.	11,835
2. Hunter College of the City of New York, New York, N. Y.	6,598
3. Brooklyn College of the City of New York, Brooklyn, N. Y.	15,286
4. Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.	17,922
5. University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio	17,495
6. University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.	7,033
7. University of Akron, Akron, Ohio	4,988
8. Queens College of the City of New York, Flushing, Long Island, N. Y.	2,804

Control of Institutions of Higher Education.—In Table 2 are given data relative to the types of control of different kinds of institutions of higher education. It will readily be seen that, whereas elementary and secondary education is controlled largely by state and local governmental agencies, the great majority of institutions of higher education are under control of nonpublic agencies, principally denominational bodies.

7. The Educational Ladder

Today there exists in the United States a system of free or almost free public education from first grade, and in some communities from the kindergarten or nursery school, through college or university, with a considerable degree of articulation. This has been a long time in materializing. As discussed earlier in this volume, in the eighteenth century there was no public graded elementary school, no public high school, no public college or university. There were several loosely articulated and ungraded schools for elementary education—the "dame school," the reading and writing school, and the reckoning school. There were also Latin grammar schools and academies, both overlapping the elementary schools and not articulated with them.

Development of Articulation Between Elementary and Secondary Education.—In the century that followed the gaining of our independence, there was first developed the graded elementary school followed in turn by the public high school and by the state university and land grant college. These institutions, however, were not well articulated. The high school was by no means a continuation of the elementary school. It was indeed a different kind of institution with different kinds of subjects of instruction and a different kind of teacher. As has been pointed out, youngsters found it very difficult to

make the necessary adjustments. After completing the elementary school or shortly after entering high school, a large proportion withdrew from school. To bridge this gap, changes were gradually brought about in grades 7, 8, and 9 and in many places a transitory or intermediate school—the junior school—was established, and much better articulation brought about. This articulation is being still further improved as years go by.

Articulation Between Junior and Senior High Schools.—For a period of years grade 9 in the junior high school was largely a transplantation from the four-year high school with, in general, the same subjects, the same philosophy, the same type of curriculum organization. Gradually, however, articulation between grades 8 and 9 was developed with respect to subject matter, methods of teaching, and standards of achievement and marking. Some aspects of articulation were achieved by the very fact that the two grades were taught by the same teachers, in the same building, and under the same administration.

During the twenties, lack of articulation began to develop at another point—between the junior and the senior high school. As one investigator concluded, the gap had merely been moved from between grades 8 and 9 to between grades 9 and 10.[8] In grade 10 the junior high school graduate found himself in a new building, with different teachers in a school with different philosophy and objectives. In fact, in many places the senior high school staff seemed to take pleasure in demonstrating and exaggerating the inadequacy of the product of the highly publicized junior high school. The junior high school had absorbed modern ideas and the modern philosophy of education much more rapidly than had the senior school.

In recent years, however, the administration and staff of the senior school have accepted increasingly the philosophy of the junior school. They have gradually abandoned their former concentration upon preparation for college as an objective; at the same time they have given up their emphasis upon subject-matter values in order to develop pupil-growth values, and upon comprehension and transfer of training to develop cooperation and other more realizable and practical values.

One practical difficulty grew out of the practice of promotion by subject. Frequently ninth graders passed in one or more but not all

[8] R. A. Fritz, "An Evaluation of Two Special Purposes of the Junior High School: Economy of Time and Bridging the Gap," *University of Iowa Studies in Education*, 4:1–80.

subjects. A dilemma resulted: the senior high school must offer some ninth grade subjects, the junior high school some tenth grade subjects, or promotion by grade must be employed instead of promotion by subject. In many schools, the first alternative was employed; in many others, the third; in few, the second. More recently, promotion by subject in the junior high school has tended to disappear; in fact, the number of failures has become so small as to make the problem a relatively unimportant one.

Articulation Between High School and College.—Between the high school and college there has also been lack of articulation, but of a different sort. Not only was there a change in type of teacher and of teaching, but there also was a considerable degree of duplication and overlapping—and still is. Much of what is taught in the last two years of high school in American history, physics, chemistry, literature, and advanced mathematics is taught again in the first two years of college. College teachers are inclined to ignore what has been taught in high schools and hence ignore this waste through duplication. In an increasing number of colleges, however, placement tests are now given and beginning students put in different sections for different courses of instruction more closely adapted to their knowledge and preparation.

Colleges in early days examined each prospective student individually, particularly in Latin and Greek, as a means of determining who was fit to enter college. Later two important practices developed. Beginning at the University of Michigan in 1871, graduates of accredited high schools in the state were admitted without examination if they had taken certain required subjects. This practice has come to be followed by most colleges and universities.

A quarter-century later a national system of college entrance examinations was inaugurated whereby, in every important city in the United States and in many foreign countries, examinations are given in wide varieties of school subjects. For a small fee anyone may take these examinations, have his or her papers scored and the marks reported to any college or university he wishes. A few institutions, principally in the East, admit all or most students on the basis of such examination scores, the subjects and grade required differing among the colleges.

While these newer methods of selecting college students have several obvious advantages, careful investigations have shown that future success in college may not be predicted very accurately from examination scores in any subject or combination of subjects. More

important, marks made in college have negligible relationship to subjects the student studied in high school. As the result of these disconcerting studies, more than a hundred institutions—including the University of Michigan, the University of Iowa, the University of Illinois, the University of Colorado, the University of Wisconsin, and Stanford University—no longer list specific entrance subjects which must be studied in high school by the prospective college freshman.

It is not contemplated in the present educational program that colleges and universities should be so articulated with secondary school that all or the great majority of graduates from the latter may enter college and go on with their studies. With few exceptions, the college or university is intended for students who are at least average if not superior. In this respect, institutions of higher education differ widely; some cater only to very superior students, others to lesser degrees of ability, and still others to much greater ranges of ability. This phenomenon is readily grasped from the data of Table 3 and Figure 9, indicating the great variability of colleges and universities with respect to the average general mental abilities of their respective student constituencies. Douglass's investigations at the University of Minnesota revealed that different degrees and patterns of ability were required for success in the different schools and colleges of the university.[9]

Note that the upper quarter of the ten lowest institutions is below the lower quarter of the highest ten. A student of average ability in one of the highest ten would be at the top of his class in one of the lowest ten, while one of average ability in the lowest ten would probably not last beyond the first year in one of the highest ten.

Satisfactory articulation between secondary school and college is still far from achievement. Even in school systems in which one unit is a junior college, articulation is conspicuously absent, as is evidenced by the duplication of subject matter. Generally speaking, college faculties are both too poorly oriented with respect to the high school curriculum and the problem of articulation and too busy and indifferent to do much about it; high school faculties do not possess the appropriate power. Nevertheless, there has been some progress toward the solution of this problem, and more is in sight. In addition to the placement examination and improvements in selection of college entrants now being developed, guidance services in

[9] Harl R. Douglass, "Different Levels and Patterns of Ability Necessary for Success in Colleges," *Occupations*, XXII:182–186.

TABLE 3

SCORES OF INDIVIDUAL COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES BY CODE NUMBER[a]

Institution Code Number	Number of Students	Q_1	Gross Scores Median	Q_3
1	10	109.2	120.0	137.5
2	349	105.4	118.5	132.2
3	13	102.1	115.8	128.7
4	45	100.3	115.5	125.5
5	193	100.4	114.0	126.8
6	101	104.1	113.7	127.8
7	600	98.1	113.0	127.6
8	163	102.1	112.6	123.5
9	57	104.4	112.5	129.0
10	227	95.8	112.2	123.7
346	68	47.5	64.2	83.7
347	98	49.7	62.9	77.7
348	300	45.8	61.4	78.2
349	95	46.5	61.1	74.3
350	266	47.7	60.9	74.6
351	123	45.7	60.3	76.3
352	166	47.8	60.0	75.7
353	230	44.5	58.6	76.5
354	161	45.6	58.0	73.1
355	53	45.9	54.7	65.9

[a] L. L. Thurstone and others, "The 1938 Psychological Examination," *Educational Record*, XX:271, 277.

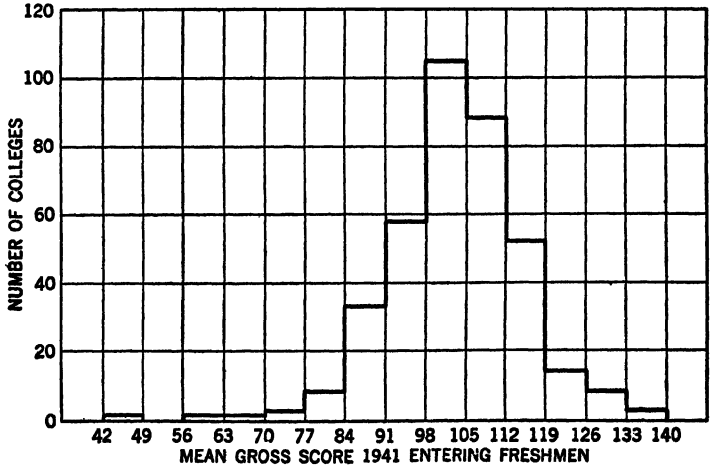


Figure 9. Distribution of Mean Scores of 373 Freshman Classes on American Council on Education Psychological Examination

(From L. L. Thurstone and Thelma G. Thurstone, Psychological Examinations, 1941 Norms, *American Council on Education Studies*, Series V.)

both high school and college are also operating to make transition from one to the other safer and more economical.

More than any other single factor, for any given student successful articulation between high school and college will depend upon the ratio of his ability to the degree of difficulty characteristic of the chosen college. For example, if a student with slightly less than average ability enters an institution enrolling chiefly very superior students, he will not be ready for the work which he will be required to undertake in that college.

It is not comforting to be forced to admit that quality of teaching in secondary school is apparently a minor factor in the student's later success in college. Indeed it must also be admitted that what subjects one takes in high school has little to do with his marks in college, regardless of the practice and views of those who have the responsibilities of determining college entrance requirements. Studies by scores of investigators have arrived at surprisingly uniform conclusions, which may be summarized as follows:

1. The number of units taken in any one subject-matter field does not furnish any useful basis for predicting college success.
2. Psychological test scores are correlated positively with college grades, but not quite as closely as with marks made in high school courses.
3. Principals' ratings on industry, leadership, and citizenship are all positively and materially correlated with college marks, but not in sufficient degree to furnish alone a useful basis for prediction of college marks.
4. Neither the size of the secondary school from which a pupil comes nor the salaries paid his teachers apparently has much to do with the quality of work he will do in college as judged by the marks he receives.
5. Taken over all ranges, the amount of time spent in student noncurricular activities and at work apparently is not associated to any significant extent with the quality of work in college.

Douglass reported the coefficients found in twenty-nine investigations of the relationship between high school marks and college marks. The median coefficient was .55, and in forty-four studies reporting the relationship between intelligence test scores and college marks the median coefficient was .45.[10]

[10] Harl R. Douglass, "The Relation of High School Preparation and Certain Other Factors to Scholastic Success at the University of Oregon," *University of Oregon Studies.*

Segel and Proffitt, summarizing the results of a number of studies, reported the coefficients of correlation between high school marks and college marks given in Table 4.

TABLE 4

COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN MARKS EARNED IN VARIOUS SUBJECTS IN HIGH SCHOOL AND MARKS FOR THE FRESHMAN YEAR AND ALL FOUR YEARS IN COLLEGE [a]

Marks in High School in	Correlation of All College Marks with High School Marks in Various Subjects	
	Freshman Year	All Four Years
All subjects	.52	.49
English	.43	.42
Social studies	.37	.37
Foreign languages	.33	.31
Science	.43	.33
Mathematics	.42	.38
Art and music	.18	.27
Vocational subjects	.18	.13
Commercial subjects	.36	.27

COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL MARKS EARNED IN VARIOUS SUBJECTS AND COLLEGE MARKS EARNED IN THE SAME SUBJECTS [a]

Subject	Marks Earned in Same Subject in College
English	.46
Social studies	.38
Foreign language	.43
Science	.40
Mathematics	.43

[a] Entries in the table are taken from "Some Factors in the Adjustment of College Students," by David Segel and Maris Proffitt, U. S. Office of Education, *Bulletin* 1937, No. 12, pp. 14–32.

Within the same university different schools and colleges make different demands upon abilities and preparation. From his studies at the University of Minnesota, Douglass reported the following conclusions:

1. Success in the various schools, colleges, and curricula of the University depends upon different as well as common factors, e.g., finger dex-

terity and capacity for skills in the study of dentistry, arithmetical and computational skills and a specialized vocabulary in the study of business, and mathematical and other reasoning abilities in the study of law.

2. Different degrees of general intellectual ability are required for success in the various schools, colleges, and curricula of the University, the order of degree required being somewhat as follows:[11]

Group I
1. Medicine
2. Law

Group II
3. Dentistry
4. Engineering
5. Teaching (academic subjects)
6. Arts and Sciences

Group III
7. Business
8. Nursing
9. Pharmacy
10. Home Economics
11. Physical Education—Women

Group IV
12. Agriculture
13. Music—Art
14. Teachers of Industrial Arts

Group V
15. Physical Education for Men

Improvement of articulation is being achieved in many colleges and universities by employing a variety of types of devices for assisting the incoming student to become adjusted to his new environment and to work effectively. Among the most commonly employed methods for this purpose are the following:

1. Freshman week of testing, orientation lectures, conferences with counselors, etc.
2. Orientation courses and refresher classes.
3. Special remedial and refresher classes in English and mathematics.
4. Training in use of library and in study methods.
5. Placement testing and sectioning for students of different ability and different preparation.

8. Organization for Adult Education

For many years, it was in this country the unquestioned policy and practice for people to terminate their formal schooling when they stopped full-time attendance. In recent years, with the great increase of leisure time available, there have been healthy, though still inadequate, growth and expansion of adult education.

[11] Harl R. Douglass and others, *University of Minnesota Studies in Predicting Scholastic Achievement,* University of Minnesota Press.

Thorndike and other experimental psychologists have dispelled the illusion that older people can not learn effectively. The apparent inability of some adults to learn is in reality the reflection of lack of time, lack of interest, and loss of skills. It also became necessarily apparent that adequate learning can not be stored up for life. For various purposes—civic, vocational, health, leisure, and home membership—there are always many things to learn. In fact, one who does not continue to study and learn not only loses in efficiency in many of his activities, but becomes increasingly discontented in the ever-changing world. President Sproul of the University of California once put it this way:

> Nothing has handicapped the American educational plan more than the tendency of American citizens to think of schooling as a kind of vaccination against ignorance, and to consider that a concentrated dose of it in youth makes one immune for a lifetime. Actually, the immunity lasts only a few years, and unless it is renewed by periodic inoculations in study and thinking, one falls victim to a chronic type of ignorance which is often more dangerous than the acute form, because the patient, incompetent to recognize the symptoms, doesn't know he has the disease. We meet such chronic sufferers from ignorance everywhere. They look all right on the outside . . . But inside, their minds are suffering from atrophy. Instead of thinking through problems in the light of all available facts, they merely supply a pattern of opinions based on facts that went out of date along with their yellowing diplomas, and liberally garnished with prejudices that have accumulated in their minds like broken furniture in an attic.[12]

The importance of adult education increases with the extent to which we become a nation of adults. As the result of the lowered birth rate and of the decreased death rate, the ratio of adults to young people has risen markedly in the last half century. The ratio of adults forty-six years and older to youth and children nineteen years of age and under increased from .33 in 1900 to .70, more than twice the ratio that existed some forty years earlier. (See Table 5.) If we are safely to become so much a nation of older people, adult education must be more definite, improved and extended. Otherwise, so many older people constitute too great a political and social burden.

Adult education is provided through a great variety of agencies. Already offered widely in our school system, classes of adults are being organized and taught in an increasing number of high schools and junior colleges. Much also is done through private agencies, especially church groups, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., business and industrial labor organizations, the Red Cross. Workers' education by

[12] Robert Gordon Sproul, *Lifelong Learning*, XIX:12–13.

TABLE 5

PER CENT DISTRIBUTION BY AGE, UNITED STATES, 1900–1940[a]

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940
Under 20	46.8	43.4	42.8	40.6	35.9
20-45	35.7	40.0	39.4	38.3	38.9
Over 45	15.5	16.6	18.8	21.1	25.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ratio over 45 to under 20	.33	.38	.44	.52	.70

[a] *Sixteenth Census of the United States* (1940), Vol. IV, p. 2.

labor unions has grown very rapidly in recent years. Among various types of education for adults are the following:

Americanization. In a great many cities evening classes are operated for instruction in English and in the government of the United States with especial emphasis upon the Constitution. Since there are almost 5,000,000 aliens in the United States and more coming in every day, there will be need for a long time for some Americanization education.

Literacy Education. Especially in the form of evening schools, classes in reading and writing are taught in every state in the Union. More than 8 per cent of the young men in the draft were rejected as not being sufficiently literate to be useful in the armed forces. Since 1933 the federal government has operated an emergency literacy program. Approximately 3 per cent of the population cannot read or write at all, and perhaps another 10 or 12 per cent cannot read a newspaper and write a reasonably satisfactory letter.

Home and Consumer Education. In recent years there has been a trend toward large numbers and more offerings in the fields related to education for home life—child rearing, home hygiene and health, preservation of foods, consumer education, including buying and accounting, etc.

Extension and Correspondence Courses. Offered chiefly by state institutions of higher education, courses are available in practically every possible field of learning, from junior high school through the graduate school level. It has been estimated that more than 25,000 different courses are available today by correspondence or by instructors sent out to centers for extension courses, and that more than a million people are enrolled in them annually.

Forums and Other Informal Means. Particularly during the depression thirties public forums were organized to discuss all sorts of questions, but principally those relative to public affairs. These were operated in every section of the country by local school systems, by institutions of higher education, or by both—often with federal funds. The Town Hall Meeting of the Air, the University of Chicago Round Table, and others of that type constitute an attempt at adult education through the radio; the same is true of many other radio programs, including commentators. The latter, with few exceptions, are not fully reliable—some favor points of view held by their commercial sponsors; there also are a number who are at least somewhat doctrinaire.

The Public Library. Potentially a very effective means of adult education, the public library serves relatively few adults, except occasionally, or for entertainment rather than for education. Few libraries have available resources for keeping their services before the public, which turns evening after evening to entertainment or highly publicized affairs.

P.T.A.'s, Clubs, Etc. More and more, the Parent-Teacher Association is becoming a study group for learning more of the care, upbringing, and education of children and less a social gathering purporting to help the school by raising small funds to buy things the board of education should purchase. Various clubs, principally for women, organized ostensibly for study and learning, serve rarely for any considerable educational growth. Confined largely to social matters, petty accounts and fund raising, such organizations are a poor stimulus for intellectual activity. Exceptions among these groups are a few organizations such as the League of Women Voters and the American Association of University Women.

9. Youth-Serving Organizations

M. M. Chambers has called our attention to the fact that there are several hundred different youth-serving organizations in the United States which have educational functions.[13] In every community there are at least a few of these organizations, in most communities several. They may be classified as follows:

Religious, e.g., Sunday Schools, Christian Endeavors	Social
	Political
Sports and recreations	Vocational

[13] *Youth Serving Organizations,* Washington, American Council on Education,

Teachers and administrators in schools should keep informed of the activities of these organizations in their communities and work with them, and for educational purposes assist them to be more effective.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Write a brief essay, and include a drawing, to show the various stages of development by which our present 6–3–3 plan of organization evolved from the colonial schools.
2. What do you think of the validity of each of the "dissatisfactions" with the 8–4 plan?
3. Write a 600- to 800-word paper or be prepared to give a three-minute talk in class on "The Nursery School—Its Values and Development."
4. In what period of years will enrollment in the schools be greatest? In elementary schools? In high schools?
5. Give your opinion of the "Platoon Plan," the "Winnetka Plan."
6. Be prepared to give in class an eight-minute talk on "Consolidating Small Schools."
7. Be prepared to describe and evaluate in class the various types of junior high schools.
8. What are the advantages and disadvantages of school the year round?
9. What should be the principal function of junior colleges? Should every community have one?
10. Be able to discuss in class "Six-Year Secondary Schools, Their Advantages and Limitations."
11. What are the different types of institutions of higher education and in what ways does each differ from the others? (Student body, curriculum, etc.)
12. Suggest some ways of bringing about better articulation between elementary and secondary schools; secondary schools and colleges; junior and senior high schools.
13. What should a high school student bear in mind in deciding what college to attend?
14. Write an 800- to 1,000-word paper or prepare notes for an eight-minute talk in class on "Work Experience and Education—Its Values and How to Provide It."
15. Write a 600- to 800-word paper or prepare notes for a seven-minute talk in class on "Adult Education for the World Today."
16. Write a 600- to 800-word paper or prepare notes for a seven-minute talk on "Education of the Atypical Child."
17. What are some special provisions for Vocational Education?

Chapter 6

STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

State, local, and federal interests in education are so interrelated that it is impossible to treat any one of them exclusively. However, for the sake of convenience, state administration of public instruction is dealt with primarily in this chapter, with local interests and federal relations reserved to the next two chapters.

1. Background of Present Practice [1]

In the United States the management of public instruction is lodged with the state governments, so that there are forty-eight educational systems.[2] Each state conducts its schools as it sees fit (with rare exceptions to be noted later) and is not required to account to any other authority. Because of this absence of centralized national control, the American educational system is said to be decentralized. In the next chapter it will be apparent that decentralization is also a characteristic of many state school systems.

There is no completely centralized state school system in the sense that all direction and control are vested in a central state office. In each commonwealth some responsibilities are farmed out to subdivisions of the state, and permissive laws give some latitude for the exercise of discretion by local boards.

Origin of State School Administration.—The background of our present practice in state school administration extends to early colonial times. The Massachusetts laws of 1642 and 1647 were enacted by the colonial legislature for application generally to all communities under its jurisdiction. The first law required parents

[1] Sections 1-4 of this chapter are adapted from "The Long-Standing Dominance of State Educational Authority," by Calvin Grieder, in *Educational Administration and Supervision*, XXX:331–348, by permission of the editor.

[2] In addition to the state programs of education, there are several school systems directed by various federal and territorial agencies. These include the schools of the District of Columbia and those in such outlying possessions as Alaska, Hawaiian Islands, and Puerto Rico. Many educational programs and training schools are also conducted by the ten executive departments of the government and by independent federal agencies.

and masters to instruct their children and apprentices in "the principles of religion and the capitall lawes of this country," and in some suitable trade. The latter act required the towns to set up schools, supported either by fees or by "the inhabitants in general," that is, by taxation. Similar provisions were made in Connecticut and other New England colonies.

Through the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, colonial and state legislatures voted more and more powers to local districts. The typical pattern of school administration was dominated by the district system, and the true position of the state government as the controlling force in public education was very nearly lost sight of. But the important point here is that the districts received their powers from the states, which always possessed superior authority. Even today, the district system is the most common, but it is well understood that a school district does not have any powers except those granted by the state, and those "necessarily implied" to carry out the functions assigned by the state.

As early as 1779 Thomas Jefferson proposed for Virginia a comprehensive scheme of public education, from elementary school through university.[3] This plan was never adopted, but it indicates the early interest in state educational administration.

State Control Strengthened.—By the middle of the nineteenth century the defects of the local district system had become clearly apparent. In 1853 Massachusetts enacted a law looking toward the enlargement of districts by restoring a former plan of township organization. This was the first of a series of attempts by many state governments to recapture the powers which by degrees they had delegated to the districts. Since then all states have passed laws providing means for the consolidation of local units, and some have undertaken complete reorganization characterized by a large degree of state control, as in North Carolina and Delaware.

State interest in school finance, a most potent means by which to exert control, was demonstrated before 1800 in Connecticut, New York, Vermont, and Delaware. Permanent state school funds were established in many states by 1850, from Maine to Louisiana and Wisconsin. Several states by this time provided that state aid received by local districts must be matched by local funds, and later many other requirements were imposed in various states as prerequisites to receiving state aid.

[3] For the main provisions of Jefferson's plan see E. E. Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1914, pp. 206–208. No free provisions for girls are mentioned beyond three years of elementary schooling.

The young federal government strengthened the position of the states as the dominant educational agencies when, in 1803, it assigned to them control of school lands granted by Congress to the states. Prior to this action, the "school sections" had been "granted to the inhabitants" of each township for the use of schools. Until 1933 the federal government continued to follow the principle of dealing almost exclusively with state agencies in educational matters rather than with subdivisions of states.

Constitutional Basis of State Authority.—The foundation stone upon which rests the modern concept of state educational responsibility is the Tenth Amendment of the Constitution. This amendment, ratified in 1791, provides: "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." Since the Constitution makes no mention of education, this article is interpreted as reserving to the states, by implication, the control of public education.

In addition to its derivation in this manner from the Constitution, the concept of education as a state responsibility has been developed, as Moehlman states, by "state constitutional provisions, statutory enactment, positive judicial interpretations, and the continuous exercise of function."[4] Concluding an eloquent summary on the dominance of state control in our educational history, Cubberley wrote:

> Throughout all our educational history it has been the voice of the State that has ordered children educated, advantages extended, standards raised, and taxation for education increased. Whenever a majority of the people have become convinced that educational advances should be made, the Legislature of the State has registered such conviction in the form of a new law, and the gradual creation of a series of free, common, non-sectarian school systems has been one of the notable achievements of our democratic States. The State has been throughout our history the unit in all legislative progress in school control.[5]

Likenesses Surpass Differences.—It should not be thought, however, that the progress referred to by Cubberley was made in all states or on an even front in any one state. The forty-eight states have developed school systems no two of which are alike. They vary in many aspects of the total educational program. In length of school term, number of years of schooling offered, sources and extent

[4] A. B. Moehlman, *School Administration*, p. 597.
[5] E. P. Cubberley, *State School Administration*, p. 130. For a different view see E. H. Reisner, *Nationalism and Education Since 1789*, pp. 345–351.

of taxation for school support, standards for qualifications of teachers, plan of organization, administration and supervision—in all these respects and many more, the states have developed in their own preferred ways.

While such differences are large when extremes of practice are considered, it would be a mistake to emphasize them too strongly. For, notwithstanding the variegated pattern of state administration, it is fair to say that underlying the whole far-flung educational enterprise, there is notable unanimity of general educational goals and objectives among the states. In all states, furthermore, free, nonsectarian, tax-supported schools are provided. In all states, regulations governing the certification of teachers are in force. Curricula, textbooks, and methods of teaching do not differ radically. It is a commonplace that pupils move from one state to another without suffering seriously ill effects from changing schools. Hence, informally, the many state systems of education are referred to collectively as the American school system.

2. State Constitutional and Statutory Provisions

In 1820 there were twenty-three states in the Union. In the constitutions of ten of these states there was not a word about education. The basic law of the other thirteen states ranged in emphasis on education from mere mention that schools should be encouraged to rather complete directions for the establishment of school systems.

Increase in Constitutional Provisions.—With the accession of new states after 1820, it became quite customary to include provisions for schools. In fact, the federal government compelled the inclusion of such constitutional provisions in not a few cases, before states were admitted to the Union. As time went on, the stipulations with which the territories applying for statehood had to comply became more detailed.

At present the constitution of each state includes provisions governing the establishment of public schools. Usually the constitutional declaration consists of a very general acknowledgment of the importance of education, with directions to the legislature to set up a school system, followed by more or less detailed specifications which belong properly in the statutory code. Constitutional provisions relating to education vary in length from less than a page of ordinary book print to several thousand words. No state constitution adopted since 1880 has included fewer than ten provisions on education, and most have had fifteen or more.

The preferable practice is the inclusion of a general statement requiring the legislature to establish and maintain a system of free, public education. A constitution should furnish the framework around which the educational system may be built. It should not be cluttered up with a lot of detail linked to transitory conditions. As an example of general authorization, Section 1 of Article X of the new constitution of Missouri is quoted:

> A general diffusion of knowledge and intelligence being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, the general assembly shall establish and maintain free public schools for the gratuitous instruction of all persons in this state within ages not in excess of twenty-one years as prescribed by law. Separate schools shall be provided for white and colored children, except in cases otherwise provided for by law.
>
> Specific schools for any contiguous territory may be established by law. Adult education may be provided from funds other than ordinary school revenues.

The Missouri constitution was adopted in 1945, and the provisions cited above are typical of those in most other states, with the exception of the reference to separate schools and adult education. (Nine additional sections in the article on education pertain to the state administration of schools, school finance, the state university, and libraries.)

State School Codes.—In each state there has been developed by legislative enactment a body of laws which, with the constitutional provisions, is referred to as the school code. Compilations of the school code are published separately in book form in each state from time to time. Most codes are from 200 to 500 pages in length.

School laws are to a great extent the crystallization of the people's desires educationally. They fulfill the constitutional mandates to the legislatures to establish and maintain schools. Two kinds of material are found in state school codes. In the first place, they contain many requirements which must be obeyed by the various educational agencies recognized in the several states. These requirements govern, for example, the organization of school districts, the election of directors, the financial program, the qualifications of teachers, school attendance, building construction, pupil transportation, in part the curriculum, and many other aspects of the educational program.

Beyond the province of requirements, school codes also contain much legislation of a permissive nature, whereby boards of education are empowered to engage in activities exceeding minimum legal standards. Such legislation is illustrated by permission to conduct

kindergartens, to operate school cafeterias, to consolidate school districts under certain conditions, and to offer instruction beyond specified subjects required by law.

Educational bills may be proposed at any regular session and, in some cases, at special sessions of a legislature. Usually the number of bills enacted into law is very small, although the number proposed may be large. Piecemeal legislation is the rule, a process which has resulted in a protracted evolution of almost all existing state school codes to their present status.

Once in a while a state undertakes to revise radically its entire program of public instruction. An outstanding instance of this is the school code promulgated in West Virginia in 1933. Sweeping changes were accomplished in school district organization, financing, and in many other aspects. In the case of West Virginia the immediate motivating force favoring revision was the effects of the great depression of 1929–33. School code commissions are working at present in several states to modernize the statutory and constitutional bases of public education.

3. Educational Control by Courts

Thousands of school cases have been argued before lower courts, and many decisions have been appealed to state supreme courts. A small number of cases have progressed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Most decisions relate to disputed matters of relatively limited significance, but some are of such importance that they serve as landmarks for succeeding generations. Invariably the courts have strengthened the hand of the states in interpreting constitutional provisions and school legislation. The theory that education is a state function has been consistently upheld. However, legislative acts contravening either the Constitution of the United States or the state constitution cannot be upheld.

State Control Upheld.—Such state provisions as compulsory school attendance, vaccination of pupils, and separate schools for white children and those of other races have been uniformly upheld. The famous "Kalamazoo case," decided in 1874 by the Michigan supreme court, served as a precedent to place the high school on a firm footing as a free, tax-supported element in state school systems.[6] In an Indiana case, the supreme court of that state ruled favorably

[6] 30 Mich. 69 (1874). The gist of the opinion by the great Justice Cooley may be read in Hamilton and Mort, *The Law and Public Education*, pp. 129–136.

on the power of the state over the school system and against the theory that education is a local concern only.[7] The decision, which has served as a precedent for other important decisions, stated in part:

> Essentially and intrinsically, the schools in which are educated and trained the children who are to become the rulers of the Commonwealth are matters of state, and not of local jurisdiction. In such matters the State is a unit and the Legislature the source of power. The authority over schools and school affairs is not necessarily a distributive one to be exercised by local instrumentalities, but, on the contrary, it is a central power residing in the Legislature of the State. It is for the law-making power to determine whether the authority shall be exercised by a state board of education, or distributed to county, township or city organizations throughout the State.

A decision of the Colorado supreme court in 1937 on state support of education has been described as "one of the most outstanding and enlightened opinions on the subject to be found in any State." The court said in part:

> We hold that the establishment and financial maintenance of the public schools of the state is the carrying out of a state and not a local or municipal purpose. The legislative department has the constitutional power to make the appropriation by the act here in question. Being for a state purpose, the imposition of taxes or the appropriation of moneys in the treasury, the proceeds from taxes imposed, is not unconstitutional under section 7, article 10, of the constitution. By vesting the power in districts to levy and collect taxes for the support of the school or schools in such districts, the state was but adopting a means for carrying out its purposes.[8]

In the state of Washington, the supreme court in 1943 adjudicated an appeal by residents of a one-room school district, who sought to prevent the establishment of a new district in which the territory of their district was to be included. The school district reorganization law of 1941 provided that an election "at large" in a proposed new district be held, and that if a majority of the votes cast was favorable, the new district should be organized. The appellants contended that a favorable majority in *each* old district was necessary to incorporate it in the new unit. The supreme court, quoting voluminously from authorities, ruled against the appellants, unanimously upholding the power of the state to determine the organization of school districts. One very important statement in the court's decision refers to the state's sovereignty in educational affairs:

[7] *State ex rel. Clark v. Haworth*, 122 Ind. 462, 23 N. E. 946 (1890). An abstract of the opinion may be read in Hamilton and Mort, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–33.
[8] *Wilmore v. Annear*, 65 Pac. (2d) 1437 (1937).

Local subdivisions of the state can be created by the sovereign power of the state without solicitation, consent, or concurrent action by the people who inhabit them. This being so, it follows that legislative authority over school districts is unlimited except as that limitation is found in the state constitution.[9]

Limitations on State Authority.—The courts have, as a rule, been liberal in construing educational legislation, and friendly to the schools. However, great care is taken to safeguard constitutional rights, a fact which may be illustrated by brief reference to two notable cases which were carried to the United States Supreme Court.

In 1925 the court declared invalid an Oregon statute which required all children between the ages of eight and sixteen to attend public schools. The purpose of the law was to prohibit private schools. The court held that the requirement interfered to an unreasonable degree with the liberty of parents to direct the upbringing of their children. The court left no doubt, however, that a state may regulate, in a reasonable manner, all schools both public and private.[10]

In 1943 the Supreme Court, in one of the rare instances in which it has reversed itself, handed down a decision in which compulsory salute to the American flag was declared to be unconstitutional. This decision overruled the 1940 decision in the famous Gobitis case, in which the court had confirmed a local board of education regulation requiring all pupils and teachers to salute the national flag as part of the daily exercises. The action of a state board of education, or of local school boards, requiring the flag salute was declared unconstitutional in 1943 because such a requirement "invades the sphere of intellect and spirit which it is the purpose of the First Amendment of our Constitution to reserve from all official control." [11]

Great Power of Courts.—The influence of judicial interpretations of constitutional and statutory law on educational practice is, to many educators, an unexplored realm. Hamilton and Mort sum up very well the need for greater understanding in this respect:

. . . the function of the courts is to interpret legislative enactments and constitutional provisions . . . When it is remembered that they have the

[9] The court's decision may be read in full in 18 Wash. (2nd) 37, or 137 Pac. (2nd) 1010, available in most law school libraries.

[10] *Pierce v. Society of the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary*, 268 U. S. 510, 45 S. Ct. 571 (1925).

[11] *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette et al.*, 319 U. S. 624 (1943). The Gobitis case is cited as *Minersville School District v. Gobitis*, 310 U. S. 586, 60 S. Ct. 1010 (1940). This was a case originating in Pennsylvania.

power to interpret both the constitution and the statutes, and that in so many cases more than one interpretation is possible, the power of the courts in directing the course of the law becomes apparent. And power to interpret the law as it applies to educational matters means, to a very great extent, the power to direct the course of education . . . educators generally have failed . . . to recognize that reactionary courts may, through strict interpretation, practically nullify the most enlightened educational legislation.[12]

4. State Boards of Education

It is somewhat disconcerting, in the light of what has been given in the foregoing pages on the pre-eminence of state control, that only thirty-nine states have state boards that exercise some control over elementary and secondary education. Such boards are provided for in the constitutions of eighteen states, and by statute in the other twenty-one. Besides these boards, there are about 300 other state educational boards in the forty-eight states with responsibility for numerous activities. They include teacher education, teacher certification, vocational education, textbook selection, education of handicapped children, library service, university administration, agricultural and mechanical college administration, Negro education, and others. The number of different boards ranges from two in North Dakota to eighteen in Pennsylvania. The nine states which do not possess state boards for general supervision of public schools are Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, South Dakota, and Wisconsin.

Evolution of State Boards.—The first state board of education, known as the Board of Regents, was set up in 1784 in New York to administer the colleges and academies which had been chartered by the English kings during colonial times. During the next half-century, state boards were established in North Carolina, Vermont, and Missouri, but not much headway was made in the movement for state boards until after the creation of the Massachusetts State Board of Education in 1837. The influence of the Massachusetts board, under the brilliant leadership of Horace Mann, its secretary for the first twelve years, was so profound that most of the other states eventually set up state boards.

The early boards were assigned very few powers and duties, being usually limited to acting in an advisory capacity only, to the administration of small state "literary" funds (which today we would probably call "literacy" funds), and to the preparation of routine statis-

[12] Hamilton and Mort, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

tical reports. Since those early times, the states have gradually endowed the state boards with more powers and duties. The New York Board of Regents, for example, was given control over all public schools of the state in 1904. Since then its authority has been increased still more, for no educational enterprise, public or private, may be undertaken unless chartered by the Board.

Powers and Duties of State Boards.—A state board, it is generally agreed, is needed to formulate educational policies and to exercise general supervision over the statewide service of education. While there are differences of opinion on the scope of authority which state boards should possess, in general the following powers and duties are believed appropriate.[18]

1. To formulate and adopt educational policies, acting upon the recommendations of the chief state school officer.
2. To appoint a chief state school officer.
3. To appoint, upon the nomination of the chief state school officer, such assistants to him as are deemed necessary.
4. To submit to the governor a budget for the expenses of the state education department.
5. To submit a budget to the state government for the appropriation of state funds to the public schools and to such other institutions as are under the board's control.
6. To recommend to the governor and to the state legislature legislation for the improvement of the schools under its jurisdiction.
7. To prescribe subjects to be taught in the elementary and secondary schools.
8. To adopt forms and blanks recommended by the chief state school officer for the use of local boards of education in reporting to the state education department, and for the use of local boards in conducting their schools.
9. To adopt rules and regulations for the construction of school buildings.
10. To adopt rules and regulations for the certification of school personnel.
11. To regulate the number and location of institutions engaged in the preparation of school personnel.
12. To interpret the educational needs of the state to the people, and the needs of the people to the school system.
13. To enforce compliance with the educational laws.
14. To appraise the work of the chief state school officer and of the state education department.

[18] Adapted from W. S. Deffenbaugh and W. W. Keesecker, *State Boards of Education and Chief State School Officers, Bulletin* 1940, No. 6, Monograph No. 1, U. S. Office of Education, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1941, pp. 97–98.

As a matter of fact, the scope of authority ranges downward from that of the New York board and several other strong state boards such as those of Maryland, Delaware, and New Hampshire, to that possessed by the boards of Massachusetts and Colorado. In the two latter states, the chief state school officers are assigned by law most of the responsibilities usually associated with state boards.

Other characteristics of major significance which educational leaders believe proper to state boards of education, and the degree to which such qualities apply at present, are briefly discussed in the next few paragraphs.

Composition of State Boards.—In five states the state board is comprised wholly of *ex officio* members, that is, of persons holding other state offices such as that of governor, secretary of state, attorney general, or superintendent of public instruction. In about half the states at least one person on the board is an *ex officio* member. The fitness of such varied officials for membership on an educational board is not assured, although no doubt some are well qualified. However, educational leaders hold that board members should be selected on the basis of their interest and ability in the field of public education, rather than on the basis of their election or appointment to unrelated offices. Since 1900 there has been a gradual decrease in the number of *ex officio* boards.

In thirteen states all the board members are appointed by the governor, and in eighteen others the membership is in part appointed by the governor and in part *ex officio*. The question of whether state boards should be appointed by the governor or elected by the people is a debatable one. Not a single state has a board wholly elected by the people specifically for board membership. Some writers argue that appointment of board members contradicts the principle that direct control of education by the people is desirable on a state as well as on a community basis. Others point out that often well qualified individuals are reluctant to submit their names for an elective position although they are willing to serve on an appointive board.

In the opinion of experienced educational leaders, the number of members on a state board should be from seven to nine. The modal number actually is seven, nine states having boards of that size. The range in number of members is from three to twelve. About two-thirds of the states have state boards of from five to nine.

Term of Office.—The term of office preferably should be long, and expiration of terms should be staggered so that continuity of policy may be preserved and so that the experience of old members

may be of benefit. In eight states there is the possibility of an entirely new board's taking office at one time. In the other states the terms overlap. The best example of this is in New York, where one of the twelve Regents retires each year.

In ten of the thirty-five states with elected or appointed members, the length of term is six years. In eight states it is four years, and in four states the term is five years. The median length of service on state boards is between five and six years.

Qualifications for Membership.—In most of the states having state boards, certain qualifications have been set up for membership. For example, one or more states impose the following restrictions: one member shall be from each congressional district; one or more members must be engaged in educational work; no members shall be professional educators; not more than a certain number shall belong to the same political party; no member shall be appointed who is subject to the board's authority; no member shall hold any other state office.

No state prescribes any educational attainments, but about 85 per cent of the state board members in the entire country are reported as having attended college. There is general agreement among educators that board members should be persons of the highest character, who have strong convictions on the importance of public education, whose hands are not tied by political entanglements, who understand the duties of the office, and who are willing and able to devote time and energy to it. They should be representatives of the people of the whole state, not of any particular section, occupation, organization, or interest group.

Meetings and Compensation.—The number of meetings required by law ranges from one a month to one a year in the various states. In practice the median number of meetings per year is seven. In all cases, expenses incurred by members in attending board meetings are paid; but beyond this, compensation for services is frowned upon, both in theory and practice, although eighteen states do allow in addition to expenses small "honoraria" on a per diem or per annum basis.

5. The Chief State School Officer

Early Development of the Office.—Not until almost 200 years after the enactment of the early Massachusetts laws providing for public schools was the first state superintendent of schools ap-

pointed.[14] This occurred in New York in 1812. The duties of this first state school officer were related largely to financial aspects of school administration, and especially to the management of the "common school fund," a permanent state school fund from which grants were made to local districts. He was paid the munificent salary of $300 a year.

Maryland provided for a state superintendent in 1826. However, neither of these two pioneering attempts at state school administration had a continuous existence. In 1821 the famous Gideon Hawley of New York, by his diligence in behalf of the schools, so offended the politicians that he was dismissed from office. The legislature abolished the position, and did not reconstitute it until 1854. In Maryland the office lasted only two years, and was not re-created until 1864.

While yet a territory, Michigan in 1829 set up the earliest state superintendency to continue until the present. By 1850 twenty-four states had made provision for chief state school officers. Today all states have such officials, provided for by constitution in thirty-three, by statute in the others.

Selection, Title, and Term of Office.—Thirty-one states choose their chief school official by popular election, in ten states appointment is by the state board of education, and in seven by the governor. Appointment by the state board is favored by experts in educational administration, because the emphasis in selection can be more easily placed on professional qualifications. Before 1900 only three states used this method. Changes in the method of selection are bound to be slow as twenty-nine states have constitutional provisions for election by popular vote. Only Missouri provides in its constitution for the appointment of the state school head by the state board of education. Table 6 shows the slow evolution in the method of selection since 1896.

The title of the chief school officer is also undergoing a change. While the title used in twenty-eight states is "Superintendent of Public Instruction," since 1900 eleven states have adopted the title "Commissioner of Education." In all eleven the commissioner is appointed either by the state board or by the governor.

The average length of term in office is about three and a half years, a gain of about one-half year since 1896. Length of term in forty-two states is fixed by constitution or statute and ranges from

[14] See E. H. Reisner, *op. cit.*, pp. 380–390, for a brief account of the early development of the state superintendency.

TABLE 6

METHODS OF SELECTING CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS, 1896–1947[a]

Method	Number of States Each Year					
	1896	1909	1920	1930	1940	1947
Election by popular vote	31	33	34	33	32	31
Appointment by state board	3	4	8	8	8	10
Appointment by governor	9	9	6	7	8	7
Appointment by legislature	3	1	—	—	—	—
(No chief state school officer)	2	1	—	—	—	—

[a] Adapted from Deffenbaugh and Keesecker, *op. cit.*, p. 29, supplemented by later data.

one year to six years. As Table 7 shows, there has been practically no improvement in the direction of lengthening the terms since 1920. The modal term is four years, and the second most frequent is two years. Only five states provide for indefinite tenure, and in these the state school head continues in office at the pleasure of the state board.

Salaries of state superintendents and commissioners range from $3,300 to $20,000 a year; the median is about $6,000. In twelve states the salary is $5,000 or less, in twenty states between $5,000 and $7,500, and in only sixteen states $7,500 or more. The low salaries paid for this important position in many states partly account for the difficulty in procuring outstanding educational leaders for state school administration.

TABLE 7

TERM OF OFFICE OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS, 1896–1947[a]

Term in Years	Number of States Having Terms Stated					
	1896	1909	1920	1930	1940	1947
1	3	3	2	2	1	1
2	21	19	14	13	13	10
3	5	3	1	1	1	2
4	17	20	24	25	25	27
5	—	1	2	2	2	1
6	—	1	1	1	1	2
Indefinite	—	—	4	4	5	5

[a] Adapted from Deffenbaugh and Keesecker, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

Qualifications of State School Heads.—While there are constitutional or statutory requirements governing the qualifications of chief state school officers in thirty-two states, few would agree that the

standards are satisfactory. Most of the requirements relate to age and residence. Only twenty-four states specify educational qualifications, five requiring college graduation, four college or normal school graduation, seven the highest grade certificate, two the highest grade certificate or college graduation. Sixteen states require experience in educational work, with eight not prescribing any definite number of years and the other eight requiring from three to ten. In some states, obviously, it is possible for a person who cannot meet the requirements for the lowest grade of teacher's certificate to occupy the position of chief educational officer.

In these times when the study and practice of education have become refined to the point where much technical knowledge is needed by administrators, it is clear that the executive head of a state school system should be exceptionally well trained. It would not be out of order to expect the chief school administrator to possess an earned doctor of philosophy or doctor of education degree, with specialization in educational administration, and several years of experience in the public schools as teacher or administrator. Besides these marks of professional attainments, he should possess other qualities important for public office. He should be well balanced emotionally, able to speak convincingly in public, and have a likeable personality. He should be a student not only of current educational problems and trends but also of the social scene in general. He should possess vigorous good health. Such matters as place of residence and age should not be influential in the selection of a state superintendent. Instead, he should be the outstanding leader in public education in the state where he is chosen to serve.

Powers and Duties.—The powers and duties of the heads of the several state school systems vary widely. In some states, the board of education has sweeping powers, as in Maryland, New Hampshire, Idaho, Delaware, and New York. In others, for example, Massachusetts, Colorado, and Michigan, the state board is chiefly advisory and the state superintendent has much greater authority.

It is impossible to define categorically the relative status of state boards and state superintendents. In some states, the provisions of the constitution and statutes are not interpreted in a literal way; in consequence modes of operation have developed which may appear superficially to be out of harmony with the code. According to the law, a state board may have complete authority over a state school system, but as a matter of practice the board may legitimately delegate much of its authority to the state superintendent. The New

York state commissioner of education, although he works under probably the strongest state board in the country, also possesses a great deal of authority as chief administrative officer of the state education department and executive officer of the Board of Regents. He is charged with general supervision over all schools and institutions subject to the supervision of the Regents. While the board is very strong, the commissioner acts for the board and hence is a powerful officer. The New York law provides that decisions of the commissioner shall be final and not subject to review in any place or court whatever. (Some cases under certain conditions do come to the attention of the courts, despite the broad language of the law.)

The state superintendent ought to stand in about the same relationship to the state board of education as the city superintendent does to a city school board. The latter relationship has been far more clearly developed and standardized than the former. In time to come, as administrative law is better understood and developed, the position of chief state school officer will no doubt realize more fully the great potentialities it possesses.

The powers and duties of the state school head should be as follows, perhaps modified slightly in individual states to suit their needs:[15]

1. To have general supervision of the public schools.
2. To act as the executive officer of the state board of education.
3. To nominate the members of his professional and clerical staff and to recommend the removal of employees for cause.
4. To direct the preparation of state courses of study and to approve courses of study for use in local districts.
5. To prepare for submission to the state board of education a budget for the current expenses of the state department of education.
6. To prepare a budget for the appropriation and allocation of state funds to local districts, and to institutions under the supervision of the state board.
7. To interpret the school laws and to decide cases appealed to him by teachers and others from decisions of local boards.
8. To prepare forms for reports from local districts and from state educational institutions to the state education department.
9. To evaluate credentials and issue certificates to the professional teaching personnel of the state.
10. To approve school sites and school building plans.
11. To review proposals for the consolidation of schools or school districts and to submit his recommendations to the state board,

[15] Adapted from Deffenbaugh and Keesecker, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–103.

and also to make original proposals for reorganization of school districts.

12. To make reports to the state board and to the governor on the status of schools in the state, and the needs of the schools, and recommendations for their improvement.
13. To approve curricula for teacher preparation in institutions of higher education.
14. To distribute state school funds, and to withhold state funds from districts not complying with state education laws.

6. Organization and Support of State Education Departments

State educational programs are large enterprises, and personnel of many types is required. Even though general supervision of the schools in most cases is shared by state and local authorities, many activities have their administrative source in state education departments. In a large and populous state the organization of a state education department is a complex thing. As a rule several major divisions are set up, each under the direction of an assistant superintendent or director and with an appropriate bureau comprising each division. The plans of organization of two large state education departments are illustrated in Figures 10 and 11.

The number of people employed in state departments, including both professional and clerical staffs, ranges from about twenty (in Nevada) to nearly a thousand (in New York). Approximately half of the state departments employ between fifty and one hundred persons. It is difficult to understand how some states can develop strong, statewide public school programs with the handicap of limited staff that characterizes them. For example, Illinois, Ohio, and Texas, each with more than a million children of school age, employ only between 100 and 200 persons in their state education departments including clerical employees.

Along with the handicap of insufficient personnel, state education offices also suffer from inadequate financial support. In three-fourths of the states the total funds available for the administration of the state education department (including federal funds for vocational education) are less than $200,000; in a dozen states the amount is less than $100,000. Average per capita receipts for state administration of education for the nation as a whole are less than ten cents a year. New York leads, with about $2,500,000 or sixteen cents per capita. In some states the per capita support of the department is as low as three or four cents.

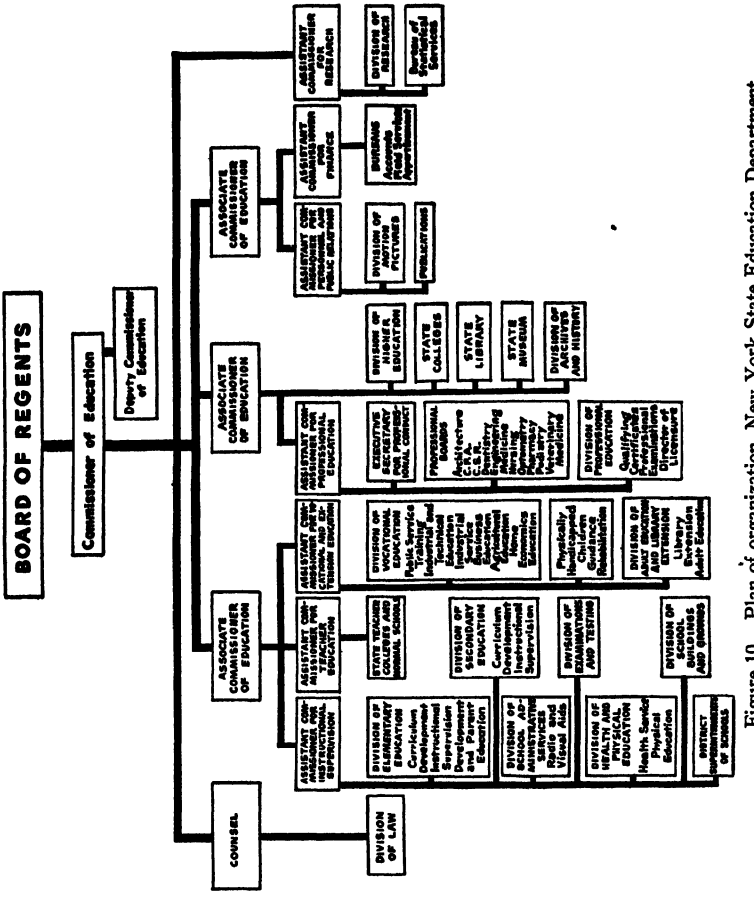


Figure 10. Plan of organization, New York State Education Department

7. Noneducational Governmental Controls

From various passages in the foregoing sections of this chapter, the student should understand that educational administration is not exclusively the province of professional educators. The purpose of the next few paragraphs is to emphasize the not inconsiderable extent of the noneducational controls which operate on the schools.

Basically, the final authorities in public education are the legislatures and the courts. Neither of these agencies is controlled by educators, yet each has great effect on the extent, character, support and

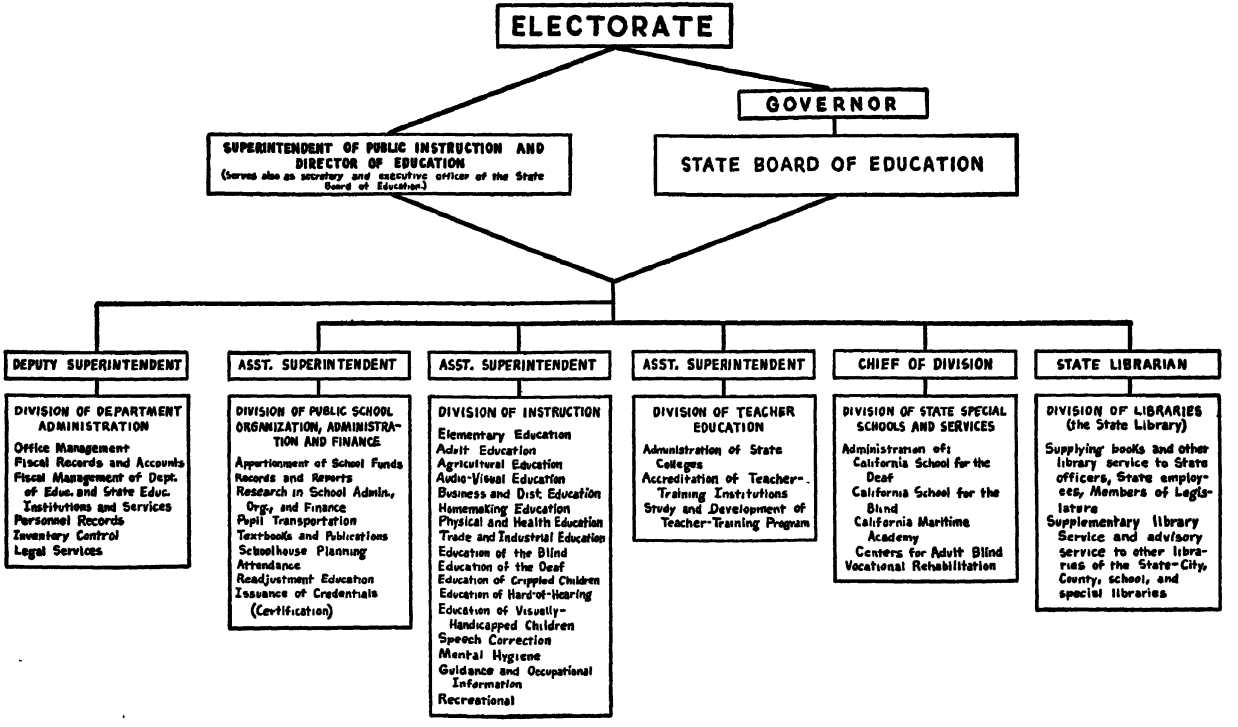


Figure 11. Plan of organization, California State Department of Education, Adopted in 1945

conduct of the schools. Since this point has been sufficiently developed above it is not necessary to elaborate it further. However, there are many other lay controls to which attention should be at least briefly directed.

Power of Governors.—The governors of the states are more important in educational control than is generally recognized. The following list illustrates impressively the wide powers possessed by the executives of the states with respect to education. It shows, among other things, that the governor gives final approval to the educational budget in thirty-one states, appoints the state budget officer or commission in thirty-seven, and the purchasing agent in thirty-four. The fiscal control inherent in these activities is inevitably large and involves even greater potentialities. In his dual capacity as chief executive of the state and political leader, a governor usually has power to determine the extent and scope of school legislation, hence the state school program. By his veto power, he can in many cases make his will effective.

MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF GOVERNORS WHICH DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY AFFECT EDUCATIONAL CONTROL

	Function	Number of States
1.	Appoints state boards relating to education in addition to general board	46
2.	Appoints state budget director or commission	37
3.	Appoints state purchasing agent	34
4.	Serves as member of state boards of education other than general board	32
5.	Approves finally the educational budget before its presentation to the legislature	31
6.	Directs the activities of the central budget agency	31
7.	Appoints all or some of the members of the general state board of education	27
8.	Authorizes the transfer of funds within a department	26
9.	Controls largely appointment of personnel in state education department	14
10.	Serves as member of state board of education	13
11.	Controls expenditure of funds appropriated by legislature	13

Influence of Other State and Local Officials.—The work of other state officials also brings them into relationship with the schools. Attorneys general issue opinions on points of controversy, which, while not binding, often are accepted. Much influence may be exerted in this way, and this is an important phase of their work. In about half of the states more than 100 opinions are rendered each year on educational questions. Attorneys general act as legal advisers to state education departments in forty-four states, and prepare legal documents for most of them. They serve as informal counselors on pro-

posed or pending educational legislation, a position which gives them great influence. As members of various state educational boards in twelve states, they can directly influence policy making.

Numerous other officials exercise, directly or indirectly, varying degrees of control over schools. To mention only a few, at the state level there are budget review boards, tax commissions, purchasing agents, and personnel directors.

County commissioners, treasurers, and assessors cannot be ignored in educational control, as they are charged with certain financial responsibilities closely related to the schools. The determination of property values and the levying and collecting of taxes devolve upon these officials. In Colorado in 1943 the legislature went so far as to give to county commissioners the power to decide for or against participation by school districts of their respective counties in a new plan for state financial aid.

In about half the cities over 100,000 population, mayors and city councils have power to pass on school budgets and to appoint school board members. City planning commissions influence the choice of school sites in many large and middling cities.

It behooves the serious student of American education, and especially anyone who contemplates entering the profession of teaching, to understand something of the political and social milieu of the schools. In this chapter has been discussed the relationship of the educational enterprise to state government. The dominant note sounded has been that of state responsibility for providing schools, coupled with state control. In the next chapter are treated the functions of local school districts and their relationship to the state authority.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Study the provisions on education set forth in the constitution of your state, as published in the School Laws. Summarize the responsibilities and authority assumed by the state government.
2. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of having a single state board for the general supervision of all educational activities, and the advantages and disadvantages of multiple boards.
3. Compare the powers and duties of the state board of education in your state with the list given in Section 4 of this chapter.
4. List the qualifications for membership on your state board of education, the method by which members are selected, the number of members, and the length of term. Suggest changes in harmony with recommended practice.

5. Criticize the method of selecting your chief state school officer, the legal qualifications for holding the office, the length of term, and his salary in the light of suggestions included in Section 5 of this chapter. Compare your findings with similar data on other executive heads of the state government.
6. Compare the powers and duties of the chief state school officer in your state with those listed in this chapter. What conclusions do you draw from this analysis?
7. From your state attorney general procure, if possible, a copy of a recent opinion rendered on a school problem. Study the line of reasoning and legal citations in the opinion, and the conclusion reached.
8. Consult the law librarian, if any, on your campus, or a local attorney, for a decision rendered by the state supreme court on an important educational case, not necessarily a recent one. How did the court arrive at its decision?
9. What do you suggest as desirable activities at the state level of school administration with respect to (1) the financing of schools, (2) school personnel, (3) curriculum, (4) school building planning and construction, (5) school attendance?
10. Discuss the relation of "states' rights" to state responsibilities, with reference to education and also to other public services in general.
11. To what extent should parochial and other private schools be subject to state control?
12. How do you explain the greater degree of state educational control in the eastern states as compared with the more decentralized type of control of the states in the Middle West and West?
13. Examine the latest annual report of your chief state school officer. Does it give an adequate treatment of the facts and problems of public education in the state? How could the report be improved?

Chapter 7

THE ROLE OF LOCAL AND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL DISTRICTS

One of the greatest obstacles to the attainment of good schools on a statewide scale, one found in a majority of the states, is the pattern of administrative organization in which local school districts are the dominant feature. A century ago, Horace Mann, in his famous annual reports as secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, roundly condemned the growing tendency to subdivide the towns (townships) of the state into small local school districts. Since then the evils of the small-district system of school organization have been demonstrated beyond dispute, yet change in the direction of fewer and larger units is relatively slow.

The purposes of this chapter are to present some data on the number and types of districts, to describe briefly the origin of the district system, to discuss the local management of education by school boards and professional leaders, and to point out major problems related to district organization. Finally, an attempt is made to suggest the relationship which should exist between state educational authorities and local districts, and to indicate probable future trends.

1. Number and Types of School Districts

The term "school district" is used to denote all kinds of subdivisions of states created by legislative authority for the administration of schools. No state has done away entirely with the district system, although about one-third of the states have made substantial progress toward larger and fewer units. It is impossible to classify rigidly the many different kinds of school districts. About 150 types are legally authorized and designated in the various states.

In thirty-five states, district organization involves two or more types of administrative units. It is customary to group them as "basic" and "intermediate" units. Generally, basic units are those in which a board of education has ultimate responsibility for direct administration of the schools. It is a unit in which there are no other units of administration, and it usually is a local taxing unit. An

intermediate unit is an area made up of a number of basic units in which a board or an official has responsibility for supervision (but not complete control) of financial, administrative, and educational functions of the basic units which comprise it. Some of these intermediate units, for example, are townships (towns in New England), supervisory unions where several districts are under the supervision of one board or superintendent, and counties. However, there are numerous degrees of administrative freedom, and no fully satisfactory scheme of classifying districts has been developed.

Number of Districts.—Table 8 gives the latest national data on the number of local administrative units for each state, as of 1944.

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF BASIC ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS, 1943–44 [a]

CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES	111,273		
Alabama	110	Nevada	257
Arizona	365	New Hampshire	240
Arkansas	2,451	New Jersey	563
California [b]	2,794	New Mexico [d]	1,730
Colorado	1,920	New York	5,730
Connecticut	171	North Carolina	170
Delaware	16	North Dakota	2,274
Florida	67	Ohio	1,605
Georgia	1,223	Oklahoma [e]	4,448
Idaho	1,129	Oregon	1,726
Illinois	11,998	Pennsylvania	2,504
Indiana	979	Rhode Island	39
Iowa	4,856	South Carolina	1,742
Kansas [c]	6,573	South Dakota	2,872
Kentucky	257	Tennessee	156
Louisiana	67	Texas	6,132
Maine	500	Utah	40
Maryland	24	Vermont	268
Massachusetts	351	Virginia	124
Michigan	5,037	Washington	838
Minnesota	7,681	West Virginia	55
Mississippi	4,945	Wisconsin	6,401
Missouri	8,627	Wyoming	396
Montana	1,800		
Nebraska	7,021	District of Columbia	1

[a] Research and Statistical Service, U. S. Office of Education, September, 1946.
[b] Data for 1941–42.
[c] By 1947 Kansas had reduced number of districts to 5,441.
[d] Data for 1939–40.
[e] In 1947 Oklahoma reduced number of districts to 2,800.

The total for the country at that time was 111,273, and the number of units in individual states ran from sixteen in Delaware to 11,998 in Illinois. Half the states had more than 1,200 districts, and twelve of these had more than 4,000. In addition to the number of basic units shown, it should be remembered that there were about 5,000 intermediate units. Since 1944, several states have substantially reduced the number of districts, notably Arkansas, Kansas, Washington, Georgia, Oklahoma and Illinois.

District Size and Shape.—District size varies from less than a square mile to several thousand square miles. The largest is San Juan County in southeastern Utah, with an area of 7,884 square miles. Many states have districts of less than a square mile each. There are school districts with no population at all, and some with millions. New York is the world's most populous school district, with a population of about 7,500,000, school enrollment of 1,000,000, and 35,000 teachers. The average district is approximately twenty-five square miles in area, enrolls about 225 pupils, and employs eight teachers.

To illustrate the complexity of the administrative pattern, Figure 12 is presented as typical of many counties. It is clear that to expect educational or financial efficiency from such an administrative hodgepodge as the patchwork quilt appearance indicates would be absurd.

The irrational layout of districts is further illustrated by Figure 13, showing examples of the size and shape of a number of Colorado school districts. This sort of thing could be easily duplicated in at least thirty other states.

2. The District System of Educational Administration

Origin of the District System.—In our country's early days the management of public schools was of necessity largely a local matter, under only general oversight of colonial and state legislatures. In Massachusetts, where our school system had its origins, and Connecticut, the town (township) was the unit of administration by local authorities. The towns were not all regular in shape and size, but six miles square was the approximate town area. (Later the Ordinance of 1785 used as a standard for townships an area six miles square.) At first one school served the whole town, but as the inhabitants took up new land and new communities sprang up, a strong tendency toward decentralization developed. The outlying settlements wanted their own churches, roads, schools, and taxing

units. Connecticut legalized independent local school districts in 1766, allowing them to elect their own trustees, to appoint teachers, and to levy school taxes. Massachusetts followed suit in a series of laws from 1789 to 1827, the first of which was deprecated two generations later by Horace Mann as "the most unfortunate law on the subject of education ever enacted by the State of Massachusetts."

It was natural, of course, for people to think in localistic terms in the days when transportation and communication facilities were

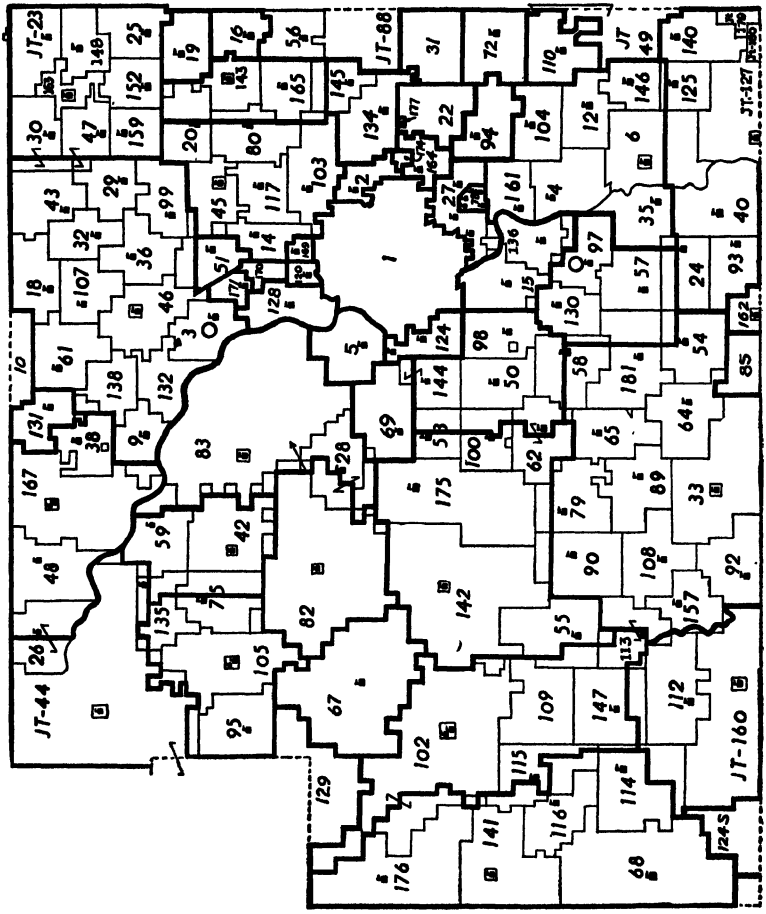


Figure 12. A Map of School Districts in One County, in a Midwestern State

Such a pattern of administrative units is typical of many counties, especially in the Middle West. The light lines mark the borders of the original districts; the heavy lines show the borders of the new enlarged districts as reorganized.

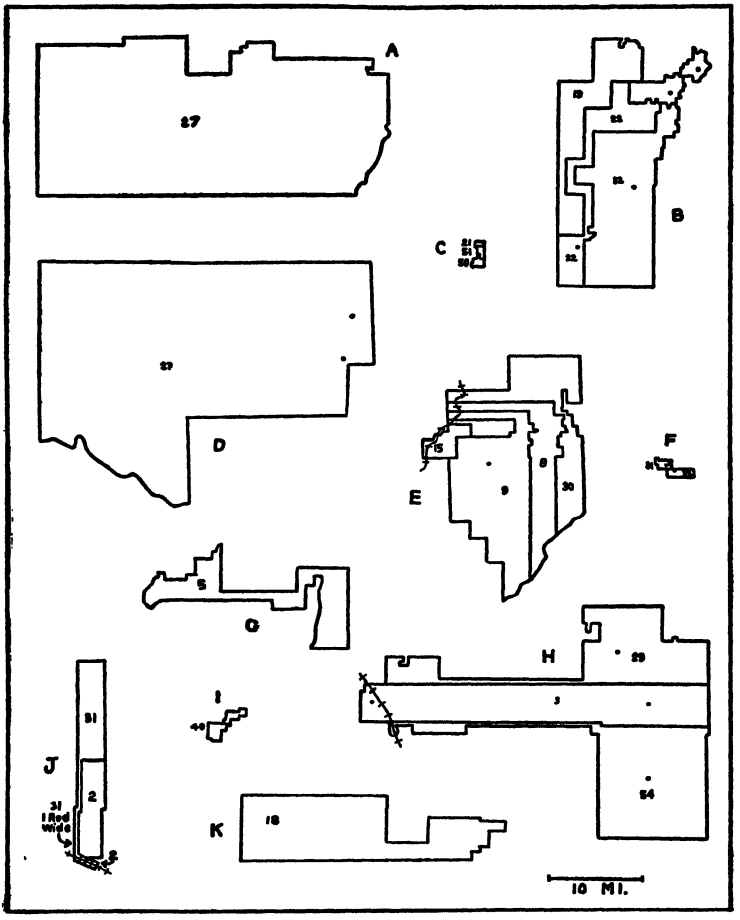


Figure 13. Great Variation and Peculiarities of Size and Shape Found Among School Districts

This figure illustrates some unusual district outlines found in Colorado in 1946.

quite primitive. Communities had to be highly self-sufficient. Children could not be expected to walk miles through wilderness from home to school. And parents then as now were not willing to support by taxes a school which their children could not attend. Another factor which undoubtedly had an important bearing was the nature of the people who settled America. They were hardy, independent, individualistic people, who prized their personal liberty and were

averse to giving up their "rights." Self-determination carried to the *n*th degree, and the desire for democratic self-government, while they had their values, undermined the town government and broke up the units of administration into smaller and smaller bits.

The "small-district system" was carried westward by emigrants from New England and New York, and became typical of school organization in most of the states. Communities erected school districts with no thought of boundaries or financial problems of a later day. Units were first formed in fertile and well-watered valleys, and around sources of wealth such as mines. When railroads became important objects of taxation, some districts were greatly elongated in order to reach and to tax rail lines.

Small, Local Districts Passé.—At this point the student should be reminded that not all school districts are small, and that not all small districts have poor schools. However, it is generally agreed by leaders in educational administration that we have too many administrative districts in most states. If we had between 5,000 and 10,000 administrative units, instead of more than 100,000, we should get along much better. If we had from one district to forty or fifty districts per state, depending on its size, we should probably reach a still higher level of excellence in public school administration.

The small, local districts for a long time served a useful function in providing schools. Their day has long since passed—in fact, ever since the advent of good roads, of automobiles, buses, and now airplanes, and of the telephone and radio communication. Independent city districts are not subject to quite the same criticism, for the conditions found there are not the same as in the tiny rural district. Yet even so, there are too many independent city districts.

Districts as Agents of the State.—All school districts, it should also be borne in mind, are agents of the states created by the states to assist in carrying on a state function. The literature of school law is replete with such terms descriptive of the status of local school units as "mere arms of the state for the administration of its school system," "creature of the statute," "instrumentalities of the government of the state," "quasi corporations exercising a portion of the sovereign power of the state, not for their own benefit, but as agents of the public." Even the largest city school districts, such as Chicago, Los Angeles, New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia, are properly regarded as agents of their respective state governments. Sometimes this relationship is lost sight of, and in states with weak state administration the city school systems are better off with little interference.

3. The Control of Local Units by Boards of Education

The responsibility for school administration in local districts is delegated by state legislatures to boards elected by the voters in each district. These boards are usually called boards of education, although other terms are employed, such as board of trustees, board of directors, and school committee. It is commonly believed that school boards are elected to represent the interests of their community in matters educational, and in a practical sense this is so. In legal theory the school board does not represent the community, but it is an agent of the state to which certain powers are delegated by the state to promote public education. School board members are regarded in law as state officials, not municipal or local functionaries, although most board members themselves are unaware of their exalted status. In practice, boards of education do serve in a dual capacity, representing both their communities and the state.

Early Types of School Boards.—The early public schools in our country were not managed by boards specifically chosen for that purpose. The religious and civil interests of the early colonists were so interrelated that there was no need for separate management. The ministers were responsible for approving teachers, visiting schools and exercising general surveillance over them. A committee of the "selectmen," the civil authorities, was responsible for seeing that schools were provided and supported according to law. With the dispersion of the population and the appearance of many outlying settlements, civil affairs became more numerous and demanded special attention. Roads and bridges had to be built and maintained, property assessed and taxes levied and collected, and schoolhouses built. Little by little the civic affairs were divorced from religious affairs. By the end of the colonial period about the only educational capacity left to the ministers was serving as a school visitor along with the school committee, but without authority over the teacher.

Membership of Boards of Education.—The local school board, as now constituted, is one of the characteristic features of American schools. Composed of laymen, not professional educators, it may be interpreted as one sign of our faith in the ability of the "common people" to manage their affairs. This faith has not always been justified, as will become evident.

There are about 400,000 school board members in the entire country, or about one board member for every two teachers. In tens of thousands of one-room school districts the ratio of board mem-

bers to teachers is three to one. School boards vary in size from three to more than a dozen members. The modal number in city systems is seven, and in rural areas three. Experts in school administration believe that the best size is five or seven—small enough so that work can be done with dispatch yet large enough for the board to be fairly representative of its community. Directors are chosen for terms of several years, usually not less than three and seldom more than six. About 85 per cent are elected by the voters of their districts; the rest are appointed by mayors, city councils, and other officials or groups. It is the rule for board members to serve without pay, although in some large cities salaries are paid. In some states the secretary of the board, though a member, receives a small stipend.

It used to be thought that "successful businessmen" and "men of large affairs" made the best school board members and, although constituting only a small portion of the population, they still make up a great majority of the membership of our school boards. Wage earners of all classes, retired men, and women were held to be not desirable. There is enough evidence now to refute these judgments as quite ill-founded. They were made forty years ago and more, when schools were far less universal in their clientele than now. Every superintendent of schools of considerable experience can bear witness to the fact that some of the best directors with whom he has been associated were from the humble "rank and file," as well as some from professional and managerial groups. School directors should not be chosen as representatives of this or that social, economic, political, or religious group, or to represent any particular part of a school district. They should be selected on the basis of their interest in good schools, their ability to work with a group, their willingness to serve the public, and their ability to serve well. They should represent the community "at large," not any one stratum or segment of it.

Functions of School Boards.—Boards of education in most states have been granted rather wide powers by legislative authority. States have delegated most of the details of management to local boards, insisting only that they meet minimum state requirements. Thus, the state may require certain subjects to be taught, certain minimum salaries to be paid, not fewer than a specific number of school days per year, and the employment of teachers meeting certain standards of preparation. Beyond these requirements, boards have great latitude—there is no ceiling on the quality of local schools.

While boards of education are the states' agents, legally respon-

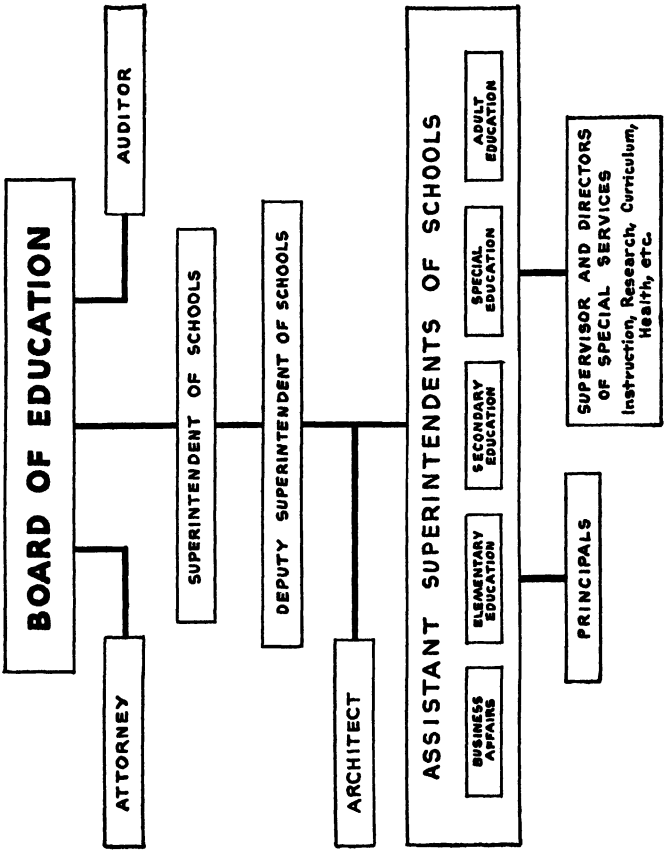
sible for the provision of schools, the development of the profession of school administration has made it not only possible but also wise for boards to delegate most of their assigned powers and duties. The statutes in most states have not caught up with superior practice. Briefly, a school board's main functions are threefold. One function is *planning*, by which policies of the school system are formulated after careful deliberation, and in cooperation with the professional school personnel. Since a board represents the state, nothing should be contemplated which contravenes the laws of the state.

The second chief function is to *legislate*, which means approving the means by which policies may be executed. The adoption of textbooks, the election of teachers, a decision to ask for a vote of the people on special issues, such as building a new schoolhouse—these are illustrations of the legislative activity. Thirdly, the board should *appraise* or evaluate the work of the schools and their professional leaders. This means getting the answers to questions of whether or not the people are getting their money's worth, how good the schools are, what changes should be made, and so on.

The school board has little to do with *executing* board decisions. That should be delegated to the superintendent and staff. Board members, as a rule, have neither the time nor the training required for the day-to-day, week-by-week management of schools. Even though state laws may say little or nothing on this point, it is sound. The board cannot dodge its responsibility for the conduct of the schools under its jurisdiction, but it would be folly for it to attempt to handle every detail of administration, supervision, and business activity of the system. Perhaps the student has known board members who violated this mode of operation and interfered unduly with the satisfactory operation of the schools. It is probably self-evident that competent professional workers are essential so that the board's confidence will not be misplaced. There is little doubt that in the future some students who use this book will serve as members of boards of education, at which time they can consider the application of these principles. Other readers will become school executives and can encourage the adoption of sound principles by their boards.

Not all boards of education follow the above principles. There are two modes of operation in American school administration, known as multiple control and unit control. The former is a hangover from nineteenth century tradition. When school superintendents were first appointed, during the middle decades of the century,[1] boards of edu-

[1] The first city superintendents were appointed in Louisville, Ky., and Buffalo, N. Y., in 1837. By 1883 all large cities had established the office.


BOARD OF EDUCATION
ATTORNEY
AUDITOR
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
ARCHITECT
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS
BUSINESS AFFAIRS
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
SECONDARY EDUCATION
SPECIAL EDUCATION
ADULT EDUCATION
PRINCIPALS
SUPERVISOR AND DIRECTORS OF SPECIAL SERVICES
Instruction, Research, Curriculum, Health, etc.

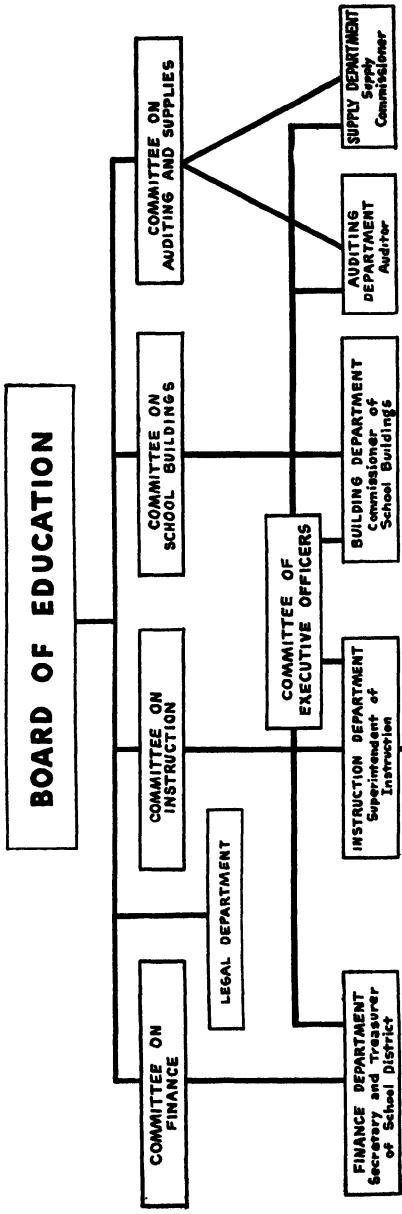


Figure 14. Diagrams of Two Types of City School System Administrative Organization
The upper diagram illustrates "unit control," the lower diagram "multiple control."

cation did not expect them to be the executive heads of the school systems. With few exceptions, the early superintendents were looked upon as educational supervisors only, who could not be expected to know anything about finance and business affairs.

"Unit" and "Multiple" Control.—In the past fifty or sixty years, school administration has become so complex that school boards now almost universally recognize the need for centering the responsibility for administration in highly trained executives. Since school finance, buildings, equipment, supplies, and personnel are intimately related to the quality of an educational program, most school systems have the "unit" type of organization. This means that the board centers the responsibility for the execution of its policies in a *single* executive, usually called the superintendent of schools. A small number of boards still follow the older pattern, employing from two to five executives, coordinate in authority and each responsible directly to the board. Where two executives are employed, usually one is superintendent of instruction and the other business manager. Some other top executives in multiple systems are the superintendent of buildings and grounds, secretary of the board, treasurer, and auditor. Only sixteen of the forty-one cities over 200,000 population were reported recently as still retaining the dual or multiple plan. A large majority of all other city systems in the country have adopted the unit plan. Figure 14 illustrates in a simplified, diagrammatic way examples of these two types of organization. In practice, organization of a city school system is much more complex than is shown.

The Importance of School Board Service.—There is no public service of more fundamental importance than membership on a board of education. Some other forms of public service seem to possess more glamor, and to afford more satisfactions in terms of money and popular acclaim. As every school director knows, the time and effort required for the proper discharge of his duties are not light at any time, and sometimes the drain on time, energy and patience is very large.

In terms of the value of the services rendered, however, the work of a school board member takes second place to no other public service. In his custody and that of his associates is the proper education of the most valuable resources of the community and state: its children. The future welfare of the people, both material and spiritual, depends largely on whether the school director discharges faithfully and intelligently the grave responsibilities of providing for the education of children and youth.

Wise men in all times, including our own, have been unanimous in their evaluation of the education of the young as a basic social service. Without sound training of the oncoming generation, our natural resources, our industrial enterprises, our commercial and social intercourse will inevitably be badly managed. Standards of citizenship and private conduct will deteriorate, and life in general will sink gradually to a brutish level. No apologies are needed for school board membership. On the other hand, it requires the highest type of abilities, interest in the public weal, and appreciation of the ideals of equality and justice in which our nation believes.

The growth of state school board associations in the last few years is a promising development. Such organizations now exist in three-fourths of the states. Their chief objectives are to improve the competence of school boards, to publish information of importance to them, and to work for the enactment of good school legislation.[2]

4. The Need for District Reorganization

A good case against the reorganization of school districts into fewer and larger administrative units has never been made out. On the contrary, there has long been general agreement that there are too many districts to make possible the attainment of good educational results at reasonable cost. As an outcome of inferior administrative organization, most of the states are suffering large financial losses each year. Far worse than this, however, is the incalculable waste of human resources caused by reluctance in various states to make such provisions for public instruction as will promote greater returns in terms of civic competence and economic productiveness.

Current Interest in Reorganization of School Units.—There is at this time much interest in the improvement of educational services through district reorganization. Many states during the past fifteen years have set up commissions to study the whole problem and make recommendations. Some states have already made notable progress in reducing the number of administrative units, as may be seen by reference to Table 8, where twelve states are listed as having fewer than 200 districts each. In 1933, there were 126,849 basic administrative units, while a decade later, the total dropped to 111,273.

Special interest is shown in district reorganization in rural areas, and good reasons there are for it. Compared with urban schools,

[2] For a complete summary on school board associations, see Calvin Grieder and Stephen A. Romine, "A Half-Century of State School Board Associations," *American School Board Journal*, CX (March, 1945, pp. 29–30; April, 1945, pp. 27–28).

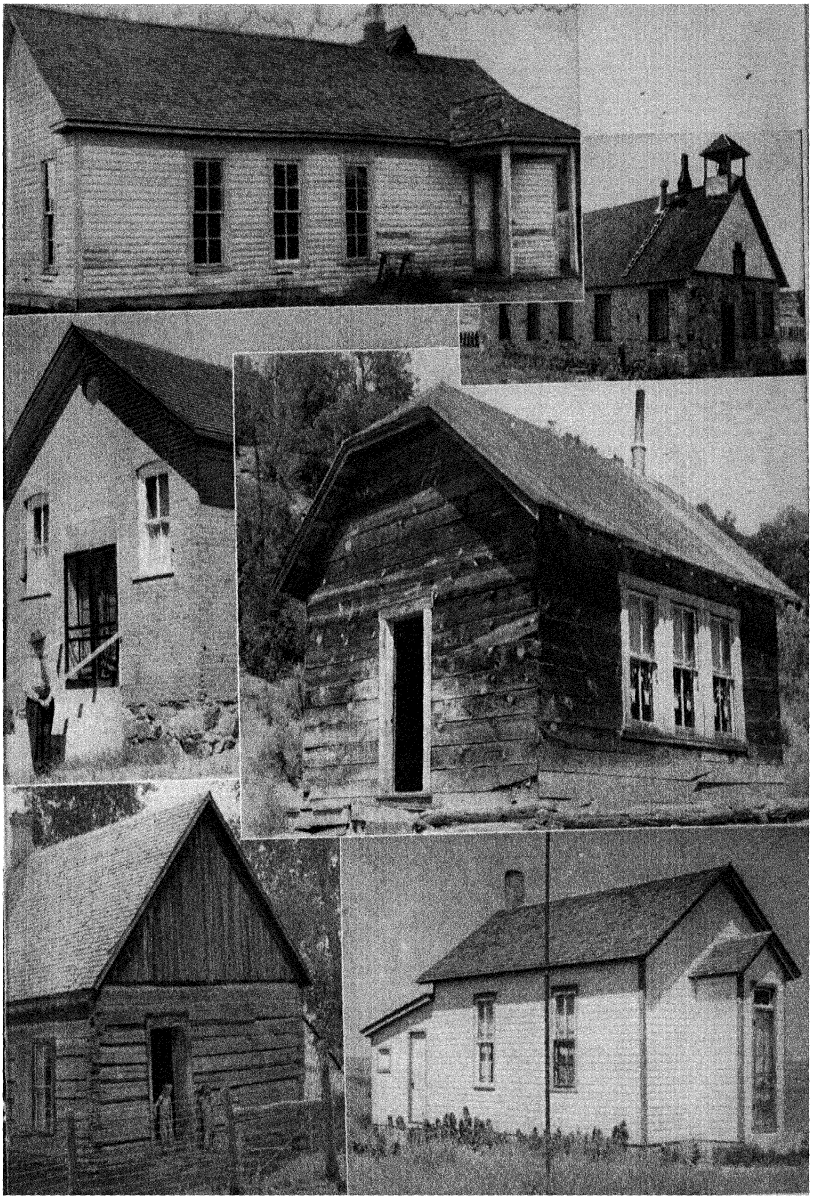
rural schools are on the whole quite inferior, and rural children are shortchanged educationally. Three and one-half million children of school age in rural communities are not enrolled in school. The average length of the school year is fifteen days shorter in rural schools than in urban schools. The pupils miss on an average nearly two weeks more. The salaries of teachers are only half that of urban teachers. Two-thirds as much money is spent per year per rural pupil as per urban pupil. The value of school property per pupil in rural areas is less than half that in city districts. The only measure on which rural statistics show up better than city statistics is the number of pupils per teacher, but rural teachers must handle so many subjects and grades that the mere statistical figure does not indicate the true educational situation.[3] The reasons advanced in support of district reconstruction fall into two categories: (a) financial economy; (b) improved educational service.

At the outset it should be stated that it is unsound to expect cash savings when school districts are reorganized into larger units, especially during the first five to twenty years. After the initial costs of buildings, buses, and equipment are overcome, there may be financial savings. However, the savings are usually of another sort, although no less real. The expectation should be: "Not the same education for less money, but better schools for about the same money."

Financial Economies.—In one important sense there can be impressive reductions in costs, and that is on the basis of cost per pupil per year. The cost per pupil in small schools is very high compared with average costs in a state. For example, in some typical states the average cost per pupil for a year of schooling is about $100, but in small one-room schools enrolling ten children or fewer the cost per child may run from $150 to as much as $1,000, and even higher in schools enrolling one to five children.

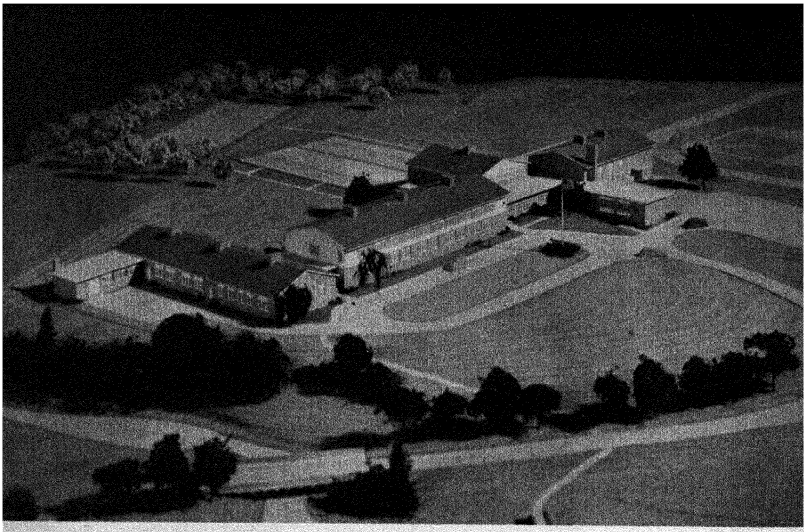
In the report of the Regents' Inquiry in New York State (1937–38), it was estimated that reorganization of the entire state would effect economies of $56,000,000 per year. These would be offset in part by new costs of $38,000,000, leaving a net annual saving of $18,000,000, or about 6 per cent of the state's educational bill. In 1944 it was estimated in Colorado that the closing of 1,000 small rural schools, where justifiable, could save more than $700,000, but most of this would be absorbed by transportation and building costs in a revised district layout.

[3] For further information on the status of rural schools, see chapter references at end of this volume.



The Kind of Schools that Are Replaced When Consolidation Is Effected

The one-room schools shown are typical of conditions found in various parts of the country



Model of Large Centralized (Consolidated) School at Rhinebeck, N. Y.
(By permission of Moore and Hutchins, Architects, New York)

School Buses Lined Up Ready to Take Pupils Home from a Consolidated School
(Courtesy *The Nation's Schools*, Chicago)

In some situations it may be possible to reduce total costs by reduction in the number of administrative positions, by improved utilization of teaching staffs, by economy in the management of such services as transportation and health services, and by better use of schoolhouses. Fewer laboratories, gymnasiums, athletic fields, shops, and libraries are needed and they are used more when districts combine. School nurses and psychologists can be used more economically when large groups of children can be attended to. Even where costs cannot be reduced, reorganization does result in more nearly equalizing the burden of school support. Where small districts are the rule, it may cost taxpayers in one district, in terms of mill levies, 100 times as much to support their school as it costs in some other districts in the same state. This is treated further in Chapter 15.

Educational Advantages.—From the viewpoint of the quality of educational services, larger districts are better. In very small schools, teachers must teach too many different subjects to be able to teach them all well, especially in high school. One of the writers recalls that in his first year of teaching, as the "principal" of a high school of thirty-six pupils, he taught English grammar and composition, English and American literature, second-year Latin ("Caesar"), physiology, and American history—four distinct fields, and in addition he was director of dramatics and coach of debating. The second year, in another school, he taught algebra and geometry as well as some of the foregoing subjects. It is preposterous to expect good teaching by any one person in so many different fields.

Pupils in small schools do not have the stimulation of working with others in class activities and group projects. There are not enough pupils in small districts, generally speaking, to allow proper socialization. It is too expensive to provide for a handful of pupils the equipment, apparatus, and supplies that would be readily justified for a larger group. In very small high schools either the college or the noncollege group is almost certain to be neglected. It has been shown that transported pupils actually miss fewer days of school and have less illness than nontransported pupils.[4] In the next decade or two air school buses, possibly of the helicopter type, may be relatively commonplace, particularly in sparsely settled states of the West.

A study of Iowa school attendance published in 1938[5] demonstrates conclusively the advantages of enlarging school districts.

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[4] M. C. S. Noble, *Pupil Transportation in the United States*, Ch. 11.

[5] R. C. Williams, *Type of School District as a Factor in High School Attendance in Iowa, Research Bulletin* No. 23, Des Moines: Department of Public Instruction.

Figure 15, taken from that study, shows that only 58.1 per cent of rural eighth grade graduates entered high school, and only 44 per cent were graduated. In consolidated schools and city schools, 90.6 per cent and 90.8 per cent respectively entered high school, and 73.1 per cent and 67.6 per cent were graduated. The consolidated schools

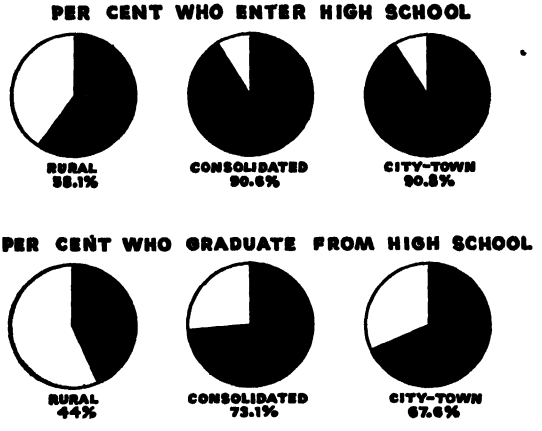

Figure 15. High School Attendance by Types of Districts
(From Iowa study by Williams, cited in the text)

had a better record for graduation from high school than did the city schools. The general conclusions from this study, all supported by detailed data, are as follows:[6]

1. Children who live in school districts which do not maintain high schools enter high school in far less proportion than those residing within districts which have high schools.

2. The greater the distance a child lives from high school, the less the chance that he will enter high school.

3. Transportation to high school at public expense for rural children who complete the eighth grade materially increases the proportionate number who will attend high school.

4. After children from rural nonhigh school districts have entered high school, they tend to survive in high school at about the same rate as those living in cities and towns.

5. The consolidated school district has been responsible for greatly increasing the high school attendance of children living in rural areas. All factors considered, the consolidated school districts are supplying more secondary education to larger numbers of pupils than all other types of dis-

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

tricts. Their record is superior in both high school drawing power and holding power.

6. Considered from the point of view of continued education on the secondary school level, the present school district structure of the state creates serious inequalities in the opportunities available to children, or the utilization of opportunities to secure a high school education. The children of the state who reside in the 3,938 districts which do not maintain high schools are severely handicapped.

Larger Schools Are Better Schools.—A comparison of two groups of high schools in Colorado throws a bit more light on the problem. During the period 1939–42, about fifty Colorado high schools were studied by the methods set up in the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards,[7] involving qualitative as well as quantitative factors. Complete data relating to 1,600 checklist items were available for thirty-two high schools. These schools were divided into two groups, with sixteen schools below 200 in enrollment and sixteen with 200 or more. Figure 16 shows that in every field where ratings were made, the larger schools made a better record, on the average, than the smaller. In only one case, guidance, did any large school rank lower than the lowest small school. The average percentile rankings of the larger schools exceeded those of the smaller schools by seven to twenty-eight points.

In Michigan, the following statement by the state high school visitor was made in a report on 629 high schools in 1943, enrolling more than 95 per cent of all Michigan high school pupils. The condition described is generally true throughout the country.

The large schools are becoming better equipped with libraries, scientific materials, and shops, as well as rooms for homemaking, art, and music; and they are becoming staffed with well-educated, widely experienced, well-paid teachers. *The smaller schools* . . . have in large numbers been growing weaker and weaker even while making heroic efforts to retain the semblance of a good school. It seems to the writer that some things are imperative if a satisfactory educational system for the entire state is to be maintained, among which are (1) the organization of territory into larger school districts or units, and (2) the giving of special state aid to those isolated districts which must maintain schools for children resident there but which have wholly inadequate sources of local income.[8]

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[7] Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, *Evaluative Criteria* and *How to Evaluate a Secondary School,* Washington: Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 1940.

[8] George E. Carrothers, "Educational Inequalities Widened by War," *Michigan Education Journal, XXI:194.* (Quoted from 1943 *Annual Report,* Bureau of Cooperation with Educational Institutions, University of Michigan, p. 17.)

Lastly, while there is nothing really wrong about the proliferation of school districts and school directors, it is doubtful if persons with high interest in public education, devotion to duty, and capable of intelligent application of effort can be found in any such profusion. In other words, it would probably be easier to find, say, 25,000 good school directors than it is to find some 400,000.

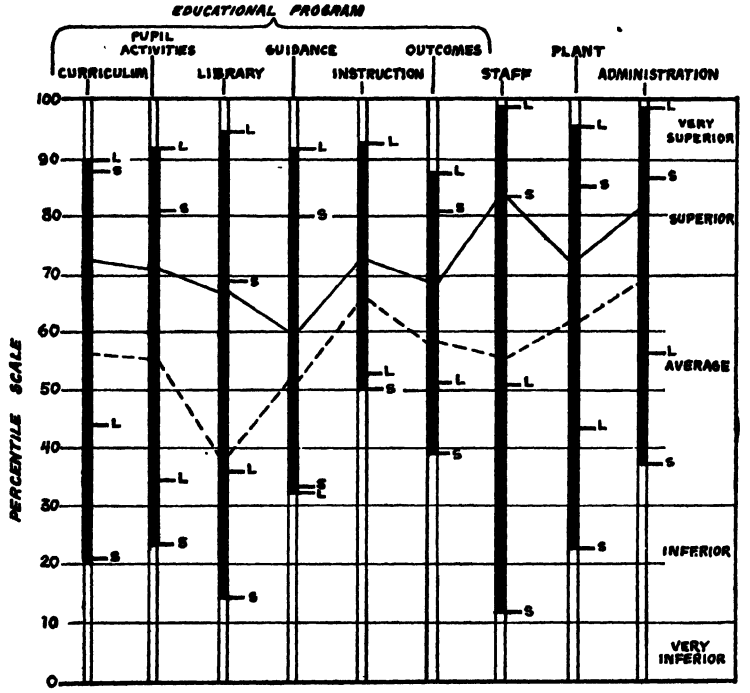

Figure 16. Comparative Evaluations of Large and Small Colorado High Schools

The letters "L" indicate lowest and highest percentile ratings among sixteen large schools. The letters "S" indicate the same for the small schools. Solid line connects average percentiles of large schools; broken line connects average percentiles of small schools. (Scale used by permission of Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, Washington, D. C.

Statewide Reorganization.—States have used different methods of attacking their school district problem. West Virginia has gone over completely to a county-unit plan. Utah has retained some large urban districts and reorganized the rest of the state on the county basis. In Washington, a four-year reorganization project set up by the legislature in 1941 under a special commission assisted the people

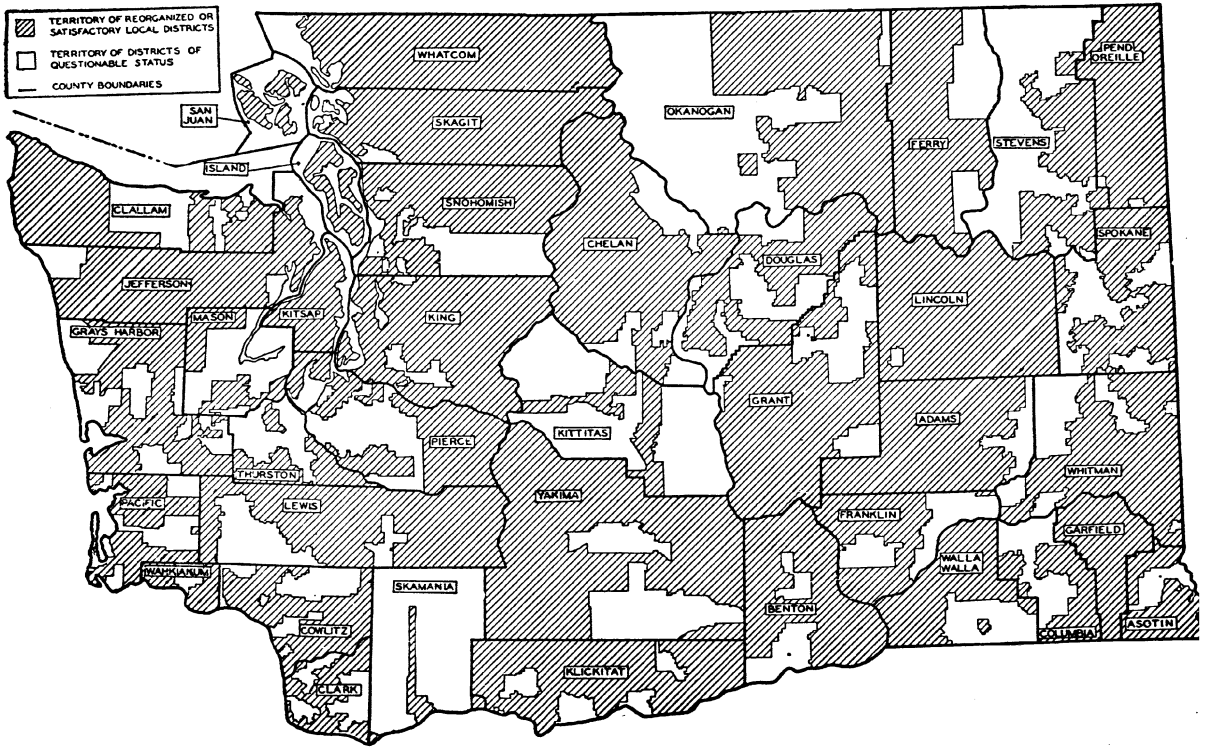

Figure 17. Map Showing Extent of School District Reorganization in the State of Washington, April, 1946

in studying the problem. As a result, hundreds of small units were combined into large units by vote of the inhabitants concerned. Figure 17 shows the extent of reorganization in Washington, by which the number of districts was reduced from 1,323 to 672.

Numerous studies have been made of reorganized systems of various kinds. One of the most thorough was an evaluation of West Virginia made by Shirley Cooper in 1943, based on ten years' experience with the new county-unit plan.[9]

On every measure of the thirteen bases of evaluation used in the study, the county unit was unquestionably superior to the old district plan. In enrollment, attendance, length of school term, preparation of teachers, pupil transportation, libraries, textbook service, health service, teachers' salaries, supervision, and other items the county system was declared better. A county unit is, of course, just one type of enlarged unit, and may not suit the needs of each state.

5. Standards for Reorganization of Districts

Standards Vary to Suit Needs.—How large school districts should be in terms of school population, area, and financial resources no one can say with assurance in all cases. The things that must be considered vary in the several states and in different areas within single states. Furthermore, *administrative* districts should not be confused with *attendance* areas. For example, a century ago, all our large cities were divided into several school districts, each independent of the others. Today only a few cities remain where complete consolidation has not taken place. Most cities are under the direction of *one* administrative office, but each operates *many* attendance centers (schools). Enlarging administrative units tends to reduce the number of schools, but is not necessarily accompanied by centralizing all pupils at one school.

In populous states, standards will certainly differ from those in sparsely settled areas. In New York, the Regents' Inquiry recommended, for *attendance* centers, that high schools be no smaller than 300 pupils and no larger than 1,500. The minimum elementary school enrollment proposed was 180 (six teachers with thirty pupils each). No rural school with fewer than twenty pupils in average daily attendance was to be permitted. For school *districts* (each of which may include more than one attendance center), the minimum total population proposed was 6,000, of whom some 1,200 would be

[9] Shirley Cooper, *An Evaluation of the County Unit of School Administration in West Virginia,* unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University.

of school age. Minimum taxable wealth per district was set at $4,000,000.

Dawson,[10] in a well known study, suggested a local unit of administration of 1,600 pupils and forty-six teachers as a minimum. To do a good job, a district should have, he said, 9,800 pupils, 280 teaching units.

In the western states such standards would be completely impracticable. In each state the problem of district organization must be studied in relation to data on population, the road system, topography, climate, method of school support, and the philosophy of educational administration.

General Criteria for Reorganization.—About the most that can be given here on the subject are such general criteria as the following:

1. Districts should include enough children so that an adequate elementary and secondary school program can be operated.
2. Districts should be laid out with due regard for community organization; wherever possible district boundaries should coincide with natural community lines. Mere political boundaries should carry little weight.
3. Transportation facilities should be carefully considered. Elementary school children should preferably be required to ride buses no longer than one hour each day, and in no cases longer than forty-five minutes each way. High school pupils should not be required to ride more than one hour each way. It may be necessary to set up several attendance centers within administrative districts for grades 1–3 and grades 1–6 in order to avoid excessively long bus rides for young children.
4. Taxable valuation should be high enough in the districts to bear whatever share of the school costs the state expects of the districts, at a rate of taxation that is not excessive. These levels must be worked out in each state to fit its own circumstances.

6. Relationship of Local Districts to the State

Advantages Claimed for Decentralized Control.—There is a deep-seated and widespread conviction in educational and political circles that decentralized control is the *sine qua non* of progress in education. Those who subscribe to this doctrine fear that the outcomes of centralized administration—state or national—will be

[10] Howard A. Dawson, *Satisfactory Local School Units, Bulletin* No. 7, Division of Surveys and Field Studies, Nashville: George Peabody College for Teachers.

characterized by regimentation and excessive bureaucracy. Public instruction, they fear, will tend to lose its "dynamic character," and develop rather a stabilized pattern not compatible with progress. The general sentiments of those who hold these ideas have been stated by the Educational Policies Commission as follows:

> Centralization in the control, administration, and financing of education is very apt to lead to a mediocre school system and a lack of progressive development of the program of public education. With well-developed local units for the administration of schools, it is certain that some communities will develop leadership which will be effective in improving education . . . Most of the great reforms in education have originated in the schools of some local community; they were not decreed by a central authority.[11]

The National Advisory Committee on Education in 1931 exalted the community school district, describing the American system of public instruction as "the most nearly folk-made of any [*sic*] national system of education in the world." Local districts, the report goes on, "constantly encourage their schools to make educational experiments in the social and individual interest. From the wide and rich variation thus secured, the best has commended itself and then has been adopted by one local or state community after another." [12]

Loss of Initiative a Danger of Centralized Control.—One of the most compelling pieces of evidence of the deadening effect of centralized governmental control on local initiative and interest is Zimmerman's brief description of the English village of Saxham, whose historical record goes back more than a thousand years. He writes:

> Since the Reform Bill of 1832 when many former functions were taken from all local communities, this village has been moving gradually toward the social type which results from great centralization and standardization of culture and government. The local Government Act of 1894, its amendments and the resultant administrative practices have completed this development until what little localism remains is exhibited in personal, not communal, behavior. A nearby district headquarters fulfills some of the clerical and bookkeeping requirements for thirty-three similar villages or parishes. The nearest policy-making administration is at Reading (the shire town) twenty miles away, but control is rapidly moving from there to London. In the last hundred years the movement of self-government from the village has consisted in a number of steps in which functions and powers

[11] Educational Policies Commission, *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*, p. 79. For a contrary view see the quotation from Cubberley, *supra*, page 139.

[12] National Advisory Committee on Education, *Federal Relations to Education*, Part I, pp. 17–18.

were moved first to the Rural District Council, then to the county seat and then to London. Five nominal parish councilors exist, but public interest is so lacking that they have become practically a self-perpetuating body of local 'informers' rather than 'rulers.' Thirteen of the thirty-three villages in the district have not had parish councilors since 1894. In the past twelve years the village studied had not had an election. The village is permitted by law to spend only a nominal sum and the people are unwilling to spend this except on very rare occasions (*e.g.*, coronation feasts). Its chief powers concern the definition of custom pertaining to footpaths and the improvement of the village cemetery. Since the footpaths are now abandoned in favor of bicycle and automobile roads and the cemetery is largely taken care of by the church, the Parish Council operates chiefly as an information board which reports the attitudes of the inhabitants to the civil service clerks at the county seat.[13]

The consensus of most writers on educational administration is that state requirements for education should establish the minimum basis beyond which local agencies may go as far as they wish and are able. In other words, states should guarantee that educational service in all quarters will be of at least an acceptable minimum quality, with no bars interposed to the efforts of local communities surpassing that level. Representative of this position is Moehlman's statement:

> The state legal plan for education should provide mandatory statutes for the satisfaction of minimum educational requirements and broad legal powers to enable the local education authority to expand institutional effort in accordance with community needs and to engage in desirable experimentation in unexplored areas.[14]

There is no doubt that much of value issues from decentralized control of education. Two of the strongest arguments in its favor are: (a) close contact with the clientele served by the community school with, presumably, a high degree of responsiveness to community needs and desires; (b) preservation of local interest and initiative in educational affairs, which might be lost, in the opinion of many responsible thinkers, in a centralized state system. These are values which must not be underrated or depreciated.

Trend Toward Centralization.—On the other hand, there is developing an increasing trend toward centralization of control within the states. This is in harmony with the evolution of other governmental functions from control and support by many small adminis-

[13] C. C. Zimmerman, *The Changing Community*, Harper & Bros., pp. 9–10.
[14] A. B. Moehlman, *School Administration*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., p. 613.

trative and fiscal units to control and support by state government. Henry Morrison, an outstanding exponent of state educational administration, has sketched this development with respect to highways and state constabularies, in addition to education. Pointing toward the probable culmination of the trend, Morrison argues:

> The logic of the enlarging political and fiscal unit evidently tends toward the State itself becoming the unit, comprehensive of all schools in respect to both control and financial support. At that point the local instrumentalities of the State disappear, and the Government of the State or Commonwealth assumes the burden of maintaining and governing and administering its school system, in an executive as well as in a legislative and judicial sense. The school district of Colonial and frontier times, having long since served its purpose, lapses, and with it go corporate as well as local political implications.[15]

Recent biennial surveys of educational legislation in the several states report increasing assumption by the states of educational responsibilities. There are tendencies toward:

1. Increased state centralization of control over education. Control of the state is being extended in matters of textbook adoption, courses of study, teacher tenure, school buildings, state aid, budgetary control, school business methods, etc.
2. Increased state responsibility for the support of education. This tendency is reflected in increased state appropriations for education in a number of states, and through the modification of tax systems.
3. More emphasis upon efficiency and business methods in the management of schools, as reflected in legislation for the establishment of statewide standards for school budgeting and accounting.

A trend toward centralization is also noted in pupil transportation, teacher-retirement systems, statewide provisions for health and safety, control of private schools, and adult education.[16]

Slow Progress Characteristic of Extreme Localism.—There can be no doubt about the current trend toward more control by central state agencies over education. Also, evidence available on the subject inclines one to favor the trend. It is extremely doubtful if highly decentralized responsibility for education is as productive of new and

[15] Henry C. Morrison, *American Schools: A Critical Study of Our School System*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 276.

[16] W. W. Keesecker, *Educational Legislation for 1939 and 1940*, pp. 1–2, U. S. Office of Education: Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1939–40, Vol. I, Ch. 4.

approved practices as some think. In fact, a detailed study by Mort and Cornell of how Pennsylvania schools adapt their practices to changing needs strongly supports these doubts. Nine "adaptations" were studied in 344 communities: kindergartens, reorganized high schools (6–3–3, 6–6 grade arrangement, for example), special classes for mentally handicapped, homemaking for boys, adult leisure activities, close integration of extracurricular activities with the educational program, elimination of final examinations in the elementary schools, integrated curricula (such as merging English and history), and supplementary reading. The conclusion is made by these investigators that:

> . . . it is not unusual for a period of fifty years to elapse between the realization of need and the invention and first practical introduction of an acceptable way of meeting it. Following the first introduction there is a slow period of tryout when those who try are true pioneers, braving the scorn of their fellows and the possible loss of position and prestige. This period lasts until approximately three per cent of the potentially interested communities have made the change, a period of fifteen to fifty years. Thereafter the less daring take up the changes. It becomes accepted good practice. It flows forward then even if time has raised serious questions as to its validity. But fifty years may elapse before complete diffusion. . . . Some adaptations move faster; others more slowly.[17]

This means the passage of a century from recognition of need to complete acceptance by all school districts. These writers estimate that widely favored practices which are no longer the subject of debate have been adopted by only about one-third of our schools (p. 406). "It might be said that we are hard to start, slow on the pick-up and the flow of power is sluggish throughout." (P. 53.)

Referring to the typical reliance that Americans have on "hitting on something good," Mursell makes a keen comment on the findings in Pennsylvania recorded by Mort and Cornell:

> . . . one is constantly struck by an interesting assumption of laissez-faire. Adaptations—that is to say, improved practices—happen to occur somewhere; and then they happen to spread. Perhaps so in the past, but is this the pattern of the future? Why should desirable practice merely "happen"? If it happens under plan, and particularly under a comprehensive and co-operative plan, which implies definite and positive state action, surely the effect is likely to be much greater.[18]

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[17] P. R. Mort and F. G. Cornell, *American Schools in Transition*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, pp. 405–406.

[18] J. L. Mursell, *Education for American Democracy*, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., p. 448.

A State Guaranteed Program.—Several states have developed interesting patterns of state educational control, and on the whole an assessment of outcomes at this time is encouraging. To illustrate, in North Carolina the state underwrites the current expenses of all public schools for a nine-month term throughout an educational program of twelve grades. All children in the state are entitled to this schooling no matter where they live or what the social, racial, or economic status of their families may be. Salaries have been increased, the training level of the teachers has been raised, statewide retirement and tenure laws have been adopted. The state leaves to the 100 county and sixty-seven city districts the responsibility of paying for the construction and maintenance of schoolhouses, the purchase of new equipment, and insurance and other fixed charges. Maryland, New Hampshire, and Delaware are other states which have centralized in state agencies the administration of their schools.

7. The Middle Road

Safeguarding Both Local and State Interests.—Michigan and New York have made two of the most outstanding recent attempts to develop patterns of educational service in which the interests and resources of local education authorities, as well as those of the state, are safeguarded and put to work. Four principles for long-range planning in Michigan especially pertinent at this point are quoted below from the report of the Michigan Public Education Study Commission, appointed by the governor in 1942:

> The educational responsibility of the state consists of the maintenance and improvement of the operation of the education function; the reduction or removal of educational inequalities due to economic, social, racial, organizational, and educational causes; the provision of educational leadership; the improvement of the local operation of the education function through providing legal and financial means to assure adequacy of educational program.
>
> The state legal plan for education should provide mandatory statutes and regulations for the satisfaction of socially essential minimum educational requirements and broad permissive legal powers to enable the local education authority to expand institutional effort in accordance with community needs and to conduct desirable experimentation in unexplored areas. In addition, the State should plan to place in operation a continuous program of stimulation, assistance, interpretation, and evaluation.
>
> The local education authority acts as the agent of the state and of the community in putting the educational plan into operation, and as the agent of the people within the community in enlarging and improving the basic

state plan in accordance with broad powers granted by legislation to meet distinctive community needs and to harmonize the operation of the schools with other community activities.

The community organization may operate most effectively through popularly elected representatives known legally as the board of education. The board of education may best serve the community as a planning and appraising organization with the executive activity delegated to specially trained full-time personnel.[19]

The New York State Education Department in 1944 published a "manual for community participation in educational planning." [20] This is the Regents' plan for education in New York State. While it emphasizes education as a function of the state, it holds that this "in no way relieves local authorities in rural areas, villages and cities from a first-hand responsibility to assay and develop their cultural resources." The surest way to make progress, it is declared, is "to unite local and state resources in behalf of sound educational ventures." The manual was planned to assist boards of education to take leadership in meeting community educational problems. Specific steps to follow and work sheets with carefully devised instructions and suggestions were included. Throughout the manual, the emphasis is on conserving and utilizing community resources and leadership in a program of action.

8. Conclusion

In conclusion, it must be said that probably the truth lies partially with the "localists" and partially with the "centralists." It is a fact that at this date the respective provinces of local and state administration have not been clearly defined. Most of the thinking on this important subject is based on opinion only, although some research has been carried on. A number of arguments on each side of the question have been summarized by Cocking and Gilmore, to which the student is referred.[21] An analysis of the arguments *pro* and *con*, in the opinion of these writers, "leads to no clear-cut conclusion." The problems still require a study of educational needs and the determination of which level of government can best carry on specific activities.

[19] Michigan Public Education Study Commission, *The Improvement of Public Education in Michigan*, Lansing: The Commission, 1944, pp. 227–228.

[20] The University of the State of New York, *Problems Confronting Boards of Education*, Albany: The State Education Department, 1944.

[21] W. D. Cocking and C. H. Gilmore, *Organization and Administration of Public Education*, Staff Study No. 2, The Advisory Committee on Education, pp. 135–137.

State Responsibility Not Yet Fully Achieved.—There is no question that actualization of the theory of state responsibility for education still remains in large part to be achieved. The concept of education as a state function has been thoroughly developed, and generally accepted in theory. Its realization has been partial, piecemeal, and tentative—a state of affairs which is probably indicative of our reluctance to surrender traditional local prerogatives. The channels through which local administrative units can make their best contribution must be further explored.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Note the types of district organization described in Moehlman's *School Administration* (pp. 162–168). To which group of states does your state belong?
2. List at least ten major weaknesses ascribed to the "small-district system" of school administration.
3. Do small districts possess any advantages over large units?
4. What important changes have taken place in the duties and powers of local superintendents of schools since the first superintendents were appointed about a century ago?
5. What provisions are in effect in your state for the high school education of children living in rural, nonhigh-school districts?
6. Granting that in many states some one-room schools must be maintained, what should be done to make them good schools?
7. Does the membership of your home-town board of education appear to be fairly representative of the community?
8. Distinguish between units for school *administration* and units for school *attendance*. Illustrate.
9. Specifically what powers and duties may be left to local school boards in a state with a high degree of centralized educational authority?
10. List the major reasons for the reluctance of rural school districts to reorganize into larger districts.
11. If your state is one of several in which a great deal of district reorganization is taking place, write to your state education department or state education association for information on the progress made during the last five years. Prepare a summary of the data.
12. Confer with a local school superintendent on the allocation of functions and duties to the school board and the superintendent. Evaluate the arrangement in the light of the discussion in this chapter.
13. What changes, if any, would you propose with respect to the selection, term of office, and powers and duties of county superintendents in your state?

14. Examine several annual reports of local school superintendents or school boards. What are the major achievements and problems reported?
15. Formulate standards which you would be willing to defend for the reorganization of school districts in your state, if in your opinion they should be reorganized.

Chapter 8

FEDERAL RELATIONS TO EDUCATION

It is well known that no mention of education was made by the framers of our Constitution. As pointed out in Chapter 6, the United States does not have a *national* system of education with authority and financial control centralized in the federal government. Probably too much weight has been given to the implied constitutional reservation of educational authority to the states. No doubt equal attention should be given to the two constitutional references to the promotion of "the general welfare," in the Preamble and in Article I, Section 8. Certainly public education is properly regarded as an agency for the advancement of the general welfare.

Various reasons have been suggested for lack of educational provisions in the organic law of the land. The founding fathers had only recently waged successful war to free themselves from a government which had become intolerable, and were not in the mood to make any but the most essential grants of power to the federal authority. There were other concerns that loomed relatively larger than education among the problems confronting the constitutional convention, although we should today be loath to acquiesce in assigning education a place second to any other public service. Furthermore, in those days schooling was regarded almost exclusively as a matter of church and home. There was only an incipient recognition of education as a business of the civil state in the few school laws enacted by the colonial and state legislatures before 1789.

It is a question, therefore, whether the nation's founders meant specifically to reserve education to the states, or whether it happened to come out that way more or less "by default." However that may be, public instruction in the United States has developed along the line of state responsibility and authority. The reservation in the Constitution is one of the fundamental tenets in the concept of education as a function of the states. To effect any basic change in this concept probably either an amendment to the Constitution or a clarifying interpretation by the Supreme Court would be required.

All theory and speculation give way, at this point, to the rôle actually played by the national government with respect to education.

Even before the Constitution went into effect, the government had shown in a practical way its interest in education. The initiation of federal aids for education occurred in 1785. Since then, federal assistance has continued and grown, and there is no sign of its abatement—rather there are indications of still further expansion.

Many channels have been used for the expression of federal interest in education. Federal activities are largely carried on through state and local agencies, and students of education should have at least a speaking acquaintance with these activities. Since more than eighty agencies of the national government are concerned with educational programs, only a brief review of the most important can be given here.

1. Unconditional Grants of Land and Funds

Land Grants for Common Schools.—During colonial times, several colonies, especially Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, developed a rather settled policy of making land grants for the benefit of local schools and churches. The Congress of the Confederation adopted this idea as part of national policy in the great land survey ordinance of 1785, with the provision, "There shall be reserved the lot No. 16, of every township, for the maintenance of public schools, within the said township." It is not surprising that Jefferson, always the champion of education, was chairman of the committee which reported the bill for this act. This ordinance served as the pattern for subsequent land surveys. The Ordinance of 1787, governing the creation of states in the old Northwest Territory, stated that "schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," but did not make any concrete provisions for education.

Land grants were actually begun with the admission of Ohio in 1802. In 1803 all earlier grants in Ohio were confirmed, but control of school lands was vested in the state legislature instead of the townships. This policy was uniformly followed later, with few exceptions. The granting of school sections continued right down to 1912 when New Mexico and Arizona were admitted. It is a question if the government in 1802 was as much interested in furthering public education as it was in promoting the sale of some of the public domain to raise desperately needed cash. In the spirit of a progressive real estate agent, it dangled before prospective purchasers the advantages of school facilities. Nevertheless it was a generous deed, and created a huge endowment for public schools.

Twenty-nine states benefited in this way. The nineteen which did not were states in which the national government possessed no land. Besides the original thirteen states, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee did not benefit because they were admitted before the land-grant policy had been firmly established; Maine, because it was created from territory belonging to Massachusetts; Texas, because it was a "sovereign state" when annexed in 1845; and West Virginia, because it was formed in 1863 of territory taken from Virginia.

In twelve states admitted between 1802 and 1850, the sixteenth section (one square mile) in each township (thirty-six square miles) was reserved for schools. With the admission of California in 1850 and continuing to 1896, the grants were increased to two sections, Nos. 16 and 36. This applied to thirteen states. In three states admitted since 1896—Utah, New Mexico, and Arizona—sections 2 and 32 were added, making the grants four sections in each township. In addition, Oklahoma, admitted in 1906, was given sections 16 and 36, and $5,000,000 to compensate for exempted land in the Indian Territory.

These general grants of land to the states for common school aid reached the impressive total of approximately 121,130 square miles. This is about the same size as the states of Wisconsin and Illinois combined, or all of New England and New York, or a little more than half the area of France. The reservation of sections 16 and 36 in Alaska equals 37,826 square miles, bringing the grand total to nearly 154,000 square miles. The value of this vast endowment has been estimated at from half a billion to more than one billion dollars, depending on the wisdom with which it is managed and the discovery of natural resources. Though much of it has been lost, stolen, and mismanaged, what remains is undoubtedly worth far more than one billion dollars.

Land Grants for Higher Institutions.—For the benefit of higher education, total grants of 3,500,000 acres have been made in all states where the national government owned land, exclusive of grants for the land-grant colleges mentioned below. With a few exceptions where grants were made for specific purposes such as normal schools, universities or schools of mines, they were general grants to be used for higher education as the states saw fit.

In addition some 68,000,000 acres of swampland have been given to the states for educational, charitable, penal and other uses. All told, about 200 million acres have been granted to the states

about 175 million of which have been devoted to educational purposes.

Other General Grants of Land and Funds.—Several other kinds of general grants were made for education, directly or indirectly, from time to time. Beginning with Ohio in 1803, salt springs or "saline lands," believed to be of considerable value in those days, were granted to the states, and the proceeds of their sale were placed in state school funds. Provisions were also made that receipts from the sale of government land should be deposited in permanent state school funds. During 1837, the government distributed some $28,000,000 of surplus revenue to the states, of which about $7,500,000 escaped loss from mismanagement and is in permanent school funds. Eight states make annual appropriations to their school funds in recompense for interest on $6,000,000 worth of lost deposits.

In more recent years the government has made percentage grants from certain annual receipts to those states in which such moneys are collected. These sources are small. Income from the national forest reserves, receipts from bonuses, royalties and rentals from mineral lands in the public domain, and receipts from national grazing districts are included in these miscellaneous sources. There are other minor provisions of too little importance to include in this summary.

The foregoing types of grants are all termed unconditional grants because the states are given very wide latitude in their use, with very few or no specific requirements set up by federal authorities. Other kinds of grants are dealt with later under the head of conditional grants for higher education and secondary education.

2. Federal Enabling Acts for the Admission of New States

Once the precedent of granting lands for aid to schools had been established, it was a relatively simple step to incorporate such provisions in the procedures for admitting new states. One of the methods the federal government has used to signify its interest in education, and also somewhat to control public education, is the inclusion of certain stipulations in the "enabling acts" by which new states have been admitted to the Union. These stipulations were associated with offers of land grants for the benefit of education, and could be rejected or accepted by the people of a territory. Rejection, of course, meant that the territory was not admitted. Little reference to this subject is found in educational literature, probably because no new states have been created since 1912.

The enabling acts usually developed from territorial acts passed by the Congress for the government of the territories from which states later were carved. In each case, provisions were included for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools, with varying degrees of aid extended by grants of land. So profound was the influence of the government in giving the initial impetus to most state school systems that, as Cubberley observes, the national government "may be regarded as the real founder of the public educational systems of the States." [1]

No specifications can be imposed which would deprive a new state of any powers essential to its equality with the rest of the states. Educational prescriptions have not been considered as unreasonable. Simple and general conditions were laid down in 1802 for Ohio, granting "the section, numbered sixteen, in every township . . . to the inhabitants of such township, for the use of schools." As new states were formed, and as the Congress gained experience, the enabling acts were elaborated and governing restrictions upon lands granted for education increased with each new state. Generally these restrictions were intended to safeguard the land grants made by Congress for education.

An illustration of the detailed character of the later conditions for statehood is furnished by the Enabling Act of Oklahoma (1906), whereby Congress required the people of that territory to agree to such particulars as these:

1. A public school system free of sectarian control.
2. Schools conducted in English (with no prohibition on teaching other languages).
3. Recognition of separate schools for white and colored children.
4. Section 16 and 36 (and other lands earlier selected in lieu thereof) reserved for common schools.
5. A trust fund of $5,000,000 (to compensate for lack of school sections in Indian Territory), the interest to be used "exclusively in the support and maintenance of public schools."
6. Land grants specified for (a) a university, (b) a preparatory school for the university, (c) normal schools, (d) an agricultural and mechanical college, (e) a colored agricultural and normal university, (f) penal and charitable institutions and buildings.
7. Requirements governing the sale and lease of lands containing oil, gas, and minerals; land appraisal; sale of school lands and use of proceeds and interest thereon, etc.

[1] E. P. Cubberley, *State School Administration*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., p. 111.

The dissipation in the older states of the generous land gifts through carelessness, mismanagement, and graft, contrasted with the wiser administration in the newer states of the West, reflects the wisdom of the increased safeguards imposed by the federal government. A growing recognition of the importance of public education, and perhaps more competence in state government, probably also account in part for the better record of the states admitted since about 1850.

3. Conditional Grants for Higher Education, Research, and Extension Work

Morrill Act Grant.—With the approval of the famous Morrill Act in 1862 by President Lincoln, Congress effected a marked change in its methods of support for education. The Morrill Act provided for land grants to the states for the support of colleges whose leading object, as the act states, "shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts . . ." Each state received 30,000 acres of government land for each member of Congress to which the state was entitled according to the Census of 1860. For states where there was no government land or not enough, "scrip" was issued entitling them to select public land elsewhere. In all, 11,315,665 acres have been granted, equal to about one-half the area of Indiana.

The states were empowered to sell the lands, but the law provided that "no portion of said fund, nor the interest thereon, shall be applied directly or indirectly, under any pretense whatever, to the purchase, erection, preservation, or repair of any building or buildings . . ." Since no institution can operate without a plant, this restriction compelled the states to provide buildings and equipment. Any losses in the capital fund created by land sales must be replaced by the state to which it belonged.

By reason of these and other specifications and prescriptions governing the type of education, the activities to be carried on, and the use of funds, land grants under the act are called "conditional" grants. It is easy to see that this law is much more detailed than earlier laws which made "unconditional" grants.

Although the land-grant colleges got their start as part of an "emergency" measure passed during the War Between the States, they have flourished mightily, and their quality is generally conceded to be excellent. There are now sixty-nine land-grant institutions,

which include twenty-four separate agricultural and mechanic arts colleges, twenty-eight universities in which an agriculture and mechanic arts unit is a part, and seventeen institutions for Negroes. Roughly, one in every five students in American colleges and universities attends a land-grant institution.

Extensions of Aid to Land-Grant Institutions.—Succeeding laws have augmented greatly the amount of aid. For more complete endowment and support of land-grant colleges, the second Morrill Act (1890) provides a continuing flat annual grant to each state and territory of $25,000, and the Nelson Act (1907) an additional continuing like amount. The Bankhead-Jones Act (1935) provides for $20,000 to each, plus $1,500,000 distributed according to population, subject to annual appropriation by Congress. These various grants now total approximately $5,030,000 a year.

Agricultural Experiment Stations.—The original purposes of the land-grant institutions have been broadened by a series of acts providing for agricultural experiment stations and cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics for persons not enrolled in the colleges. All these grants are contingent upon annual congressional appropriations. For experiment stations, whose administration is regarded as among the soundest of all federally aided programs, the Hatch Act (1887) provides $15,000 a year to each state, the Adams Act (1906) $15,000, and the Purnell Act (1925) $60,000. The Bankhead-Jones Act provides for experiment station work $3,000,000 (about 85 per cent actually appropriated) to be distributed to the states in proportion to their rural population. The territories share in the funds set up to a lesser extent. The total made available each year is about $7,000,000. While the first Morrill Act recognized, at least within broad limits, the varying needs of the several states, later acts have tended toward flat grants with less regard for population differences.

The agricultural experiment stations are under the direction of the Secretary of Agriculture, but are operated by the land-grant colleges. The Office of Experiment Stations in the Department of Agriculture passes on all research projects submitted and approves allotment of funds for accepted projects.

Cooperative Extension Work.—Three major acts provide for cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics, which has three important phases: (1) work with adult farmers; (2) home demonstration work relating to problems of the farm

home; (3) work with boys and girls conducted through 4-H clubs. County agents and home demonstration agents are the key personnel. The work is usually conducted on a county basis, largely through clubs and associations, group meetings, individual contacts, and publications. The Department of Agriculture, through its Extension Service, supervises the cooperative extension work of the land-grant institutions. It reviews budgets, projects, and plans of work submitted by the states. The Smith-Lever Act (1914) authorized permanent grants of $10,000 a year to each state and territory, plus $4,100,000 distributed annually in proportion to rural population. An extremely important innovation made by this law required each state to match the amount received from the federal government in excess of the flat grant of $10,000.

The Bankhead-Jones Act, as amended in 1945, makes available $24,500,000, apportioned partly in equal grants and partly in proportion to farm population. The states do not have to match the Bankhead-Jones money, but in order to participate in it they must comply with the acts which do require matching. Other minor acts bring the total amount available for extension work to about $31,000,000.

All land-grant college funds disbursed by the government are administered by the United States Office of Education in the Federal Security Agency. An annual report is made to Congress on payments and withholdings. Each institution must report to the Office of Education in a sworn statement the purposes for which federal funds are expended.

The special interest evinced by the federal government in agricultural and mechanical education and related activities was something new in American education. The detailed prescriptions of the laws authorizing funds, the federal voice in administering the programs, the requirement of matching funds by the states, the favoring of certain kinds of educational activities and the complete ignoring of others—all these characteristics of federal participation have given rise to searching study of federal relations to education. The following section briefly describes another type of federal activity in education, one that has precipitated even more analysis of the problem, replete with proposals and counterproposals.

4. Federal Aid for Vocational Education in Secondary Schools

The Smith-Hughes Law.—In the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, the federal government extended its interest in vocational education to the secondary schools. Enactment of the law was stimulated by

the success of the collegiate programs, by the rapid industrialization of the nation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and by a strong and highly organized lobby of vocational educationists, the American Vocational Association, who capitalized on the emergency created by World War I. For the first time funds were authorized specifically for teaching certain selected subjects in the public high schools of the states and territories.

The law provides for a federal board for vocational education, state boards for vocational education, the matching of federal subventions by state and local funds, submission of state plans to the federal board for approval or disapproval, and the training of teachers in agricultural and industrial subjects and home economics. Instruction is limited to levels below college grade, and must be carried on in public schools for pupils not less than fourteen years of age. Other specific provisions may be read in the text of the law.[2]

Continuing annual appropriations, beginning with $1,700,000, now total about $7,300,000. In 1937, the George-Deen Act provided continuing annual appropriations of $14,484,000, increased in 1946 under the George-Barden Act to about $29,000,000. Education for distributive occupations, limited to part-time and evening schools, was added to the list of sponsored activities. The George-Barden Act authorized an increase to about $37,000,000, subject to congressional appropriation. Included in the program are agriculture, home economics, trade and industry, distributive occupations, and teacher training for these subjects.

Federal activity in vocational education resulting from these two acts became a storm center of debate during the generation following its inauguration in 1917. More controversy has been generated about the propriety of vocational education in secondary schools and the part played by the government in the program of vocational education than about any other problem. Yet there can be no denying the success of the government's efforts to stimulate vocational education. Beginning in 1918 with only 42,485 pupils in vocational classes, enrollment has gained steadily until in 1942 a peak of 2,629,737 was reached, exclusive of those enrolled in special war training work. It is expected that this number will be exceeded in the present decade.

There is practically no complaint about the quality of the work done, the qualifications of the teachers, and the scope of the voca-

[2] Probably the most readily accessible source is Staff Study No. 8 of the Advisory Committee on Education, *Vocational Education*, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, pp. 291 ff. (The George-Deen Act, mentioned below, is also given.)

tional program. Rather the disquiet seems to focus upon the wisdom and justice of government subsidy for selected (and thereby favored) parts of the total secondary school program, upon federal control of the program, and upon the larger question of the suitability of vocational education as an element in the educational experiences of adolescent boys and girls. A discussion of the major issues is included in the final section of this chapter.

5. Vocational Rehabilitation of Physically Disabled

The federal government's activity in vocational rehabilitation is, broadly speaking, of an educational nature, although the service generally is not rendered through the public schools. The case-work method is used. However, since the program calls for annual continuing grants, is under the direction of the state boards for vocational education, and is related by its nature to vocational education, brief mention is made of it at this point.

In 1918 the government began, as a wartime measure, a program of rehabilitating physically disabled veterans so that they could be wholly or partly self-supporting. Two years later the work was put on a permanent basis with state and local governments together being required to match federal contributions, and the service being extended to all persons disabled by injury, disease, or by congenital defects. The federal government currently appropriates to the states more than $10,000,000 a year for this purpose. State and local funds usually exceed the amount furnished by the national government.

The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation in the Federal Security Agency is responsible for managing vocational rehabilitation in cooperation with state vocational boards. All kinds of services are approved that may enable the handicapped to become employable and actually to be gainfully employed. For the year ending June 30, 1946, 170,000 persons were served by state vocational rehabilitation agencies; about 36,000 completed their rehabilitation and entered useful employment.

The rehabilitation program has won high esteem. It is a humanitarian type of work that has the added quality of being economically and socially sound.

6. Other Regular Occupational Training Activities

There is yet a long list of federal educational enterprises, some of long standing but most of relatively minor import, which might be retailed. In this section are mentioned only a few of the regular

occupational training activities carried on. Practically all these activities are intended for persons beyond high school age. In many cases, state funds and fees paid by learners supplement federal funds.

Each of the ten executive departments of the government represented in the Cabinet conducts schools for training new personnel and improving employees in service. These programs affect more than a million civil servants. Many independent governmental agencies also conduct training programs; for example, the Government Printing Office, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Social Security Board, and the Veterans Administration. There is even a class for training congressional pages, conducted by the office of the Doorkeeper of the House.

The Department of National Defense operates the Military Academy at West Point and the Naval Academy at Annapolis, to educate men for careers as officers. Many other service schools have been developed for peacetime operation by the three divisions of this department of the government.

7. Education in Federal Jurisdictions

There is a large number of federal jurisdictions in which the provision of educational facilities is a direct obligation of the national government.

Indian Education.—The Indian population of the United States is estimated at 380,000, and of Alaska 33,000. The Office of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior has jurisdiction over 270,000. In continental United States there are about 90,000 Indian children between six and eighteen years of age, of whom 70,000 are in school.

The government operates nearly 300 Indian schools, of which sixty-six have secondary school departments. All but eighteen are located on reservations. Only 27,000 Indian children attend government schools, the rest being sent to public schools with tuition paid by the government. In Alaska, about 95 per cent of the 7,500 Indian children of school age are enrolled in federal schools.

Federal appropriations for Indian schools began in 1819. Annual subventions now are about $10,000,000, and tribal funds for education add about $3,000,000 to this amount.[3]

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[3] For an excellent treatise containing much historical material, see L. E. Blauch, *Educational Service for Indians*, Staff Study No. 18 of the Advisory Committee on Education, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1939.

The District of Columbia.—A nine-member board of education appointed by the United States District Court is nominally in charge of education in the national capital. However, the authority of the board is restricted almost entirely to nonfiscal functions, and it does not in fact control the public school system. The board is dependent upon Congress for financial appropriations. Besides this, practically all spending powers are vested in the board of commissioners, comprised of three members appointed by the President, which administers the civil affairs of the District. The government furnishes about 10 per cent of the total school budget, the remainder being raised from local taxes and minor sources. Leaders in education agree that the government would do well to develop in Washington a model of public school administration. Thus far nothing of the sort has been accomplished. The school system is evaluated as of average quality compared with those in other cities of the same size.

Outlying Territories and Possessions.[4]—The outlying areas belonging to the United States are the territories of Alaska and Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, the Panama Canal Zone, and some small islands. No one federal agency has charge of education in all these areas. In the seven named there are nine distinct school systems: in Alaska, a federal system for the native peoples and a territorial system for the whites; in the Virgin Islands, two municipal systems; and one each (all federal) in the other areas.

In the Canal Zone, Samoa, and Guam, the governors, and in Puerto Rico the commissioner of education, who are Presidential appointees, exercise control over the school systems. The head of the federal (native) schools in Alaska is responsible to the Secretary of the Interior. The territorial (white) schools of Alaska are administered by a board appointed by the governor, who is appointed by the President. The board appoints a commissioner of education for a term of four years. In Hawaii, the governor, appointed by the President, appoints a board of commissioners of public instruction and also the superintendent of public instruction. In the Virgin Islands the two city school systems are managed by superintendents appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.

Federal support varies widely, even though the school systems in

[4] For the most recent and outstandingly the most comprehensive and authoritative study of education in the territories and possessions, see C. F. Reid, *Education in the Territories and Outlying Possessions of the United States*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University (Contributions to Education No. 825).

all these areas are really a federal responsibility. In the Canal Zone all school costs are included in the budget of the Zone and financed by the United States. American Samoa, on the other hand, receives no federal assistance. The other areas benefit partially through deficit grants and regular and emergency appropriations.

By executive order of President Roosevelt in 1934 there was established in the Department of the Interior the Division of Territories and Island Possessions. This agency can concern itself only with those territories under the Interior Department's supervision: Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. It is hoped, however, that this will lead to the creation of an office to develop a comprehensive and consistent policy for education and other public services in all territories and possessions. There is need for a great deal of improvement in education in the outlying areas with respect to financial support, curriculum reconstruction, professional staff, school buildings, and other aspects. Thus far, in the absence of an educational philosophy based on cultural, economic, and social conditions peculiar to each area, schools modeled largely after those in the United States have been imposed.

Federal Reservations and Foreign Stations.—There are more than 15,000 federal reservations of many kinds, such as army posts, naval stations, veterans' facilities, lighthouses, parks, prisons, fish hatcheries, and projects for flood control, reclamation, soil conservation and power development. In peacetime about 25,000 children of school age live on these reservations, about the same number as in a city of 100,000. While more than 95 per cent attend school, public facilities are not provided for at least one third, who must pay their own tuition to attend such public or private schools as they can.

Congress should establish a permanent policy to assure educational opportunities for all the children of employees located on federal reservations. The United States Office of Education should be recognized as the central planning and disbursing agency, and should work in cooperation with the governmental departments concerned in administering education. The federal government also should cooperate with state and local school systems.

8. Miscellaneous Activities Relating to Education

Other kinds of educational activities are regularly engaged in under various auspices by federal authorities. The influence of Supreme Court decisions has been referred to in Chapter 6. Several types of projects not subject to classification in the foregoing pages

are given brief notice here. Many other activities affecting education directly or indirectly could be cited, but the mention of a few will suffice for illustration.

Special Aid to Private Institutions.—Annual appropriations are made by Congress to support in part three privately controlled institutions, two of which serve special purposes and the third originally set up for a special purpose. Under a new arrangement effective July, 1946, educational functions relating to these three institutions are under the general direction of the Office of Education.

The American Printing House for the Blind, at Louisville, Kentucky, receives about $125,000 per year in federal aid. It reports to the Federal Security Administrator on the use of this money. The institution prints books for the blind and makes apparatus for the instruction of the blind. It has been in operation since 1858.

The Columbia Institution for the Deaf, located in Washington, D. C., was incorporated by Congress in 1857. The next year it began to receive federal assistance which, in recent years, amounts to about $150,000 annually. A Board of Directors of eleven, three of whom are appointed by Congress, exercises general supervision. This is the only school for the deaf where higher education is specifically provided. A maximum of 145 free scholarships has been set up for deaf students, of whom about 150 are enrolled. A primary and grammar department is also maintained with about seventy-five pupils.

Howard University, also at Washington, named after General O. O. Howard of the Freedmen's Bureau, was projected in 1866 as a theological seminary for the education of colored youth for the ministry. In 1867 it was incorporated under its present name by Congress and now offers nearly all branches of higher education. It is controlled by a board of twenty-eight trustees, who report each year to the Federal Security Administrator. The Office of Education is required to inspect the university at least once each year and report to Congress. The enrollment in recent years has been about 2,500. Federal aid has totaled about $700,000 per year in the last few years. This appropriation is described as "unique among governmental appropriations."

White House Conferences.—Since 1909, five conferences to consider problems of child welfare have been held at Washington. The sponsorship of the President has led to their being designated as White House Conferences. The first conference, called by President Theodore Roosevelt to study the care of dependent children, led to

the formation of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor, which concerns itself with numerous problems and projects for the protection and improvement of child life in America. Other conferences have been held in 1919, 1929, 1939, and 1944. The 1944 meeting was called the first White House Conference on Rural Education, and devoted itself to the improvement of educational opportunities in rural areas. The National Education Association is credited with furnishing the impetus for this conference.

National Advisory Committees on Education.—There have been several national committees created to study educational status and problems. Two of special importance were established to investigate the relationship of the federal government to education. When the first of these, the National Advisory Committee on Education, was set up by President Hoover in 1929, there was sharply divided opinion on the educational policies which should be pursued by the national government, a situation which had arisen since the promulgation of the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Program in 1917. A thorough report issued in 1931 covered most of the many fields of educational activity engaged in by the government.[5] The tenor of its recommendations was that state autonomy in education should be preserved, that grants to the states for education should be general and not earmarked for special purposes, and that such funds should not be accompanied by federal control.

The second committee, called the Advisory Committee on Education, was appointed by President Roosevelt in 1936 to study vocational education and a suitable program of federal aid. The following April, by which time various bills for educational aid totalling nearly a billion dollars had been introduced in Congress, the scope of the committee's work was expanded to a consideration of the whole problem of federal relations to state and local administration of education. A general report was issued in 1938, followed by a series of nineteen "staff studies," all widely circulated.[6] The committee made many recommendations (which require twenty-eight pages to summarize in the general report cited). Continuation of existing aids (at that time about $55,000,000) was urged, plus additional general grants that should reach a total of $202,000,000 by

[5] National Advisory Committee on Education, *Federal Relations to Education*, Part I, and (by D. S. Hill and W. A. Fisher) Part II, American Council on Education.

[6] Advisory Committee on Education, *Report of the Committee*, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office. See Payson Smith and F. W. Wright, *Education in the Forty-Eight States*. Staff Study No. 1, p. 199, for complete list of studies issued in 1938 and 1939.

1944–45, at which time the committee felt new studies should be made. In general, the committee favored safeguarding state and local administration of education, with federal grants to assist the states in financing.

Recommendations of National Resources Planning Board.—In 1943 a report on many aspects of planning social welfare for the period following World War II was issued by the National Resources Planning Board. In the section of the report on education, fifteen recommendations were submitted which, if followed, "would provide equal access to a justifiable minimum education in the post war period."[7] The report contemplated a vastly expanded educational program at the usual school levels, and more attention than ever before to both preschool and adult groups. Such extensions of school services as camping, school meals, and work and play projects before and after school were recommended. The report urged the reorganization of school districts and the expansion of state and national educational offices. For more adequate school support an increase from about $2.8 billion to $6.1 billion annually was proposed, with the burden to be shared by local, state, and federal taxing authorities.

9. The United States Office of Education

Establishment of the Office.—After more than a quarter of a century of agitation by educators, the United States Office of Education was established in 1867 as a Department of Education, without Cabinet representation. In 1869 the name was changed to "Office of Education," in 1870 to "Bureau of Education" and in 1929 the name "Office" was restored. In 1870 the agency was placed in the Department of the Interior, where it remained until 1939, when it was transferred to the Federal Security Agency, of which it is now a part.

The Office was not at first endowed with administrative or supervisory duties, but from time to time Congress has assigned it such tasks. The best illustration of this is its nationwide administration of the vocational education program referred to above. At the time the Office was created, seventeen states were without unified school systems. District and town officials in these states were responsible for maintaining schools and formulating standards for the qualifications of teachers and for methods of teaching. School terms were

[7] National Resources Planning Board, *National Resources Development—Report for 1943*, "Equal Access to Education," Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, pp. 68–74.

short, often no longer than three or four months, and educational progress was retarded by the isolation of thousands of school districts, especially in newly settled areas.

Congress established the Office, as the act for its formation sets forth, "for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several States and Territories, and of diffusing 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."

The First Period of Development.—During its formative period, 1867 to 1906, the first cooperative efforts of the Office and the states and local communities were begun in the collection of educational statistics, and in other activities involving conference, advice, and visits to the field. Biographical and historical types of research were initiated, with a large volume of publication along these lines. The Office was delegated the administration and supervision of the education of Alaskan natives (1885–1931) and the promotion of the reindeer industry for their benefit (1893–1929). In 1890 it was assigned the work of collecting and examining the reports of land-grant colleges and universities, which it still does, in connection with which it administers about $5,000,000 a year in federal grants.

The Second Period.—During the period 1906–33 the Office enlarged its activities and increased its personnel in order to meet the demands of the expanding program of American education. Among several new divisions set up at this time were those of higher education, Negro education, and rural schools. Numerous specialists were employed on the permanent staff. In 1911 the survey activity of the Office was started with a study of the Baltimore schools. Since then numerous studies of state and local education have been made, as well as surveys of higher education. Judd [8] states that by 1937 there had been 122 surveys of varied scope, in forty-one states, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia. During the first World War the Office sponsored a huge war garden program and assisted in other war-related activities. Efforts begun in 1912 to improve rural education were continued with increasing emphasis all through the period. From 1914 to the late 1930's many studies of school district reorganization were made.

[8] Charles H. Judd, *Research in the United States Office of Education*, Staff Study No. 19 of The Advisory Committee on Education, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, p. 30.

This period also saw the development of uniform report forms, now being sent in for each state by the state education department, from which are developed national reports on American education. The Biennial Survey of Education, first issued in 1918, is a comprehensive report on American schools based on reports from all states and territories. In the early 1930's several national surveys of great importance were published at a cost of about $600,000. These were the Survey of Land-grant Colleges, the National Survey of School Finance, the National Survey of Secondary Education, and the National Survey of the Education of Teachers. The publication of *School Life,* the monthly magazine issued by the Office, was begun in 1914.

The appropriations for the work of the Office itself rose from $300,000 in 1908 to a high point of about $1,600,000 in 1931. This was reduced by half a million dollars in 1932.

Expansion Since 1933.—In the period since 1933 the activities of the Office of Education have been vastly expanded, requiring by 1945 the services of some 500 persons. The largest single activity carried on was, until recently, the administration of vocational education under the Smith-Hughes and later related acts. This work was assigned to the Office in 1933, and is still a very important activity.

The depression of the 1930's, followed by World War II, created many new responsibilities and challenges. A number of major divisions were created, which, together with specialists and consultants, are organized to give advice and information to state and local school systems and other interested agencies on practically any educational subject. The war brought demands on the Office for assistance in training war workers, providing schools and child-care centers in war activity centers, developing materials on international relations, coordinating scrap drives, "victory gardening," war stamp and bond campaigns in the schools, preparation of audio-visual materials, and many other activities.

Throughout its existence the three chief functions of the Office have been research, publication, and furnishing educational leadership. Since 1931, three additional functions have been recognized: cooperation with state and local school systems, especially through grants for vocational education and for the operation of land-grant colleges and universities; conducting experimental centers; and the management of emergency education programs. Disinterested students of the Office are generally in accord that the Office should

not be charged with administrative and supervisory responsibilities for American schools. Research, statistical reports, leadership, survey activity, publications, and consultative services are held to be the appropriate, most useful, and most defensible services that the Office can render American education.

In 1946, the Office established a Citizens' Federal Committee on Education, to enable it to improve its service. The committee is composed of representatives of labor, business, agricultural, manufacturing, homemaking, veterans, Negroes, and professional and religious groups. It acts in an advisory capacity.

The commissionership has been held by ten men, among them some notable scholars and leaders. Henry Barnard, who held the office from 1867–70, was a productive writer on education who for thirty-two years edited the *American Journal of Education*, still one of the richest sources for American and European educational history. William T. Harris (1889–1906) and E. E. Brown (1906–11) were likewise eminent thinkers. John W. Studebaker, present commissioner, was appointed by President Roosevelt in 1934. In his term, there has been great expansion of the Office, largely due to the emergencies of depression and war and to his own genius as a promoter and administrator.

The Office supervises the allocation of funds to land-grant colleges and universities and for vocational education and vocational rehabilitation, and other numerous lesser activities. It has about seventy-five studies in progress at any given time. Its publication work is extensive, with scores of circulars, leaflets, reports, bulletins, and other items issued each year. The official monthly magazine, *School Life* (supplanted from 1942 to 1945 by a biweekly journal, *Education for Victory*), is a source of much official information on American education. The annual reports of the commissioner should be consulted for details of the extensive and varied services carried on under the aegis of the Office.

Reorganization of the Office of Education.—Since 1945, the Office has been undergoing reorganization and expansion. Eventually it will have a staff of about 1,300, about half of whom will be professional personnel and half clerical. The plan of organization is illustrated in Figure 18. The work of the Office is divided among eight functional divisions, each headed by a director, with from three to seven chiefs in charge of the operating units in each division.

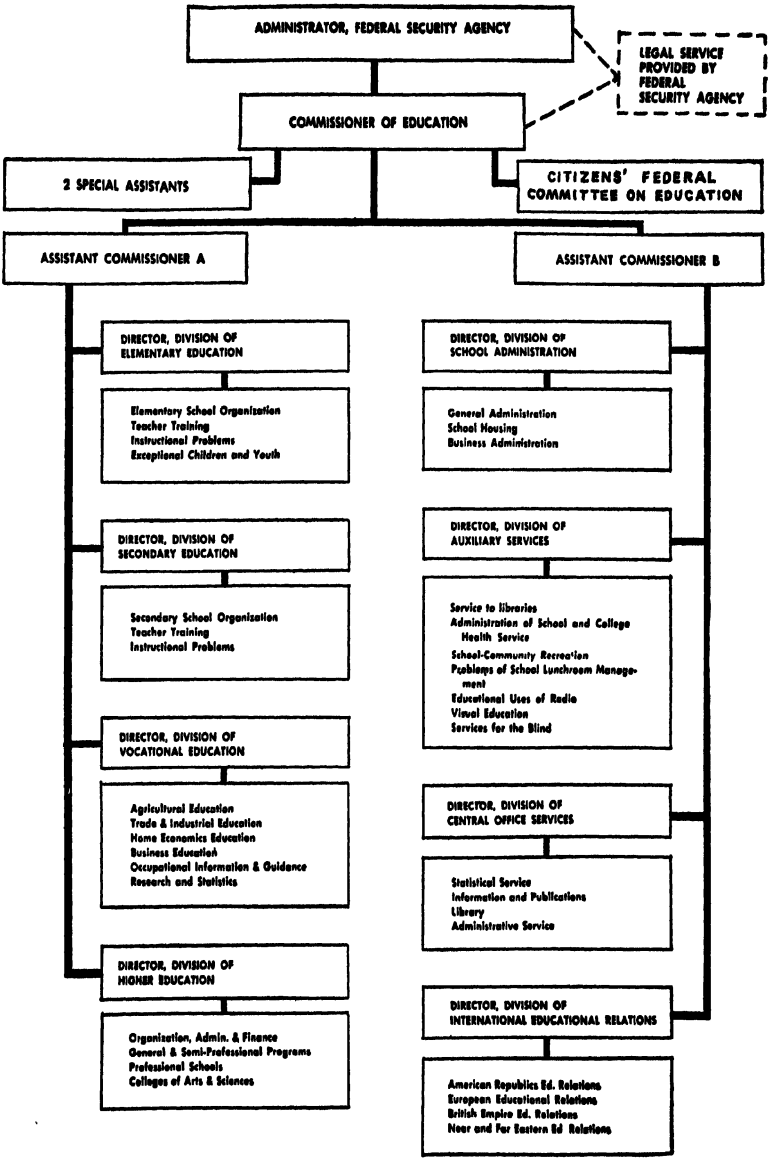

Figure 18. Plan of Reorganization of U. S. Office of Education
(Adapted from Chart I, *Annual Report of the U. S. Office of Education, 1944.*)

10. Principal Emergency Federal Educational Projects [9]

In 1933, when the nation was in the depth of the great depression, a period began during which several kinds of federal emergency programs have been carried on. Most of these activities were introduced to counteract the effects of the depression, but after 1940 others were generated by wartime conditions. None was solely educational, but some had important educational connections. The seven chief programs of educational importance are briefly noted, factual data in all cases being taken from official government documents. They are: the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, the Work Projects Administration, the Public Works Administration, the Lanham Act, the program of Vocational Training for War Workers, and the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, with amendments.

The Civilian Conservation Corps.—The CCC, first of the federal youth agencies, was created in April, 1933, to meet the urgent demands of an emergency situation in which several million youth below the age of twenty-five were unemployed. Many of these young people possessed no special training for occupations and had no work experience. The CCC had as its original objective "the relief of unemployment through the performance of useful public work." When it was discovered that large numbers of the enrollees lacked the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and that most of them needed guidance in planning their future, an educational program was set up in December, 1933, largely as the result of the efforts of the Commissioner of Education. In 1937, general and vocational education was recognized by law as a regular function of the program. While the Departments of Agriculture and Interior supervised the work projects, and the Department of Labor had general supervision through state agencies of the selection of enrollees, the War Department had control of education along with the construction and operation of the CCC camps and health services.

An educational adviser was appointed for each camp, who worked under the direction of the army officer in charge. Teaching was done by volunteer workers (later by some paid teachers) in academic subjects on levels ranging from the elementary school through senior high school. Vocational courses were also taught. Instruction was limited to evening hours.

[9] This section is adapted from an article on the same subject by Calvin Grieder in *The Educational Forum*, IX: 435–442, and is included here by permission of the editor.

At its liquidation on June 30, 1942, when wartime conditions had obviated the need for the Corps, it had enrolled a total of 3,190,000 different persons. The cost had been $2,969,000,000 plus $662,895,000 in allotments to dependents of enrollees.

The educational activities were always a minor element in the camp regimen. Their quality was closely related to the interest of the officer in charge and the competence of the educational adviser, which varied from nil to very high, with the average rather low. After October, 1940, some class work to train workers for national defense was organized in public schools for CCC youth, and attendance reached about 40,000.

Little fault has been found with the accomplishments of the CCC. However, much criticism was directed at the establishment of a federal educational agency, which the Corps was in part, which for a time seemed destined to become permanent. Since the NYA was criticized for the same reason, comment on this point is deferred for a moment.

The National Youth Administration.—The NYA, set up in June, 1935, and liquidated eight years later, was the government's second program to aid youth. The NYA was originally conceived as a kind of relief agency, accepting youth only from families certified as eligible for public assistance. In 1939, the criterion of family need was removed, and only the youth concerned had to be certified as in need, and this was liberally construed, as a rule.

The two broad categories in which its work can be classified were the "student work program" and the "out-of-school work program." The former provided part-time employment to students in the age group sixteen to twenty-four inclusive in schools, colleges, and universities. In its eight years of existence, the NYA aided 1,500,000 school students and 620,000 college and university students, to the extent of $167,000,000. In its peak years of 1939–40 and 1940–41, a monthly average of 440,000 students were assisted. The selection, work assignment, and supervision of students were left largely to the institutions, under the direction of the federal administrator, regional and state administrators, and their staffs.

The out-of-school work program, until 1941 when its efforts were chiefly focussed on training for national defense, afforded not only work experience and the opportunity to produce useful goods and services, but also guidance, placement in employment, aptitude testing, health services, and recreation. The program reached rural and village districts where no suitable youth program had previously

been provided (or has since). The government spent $467,600,000 for wages to out-of-school youth, assisting thereby about 2,700,000 young people. Public co-sponsors contributed $61,000,000 in materials, supplies, and supervision. During 1940, about 300,000 youth were employed, of whom 10 per cent were in 600 resident centers located in forty-five states.

The out-of-school work program was frankly set up for vocational training "on the job," designed to give a chance to its employees to try themselves at various types of jobs. In 1941–43, it is reported that 900,000 NYA-trained youth accepted jobs in private or public enterprises. Class instruction related to the type of work engaged in was carried on by state and local public school agencies during the last three years of NYA, under the sponsorship of the Office of Education. However, on-the-job training was the major feature of the out-of-school work program throughout the life of the agency.

Criticism of the CCC and the NYA.—In October, 1941, the Educational Policies Commission published a carefully documented 79-page critical evaluation of the basis on which these two federal youth agencies were organized.[10] Recognizing the need and value of the services they performed, the Commission strongly condemned the tendency toward establishing federal vocational and general educational programs in competition with regular state and local public schools. This indictment was well founded, and agreement with it was quite general among leaders in public school administration. The Commission urged the development of a "single, comprehensive, and permanent educational program for American youth." The disadvantages of a dual school system, with the inevitable duplication of programs, physical facilities, and the dangers of an eventually nationalized school system, would be avoided. Most educational leaders contend that if the government had allocated to the regular state and local educational institutions the funds it appropriated to these two youth agencies, not only would a better use of the money have been made, but also a better all-round program would have been realized. Furthermore, the public schools would have been strengthened during a period of great financial stress. On the other hand, it is obvious that the schools were not using to the best advantage of youth the facilities and funds available.

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[10] Educational Policies Commission, *The Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and the Public Schools*, Washington: National Education Association.

The Public Works Administration.—The PWA, created in 1933 under the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act, was liquidated in 1943, having accomplished, in the words of an official report, "the greatest integrated program of public works ever undertaken in the history of the world." It participated in the construction of 34,468 projects costing $6,200,000,000. The objectives of the program were to provide employment for workers who would otherwise have been idle, and for the construction of needed public works.

The educational phase of PWA consisted of the erection of 6,500 school buildings, 700 college and university buildings, 100 libraries, and a few dozen miscellaneous educational structures. The total cost was approximately $1,200,000,000, of which 90 per cent was allocated in loans and grants to state and local agencies, and the remainder to federal educational agencies for such projects as Indian schools. PWA buildings are reputed to be some of the best built in the nation's school plant. The design, construction, and workmanship have been widely praised. The fact that a high proportion of skilled workers and supervisors was employed on PWA projects is probably the reason why they are, as a general rule, superior to WPA construction projects, which employed only about 5 per cent skilled workers and supervisors.

The Work Projects Administration.—As successor to two other federal relief agencies, this agency was established in 1935. Its primary purpose was providing work for the unemployed on useful public projects. It was terminated June 30, 1943. In the eight years of its existence, it gave employment to more than 8 million different persons whose labor built thousands of buildings and other public works, and who operated a multitude of public welfare services. The program cost about 13 billion dollars, of which 22 per cent was provided by public sponsors and 78 per cent by the federal government. A good idea of the educational aspects of WPA can be gathered from the following data.

About 6,000 new schools were constructed, and more than 33,000 were enlarged or improved. Besides these, 15,000 recreational buildings, including auditoriums, gymnasiums, shelters, community halls, and field houses, were erected.

The educational activities conducted under WPA auspices were varied. Its program of adult education attracted hundreds of thousands of persons each year. The highest enrollment in adult education classes occurred in 1937, when 1,985,302 persons were enrolled in 141,823 classes. The most popular classes were in literacy, home-

making, vocational education, leisure-time activities, and "general adult education." At this time, 53,000 children were enrolled in 1,574 WPA nursery schools, cared for by 6,544 teachers. This phase of the program was later absorbed by the Lanham Act program, referred to below.

More than one and one-quarter billion school lunches were served through WPA hot lunch projects, at one time involving more than 25,000 schools. This activity has since been taken over by the Department of Agriculture. Many children in needy families were provided with clothing made in WPA sewing classes. Ninety-four million books were repaired for schools and libraries, and many types of visual teaching aids were made. Beginning in 1940, the program of WPA tapered off sharply, and its efforts were devoted chiefly to defense and war activities until the termination of the agency in 1943.

The Lanham Act.—In the summer of 1941, as World War II threatened increasingly to involve the United States and preparations for defense were speeded, Congress passed the Lanham Act to take care of emergencies created in war-activity centers. As conditions required, the act was amended many times in succeeding sessions of Congress, with appropriations reaching a total of nearly 400 million dollars allocated for public works and services. These included the construction, maintenance, and operation of schools, child-care centers and recreation centers, and other needs created by inability of communities to cope with great influxes of population engaged in war activities. The federal funds were approximately matched by state and local appropriations. In 1947, the date for terminating the program was set as June 30, 1948.

While no one denied the existence of war-related emergency needs in hundreds of cities and towns, much criticism developed among educators regarding the methods of the FWA in administering the program. The agency was charged with by-passing regularly constituted state and local educational agencies, as well as the Office of Education, in identifying the need for schools, and in planning and constructing school buildings.

National Defense Training Programs.—As part of the nation's preparation for defense—and later as part of the war effort—beginning in 1940 several types of programs were established for training war workers. Congressional appropriations were made to finance the programs, with the Office of Education designated as the administrative agency.

The largest program was concerned with vocational training for war-production workers, through which were conducted scores of different courses to prepare workers for war jobs. Highest enrollments were in courses related to aviation, shipbuilding, machine shop, welding, and radio. When the program ended in 1945, the total cumulative enrollment had reached the astounding total of 7,369,000, of which about 20 per cent were women.

The second type of program trained workers for food production. The total cumulative enrollment reached about 3,500,000. These two emergency programs were carried on largely through existing public school facilities. The Office of Education states that "this is the first time the vocational schools have been systematically utilized as a part of a National manpower program."

At the college level, Engineering, Science, and Management War Training (ESMWT), a program of cooperation between the Office of Education and 227 participating colleges and universities, offered short courses to remedy the scarcity of engineers, chemists, physicists, and production supervisors in fields essential to the prosecution of the war. A high school education was the minimum qualification for admission to these courses, and some advanced courses required one to four years of previous college study. In its five years of existence from 1940 to 1945, the cumulative enrollment was 1,796,000 about 75 per cent of which was in engineering.

The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, as Amended.—An important part of this act for "the readjustment in civilian life of returning World War II veterans" relates to education. As amended in February, 1948, its major educational provisions follow.

Any citizen of the United States who served in the armed forces of any allied nation, regardless of age, is eligible for full benefits, provided that he served ninety days prior to July 25, 1947. He may begin his education any time within four years of his discharge, and has nine years to complete his educational program under government benefits, with the proviso that all training and educational courses must be completed by July 25, 1956. The veteran is entitled to education for a period of one year plus the amount of time he was in actual service, not to exceed four years. (Time spent in service training programs pursued in continuation of civilian studies is not included in the definition of active service. The V-5 and V-12 programs are examples of this.)

For veterans with no dependents $75 per month is allowed for subsistence. For those with one dependent the allowance is $105 a

month, and for those with two or more dependents $120 a month. Up to $500 per year is payable by the government to training institutions for tuition, fees, and necessary books and supplies. Thousands of on-the-job training courses in factories, commercial establishments, and almost every other conceivable type of enterprise have been approved by the Veterans Administration under the same conditions. Even correspondence courses are approved, but no subsistence is payable in this case. No deduction for benefits received under the GI Bill is to be made from any future benefits to which veterans may be entitled.

For disabled veterans provisions are made under other acts for rehabilitation and education. In general, the benefits are similar to those described above, with larger subsistence allowances, depending on the degree of disability.

No better investment of public funds could be made than in the education of veterans, providing the program is carefully administered. In 1946 and 1947, investigations were carried on to determine if elements of racketeering had entered the program, and its administration was tightened. On the whole, however, this program is well designed and operated to assist veterans in completing educational plans interrupted by service. Furthermore, it provides refresher and retraining courses necessitated by advances made in knowledge and techniques during their period of service.

The total cost of the program is estimated at between six and eight billion dollars. Expenditures for war in early 1945 were estimated at one quarter billion per day. The cost of this constructive educational plan will amount to the cost of a month or less of warfare. By comparison, it seems a very small expense, and the outcomes should be of immense value, not only to the individuals concerned but also to the nation's welfare.

During World War II, a great many federal emergency agencies created for war purposes carried on educational activities, in addition to those discussed. Some of the chief agencies engaged in one or more types of educational activities were the War Manpower Commission, Office of Civilian Defense, Office of Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, Office of Defense Transportation, War Shipping Administration, War Relocation Authority, Foreign Economic Administration, Office of Price Administration, and Office of War Information. A good description of these activities may be found in the footnoted reference.[11]

[11] Charles A. Quattlebaum, "The Educational Activities of Federal Emergency War Agencies," *American School Board Journal*, CX:23–25, 78.

It is quite apparent from this glimpse of the educational phases of major emergency programs since 1933 that there is no slackening of federal interest in education. On the contrary, there is every indication of an increasing assumption by the government of educational responsibilities at the levels of both adults and youth. The ultimate extent of federal activity in education cannot be predicted, but it will probably continue to grow.

11. Major Issues Related to Federal Interest in Education

Little is heard today concerning two subjects which in past generations stirred considerable interest: proposals for a national university and the establishment of a department of education with a secretary in the Cabinet. Since the days of George Washington, arguments for a national university have been put forth from time to time,[12] but no such institution has ever been established. The widespread development of state universities and other institutions of higher education has somewhat reduced the demand. Federal agencies, including the Library of Congress and many departments and bureaus, have made vast stocks of books and source materials available to scholars. The idea of a national university is not dead, but at present it is not claiming attention.

The same can be said of proposals for a department of education. For more than a century, sporadic interest has been exhibited in the subject. With the recent great expansion of the Office of Education and with a rather well defined conception of its functions, demands for a department in the government have not been pressed of late. However, like the suggestion for a national university, that of an education department is not extinguished, and interest in either or both may at any time become awakened.

There are several issues pertaining to federal educational activities, actual and proposed, which are very much alive. Some of these already have been referred to and are mentioned here only by way of recapitulation.

Federal Control.—The chief question is whether federal aid for education can be provided without federal control as a concomitant. In the earliest days of our national history general grants of land for school aid, with practically no strings attached, were made. Later, some requirements for the use of this endowment were enacted, and in 1862 the Morrill Act provided for still more control

[12] E. B. Wesley, *Proposed: The University of the United States,* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

of land grants for agricultural and mechanic arts colleges. With the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 and subsequent related acts pertaining to vocational education, a high degree of specific control was reached.

The administration of various emergency programs summarized above was severely criticized by educators for its very real threat to state and local responsibility for education. In the literature on federal aid, there is almost unanimous agreement that federal subventions for education should be made with discretion for their expenditure resting with the states. This point of view has been very specifically expressed in recent federal aid bills.

The example of school systems in totalitarian countries in recent years has made American educators extremely wary of any tendency toward federal control of our schools. There is nothing incompatible, however, in the retention of state and local responsibility for educational administration and the extension of federal assistance to the states for educational purposes.

Propriety of Federal Aid.—While education has been reserved—by implication in the Constitution—to the states, and while this principle has been uniformly upheld in a long line of court decisions, there is no serious question that federal aid lies within the power of the government through the "general welfare" clause. The only reservation made by the Supreme Court in interpretations of the constitutionality of grants-in-aid is that such grants cannot be used to usurp powers not delegated to the federal government by the Constitution. The long history of federal aid of various types would appear to be sufficient warrant of its legality.

Need for Federal Aid.—An impressive volume of data bearing on the need for federal aid has been built through research. The chief reasons advanced to show the need relate to:

1. Mobility of the population.
2. Inequalities of educational opportunity in the several states.
3. Wide range in economic ability of the states to support education.
4. Great differences in the ratios of school-age children to adults.

The student will be well repaid for looking up the facts on these items in the selected readings listed for this chapter, particularly the Research Bulletins of the National Education Association. In the Senate debates on federal aid bills of the last few years, many long speeches have been made pro and con. The testimony on two

bills introduced in 1945, S. 181 and S. 717, totals 1,429 pages of fine print and is actually an invaluable compendium of history, statistics, and opinion on the entire subject of federal aid for education.[18]

Opponents of federal aid contend that it will inevitably be accompanied by federal control, and that the states have plenty of money to finance adequately the state school systems. On the first item, no one can say with assurance that federal control will accompany aid. The states now accept hundreds of millions of dollars in federal aid for dozens of activities, with little or no feeling of control. On the second point, it probably is a fact that most states have not reached the limit of their resources for educational support. Undoubtedly, each state should do its utmost to finance its own schools, and effect such reforms in its tax structure and school system as will result in economical and efficient financing.

There are few problems in education that can be better approached at the federal level than at the state level. Partial federal financing by subventions to the states to supplement state and local resources will no doubt come soon. That time should be when it is obvious that the states cannot adequately discharge their educational responsibilities. In the meantime, the government should demonstrate its ability to extend aid for education without control by changing its specific grants, for vocational education, for example, to general grants.

The tradition of state educational responsibility is of long standing, and has produced one of the best school systems in the world's history, if not the best. No serious student of education is ready to surrender it. The states, by reforming their tax systems, and by reorganizing their state administration of education, could partially remedy the weaknesses which federal aid is intended to correct. And yet some federal aid probably would still be required.

The ideal of equalization of educational opportunity is a dream which can never be realized in a *literal* sense. The provision of a "foundation" or "minimum" program of schooling available to each child is a goal toward which we should strive. General grants to the states would no doubt hasten its attainment and make possible its continuance.

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[18] *Federal Aid for Education,* Hearings before the Committee on Education and Labor, United States Senate, 79th Congress, 1st Session, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1945; two volumes—Part 1 is on S. 181, Part 2 on S. 717 and S. 181.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. The United States does not have a national school system, in the literal sense. What changes would the creation of a national system entail in state and federal relations?
2. What is the extent of federal grants of land, if any, which have been made in your state? (See *Statistical Abstract of the United States.*)
3. From the Office of Education get recent figures on federal aid for public education below college level. How does it compare with total expenditures for public elementary and secondary education in the United States for the same year?
4. Make a comparative study of arguments for and arguments against federal aid for education. Formulate conclusions on the merits of each side.
5. Examine the most recent available report of the Commissioner of Education, and summarize the major activities of the Office of Education as reported.
6. Write to your state treasurer for a recent itemized statement of federal funds allocated to your state. Compare the proportion of the total funds for education with the proportions for other state functions.
7. Write to one of your senators at Washington for a copy of at least two recent or current leading bills on federal aid for education. How is "federal control" treated in the bills?
8. Draw up a statement of arguments either for or against the establishment of a national university.
9. Study the text of the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen laws on vocational education. Procure, if possible, from your state vocational education board or the Office of Education the regulations which have been issued for administering the laws. Do the laws and the regulations tend to lessen state and local responsibility or not?
10. Inform yourself rather fully on the educational program for Indians or for one other group under federal jurisdiction. Make proposals for improvement.
11. Make a table summarizing the current or recent federal appropriations for the five *continuing* aid programs: Land-grant institutions, agricultural extension work, agricultural experimental stations, vocational education, and vocational rehabilitation.
12. Interview ten GI students on their objectives in going to school, their college courses, finances, and problems, and any other pertinent topics. Summarize your findings in a written report.

Chapter 9

NONGOVERNMENTAL INFLUENCES UPON AMERICAN EDUCATION

1. The Nature of Unofficial Control

In Chapters 6 to 8 the official control of public education in the United States was discussed. In a democracy, all public institutions are subject to unofficial controls and other influences. The voices and the opinions of the people—as a whole, as individuals, and in small or large groups—are effective indirect controls, both through the medium of the elective representatives and through the influence which they wield upon school staffs who wish to please the people.

Unexpressed Influence.—Frequently it is said that undue pressures are not brought upon teachers in a given community. This view is based upon the fact that no teacher has lost his position or was in any other way punished or even threatened for failing to conform to the desires of or pressure by the board of education. Nevertheless it is probable that there are few communities in the United States where no teachers make their selection of teaching materials and choose their points of emphasis, at least to some extent, in light of what they believe will be the reactions of influential people in the community.

It is difficult to evaluate the merits and disadvantages of such an influence upon the schools. It is a feature of American democracy that the schools are close to the people. To a large extent the schools are the people's schools and as such the people take pride and responsibility for them. Yet it is obvious that the influence may have grievous faults if it is too strong or is misdirected.

Professional vs. Lay Control.—Teachers today are rather well educated and trained for their positions, many being college graduates, and for a considerable part having had five or more years of college education. In contrast, the education of the adult population of the United States averages only slightly above the level of elementary school graduation. Furthermore, the education of many

who are high school graduates or have attended college has not been well adapted to the needs of today, much less to those of tomorrow. Even had it been, it would be of little functional value, since for the most part it is largely forgotten after a few years of absorption with vocational, home, and leisure pursuits.

If teachers are to render the greatest possible service, it would seem that they should be permitted to go about their work, as do attorneys, engineers, and physicians, with a minimum of interference on the part of laymen who are handicapped by their limitations of knowledge, lack of specialized training, and lack of experience in thinking and reading about problems of education, or, for that matter, problems of social progress and the advance of learning and civilization. People who are vitally concerned with such matters as selling groceries, clothing, or automobiles; performing simple clerical tasks in banks or stores; raising wheat, cotton, hogs, or cattle; cooking meals and operating homes; following sports and other entertainment, depend largely upon newspapers, the most widely circulated periodicals, and the radio for their information concerning problems confronting American democracy. They may not be safely relied upon for sound decisions upon what should be taught in the schools in these areas. Particularly does this seem true when one bears in mind the probability of political or other bias on the part of the mass of laymen.

The history of the progress of science, of democracy, and of civilization in general is filled with the contributions of great men who were opposed by the common mass of the people, led by groups who, for such reasons as religious prejudice or the protection of antisocial or vested interests, opposed new learning. Men with new ideas were beheaded, burned at the stake, imprisoned, exiled, stoned, hanged, or otherwise discouraged in their efforts to help lead the relatively ignorant masses to higher levels of civilization.

In an eye-opening investigation of the degree and means of interference by unofficial groups and individuals with teachers and the schools, Howard K. Beale, for a joint committee of the American Historical Association and the National Education Association, gives the details of hundreds of cases in which pressure was brought to bear to influence what was taught in the schools.[1] In the main, those who thus interfered with the schools sought not so much to have certain things taught as to prevent the teaching or even the consideration of certain other topics. They wished to prevent the teaching of

[1] See Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* Report of the Commission on Social Studies, American Historical Association.

science that might be in opposition to their interpretation of the Bible, to prevent teaching about the evils of monopoly, about the trade unions, about the Negro problem, about Russia and her communistic economic system, about cooperatives, about the poll tax and about anything that may stimulate idealistic young people to question undesirable conditions in the nation, in the state, or in the community. Such groups wish young people to grow up ignorant of conditions which are inimical to the achievement of democracy, social efficiency, fair play, or the general welfare.

Means and Avenues of Influence.—The means and avenues of influencing the schools, the teachers, and the curriculum are varied. Perhaps the most effective avenue of influence is the silent, inactive threat that haunts all but the most servile and routine teachers—the fear of offense. Teachers, largely women, young people, and married men who worry about security, are on the average somewhat more timid than other vocational groups. They are not only generally more cautious and diplomatic, but they are also less sure of themselves.

Many teachers suffer from the "hired man" delusion. They believe that they should teach as their employers wish. An interesting but exaggerated example is the teacher in a remote religious rural district who, when he was not re-employed, inquired the reason. Upon learning that the natives objected to his teaching that the world was round contrary to local belief, he exclaimed, "Well, why didn't someone tell me? I teach it flat just as well as I teach it round."

There is no doubt that the tendency to avoid offense is one reason why subjects that afford little opportunity to give offense, e.g., the three R's, foreign languages, mathematics, and vocational subjects, are favored, not only by local opinion but by many teachers and administrators.

Most teachers are fairly well aware of the areas, problems, and questions upon which the local residents are sensitive and emotional. Most teachers, therefore, do not feel at ease when topics and questions arise concerning such areas as religion, capitalism, social security, monopoly, evolution, sex and marriage, labor disputes, and morals. This uneasiness is occasioned by the realization that not only might some people in the community become excited if they know what is being discussed in their classes, but also because school children frequently do not remember exactly what is said, with the consequent danger of exaggeration and misquotation by the youngsters within their homes.

Some teachers also, though in somewhat smaller numbers, attempt to put into the courses of study things that will please the local populace, even without being asked; these would be matters of local pride and interest, usually more or less harmless even if wasteful distortions.

Direct Representation.—It is not uncommon for individuals or representatives of groups to express their pleasure or displeasure to teachers directly; they give teachers friendly advice on how to get on in the community, on what they are teaching and might teach, or on what they are not teaching and might not teach.

More often direct representation or comment is made to the principal, superintendent, or members of the board of education—sometimes formally to the board of education in official session. In all instances the person or persons making the comment or complaint are likely to be at least somewhat misinformed. For that reason, the great majority of administrators and boards of education follow the practice in all cases where the complaint or comment seems at all of serious consequence of making an investigation to discover what the actual facts may be. While in most instances such investigations serve to protect the teacher, they also serve to cause a degree of intimidation and uneasiness on the part of all teachers.

Administrators and boards of education are becoming more and more reluctant to interfere with teachers in their choice of materials of instruction. This is due to a number of factors: the increasing number of well educated teachers; the higher average age and maturity of teachers; the greater amount of formal education, sense of responsibility, and democracy on the part of board members; the growing strength and aggressiveness of national and local organizations prepared to fight for civil rights and academic freedom; and the growing interest and concern on the part of the public in general about such matters.

Growth and Strength of Lay Pressure Groups.—In recent decades groups and organizations representing certain types of interests have become much more active in attempting to control or at least to influence the media of communications and education in this country. As a consequence of the tendency for manufacturing and other business interests to become national in scope and influence, of the tendency for labor to unite to advance its own interests, and of the tendency for the mass of the population to become more insistent upon guarantees of social security, business and financial interests have been making a much more determined effort to influence public opinion.

Evidence of the success of these efforts, backed by huge financial resources, may be seen in the press and on the radio.

Because of public sensitiveness in the United States to interference with the schools, efforts to control the schools have not as yet been very successful. Activities in this direction are, however, becoming more and more aggressive. In Texas, for example, where huge oil and other business interests have developed very rapidly in recent years, President Homer P. Rainey of the University of Texas was relieved of his duties after he resisted the efforts of a board of regents appointed by the governor to discharge instructors in the university whose teachings displeased powerful business groups in the state. At several institutions of higher education in that state members of the faculty are denied tenure and rights of hearing before the termination of their appointments. Textbooks are adopted on a statewide basis by a board of laymen appointed by the governor. A considerable sum of money has been raised and an investigator employed to examine all textbooks under consideration, and to make representations to the textbook board against any books which contain material not approved by the interests employing the investigator.

Recently, similar efforts to influence unduly the schools, the teachers, and the curriculum have become widespread and more aggressive. While particularly attributable to commercial interests, they are not exclusively so. Efforts are expended by individuals and organizations interested in having specific things taught in the schools, e.g., about safety, alcoholic drinks, conservation of natural resources, labor unions, a particular industry or business (the dairy industry, the railroads, the automobile industry, air travel, etc.). These efforts should be scrutinized most carefully; wherever they seem to consist of propaganda, bias, or interference with the rights of the teacher, both teachers and the general public should be aroused to an energetic fight to oppose them.

2. Types and Sources of Lay Influence

Lay Pressure Groups.—In the past, and to a considerable extent in the present, the principal lay groups exerting unofficial influence on the schools are as follows:

1. *Organizations of Financial, Industrial, and Commercial Corporations.* Of this group the National Association of Manufacturers and the National Dairy Council are the most aggressive and perhaps

the most effective in influencing the content of courses of study on points in which they are interested. This group also includes the national and state chambers of commerce. Some years ago an association of light and power companies was revealed to have developed a nationwide organization which spent very great sums of money to influence teachers in the schools.[2]

2. *Labor Organizations.* While labor organizations have constituted very powerful pressure blocs on Congress and state legislatures, they have not yet become very active in attempting to influence the schools. Their principal efforts have been directed at getting compulsory attendance laws passed and enforced, in favoring free textbooks, and in getting labor problems considered in high school classes. Their attempts to influence the curriculum are still in the beginning stage.

3. *Patriotic Societies.* This group constitutes one of the most active and influential forces upon education. It includes such organizations as the American Legion, strongest and most influential, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Daughters of the Confederacy.

Usually controlled by conservative officials, they have frequently attempted to prevent the teaching of many materials thought by teachers to be in the interest of democracy and the common welfare, labeling the teaching of such things communistic, socialistic, or "foreign" doctrines.[3] Not only are national and state organizations of these groups active in influencing the schools, but local chapters, which exist in almost every community, are also usually quite active and in many instances have influenced, directly or indirectly, the course of school policy.

4. *Commercial Corporations.* One of the most highly developed influences is that of thousands of corporations with goods or services to sell. Millions of dollars are spent annually upon books, pamphlets, charts, films, and other teaching materials thought to be useful for legitimate purposes of education. They are, however, also calculated to influence the thinking of future customers while they are young so that they may consider favorably the particular indus-

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[2] Howard K. Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* pp. 554–571; Federal Trade Commission Report, *U. S. Senate Documents,* 70th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XII, Document No. 92, Part 2.

[3] William Gellerman, *The American Legion as Educator,* Teachers College, Columbia University, Contributions to Education, No. 743, particularly Chs. V, VIII, IX.

try, product, or service in which the donors of the "educational" material are interested. In recent years the volume and the doubtful reliability of such material have become so great as to call for critical evaluation before it is used in the schools.

Also pursuing activities of this nature are local groups of business and professional men and individual business concerns. Among these are banks, factories, retail merchants, dairies, and city and county bar and medical associations, which directly and indirectly influence the schools, particularly in getting recognition of matters of particular interest to them and in discouraging attention to matters not approved by them.

5. *Religious Groups.* Various religious denominations and groups of ministers and priests sometimes wield their influence for or against inclusion of material in the courses of study which they regard as beneficial or inimical to the beliefs of their denomination. They frequently advocate teaching the Bible in the schools, releasing the pupils on school time for Bible study under their tutelage, and provision for religious ritual—particularly prayer in public gatherings and school functions. They are also influential in combating what they believe to be immoral influences in and around the school. Occasionally they work for the appointment of teachers of their denomination and oppose the appointment of teachers of other denominations and of teachers who are not actively religious.

6. *Economy Organizations.* Of these the most aggressive are the National Economy League, local and state organizations of similar nature frequently parading under some misleading title such as "Friends of the Schools," "State Research Committee," or "State Tax Research Council."

Some of these groups also oppose the teaching of materials likely to create interest in developing new sources of school revenue, e.g., income or severance taxes. They usually work for the defeat of school levies, to obtain limitations to the taxing power of school boards and other tax-levying bodies. Other organizations sponsored and financed chiefly by business corporations operate to achieve the objective of these organizations, which is to reduce taxes.

7. *Vocational and Professional Organizations.* Not so influential as some other types are national, state, and county professional vocational organizations which attempt to promote and protect the economic welfare of their members, e.g., the medical association and the farmers' grange.

8. *Professional Educational Groups.* Within the profession, various groups influence the content and organization of teaching materials, standards of qualifications for teachers, and other educational matters. Typical of many such groups are the American Vocational Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, and the Department of Elementary School Principals.

9. *Organizations of Parents.* One of the most helpful of all national organizations of laymen interested in the school is the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. Founded in 1897, this organization has state organizations and nearly 30,000 school chapters in every state and the District of Columbia, enrolling more than four million members.

The P.T.A., as the local associations are usually called, is active in obtaining support for the schools, in the study of problems of child, home, and school, and in studying and advising boards and professional school people relative to matters of curriculum, recreation, and school housing. Its influence is not only widespread but powerful.

Unofficial Influence upon Books.—Various organizations influence what is taught by controlling the adoption of textbooks. There are hundreds of known cases where administrators and candidates for administrative positions have received the support or the opposition of representatives of publishing companies. Much more important with respect to undue influence upon the contents of textbooks are the activities of various patriotic, commercial, religious, and other organizations to prevent adoption or continued use of textbooks containing materials which they would not like to have people read. A most striking example of this influence was the nationwide campaign conducted between 1935 and 1942 upon the Rugg (Harold O.) textbooks in the social studies. These books contained a great deal of material calculated to dissatisfy Young America with our present status of incomplete democracy and to identify the conditions and forces that seek to prevent progress toward democracy. A most aggressive campaign was waged from coast to coast against Rugg and his textbooks. Minor historical inaccuracies were exaggerated and emphasized. References not complimentary to existing political and economic conditions were referred to as "communistic" and as "threats to our existing social order." Use of the books was discontinued in many schools and their adoption prevented in many others.

Pressure is also exerted upon publishing companies to eliminate or revise materials in textbooks unfavorable to the interests of spe-

cialized economic and political groups, in some instances resulting in requests to authors to substitute materials less objectionable to the groups active in the area. This influence, however, has not been great, as publishers have also been sensitive to the necessity of meeting the needs and desires of authors, teachers, and the public. Nevertheless there is documentary proof [4] that at least some authors of textbooks in the social studies were required to revise their manuscripts to meet the objections of public utility corporations.

3. The Principle of Academic Freedom

Recognition of Academic Freedom as a Principle.—Academic freedom is not universally accepted as a sound principle. There is still a widespread feeling that the schools belong to the people, are supported by them, and that teachers are hired agents of the people and responsible to them and their representatives. This belief is encouraged by those who lack confidence in teachers and those who would like to gain a determining influence upon what is taught in the schools. Teachers in many schools are not given too free a hand.

Nevertheless, over the years the feeling has been slowly spreading and growing in strength that professional matters should be left to professional people, and that the schools would be less subject to political and other undue influences if there were less interference with teachers. The American people have always been averse to politics in their schools.

"The Little Red Rider."—This became an issue of national interest in 1935–36 when there was an active, nationwide campaign against the spread of communistic doctrine; the "Little Red Rider" was attached to the congressional appropriation bill for the schools of the District of Columbia. It provided: "Hereafter no part of any appropriation for the public schools shall be available for the payment of the salary of any person teaching or advocating communism." Despite the fact that no evidence was produced showing that any teacher could be found in the District who favored, much less advocated, communism, the Comptroller General of the United States issued an order interpreted to mean that no teacher could even discuss communism. Before receiving his salary each month every teacher was required to sign the following statement: "I ....., a teacher of the District of Columbia Schools, hereby state without reservation and for the purpose of obtaining salary otherwise due

[4] Howard Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?* *op. cit.*, pp. 555–559.

me, that I did not at any time during the period of ..... to ..... in any school of the District of Columbia or elsewhere teach or advocate communism."

This interference by a congressman from Texas operated to intimidate teachers. For the most part they carefully avoided any reference thereafter, not only to communism, but also any reference to Russia. The gratuitous insult stirred teachers throughout the country. The rider was repealed at the next session of Congress, and, for its authorship or other reasons, the congressman failed of reelection in 1936.

In opposing the "Red Rider" in the House debate, Congressman Murdock of Utah threw much light on the real issue as follows:

> We can't know how much the Declaration of Independence means to us until we know how oppressive and tyrannical the government of George III was. We can't appreciate the blessings of democracy until we know how inefficient, how ineffective, and how oppressive communistic and fascistic systems of government are. Students of American history cannot have a sound conception of the American governmental system unless they know something about other systems and are able to compare ours with the others.
>
> Our forefathers realized that good governments were based on freedom, not on repression of liberty of thought and not on bigoted intolerance. Consequently, they inserted in the Constitution of the United States an amendment which prevents Congress from passing any laws which abridge freedom of speech or freedom of the press. To advocate a muzzled press and to pass laws prohibiting freedom of speech and freedom of scholarship would be to repudiate Americanism, to advocate un-American policies. Disease germs can't grow in sunlight. False ideals cannot flourish long in free countries. Unsound political systems cannot endure the purifying light of free speech and free scholarship.

Teachers' Oaths.—During the period of the depression fear of communism, stimulated both by the apparent success of communism in Russia and the debacle of capitalism in this country, encouraged the passage of various laws of this nature, including the "Teachers' Oath" laws requiring teachers to take oaths of loyalty to the Constitution of the United States and to the democratic order. These expressions of lack of confidence in teachers were resented deeply, first by teachers and then by their friends and by believers in fair play. Subsequently, in most states these laws either were repealed or became a dead letter. They served, nevertheless, at least for the time, to intimidate many teachers and administrators and to create in the minds of many a great deal of undesirable suspicion of teachers and the schools.

Influences upon the Colleges.—The discussion in the preceding pages was written primarily with the elementary and secondary schools in mind. Unofficial influences have also affected institutions of higher education. College board administrators and faculties are dependent for their financial support upon four principal sources: (1) gifts and endowments from wealthy people or corporations, (2) appropriations from state legislatures, (3) "millage" bills providing a mill tax on all real estate in the state, and (4) tuition of students.

To a considerable extent, the amount of revenue for any given institution depends upon one or the other of the first two, and to a less but nevertheless material degree upon one or both of the other two. Wealthy individuals or corporations are likely to give large amounts to institutions whose teachings are in harmony with the religious, economic, or political beliefs of the donors. Legislatures are inclined to be influenced in their deliberations over appropriations by public opinion, as well as their own and that of influential individuals and organizations in their respective districts. That opinion turns in part upon the reputation of the institution with respect to its teachings, upon its geographic location, its members and the influence of its alumni, and upon the general attitude of the people toward the institution.

Academic Freedom a Responsibility.—Careful study of the problem brings the conclusion that academic freedom is not a blanket right without reservation. Academic freedom is a privilege accorded competent individuals within the areas of their competence to be exercised in the interest of the general welfare, and within the philosophy and legal structure of our society. As put by E. G. Olsen, eminent student of the interrelations of education and society:

> Academic freedom is not a right; it is a privilege that has to be earned. By academic freedom we mean the right to teach and learn unfettered by administrative pressure or by group dictation. The degree of academic freedom permitted a teacher is proportional to three factors: (1) the extent to which the teacher's expressed convictions upon a controversial issue agree with those of the community's dominant group; (2) the actual defense power of the professional organizations with which the teacher is affiliated; (3) the amount of personal respect the teacher has earned for himself in the community. In teaching controversial subjects the teacher is cautioned to know his own prejudices, and to discuss all subjects without overt emotion. The teacher must remain the scientist in presenting subject-matter, as in research. Each community must be studied to avoid becoming involved in delicate subjects. Discussion and assertions must be well sup-

ported by available facts. It is well to avoid the use of stereotyped phraseology and labels lest the latter become attached to the user. The wise teacher will expose fallacies and not suppress them; he will appeal to practical things and not to morality. He may take issue with principles and theories but he will avoid personalities, and he will ally himself with professional organizations that are struggling against widespread teacher intimidation. If realistic education is to survive it will be through collective action of those concerned.[5]

Academic freedom is a privilege not to be abused or exercised with anything but expertness and judicial attitudes, and with discretion based upon weighing the relative values involved in deciding how often and when it should be exercised. There is no wisdom in risking major defeat in attempting to attain minor objectives. Nevertheless battle and defeat or victory must ensue when and where education of the public has failed to result in the liberty to teach or to discuss the most important characteristics and issues of American society.

Mr. McAndrew's Teachers' Oath.—During the rash of teachers' oath laws, William A. McAndrew, one time editor of *School and Society* and superintendent of schools at Chicago, proposed in 1936 the following oath for teachers.

I swear to defend the equal rights of citizens to life and the pursuit of happiness.

I swear in accordance with American right and duty to favor a change in government when government fails to secure these rights.

I swear that I will aid teachers to secure for the people of this nation a more perfect union, justice, domestic tranquillity, general welfare, and the blessings of liberty.

I swear in accordance with the promise of our Constitution that I shall resist all efforts to abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, including teachers.

In furtherance of this, my solemn oath, I pledge my life, my fortune, and my sacred honor.[6]

President Marsh on Teachers' Oaths.—Another interesting statement had been made a few months previously by President Daniel L. Marsh of Boston University in his annual report to the trustees:

I am also recommending that they [the professors] keep in mind when they take the oath of loyalty to the Constitution of the Commonwealth

[5] Edward G. Olsen, "Preserving Academic Freedom," *Journal of the National Education Association*, XXVI:3–4.

[6] *Education Digest*, II:21.

of Massachusetts, that, among other things, they are swearing loyalty to the principle enunciated in the Preamble, which is a real part of the Constitution, namely: when the people cannot enjoy in safety and tranquillity their natural rights, and the blessings of life, "the people have a right to alter the government." I recommend our professors likewise to keep in mind when they swear loyalty to the Constitution of the United States that one of the most important sections in that Constitution is the Bill of Rights, commonly called the first ten amendments. Indeed it was impossible to adopt the Constitution until this Bill of Rights was guaranteed. There is an eternal appropriateness in the fact that the primacy in the Bill of Rights is given to this great guarantee: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."[7]

Justice Holmes on Toleration.—No informed person will question the healthy and wholesome Americanism of the late Mr. Justice Holmes. He pleaded like "an angel trumpet-tongued" for toleration of differences of opinion. He said:

If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other, it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate. The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market.[8]

It follows naturally, because of our Americanism, that we are opposed to the hypocrisy of un-American behavior in the name of Americanism. It is un-American to suppress speech, assembly, or thinking. It is un-American to curtail privileges of citizenship, of government, or of opportunity to improve government or society. We should have so much faith in our form of government and way of life that we are not afraid to have our democratic form of government tested against any other form of government in the world. As Thomas Jefferson affirmed in his first inaugural address, so do we reaffirm that "Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

In 1936, the National Education Association took the following stand:

The National Education Association reaffirms its position with reference to freedom of teaching and full opportunity to present different points of

[7] Quoted in *School and Society*, XLII:651–653.

[8] Quoted by President Daniel L. Marsh in his "Report to the Trustees of Boston University," part of which appeared as "Teachers' Oaths and Academic Freedom," in *School and Society*, XLII:651–653.

view on any and all controversial questions. . . . Suppression of such freedom inevitably leads to violent and reckless changes in the social order . . . freedom of teaching implies presentation of facts on all sides, with interpretations. . . . The association reaffirms its condemnation of the passage of special loyalty oath bills by State legislatures and will offer every possible assistance to prevent the passage of such bills. . . . Teachers must not be intimidated by administrators, boards of education, or pressure groups.[9]

Illustration of a Bad Type of Influence.—In 1940 the National Association of Manufacturers employed Professor Ralph Robey to search in school textbooks for what might be called subversive teachings. With the aid of a corps of assistants the professor examined some 600 textbooks and early in 1941 submitted a report. Concerning it, a Chicago newspaper commented, "Some texts told of the miseries of sharecroppers, others of child labor problems. Some mentioned trade unions and their accomplishments. The dastardly assertion that some trusts and monopolies exist in the United States he found was actually in textbooks to poison the minds of youth. Why, it was even found that innocent children were being taught that upon occasion the Bill of Rights failed to protect all citizens equally!" [10] It appears that what Professor Robey found was very much less subversive than leading manufacturers had been led to believe existed.

Still another statement throwing light on the question was made in 1935 by the late Glenn Frank, then president of the University of Wisconsin and later a national officer in the Republican Party:

There can, of course, be no defense of the crass, the shoddy and the pointless in curricula and babbittized services to which universities may so easily commit themselves. The nation needs universities that shall house, as in a cloister, a priesthood of learning that keeps itself unspotted from the world and pursues elusive truth above the battle of the nation's life and enterprise. But that is not, cannot be, and should not be the ideal of the state university.

The state university is a new social tool devised by modern government. It can be neither understood nor administered exclusively in terms of the traditional university pattern. The nature of the state university is such that strict accuracy of description might well give it a name other than that of university. It is not a university in the traditional sense. That is to say, it does not, it cannot, and it should not confine itself to the promotion of pure research and the training of professional scholars. The state university must shamelessly concern itself with the life of the state as well as the life of the mind.

[9] John Lloyd, "Education Conventions," *School Life*, XXII:11–12.
[10] Quoted from *The Chicago Daily Times*, March 31, 1941.

That the state university concerns itself with the life of the state more does not mean that it concerns itself with the life of the mind less. It means simply that the state university has all the functions of the traditional university plus functions the traditional university does not have. It carries other and wider obligations to the state government and to the occupational and professional groups of the state.[11]

Glenn Frank also spoke the mind of many outstanding educators when he said:

It is important that we maintain a productive freedom in our schools.

The freedom of the schools may be a pointless thing. By that I mean a school may be free because it is so colorless, so ineffective and so unproductive that nobody cares to take the trouble to control it.

The freedom we want for our schools is the freedom to be colorful, effective and productive.

Unless the teachers of our schools are free, and are made to feel free, to prosecute their investigations without fear of interference and to publish their findings without fear of consequence, our schools would as well be dismantled, for nothing save a rehash of yesterday's knowledge will ever come out of them.

How shall this freedom be guaranteed?

There are three, and only three, sure safeguards of the freedom of teaching and research, viz:

1. The unbreakable courage of the teacher who is willing to lose his position at the drop of the hat and see himself turned into the street rather than suppress or sabotage his findings to fit the administration of the school or the administration of the state.
2. School administrators who surrender everything else before they will permit the freedom of their teachers to be infringed.
3. Security of tenure.[12]

Activities of Teacher Organizations to Preserve Academic Freedom.—The National Education Association maintains a committee on academic freedom. The purpose of the committee was stated in the following resolution adopted at the Denver convention in 1935:

The National Education Association believes that administrators, teachers, and schools should have full opportunity to present differing points of view on any and all controversial questions in order to aid students to adjust themselves to their environment and to changing social conditions. The National Education Association is instructed to appoint a Committee on Academic Freedom of five members, three of whom shall be classroom teachers. The duties of this Committee shall be as follows:

[11] "Glenn Frank Says," *St. Paul Dispatch*, April 20, 1935.
[12] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1935.

(1) To make known to teachers and other friends of education any proposed legislation against freedom in teaching and to take the necessary steps to combat such legislation.
(2) To investigate and to report upon cases of discharge of teachers in violation of the principle of academic freedom.
(3) To seek public support for the right of teachers to academic freedom.
(4) To assist in every way efficient teachers deprived of their positions in violation of the National Education Association principle of academic freedom.[18]

This Committee on Academic Freedom established in 1935 was in 1944 consolidated with the N. E. A. Tenure Committee and a committee formed which is the Committee on Tenure and Academic Freedom.

Some state education associations have committees on academic freedom. In rare cases have either the national or state education associations been as active in attempting to secure redress for violations of academic freedom as has the American Association of University Professors, whose censure is feared by all colleges and universities of any standing; nor has it been as active as the American Federation of Teachers and the American Civil Rights Committee, both of which have stood by deserving individual victims in the courts and in public local discussion.

4. Accrediting and Other Professional Associations

Affecting directly only secondary schools, one of the most powerful and most wholesome influences upon education in the United States is wielded by voluntary associations of schools and colleges which have as their principal function the improvement of secondary schools and colleges by means of accreditation. There are four of these organizations:

The Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1892
The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1895
The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1895
The Northwest Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1918

Two other groups—the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the Western Association of Colleges and

[18] "Committee on Academic Freedom," *Secondary Education*, IV:316.

Secondary Schools—while influential in many ways, do not accredit schools. Figure 19 shows the areas served by the major associations named.

The Accrediting Associations.—Associations in the first group mentioned were organized primarily for the purpose of discovering which secondary schools were of sufficient quality to justify the expectation that their graduates would make good college students and therefore should be admitted without examination, and which institutions of higher education were of sufficiently high grade that

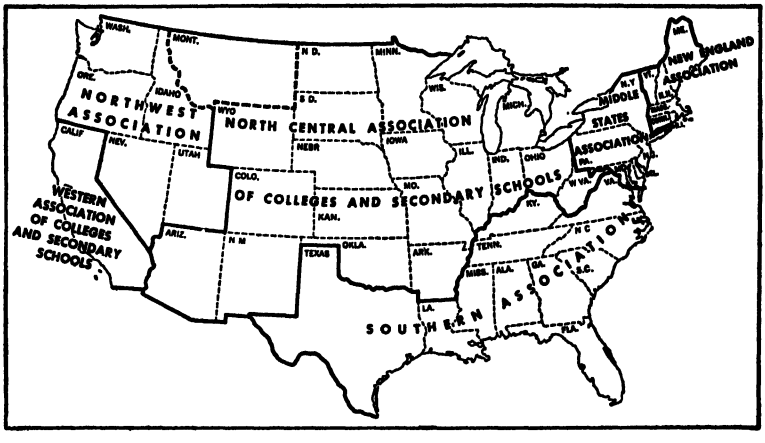


Figure 19. Associations of College and Secondary Schools in the United States
Montana is in two groups.

credits made in one of them might transfer to other good colleges and universities.

The secondary purpose of these associations, to stimulate the improvement of schools and colleges, has now become at least equally important. In fact, it may be said that accrediting by regional accrediting associations and state accrediting agencies has done more than any other single influence to improve the faculties, programs, administration, staffs, and teaching of secondary schools. Their influence upon colleges has also been very important.

Method of Accreditation.—The *modi operandi* of the four associations for accrediting schools are very similar. They may be summarized as follows:

1. To become a member, the administration of a school must first file an application, including a comprehensive detailed report and description of the school.
2. The state committee of the association then provides for an inspection. This may be one of two types: (a) a visit by one or more representatives of the association, or (b) an evaluation by a committee of from five to twelve school men—most of them usually from nearby schools. Either type of inspection usually requires two or three days.

Criteria for Appraising Schools.—The standards or criteria of the North Central Association, resembling closely those of the other associations, are briefly as follows:

1. *Housing.* The school plant must be adequate for the program of instruction and must insure hygienic conditions and safety of pupils.

2. *Library.* The library must contain books in number, character, and variety to facilitate the program of instruction. It must have adequately trained librarian service (full-time librarian for schools of 1,000 or more students), adequate housing and seating, and suitable classification and methods of administration.

3. *Organization.* The school year must be at least thirty-six weeks in length, the recitation periods must provide a minimum of forty minutes, and sixteen units must be required for graduation.

4. *Qualifications of Teachers.* All teachers must be college graduates, and supervisory and administrative officers must possess the master's degree and credit in education on the graduate level above the fifteen semester hours mentioned below. At least fifteen semester hours of professional training are required of teachers of academic subjects, plus a minimum degree of specialization in any teaching field—which is usually fifteen semester hours in the field taught, science, for example, and five semester hours in the particular subject taught, physics, for example.

5. *Teaching Load.* The association recommends but no longer insists upon the following practices: (a) pupil-teacher ratio, not more than thirty to one; (b) the number of classes taught by the teacher, not more than five daily; and (c) the total number of pupil-periods per day, not more than 150 per teacher. (The Douglass formula is commonly used for measuring the total teaching load.)

6. *Instruction, Discipline, and Spirit.* The association defines its views on the standards of instruction and morale as follows: "The efficiency of instruction, the acquired habits of thought and study, the general intellectual and moral tone of a school, and the cooperative attitude of the community are paramount factors, and, therefore, only schools that rank well in these particulars, as evidenced by rigid, thoroughgoing, sympathetic evaluation, shall be considered eligible for the list of schools approved by the association."

7. *The Administration of the School.* There must be in operation a plan of organization and system of procedures which insure to the professional administration of the school ample authority to organize and operate a good school. The general principles of such a plan should be made a matter of record by the board of education.

8. *Records.* The school must maintain a complete system of records, including at least records of scholastic progress and attendance, and sufficient supplementary items for a good guidance program.

The Evaluative Criteria.—In 1933–40, the accrediting associations cooperated in developing a very thorough and comprehensive set of standards and devices for computation of merit and of degree of meeting the standards. The investigations involved 200 schools, test scores of 17,000 students, records of 13,000 graduates and 7,000 former students, judgments of 17,000 students and 7,000 parents, 200 principals, seventy-five inspectors and twelve members of the professional staff engaged for the study. The set of evaluative criteria is available in three versions: a very complete set, a short list, and an intermediate one.

It is one of the unusual merits of this set of evaluative criteria that, by its use, the relative position of a school according to each standard may be seen. It is not merely a matter of meeting or not meeting a standard. A most valuable use of the criteria is made in many sections of the country. Groups of school men meet for two or three days at a school to be evaluated, and participate in a survey. Usually this is preceded by a series of meetings of the staff of the school over a period of a number of months in which the school is rated by its own staff. The outside committee is usually divided into subcommittees, who go over the ratings and the criteria, meeting with the board of education, administrative officers, representatives of the student body, parents, and members of the staff. The professional stimulation of these activities to all teachers and administrators involved is most valuable. A verdict resulting from such an

appraisal is not only likely to be sound, but one acceptable to the school and its authorities.

Other Accrediting Agencies.—Accrediting of this general type is also done by most state departments of education and in a few cases by state universities—as in Nebraska, Colorado, Illinois, and Michigan, where the state departments of education are not empowered to accredit. Because of political pressures and expediency, the standards for state accreditment are not very high, practically all four-year schools being able to meet them.

College Accrediting Bodies.—Of a somewhat similar nature are national associations of certain specialized colleges and professional schools, for instance, the American Association of Law Schools. Similar associations exist for schools or colleges of medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, engineering, and music. Each of these organizations has established specific standards for such matters as length of terms, education of staff, teaching load, library, curriculum, and entrance requirements.

Achievements of Accrediting Agencies.—A great many schools are held in line through fear of loss of accredited standing, especially smaller and weaker schools. Even in large cities, erring school boards and administrators occasionally are brought to account. An outstanding example of this is the case of the Chicago schools in 1946–47, which were called upon by the North Central Association to reform their administrative procedures or suffer the penalty of loss of accreditation for failure to do so.

The college organizations are able to bring great pressure to bear upon college and university authorities to bring their institutions "up to standard." Without the leverage of this helpful pressure from the various national organizations, the departments, schools, and colleges of most universities would be at a great disadvantage in getting necessary appropriations from their state or other financing authority.

Other Collegiate Associations.—There are a score or more organizations which, while they do not have definite accrediting procedures, exert a great deal of influence upon education in this country. Their influence is largely made effective through meetings, conferences, publications, and correspondence. Among these are the American Council on Education, the American Association of Junior Colleges, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, the American Association of Universities, and the American Association of State Universities.

Professional Organizations of Teachers.—As indicated in Chapter 14, there are many influential national, state, and local organizations of teachers and administrators. Many of these, about thirty in all, are departments of the National Education Association, e.g., the Department of Business Education, the National Council for the Social Studies, the American Association of Secondary School Principals, the Department of Visual Education, the Department of Adult Education, and the Department of Kindergarten Primary Education.

These and their state, city, and regional units or chapters, and some forty state and regional associations (such as the Inland Empire Education Association which meets at Spokane, Washington, and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, usually meeting at St. Louis) hold meetings at least annually where speeches are made, papers are read, committees report, resolutions are passed—all relating to education. Delegates and others attending these meetings carry the influence back to the local schools. Many state and national organizations publish yearbooks, monthly journals, or both. Among other influential organizations are the American Education Fellowship and the Association of College and University Presidents.

Effects of Professional Organizations.—Taken as a whole, these professional organizations wield a powerful influence upon education, probably much more than the official agencies or the unofficial pressures of laymen; at the college level they are probably more influential than both combined. They bring about changes in curricula and courses of study. They influence the objectives and philosophy of education. They cause new and better equipment to be produced and used. They influence methods of instruction, the preparation of teachers, requirements for graduation, teaching assignments, and, indeed, every aspect of education, including finance and accounting.

5. Inter-influence of the Levels of Education

Though the direct, authoritative influence of institutions of higher education upon secondary schools has declined materially in recent decades as men and women of increased training and professional ability and stability have taken over the lower schools, there have developed indirect influences almost as important.

College-Entrance Examinations.—The oldest, most powerful but now diminishing channel of influence of colleges upon high schools is the college-entrance examination. Before the opening of this century, when the great majority of colleges accepted students only

upon the basis of college-entrance examinations, the colleges practically dictated the curricula and courses of study to high schools. In those days about half of the high school graduates entered college, and high school courses were designed for preparation for college. Noncollege students were "benefited by the disciplinary training."

Since the turn of the century, more and more colleges have accepted students from good high schools on the basis of their transcripts and without examination. Now fewer than 10 per cent of the students entering college take entrance examinations—chiefly those entering such traditional universities as Princeton, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale. Even at most of these, some students are admitted without examinations.

College-Entrance Requirements.—Despite the passing of college-entrance examinations from prominence, the colleges have kept a hand on the collar of American secondary education in the form of college-entrance requirements. Until the thirties, nearly all colleges required for entrance specified credits in favored fields of subject matter which had been thought to possess unique value as preparation for college.

These requirements, while not greatly influencing the content of various subjects, nevertheless caused many high schools to offer college-entrance subjects to the exclusion of more useful courses in order that college-going students, so often children of influential parents and school board members, could accumulate the required credits. It is still more significant that, because of the hopes and possibilities that many high school students possess of going to college and because of the unwillingness of parents to suffer the loss of social prestige occasioned by the failure of their offspring to take college-preparatory courses, many more students take "college-preparatory" subjects than enter college.

One of the more pernicious influences upon American secondary education began to wither when various investigators reported findings that no subject contributed appreciably more than others to a general preparation for a liberal higher education.

Other Influences of the College.—The college always has influenced education at the lower levels by several other means. Among them may be mentioned the following types:

1. College teachers have influenced future teachers by their choice of and emphasis upon subject matter and their methods and philosophy of teaching, and by their personalities.

2. College teachers have, until recently, written the great majority of textbooks for college and secondary schools and many of those used in elementary schools.
3. College teachers have wielded influence as speakers and officers of various educational associations, and at meetings.
4. College teachers of education in particular, by reason of their special interests and occupations, have exercised great influence upon education in the United States in their courses on education, through the books they have written on education, by the research they have carried on, and that which they have stimulated and guided, and by their leadership generally among teachers.

Influence upon Higher Institutions by Those of Lower Levels.—The avenues of influence of educational institutions and educators of one level upon those of another have not constituted a one-way street. It is feared by many of the old school of thought in institutions of higher education that their colleagues in the high schools have been contaminated and weakened by the newer doctrines and philosophies of education preached by professors of education, and which have possessed first the elementary schools, then the secondary schools, now the colleges. Illustrative of the effects of such influences, they point out, is the use of objective tests. Another is the neglect in the high school of the glories of ancient Greece and Rome for "ephemeral" movements, events, and characters in the present scene. Worst of all are the extremes to which school and college teachers sometimes go to make learning interesting instead of disciplinary, as it used to be!

Not only have junior high schools and, more recently, senior high schools adopted newer philosophies, psychology, modern curriculum trends and ideas of teaching, extracurricular activities, guidance and public relations, but now these and other things are creeping into the college level. Excellent illustrations of the latest importations from below are the general education idea, the use of socialized types of class activity, and the development of modern guidance programs.

Other Inter-level Influences.—Elementary schools have adopted some ideas from above, such as departmentalized assignment of teachers and competitive activities. More fortunate areas have been technical guidance facilities, clubs, and such other extracurricular activities as student participation in management and in formulating school policies concerning school routine and student conduct.

Junior high schools for decades have struggled to live their own lives, neither unduly influenced by precedent nor by teachers inherited

from the elementary school and intimidated by critical teachers and principals in senior high schools.

A somewhat amusing if not a little discouraging is the "copy cat" tendency of junior colleges. Disdaining to be a part of a four-year secondary school, they have indulged in great pretensions of being collegiate and in mimicking not only titles and plans of administration, but also college curricula and courses of study, thus assuring where such ideas are prevalent that junior colleges will be at least a few years behind the colleges in their educational programs.

In both secondary schools and colleges, the curriculum and methods of teaching are conditioned by the degree of intellectual interests, abilities, and knowledge developed by their students in the next lower school. Complaints of lack of interest and poor preparation, although to be taken with much salt, are not to be ignored entirely. The work of the upper school in recent years has had to be modified and made duller, in order to adapt it to the variations in the human materials sent up to be taught.

6. Social Trends

The nature, programs, and activities of American schools should be constantly revised in the light of changes in American life, institutions, ways and conditions of life, and problems of the nation and of the world. These changes during the past century have accelerated until they are now moving at a breath-taking pace; they seem to center largely around certain institutions and areas of life—the home and family, the church and religion, transportation and communication, commerce and industry, urbanization and leisure life, government and international relationships.

Changes in Home and Family.—Certain changes in family life affect the needs and nature of education. Almost vanished from most American homes is work experience for youth, with its educational values of training in responsibility, cooperation, understanding of the meaning of work, and the processes and skills involved in production and maintenance. The importance of various types of educational outcomes from the family activities in producing and processing foods, in construction and repair of clothing and household appurtenances, and in the repair of furniture, farm implements, harness, and vehicles, etc., was much greater and more varied than most people realize.[14] Children today associate much less with their

[14] John Dewey, *School and Society.* See also Harl R. Douglass, *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America,* Ch. II.

parents and other adults, thus making it much more improbable that they will absorb adult ways of thinking and of behavior. These facts contribute to the relative immaturity of adolescents and of young men and young women, so often commented upon.

Industry and Commerce.—The development of industry and commerce in huge units and on a national scale has also had important consequences for education. No longer are there the many local industries offering young people the opportunity for vocational orientation and for vocational experience. This development has also resulted in closing the door at least partially to ownership of small businesses and factories by those possessed of small amounts of capital.

In addition, these trends have created serious economic and political problems which call for more education about the economic problems of a rapidly developing industrial democracy. Increasing proportions of our population are completely dependent for their living upon national prosperity. When depressions come, as they do with increasing violence, millions are desperate. In addition, huge corporations have developed which wield great power over the economic life of the country and therefore have become a matter of keen public concern and educational importance.

The development of national markets and mass production and the application of science and art to make goods appear attractive and better than they really are have resulted in advertising on a scale that makes it important to educate future consumers to buy intelligently—to avoid the substitution of inferior goods and not to spend beyond their needs.

Problems of labor and management have become more acute as labor has organized to make itself secure in a world where security is so clearly dependent upon having a permanent position and adequate purchasing power. The struggle to maintain and extend monopoly and the struggle between labor and management have created new and serious problems for education.

Science and Technology.—Science and technology have made it possible for one man with machines to produce from two to 2,000 times as much as one could a generation ago. The working population of sixty million men and women with modern machinery and processes can produce annually on the basis of a forty-hour work week enough to average $4,000 for every family of four in the United States. Perplexing problems present themselves relative to the means of so distributing purchasing power as to produce a market

for maximum production and, if failing to do so, how to distribute income and employment so as to avoid economic dependence for tens of millions of people.

Advances in medical and dental science and art have made it possible to cure or reduce the dangers and consequences of disease, to produce better health, to prolong life, to reduce suffering, to develop effective and attractive teeth, to increase physical efficiency, and to cure or alleviate personality disorders. As yet, we have developed no way of making available to a majority of the population of the United States more than a portion of the potential blessings.

All these problems call for education calculated to develop social responsibility on the part of leaders; political literacy on the part of the voters; and, on the part of both, ways of making democracy serve the needs of the people in modern times.

Government.—Democratic government has developed many weak spots. Corrupt political machines exist not only in large cities, but rather generally everywhere. Government has become less and less rule "of the people, by the people, and for the people," and more and more the ruling of the people, by and for pressure groups and lobbyists and powerful economic organizations—a malignant condition that must be corrected.

Government, primarily established to insure peace and order, through the years has come also to be the agent of the people for achieving highways, parks, schools, hospitals, relief, sanitation, and many other social services and institutions. Voters are necessarily concerned with the problems incident to government services in all these fields.

Greatly increased government expenditures, now annually exceeding $1,000 per family of four has created serious problems, among which are: (1) assuring honesty and efficiency in expenditures and in obtaining services, (2) avoiding political bureaucracy and political machines built upon patronage, and (3) solving the problems emerging from an annual tax bill of thirty to forty billion dollars.

International Relationships.—Nations have become much more interdependent than formerly, and constantly are becoming more so. The development of international trade and the increased necessity of our industry to import and export creates problems. Furthermore, international investments and international complications growing out of them create problems often quite serious. International controls and business organizations calculated to control commerce and create at least semi-monopolies constitute a new complication.

With the development of the atomic bomb, peace becomes a problem of literally vital consequence. Our participation in the two world wars largely consisted of economic contributions to battles fought in other lands. The next great war will be a bombing war and will be fought in the homeland of every country participating. It will be fought with weapons capable of destroying within a few hours millions of human beings and the majority of industries located in large production centers—transportation, fuel, food, and clothing, as well as war industries.

World War II lifted into the driver's seat the U.S.S.R. and the United States, along with Great Britain. In international affairs, Russians and Americans are immature peoples, inexperienced in the problems of international leadership and responsibility. Furthermore, we are confronted by a conflict in ideologies as well as a shifting of world influence caused by a declining Great Britain and a rising Russia. Pacts, treaties, and United Nations agreements and other potential scraps of paper will not prevent war. That can be achieved only by a degree of mutual understanding and cooperation which cannot be accomplished except upon a basis of much education. The rôle of the school in promoting peace is a most important one.

Urbanization and Rural Life.—The last century has witnessed the transformation of this country from one primarily rural and agricultural to one largely urban. Along with the advantages of city life, there have developed problems and conditions of much significance for American education. Among the problems demanding the attention of education are those related to health and sanitation, contagious diseases, sewage disposal, pure food and water, opportunities for sunlight, fresh air, exercise, play, housing, and social conditions.

Urbanization has complicated the problems of morals and character. Increased anonymity and consequently decreased social restraints, increased sophistication, increased commercialized vice and amusement—all are more characteristic of cities than of rural communities.

Such problems call urgently for the redirection of education. Increased attention must be given to scientific and other education relative to sanitation, preventive hygiene, safety, daily regimen of health, and government channels for promoting these things. Greater attention must be given to developing appropriate tastes, ideals, attitudes, interest, skills, and habits relative to life in an urban community.

Leisure Life and Amusement.—America, the land of thrift, industry, and pioneer virtues has become the land of play and leisure. The tendency for household chores to disappear from American homes, shortened work days and work weeks, and the use of farm machinery have all contributed to increase the amount of time available for leisure. Such increases in leisure time can be a danger and a liability as well as a potential asset or blessing.

Leisure time in the United States no longer centers around the home; unorganized outdoor sports and other forms of recreation have become largely transformed into sophisticated social life and commercialized vice and amusement. Movies, taverns, night clubs, "sport" contests, gambling, the automobile, the dine, drink, and dance (or at least drink) spots are becoming places of much American leisure life. Even the radio, with its variety of programs of good, mediocre, and worse music, of adventure, love, and mystery plays, of quiz programs, mind readers, and comedians, of commentators, and of sports accounts, all sprinkled generously with commercials, reaches tens of millions of listeners daily. Vanishing are the parties at home, sleigh rides, barn dances, husking bees, box suppers, and similar homespun social activities.

Whatever may be the merits of the two sides of the controversy as to which is the more fun, our newer leisure states and habits are fraught with many dangers—physical, moral, mental, and social.

Even at the movies, young and old are stimulated to desire to live luxuriously, to have glamorous personalities, and to find expression of power through violence, sex, or economic power. Dissatisfaction with relatively prosaic, wholesome family and leisure life is created in the minds of young and old.

It is not mysterious happenstance that the modal age of criminals dropped to nineteen in the thirties and to seventeen in the forties. Nor is it an accident that the numbers of illegitimate children, divorces, and cases of alcoholism, venereal disease, mental disorder, and criminal offenses have grown in recent years by leaps and bounds.

There is a greatly increased need for the parent, church, press, and school to accept responsibility for developing qualities of character sufficiently stabilizing to offset, at least in part, the deteriorating influence of modern leisure life—a greatly increased responsibility for developing tastes and habits conducive to leisure life on a scale favorable to health, family stability, social welfare, and lasting happiness.

Transportation.—The development of the automobile and excellent highways and of airplane transportation has affected the problems and conditions of education in the United States. Someone has said the normal death of dogs and drivers is by automobile. A people who were exercised a generation ago about the dangers and brutality of football with the loss of a dozen lives annually seem unwilling to take any effective action to curb the killing of 35,000 people annually and the serious injury of half a million more.

The automobile and airplane have also complicated seriously the detection and detention of criminals. They have played havoc with morals and the parents' supervision of the social life of adolescents.

The automobile industry has grown to be our greatest, involving 10 to 15 per cent of our income, 20 to 25 per cent in the case of half of the population—diverting expenditures in millions of families from homes, insurance, medical services, education, and cultural methods.

Now comes the airplane, upsetting the whole picture of peace and international relationships, as well as providing an additional complication along the lines already created by the automobile. Together these two means of rapid transportation have increased materially the necessity for education for character, for consumer intelligence, and for economic and political citizenship, as well as for safety.

Communications.—The press has always been a partner, or at least a co-agent, in public education, being the principal avenue of education of adults after their school days are terminated. Recent developments give concern to educators. The daily press, while technically free, has been largely the organ of a small and powerful part of the population. Furthermore it has lost much of its propensity for accurate reporting of the truth. By means of headlining, distortion, "burying," or omission, it not only fails to bring complete, accurate information, but it most often consciously attempts to create wrong impressions and attitudes favorable to the economic and political partnership of its owners and advertisers—usually well-to-do people, heavy taxpayers, and employers of labor. The same educational liabilities are characteristic of the more widely circulated periodicals.

The radio is in many ways the newspaper of the air, with its news, advertising, editorials of the commentators—and subject to the same controls and biases. The principal difference is that the radio reaches daily many people for whom reading is difficult, or at least not a pleasant task.

Among the implications of these developments for public education in the United States are the necessity for training in critical reading and listening, in knowing how to interpret and discount what is read and heard, and in giving a great deal of fundamental orientation and training in the more important vital problems of the day—social, economic and political—and, in addition, training in consumerhood.

Church and Religious Life.—While nominal church membership has not materially decreased, especially in such denominations as Baptists, Catholics, Methodists, and in new denominational sects among the lower economic classes, the church is no longer the center of community life it once was. Prayer and other religious ceremonies have all but disappeared from the home; people generally take religion far less seriously than formerly, particularly as it is related to their daily lives. There is little fear of a punitive God or of eternal suffering, much less attention paid to the admonitions of ministers, deacons, and elders. The greatly decreased influence of church and religion on daily life, its ideals and practices, creates the need for compensating factors in developing character and related life practices.

American Ideals and Philosophy.—We have just passed out of our pioneer epoch. Glorious in many ways, it was one of settlement in new lands, of development of new industry and business, of competitive struggle to reach the top, of struggle for the development and control of economic organizations, of great advances in science and technology, of great advances in standards of living for the majority of the population.

In that epoch it was inevitable that materialism and competitive industrialism would be greatly emphasized. Possession of power and economic rank, as well as the possession of material goods, have come to be the principal goals of most of us. As a result little stress has been placed upon either cooperation or contentment.

We have now reached an epoch where continued progress and, indeed, continuance of our present state of welfare, if not the survival of our nation and civilization, depend upon a higher degree of cooperation and concern for the general welfare—so interdependent have all people become as individuals, communities, and nations.

Certainly, happiness and peace of mind, sought vainly by so many of us, will be achieved only when our goal is something other than greater and greater power for no other reason than to satisfy vanity,

and more worldly possessions merely to gain rank and to excite the envy of others. A new type of educational provision aimed at a satisfactory philosophy of life is indicated and the groundwork must be laid in the schools and in the home.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Write out a concise, carefully thought through discussion of the topic "The Teachers Should be Permitted to Do Their Work as They See It," touching on all sides (600–1,000 words).
2. Give examples from previous times of the interference with or persecution of scientists, or other thinkers, who were ahead of their time.
3. Be able to discuss the statement "Even when no teacher is directly approached on the matter of what he teaches, he is very likely to be materially influenced by unofficial agencies."
4. Investigate and make a report in class on the influence of manufacturers and distributors on the school curriculum, mentioning the different approaches, and cite examples if possible.
5. Which of the various types of unofficial influences are most important in your opinion, which the least, which growing in importance?
6. What are the principal ill effects or dangers of unofficial influences? What benefits?
7. Write out your ideas of what should constitute academic freedom and related responsibility on the part of the teacher.
8. What do you think local, state, and national teachers' organizations should do about undue influence upon teachers for teaching the truth or discussing controversial questions?
9. What do you think are the values and the weaknesses of regional accrediting associations?
10. Write out a paper or be prepared to discuss in class from notes, "The Influence of Colleges upon Elementary and Secondary Schools," explaining which are good and which are bad.
11. Write a description of the more important changes in the home and church occurring during the last few decades which are of significance to education, and explain their implications for education.
12. Do the same for industry and business.
13. Do the same for government and international relations.
14. Do the same for urbanization, rural life, and leisure life.
15. Do the same for transportation and communications.
16. Do the same for American ideals and developments in science.

Chapter 10

THE PUPIL, PUPIL RETENTION, AND PUPIL PROGRESS

1. A School-Going People

Increases in Enrollments in Recent Decades.—In no other country except Russia have so many or so high a percentage of people of elementary and secondary school age attended school as in recent years in the United States. In 1900, approximately two thirds of the boys and girls more than five and less than eighteen years of age—12¾ million in all—were attending school—though, it must be admitted, many of them, perhaps the majority, were attending only from 60 to 150 days a year. By 1940, the number attending elementary and secondary schools had increased to more than twenty-seven million and the percentage had increased to more than 90 per cent. (See Table 9.) The great increase since 1900 has been largely in grades 7 through 12, and since 1945 in grades 10 through 12. A material part of the increase has been in increased attendance on the part of Negroes, particularly in the South where since 1900 numbers and percentages in various states have doubled, and even tripled or quadrupled in a few states.

Very material increases have occurred also in industrial communities and states of the Middle Atlantic group and in more sparsely settled rural areas throughout the country. Particularly in the industrial states, the enactment of compulsory attendance laws (pushed by labor unions and organizations of parents) has operated to retain many more youngsters in grades 7 through 10. Increased prosperity in most sections has made it possible to release more children from work to attend school and has made it possible to spend more money on schools, though since 1940 increases in school expenditures have been relatively small in comparison with increases in national income. Improved highways have contributed to school attendance in rural areas.

Growth in School Attendance.—The increase in the per cent of children in the United States attending school since 1880 is shown in

TABLE 9

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS SINCE 1880[a]

School Year	Population Aged 5 to 17 Years, Inclusive	Enrollment			High School Graduates	Per Cent of Attendance Daily for Each 100 Enrolled
		Elementary Schools	High Schools	Total		
1879–80	15,065,767	9,757,118	110,277	9,867,395	11,000	62.3
1889–90	18,543,201	12,519,668	202,963	12,722,631	25,311	64.1
1899-1900	21,404,322	14,983,859	519,251	15,503,110	71,410	68.6
1909–10	24,239,948	16,898,791	915,061	17,813,852	128,812	72.1
1919–20	27,728,788	19,377,927	2,200,389	21,578,216	275,238	74.8
1929–30	31,571,322	21,278,593	4,399,422	25,678,015	605,457	82.8
1939–40	29,805,259	20,119,790	7,059,212	27,179,002	1,221,475	86.7
1941–42	29,183,560	20,026,230	7,063,243	27,062,473	1,242,375	85.6
1943–44	28,930,000	19,482,628	6,283,988	25,766,616		
1945–46[b]	28,890,000	18,490,000	6,160,000	24,810,000		
1949–50[c]	30,000,000	20,000,000	7,500,000	27,500,000	1,560,000	
1955–56[c]	32,000,000	22,500,000	8,000,000	29,500,000	1,500,000	
1960–61[c]	35,000,000	22,000,000	9,000,000	31,000,000	1,600,000	

[a] Data for 1880–1944 were obtained from statistics given by Emery M. Foster, *Statistics of State School Systems, 1939–40 and 1941–42; Statistics of State School Systems, 1943–44; Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42;* and *Statistics of Nonpublic Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1940–41.*

[b] Based on *School Attendance of the Civilian Population: October, 1945,* U. S. Department of Commerce. Data are based on a sample survey conducted in October, 1945, by the Department of Commerce.

[c] Estimated by authors.

Table 9. Elementary school enrollments decreased between 1930 and 1948. That is because the increase in number of children of elementary school age began to diminish in the twenties, with the total actually decreasing since 1934. The number of children entering school for the first time began to increase again in 1945 as the result of the increased birth since 1938. A peak birth rate occurred in 1946 when a million more babies were born than in 1933. Throughout the early fifties a continued increase in elementary school enrollments may be expected, and in the high schools throughout the fifties and early sixties. These predictions are based primarily upon the statistics of births for recent years, given in Table 10.

Other Factors Affecting Enrollment Statistics.—To be sure, factors other than birth rates affect the numbers in school, even in the elementary grades. Particularly is this true for any given community. Prominent among these is the tendency for people to move about. The number of people in a community of school age varies not only with birth rates but the extent to which families with children move in and out of the community. During the war, families with children of elementary school ages flocked in great numbers to cities where war industries had developed; in many other areas

TABLE 10

ESTIMATED POPULATION AT CERTAIN AGE LEVELS, BASED ON NUMBER AND ESTIMATED NUMBER OF LIVE BIRTHS

Year	Recorded[a] Live Births	Population[a] 6–13 inclusive	Population[a] 14–17 inclusive
1940	2,360,399		
1941	2,513,427	16,299,248[b]	
1942	2,808,996	16,080,996	7,619,577[b]
1943	2,934,860	16,114,288	7,893,155
1944	2,794,800	16,192,312	8,218,291
1945	2,744,000	16,335,970	8,196,600
1946	3,230,510	16,605,146	8,045,159
1947	3,675,000	17,011,409	7,963,672
1948		17,614,288	7,929,530
1949		18,347,257	7,969,334
1950		18,958,267	8,035,837
1951		19,466,490	8,150,616
1952		20,678,214	8,262,782
1953		22,024,202	8,366,636
1954			8,569,309
1955		Throughout the rest	8,860,793
1956		of the fifties, popu-	9,351,505
1957		lation of 6–13 yrs.	9,980,621
1958		will most probably	10,388,958
1959		be between 21 and	10,605,697
1960		23 million.	11,001,920
1961			11,597,651[c]

[a] In a survey conducted in 1940, the Bureau of the Census found that approximately 92.5 per cent of the births were recorded. These figures would indicate an under-enumeration of about 7 per cent.

[b] Figures in the two columns at the right are based on the live birth rate and child mortality rate, and do not take into consideration immigration and other factors.

[c] Population of ages 14–17 will probably be between 11 and 12 million throughout the sixties.

elementary school enrollments decreased more than could be accounted for by a declining birth in the previous six to fourteen years.

At the high school level, birth rate, while influential, is not the most important factor. Practically all children of elementary school age attend school, and hence, to a considerable extent in the typical community, elementary school attendance rises and falls with the number of births, allowing a period of six years for youngsters to grow up to school age.

In the high schools attendance figures are more directly affected by factors other than birth rate. Most influential is the relative manpower shortage or surplus and the consequent ease with which those of high school age may get positions at attractive pay. A second factor is the degree to which good schools are accessible. In several southern states, especially in Mississippi and Arkansas, good

schools with more than six-month terms are not available for Negroes in a great many communities; and in some sparsely settled western states secondary schools of any type are not available, except by traveling at least several miles.

A third and very important factor is the tendency to increase the upper limit of compulsory school attendance from age thirteen or fourteen to age fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen. Also influential in determining the number of children enrolled in high school is relative attractiveness of the schools. In some regions, particularly in the South—especially in the schools for Negroes—buildings are poor and unattractive, teachers are underpaid and struggle with large classes, the curriculum is formal and unrelated to life or to child interest, and extracurricular activities are insufficient. Recently in some southern states—notably in North Carolina and Florida—educational facilities and programs, even in schools for Negroes, have been greatly improved. In several other southern states improvements are being made as rapidly as might be expected in view of the relative poverty, the larger number of children per family, the lack of respect for Negroes (especially by what is sometimes referred to as the "white trash"), the still influential tradition of aristocracy, and the fact that, because of the poll tax and discrimination against Negroes, the percentage of the less well-to-do who vote is but a fraction of the wealthier taxpayers who turn out on election day.

Other important factors are recognition by the armed forces and people generally of the value, vocationally and otherwise, of high school and college education; the increased population of cities where high schools are easily accessible, and improved methods of transportation and facilities for transporting pupils to school.

Enrollment Trends.—Generally, with the major exception of the thirties and early forties, enrollments have steadily increased. While this has been true in the elementary grades, especially in the upper grades, the great increase has taken place in the secondary schools. As indicated in Table 9, the number of young people attending public high schools approximately doubled every decade between 1880 and 1930, although the actual population increase of fourteen-to-seventeen-year-olds averaged only about 15 per cent each decade. The greatest increase, both in numbers and per cent, of children attending high school occurred between 1930 and 1940 when enrollments rose from about four and a half million to more than seven million and the percentage of all young people of ages fourteen through seventeen jumped from 48 to 72 per cent. From 1941 to

1945 a decrease in enrollments took place that was largely attributable to enlistments in the armed services and to the pressing demand for young workers.

Since 1930 the percentage of children of ages six through thirteen enrolled in school has varied between 92 and 97 per cent. The fact that enrollments in elementary schools in some years actually exceeded slightly the number of children of elementary school age may be attributed to the fact that there were from one to two million boys and girls in grades 7 and 8 that had spent nine years or more in the elementary school.

Attendance in high school in 1940 was approaching the saturation stage, there then being enrolled more than two thirds of young people of ages fourteen to seventeen years. While high school enrollments soon are expected to reach 8,000,000 or 80 per cent of all young people of high school age, it is unlikely that this proportion will ever be substantially exceeded.

At the college level enrollments will continue for some time to increase substantially. Between 1910 and 1940 the ratio of college to high school enrollments decreased. In 1910 the ratio was approximately 1 to 3; in 1920, 1 to 4; in 1930, 1 to 4½; and in 1940, 1 to 5. In 1945, as the result of the war, it was only 1 to 7, but in 1947 it was 1 to 3. After a few years this ratio will no doubt decline.

Pupils in Nonpublic Schools.—The United States is a country of free public schools. As indicated by the data in Table 11, only one in ten of all enrolled in schools are in privately controlled schools. The majority of these are in Catholic parochial schools. Only one in thirteen secondary school pupils are in nonpublic schools. Only at the level of higher education is any large proportion of students in nonpublic schools. In 1941–42 that percentage was 47.8 per cent. About half of these are enrolled in denominational institutions.

The proportion of pupils attending nonpublic secondary schools has been slowly declining since 1910 but the proportion in nonpublic elementary schools has increased slightly since 1920, after decreasing between 1900 and 1920. Enrollments in nonpublic schools decrease in times of depression and increase in times of unusual prosperity. It is very likely, however, that as the enrollment level of the lower economic groups is increased as the result of their income increases and as racial discrimination and religious provincialism diminish, the desire of parents to send their children to nonpublic schools will lose strength.

TABLE 11

PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS, 1941–42[a]

	Public		Nonpublic	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Kindergarten and elementary	18,267,335	89.5	2,150,896	10.5
Secondary	6,420,554	92.5	517,721	7.5
Higher education	732,111	52.2	671,879	47.8
Total	25,419,990	89.9	3,340,496	10.1

[a] Emery M. Foster, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42*, U. S. Office of Education, p. 5.

Enrollments by States and Regions.—The percentage of young people attending school is not at all uniform among states or regions of the United States. Tables 12 and 13 reveal the percentage variations in school attendance by states in 1940 and by regions in 1920, 1930, and 1940. Certain broad and significant conclusions may be drawn from the data on school attendance. Among them are the following:

At all ages—

1. Percentages of children enrolled in school are greatest in the far western states and lowest in the southern states. Children of the South also attend fewer days per year.
2. Children attend elementary school as well in industrial states as in the country as a whole, but they do not attend high school as well as children in nonindustrial states.
3. Although the number of pupils enrolled in Catholic schools has increased steadily in recent years, 90 per cent of pupils attend public schools.

Holding Power.—The typical youngster in the United States attends school until he is sixteen or seventeen years of age and leaves school during or at the end of the last two years of secondary school. However, there are great variations in the age level that youngsters leave school. A few drop out as early as the fourth and fifth grades, more in grades 6 and 7, a considerable number in grades 8 and 9, and yet almost half remain to graduate from high school; of these 1 in 4 go to college, half remaining to graduate.

In Tables 14–17 are shown data relative to the holding power of the schools, and data relative to the comparative holding power of the various regions of the United States.

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE ATTENDING SCHOOL, IN EACH STATE, BY AGE GROUPS, 1940[a]

Region and State	Ages 7-13	Ages 14-17	Region and State	Ages 7-13	Ages 14-17
NEW ENGLAND	97.6	83.3	EAST CENTRAL	97.5	84.5
Maine	97.6	79.1	Michigan	97.7	83.4
New Hampshire	96.9	80.2	Wisconsin	97.8	82.8
Vermont	97.3	77.8	Illinois	97.4	83.1
Massachusetts	97.5	85.5	Indiana	97.2	84.3
Rhode Island	97.5	78.7	Ohio	97.5	87.5
Connecticut	97.8	85.3			
			WEST CENTRAL	97.1	80.3
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	97.0	89.6	North Dakota	96.7	74.9
New York	97.0	87.2	South Dakota	97.5	80.4
New Jersey	97.1	85.2	Nebraska	97.8	82.6
Pennsylvania	97.4	85.1	Minnesota	97.7	80.6
Maryland	96.6	72.6	Iowa	97.6	80.7
West Virginia	95.9	73.2	Missouri	95.7	75.1
Delaware	97.3	79.0	Kansas	97.7	83.9
SOUTHEASTERN	92.1	68.6	MOUNTAIN	96.6	82.9
Kentucky[b]	91.0	65.7	Idaho	97.8	85.8
Virginia	93.4	69.5	Montana	97.3	85.8
Tennessee	90.8	67.7	Wyoming	97.6	86.5
North Carolina	95.2	69.4	Utah	97.9	91.9
South Carolina	93.7	68.8	Colorado	97.1	81.9
Georgia	91.9	64.3	Arizona	91.2	75.6
Florida	93.4	74.1	Nevada	97.0	87.2
Alabama	92.4	70.9			
Mississippi	88.3	69.9	PACIFIC	96.9	90.1
			Washington	94.3	89.9
SOUTHWESTERN	93.4	73.5	Oregon	96.6	86.5
Arkansas	89.1	69.3	California	97.7	91.1
Louisiana	92.4	69.3			
Oklahoma	96.7	80.4	UNITED STATES	95.5	80.2
Texas	94.1	74.0			
New Mexico	93.5	79.0			

[a] *Sixteenth Census of the United States* (1940), Vol. II, Parts 1-7, Bureau of the Census, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1943.
[b] 1930, latest data for Kentucky.

It should be noted that just prior to the war four of five boys and girls remained through the elementary school to enter high school, and also that one half graduated from high school, three of eight quitting school in grades 9-12. These proportions obtained, no doubt, rather closely in the first few years just following the war. Withdrawal from school in recent years has slowly but gradually decreased, so that by 1960 nearly two thirds of all young people—more than 70 per cent of those entering high school—may be expected to graduate. h.j.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL IN VARIOUS TYPES OF REGIONS, 1920, 1930, 1940

	Ages 7–13			Ages 14–17		
	1920	1930	1940	1920	1930	1940
RURAL—COTTON, TOBACCO. . . Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Carolina, Georgia, Arkansas	83.8	90.3	91.8	61.3	65.8	68.2
RURAL—CORN, WHEAT. . . Iowa, Oklahoma, Missouri, Kansas, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska	92.2	96.9	97.0	67.7	74.6	79.4
MANUFACTURING. . . Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, Connecticut, Maine, Rhode Island, New Jersey	94.5	97.7	97.2	55.4	72.3	86.0
MANUFACTURING–RURAL. . . Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Indiana	95.1	97.8	97.8	61.8	77.8	84.4
RURAL–MANUFACTURING. . . Washington, Oregon, Minnesota	94.5	97.8	96.8	65.8	75.8	84.9
CATTLE, SHEEP, MINING, OIL—RURAL . . . New Mexico, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Arizona, Texas	86.2	91.0	94.7	65.5	72.9	76.9
UNITED STATES	90.6	95.3	95.5	61.4	73.0	79.4

Percentages of attendance were taken from the 1920, 1930, and 1940 reports of the U. S. Census. Classifications were made by the authors.

TABLE 14

NUMBER OF PERSONS GRADUATING FROM PUBLIC AND PRIVATE HIGH SCHOOL PER 100 PERSONS SEVENTEEN YEARS OF AGE, 1890–1942[a]

Year	Number Graduating from High School	Number Graduating per 100 Persons 17 Years of Age
1889–90	43,731	3.5
1899–1900	94,883	6.4
1909–10	156,429	8.8
1919–20	311,266	16.8
1929–30	666,904	29.1
1939–40	1,221,475	50.8
1941–42	1,242,375	51.2

[a] *Statistical Survey of Education, Biennial Survey of Education, 1940–42*, Vol. II, Ch. II, p. 13, U. S. Office of Education, 1944.

TABLE 15

HOLDING POWER OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES BY REGIONS, 1941–42[a]

Region	Grade								
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
New England	100	100	100	100	100	100	94	81	73
Middle Atlantic	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	82	70
Southeastern	100	90	84	75	36[b]	56	46	37	31
Southwestern	100	100	100	86	52[b]	73	63	54	46
East Central	100	100	100	100	100	100	97	82	75
West Central	100	100	100	100	92	91	82	75	67
Mountain	100	100	100	97	92	88	80	73	62
Pacific	100	100	100	100	100	100	98	91	78
United States	100	98	96	94	76[b]	87[b]	76	65	58

[a] Calculations are based upon enrollments in each grade for each state represented in the various regions as taken from Emery M. Foster, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42.*

[b] Approximately 15 per cent of the nation's school children were attending the 7–4 type of school organization in 1941–42.

TABLE 16

COLLEGE GRADUATES
(PUBLIC AND NONPUBLIC INSTITUTIONS)

Year	College	Number Graduating per 100 Persons 21 Years of Age
1890[a]	14,306	1.1
1900	25,324	1.7
1910	34,178	2.0
1920	48,622	2.7
1930	122,484	5.7
1940[b]	186,500	7.6
1941	185,924	7.5
1942	185,346	7.4
1949[c]	350,000	14.0

[a] For 1890–1930, *Biennial Survey of Education, 1930–32,* U. S. Office of Education, *Bulletin* 1933, No. 2, U. S. Department of the Interior, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office.

[b] For 1940–42, Emery M. Foster, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42,* U. S. Office of Education, 1944.

[c] Estimate by authors based on enrollment in October, 1947, of 2,338,226 as compared to 1,360,000 in 1939–40.

TABLE 17

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF PUPILS RETAINED IN EACH GRADE

Grade	Actual Enrollment[a]	Estimated Population for This Age[c]	Age	School Year 1940-41		
				Weighted Enrollment[d]	Ratio	Per Cent
Kindergarten.....	670,554	2,150,810	5	.....	....	....
1.....	3,260,891	2,142,407	6	3,489,153	1.07	....
2.....	2,539,304	2,054,385	7	2,844,020	1.12	....
3.....	2,518,857	2,094,129	8	2,745,554	1.09	....
4.....	2,535,622	2,203,365	9	2,637,047	1.04	....
5.....	2,481,301	2,190,336	10	2,605,366	1.05	100
6.....	2,424,213	2,308,369	11	2,414,516	1.00	93
7.....	2,366,369	2,217,092	12	2,461,024	1.04	94
8.....	1,935,768[b]	2,425,400	13	1,838,989	.95	70[b]
9.....	2,172,199[a]	2,389,344	14	2,085,310	.96	80
10.....	1,908,638	2,405,730	15	1,824,658	.96	70
11.....	1,618,769	2,422,519	16	1,537,830	.95	59
12.....	1,414,614	2,489,096	17	1,301,445	.92	50

[a] Enrollments taken from combined reports for public and nonpublic schools as reported in Emery M. Foster, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42*, p. 8, and *Statistics of Non-Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1940–41*, pp. 12 and 16.

[b] Approximately 15 per cent of the nation's school children attend the 7–4 type of organization.

[c] Based on births only, not taking immigration into account.

[d] "Weighted enrollment" is calculated by raising or reducing the actual enrollment for the particular grade so as to eliminate the difference in the numbers of pupils of different ages. The coefficients are the respective ratios of a given base, 2,300,000 (which is close to the average number of children of each age), to the estimated populations for each age. Any differences that may remain in the weighted enrollments would reflect differences due to factors other than differences in number of children at different ages. For example, the actual enrollments in the fifth grade, 2,481,301, is multiplied by 1.05, the ratio of 2,300,000 (arbitrarily set) to 2,190,336. Hence weighted enrollment is the estimated enrollment on the basis of a population of 2,300,000 for each age group.

[e] The number in the fifth grade is taken as the number of children starting school in any one of these years. This is greater than the number of children born ten years before, as it also includes immigrants.

In Tables 18 and 19, a rough measure of holding power is used —the proportion of children in school who are in high school. If there were no repeaters, none eliminated, no deaths, uniform birth rate, no skipping of grades, in schools organized on the 8–4 plan the percentage would always be 33.3. The net effect of the incidence of death and retardation would reduce the percentage from 33.3 to something close to 31.5 or 32.0. It should be noted that there are significant differences among the regions: the percentage for the Southeast is only 18[1] while that for the Far West is 29, that for the cotton-tobacco states centers around 20, while that for the rural and manufacturing states is around 30. The ratio of secondary to ele-

[1] In spite of the fact that in some southern states the 7–4 plan of organization is in operation in most districts, which would make the theoretical percentage for perfect holding power 36.4 instead of 33.3.

mentary school enrollment has increased steadily from the beginning until 1942. From 1942–44 it dropped slightly and began to rise again in 1947.

TABLE 18

HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT SHOWN AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT BY REGIONS AND STATES, 1941–42[a]

NEW ENGLAND	29.8	EAST CENTRAL	29.2
Maine	24.1	Michigan	26.3
New Hampshire	28.6	Wisconsin	30.3
Vermont	21.5	Illinois	29.3
Massachusetts	30.9	Indiana	28.9
Rhode Island	28.1	Ohio	30.1
Connecticut	29.7		
		WEST CENTRAL	27.1
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	30.0	North Dakota	24.4
New York	32.6	South Dakota	27.3
New Jersey	30.3	Nebraska	30.9
Pennsylvania	30.2	Minnesota	28.8
Maryland	24.2	Iowa	27.3
West Virginia	21.7	Missouri	24.5
Delaware	26.7	Kansas	29.1
SOUTHEASTERN	18.1	MOUNTAIN	26.4
Kentucky	16.8	Idaho	28.4
Virginia	21.8	Montana	29.2
Tennessee	17.3	Wyoming	27.4
North Carolina	23.6	Utah	29.2
South Carolina	18.2	Colorado	25.7
Georgia	18.1	Arizona	20.3
Florida	22.1	Nevada	25.7
Alabama	15.3		
Mississippi	12.1	PACIFIC	29.5
		Washington	29.6
SOUTHWESTERN	23.7	Oregon	30.4
Arkansas	16.4	California	29.3
Louisiana	22.1		
Oklahoma	24.9	UNITED STATES	26.6
Texas	26.3		
New Mexico	18.3		

[a] Emery M. Foster, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42*, p. 16.

Note: If about the same number of pupils entered school each year and remained for 12 years, we would expect to find about 33.3 per cent of the total enrollment in the four high school grades. For 1941–42 New York State had 32.6 per cent of its enrollment in the high school grades, but Mississippi had only 12.1 per cent in these grades.

The degree of persistence of American youth through high school is indicated by the data in Table 20.

The retention of children through high school and college has increased most significantly in the past half century, as may be seen from Table 20 and Table 21, in which results of studies made at different times are given.

TABLE 19

PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN HIGH SCHOOL FROM 1870 TO 1940[a]

Year	Per Cent
1870	1.2
1880	1.1
1890	1.6
1900	3.3
1910	5.1
1920	10.2
1930	17.1
1940[b]	26.6

[a] Emery M. Foster, "Statistical Thumbtacks," *School Life*, XXII:277–278.
[b] From information obtained from Emery M. Foster, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42*, p. 8.

TABLE 20

SURVIVAL BY GRADES PER 1,000 PUPILS ENROLLED IN THE FIRST YEAR OF HIGH SCHOOL IN THE YEARS INDICATED[a]

Point of School Progress	Number Surviving per 1,000 Pupils Entering High School in Year Indicated					
	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
High School:						
I	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
II	852	847	835	845	869	883
III	674	687	700	725	750	766
IV	597	601	618	651	673	615
Graduates	531	541	554	581	601	549
Year graduated from high school	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
College: I (freshmen)	183	190	199	193	184	...
Graduates	94	...	...	...	...	...

[a] Emery M. Foster, *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42*, Vol. II, Ch. 2, p. 31.

2. FACTORS DETERMINING NUMBER OF YEARS IN SCHOOL

From the pages just preceding, it becomes clear that the nature of the section of the country in which a pupil lives, his economic status, his color, and whether he is born in this country influence the number of years he is likely to spend in school.

Other factors are also influential in a varying degree in determining length of stay in school—intellectual ability, economic status, sex, health, and home conditions. Still others have to do with the quality and nature of the school program. In the next few pages these will

TABLE 21

PERCENTAGES OF PUPILS REACHING EACH GRADE, AS REPORTED BY VARIOUS STUDIES, 1907–41 [a]

Grade	Thorndike (1907)	Strayer (1911)	Phillips (1924)	Foster (1936)	(1940–41)
1	100	100	....		100
2	100	100	....		100
3	100	100	100	100	100
4	90	100	100	100	100
5	81	95	100	100	100
6	68	74	83	94	93
7	54	62	71	85	94
8	40	41	62	81	70
9	27	39	34	79	80
10	17	22	26	62	70
11	12	18	18	52	59
12	8	4	15	46	50

[a] Data except those in last column are quoted from A. A. Douglass, *Modern Secondary Education*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., p. 38.

be considered briefly in relation to pupil continuance in school. In a great many studies of these problems, students were asked why they withdrew, or teachers gave their opinion. The reliance that can be placed on the results of such studies is so small that no attention will be given them here. However, studies which involve comparisons of children who leave school and those who continue with respect to various specific traits yield more valid data.

I.Q. and Pupil Retention.—General intelligence is not as closely related to pupil retention as most people think. Finch [2] and others have shown that the average intelligence quotient and average school achievement of high school students in the early forties were not materially lower than a decade or so earlier. Nevertheless, it has been noted for some time that those who drop out of school early are on the average somewhat inferior in their school marks to those who remain and are slightly inferior in intelligence as measured by I.Q.

The less able the pupils, the more quickly they tend to drop out, especially among the lower half with respect to ability. Among those who drop out before they have completed the elementary school, the larger part are very dull normals, if not morons or feeble-minded. Those who do drop out in the senior high school include a consider-

[2] Frank H. Finch, *Enrollment Changes and Changes in the Mental Level of the High School Population*, Stanford University Press.

able proportion of average and superior youth, but the group as a whole is not as able as those who remain. Lack of ability is not the only important reason for leaving school. The tendency for those of inferior ability to stay on in school until high school graduation has grown much stronger in the last decade or so, as the result of the practice of failing only a very small per cent of youngsters—less than 5 per cent in most schools today.

Nevertheless there still is a tendency for the average I.Q. to be slightly higher from grade to grade from the seventh grade on through college. This phenomenon has been noted in hundreds of school systems.

The fact that lower school marks are made by those who drop out should not be interpreted as conclusive evidence that they have materially less intellectual ability. Lower grades are affected by lower intelligence, and also by less interest and liking for school work in itself, an important cause of school-quitting.

Economic Status.—Even in a democracy where we boast of equality of opportunities, economic status is as important in determining stay in school as any other factor. As noted above, pupil retention is much longer in prosperous urban areas than in poor rural areas. Stay in school is longest in the cases of children who live in wealthy suburban districts and shortest for the children of sharecroppers, unskilled laborers, coalminers, and those engaged in domestic service.

Within a given school or school system, the same phenomenon is definitely noticeable. In the elementary school, school-leavers are usually children of low intelligence, but such children from well-to-do families usually continue in some specialized private school or in public school with tutorial assistance. The factor of economic status becomes more influential in the later years of school. Of the children who drop out at the age of sixteen, the conventional limit of compulsory attendance, the great majority come from homes of less than average annual incomes. Among those who do not go on to college, particularly in the populous East and South, there are as many bright children of low-income families as there are bright children who do go on—an enormous and tragic social waste.

Economic status in recent years has become somewhat less important a factor up to the point of high school graduation. In 1919, George S. Counts found that in the high schools of four cities in different parts of the nation, the children of fathers engaged in managerial service, the professions, and business ownership were

attending high school in more than twice the number per 1,000 of the population as the children of skilled trades and commercial service, more than seven times that of the children of miners, lumber workers, fishermen, and personal service workers, and more than twenty times that of the children of common labor. Similar results were found in studies carried on between 1915 and 1925 by Holley, Van-Denberg, and other investigators.

In 1930 in two of the communities studied by Counts (Bridgeport, Connecticut and Seattle, Washington), Kefauver, Noll, and Drake repeated the Counts study and found the gap had closed materially. The ratio of the per cent of children in the top bracket attending to the per cent of the children in the second bracket had not been reduced materially, but the ratio of the top bracket to the third bracket had been reduced from 7 to 1 to 3 to 1, and the ratio of the top bracket to the lowest bracket of common labor had been reduced from 20 to 1 to 4 to 1.

The study of the relationship of economic status and of intelligence to persistence in school is complicated by the fact that economic status and intelligence are interrelated. Low intelligence contributes to low economic status and low economic status contributes to a lower I.Q. of children of considerable potentialities, as compared with that for children of the same capacity but from homes of higher economic status and cultural levels and opportunities.

Haggerty and Nash,[3] and other investigators have reported material differences in I.Q. among different economic groups. The children from professional and managerial groups rank far above those from unskilled labor and agricultural groups. Typical of these studies is that by Byrnes and Henmon,[4] the principal findings of which are set forth in Table 22.

Had the Byrnes-Henmon study been conducted on ninth graders or elementary school children the differences would have been even greater, as the dullest children are eliminated before they become seniors, and they come disproportionately from the lower occupational levels.

From a study of elementary school progress in 270 neighborhoods of widely ranging economic and cultural levels and backgrounds, Maller[5] in 1933 concluded that the rate of educational progress is

[3] M. E. Haggerty and Harry B. Nash, "Mental Capacity of Children and Parental Occupation," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XV:359–367.

[4] Ruth Byrnes and V. A. C. Henmon, "Parental Occupation and Mental Ability," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXVII:284–291.

[5] J. B. Maller, "Economic and Social Correlatives of School Progress in New York City," *Teachers College Record*, XXXIV:655–670.

TABLE 22

PARENTAL OCCUPATION AND SCHOLASTIC APTITUDE AMONG 100,820 WISCONSIN HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS

	Q_1	Median	Q_3
Professional	40.9	68.5	87.9
Executive	35.4	61.2	82.4
Business	32.3	58.9	81.9
Clerical	33.7	57.8	82.3
Miscellaneous	29.6	54.9	78.1
Skilled	28.0	51.1	76.2
Semi-skilled	26.1	49.9	75.8
Unemployed and not indicated	23.4	47.6	73.3
Unskilled	21.9	45.8	71.0
Farmers	19.2	41.5	67.3
Total group	25.8	50.0	76.2

only slightly correlated with intelligence, and more so with social and economic factors—economic status and educational progress being related to a degree indicated by a correlation coefficient of .53. Other factors significantly correlated with school progress were birth rate and rate of infant mortality—both of which are measures of and influenced by economic status. Taken all together, a coefficient of multiple correlation of .81 was found to represent the relationship between educational progress and six environmental factors.

As reported in 1938 by Homer P. Rainey, Director of the American Youth Commission, the likelihood for pupil retention is much greater for children of higher occupational levels. Those of the professional classes stayed in school on the average 15.4 years as compared to 7.5 years for those of unskilled labor. In Pennsylvania in the late thirties, it was found that of 1,000 high school graduates only 105 went to college for as much as two years. Of the others, 174 were found to be equally qualified to succeed in college but for financial reasons were unable to go.[6]

Stay in School and Retardation or Failure.—In a study of the reasons for students dropping out of junior high schools in Minneapolis, Douglass and Wind found in 1934 that the causes were, in order of importance:[7]

[6] Homer P. Rainey and others, *How Fare American Youth,* D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc.

[7] Harl R. Douglass and Kate Wind, "Factors Related to Withdrawal from Junior High Schools in Minneapolis," *Elementary School Journal,* XXXVII:375–380.

. Over-ageness for grade or retardation is most closely associated with withdrawal.
. Socio-economic status.
. Intelligence (not as closely associated with withdrawal as the degree of retardation or as economic status).

Other investigators also support the conclusion that failure and retardation are important factors contributing to withdrawal from school. When a child reaches the compulsory age limit, if he is a year retarded he is very likely to withdraw, especially if his marks in the last year or two of school have been definitely below average; he is almost certain to withdraw immediately if he is retarded as much as two years. After the compulsory attendance age, failure in one subject in high school is very conducive to withdrawal, and failure in more than one subject is almost definite assurance of withdrawal.

The Factor of Sex.—Up to the compulsory attendance age limit, and slightly beyond, boys and girls continue in school in equal proportions. In the upper years of high school, girls are found in slightly larger numbers than boys—about 52 to 48 per cent. Over the past fifty years, with the exception of the war years, the ratio has been approaching equality.

In college, with the exception of the period of World War II, boys have always considerably outnumbered girls. In schools and colleges of engineering, agriculture, law, medicine, dentistry, and business, the ratio of boys to girls has been very high; in recent years it has decreased, especially in business. In schools and colleges of education, nursing, and home economics, ratio of girls to boys has been high, especially in the latter two. In schools and colleges of journalism and of arts and sciences, boys have outnumbered girls in about the ratio of 3 to 2. During the first few years of the postwar period, ex-servicemen attended in such large numbers as to increase very materially the ratio of men to women in colleges of arts and science, and in all schools and colleges of professions in which men ordinarily engage.

Health and Physical Disabilities.—Only in very few cases has poor health or physical disability been the important factor in causing withdrawal from school. In recent years it has affected even fewer pupils, since schools have developed special provisions for the instruction of these handicapped, and since medical science has reduced the seriousness of and the time lost through children's diseases. While illness contributes to absence and to lower grades, all but children of

inferior intelligence are soon rehabilitated in school and so avoid failure.

Race and Nationality.—As indicated by the data of Tables 23 and 24, Negroes do not continue in school as long as white people, nor do foreign-born children and children of foreign-born parents attend as long as children of native whites. In the latter two groups, language difficulties handicap school progress, especially in the lower grades. For those as well as for Negroes, there are three other factors tending to encourage withdrawal: (1) the extent to which education beyond the elementary school will not pay dividends as the result of economic discrimination against Negroes, Orientals, Mediterranean nationalities, and Latin Americans; (2) the extent to which parents in these groups do not appreciate education and/or fear its effects upon the respect of the children for their parents; and (3) the lack of general cultural background in the home—cultural ideas, correct speech, cultural level of conversation, etc.

TABLE 23

PERCENTAGE OF ATTENDANCE OF CHILDREN OF NEGRO, NATIVE WHITE, AND FOREIGN-BORN WHITE PARENTS, 1940[a]

Region	Ages 7–13			Ages 14–17		
	Native White	Foreign-Born White	Negro	Native White	Foreign-Born White	Negro
New England	97.5	95.7	96.8	83.4	79.1	79.9
Middle Atlantic	97.1	95.0	96.8	84.1	84.3	80.9
Southeastern[b]	93.6		89.7	72.1		63.5
Southwestern	93.8	89.4	92.7	75.7	63.5	72.4
East Central	97.5	95.2	96.7	84.7	87.6	84.3
West Central	97.2	94.7	96.7	78.5	73.1	84.1
Mountain	97.7	96.6	94.8	84.5	74.0	81.3
Pacific	97.4	95.6	97.3	90.1	87.8	80.4
United States	95.5	94.9	91.2	80.8	83.8	67.5

[a] *Sixteenth Census of the United States* (1940), Vol. II, Parts 1–7.
[b] Figures not available for states in which there were less than 100 children of each age group.

As between 1930 and 1940, it is noteworthy that the Negroes in the South increased in attendance in both groups, while the white children did not and that in the West the percentage of white children increased materially at the high school age level while that of Negroes did not.

As shown in Table 23, for the country as a whole children of foreign-born parents seem to stay in school as well as children of

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGES OF NEGRO AND WHITE CHILDREN IN CERTAIN AGE GROUPS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN 1930 AND IN 1940[a]

	1930				1940			
	Ages 7–13		Ages 14–17		Ages 7–13		Ages 14–17	
	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White
Northeast	96.9	98.0	70.8	71.6	96.9	97.2	82.8	85.2
North Central	95.8	98.0	75.5	72.9	96.5	97.4	81.4	82.8
South	85.8	94.9	61.7	72.7	90.0	91.4	64.0	72.0
West	96.2	97.6	83.8	83.4	96.6	97.4	82.8	88.0
Total U. S.	86.9	95.5	62.1	74.5	91.2	95.2	67.5	81.0

[a] *Sixteenth Census of the United States* (1940), Vol. II, Parts 1–7.

native white parents. That is because the percentages for those of native white parents are lowered materially by the inclusion of southern states in which there are relatively few children of foreign-born parents. It may be noted that in some sections of the United States the persistence in school of children of foreign parents is lower than for children of native-born parents, in fact lower than for Negro children in about half of the country.

It has been observed that children of certain national origins tend to stay in school longer than those of others. In general, children whose ancestors were Scotch, Swedish, Danish, or Norwegian, and to a slightly lesser extent, English or German, attend school longest while those whose ancestors were from southeastern European countries, Asia (except Japan), Spain, Poland, or Italy, leave school earliest, those whose families came from Russia, France, Ireland, Czechoslovakia, China, and Japan being in between. Contrary to the belief of many, Chinese and Japanese children born in this country are of equal intelligence and school achievement, and perhaps slightly better in citizenship, than those of other national origins. They contribute definitely fewer cases of criminals and juvenile delinquents in proportion to their numbers.

There have been many misconceptions of native racial differences in intellectual capacity, and perhaps in character, which are very hard to prove and no doubt have been grossly exaggerated in the minds of most people. As results from more and more investigations become available, it seems quite likely that (1) there are very great differences within racial and national groups, but little if any innate differences in capacity between them, and (2) what characteristic differences in ability, levels, and patterns of civilization do exist are almost

if not entirely the results of environment. One is reminded of a poem which runs as follows:

THE NORDIC

(A Bedtime Story)

"God made the English, God made the Scotch,
God made the Irish, the Welsh and the Dutch,
God made the Swedish and God made the Danish,
God made the Portuguese and God made the Spanish,
God made the Latins, the Slavs and the Jews,
God make the Turks and the dark Hindus.
God made the others I can't recall,
Fact is, children, God made them all."

"But Nordics, Grandpa, who made these?"
"Oh, the Nordics were made by the Ph.D.'s!"

Home Conditions.—Beyond mere economic and occupational status, home conditions influence pupil retention as well as quality of work done while there. Homes differ in many ways that have significant effect upon the educational careers of the children. Among such differences are the following:

1. The degree of education and cultural interests of parents.
2. The quality of character of parents and older children—ideals and habits of industry, honesty, cooperation, etc.
3. The degree of compatibility of parents and other children, and the degree of emotional balance.
4. The physical opportunities for study in comfort and free from such distractions as conversation and radio programs.
5. The quality, quantity, and appropriateness of food for children.
6. The type of management of children by parents with respect to such things as the social development, sense of responsibility, willingness to work and to cooperate, and taste in dress and appearance.

Rural or Urban Residence.—Children living on farms or in agricultural villages not only have relatively short annual school terms and do not attend school as regularly during the year because of work and weather and road conditions, but also they do not attend school for as many years, and they go on to high school and to college in materially smaller proportions. The greater elimination in rural communities is most probably caused by the following factors: (1) less intellectual ability, (2) less intellectual and cultural interest in the home, (3) necessity for work at home on the farm, (4) the

lesser vocational need for education in farm occupations, (5) the poor quality of schools, curriculum, housing, teaching, and social opportunities, (6) the difficulties of getting to school. Differences exist between rural and urban communities with respect to all of these factors, but differences in the first two listed are becoming slighter.

Quality of Programs of School.—Without doubt, very important in pupil retention is the degree to which the school work seems to the individual child worth while, is composed of relatively interesting activities, and is adapted to the abilities of the individual child. Children will stay in school longer where they have personable and skilled teachers, attractive school housing, a rich curriculum of wide variety of instruction in general and in vocational education, and a rich democratic program of extracurricular activities in which all pupils engage. Retention is also conditioned by the quality of guidance program, adaptation of instruction to the individual in his classes, and by small classes and close pupil-teacher relationship. Usually it is very difficult to provide many of these conditions in small schools and in areas of low per capita income.

Compulsory Attendance Regulations and Enforcement.—Even as early as 1852, attendance at school for at least a few years was made compulsory by law in Massachusetts, and within the next half-century all states except Delaware and the southern states had followed suit, although the degree of enforcement varied widely. By 1918 even Mississippi, the most backward state in protecting the educational equity of its children, had made it unanimous. Compulsory education laws differ greatly. Usually they include some provision with respect to each of the following:

1. Amount of attendance required, stated in terms of minimum and maximum age limits or total number of years of attendance.
2. Minimum length of annual term attended.
3. Minimum amount of education necessary for exemption.
4. Exemption for various reasons, including labor permits, distance from school, poverty, physical disability, and church observances.
5. Provisions for compulsory, part-time, or evening school attendance.
6. Educational aid to indigent children.
7. Methods of enforcement, including provisions for the taking of the school census, definition of truancy, and the duties of principals and teachers in keeping records and making reports.
8. Provisions for attendance officers and statements of powers and duties.

The typical age limits of compulsory education today are seven and sixteen. The median number of years of required school attendance is eight. The median amount of attendance each year is eight months. In only six states is attendance beyond the elementary school required. Current tendencies are to require attendance to the age of sixteen or until high school graduation, unless a child is given a work permit in case of need to support self or family. Table 25 presents data on compulsory school attendance ages and minimum ages for work permits in all states.

Other growing convictions are: (1) that attendance laws must be more completely enforced; (2) that indigent children should be given financial aid so that they may stay in school; (3) labor permits should be given more sparingly or abolished entirely; (4) transportation facilities must be expanded greatly so that the enforcement of compulsory education will work hardship in fewer cases.

Compulsory attendance laws are not well enforced in many sections; in some they are ignored entirely. Ignorant parents, avaricious and exploiting employers, and weak public officials all contribute to a repulsive lack of concern for the welfare of society and for the welfare of youths too young to act wisely. In several states the proportion of young people seven to seventeen years of age who are actually enrolled in school is less than 70 per cent, the attendance of those enrolled less than 80 per cent, and the average number of days attended less than 140 days a year.

In a very large number of rural districts, chiefly in the South, the average number of days attended is less than the equivalent of seven months of school.

It would seem that with the critical years before us the only hope to avert disaster, to avoid economic collapse and perhaps revolution, and to prevent the horrors of an atomic war lies in education—not in the education of leaders alone, but in the better education of the masses. Not only must the quality be improved, but future citizens must have more of it. It should be the immediate objective to set twelve years of education as the minimum for all, two years more for at least a third of the citizenry, and some form of continuous adult education, other than vocational education, for the great majority.

3. Variations Among School Children

For the purposes of educational planning, school administration, and classroom teaching, the variations among children in a number of significant respects must be taken into consideration: variations in

TABLE 25

COMPULSORY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND AGE REQUIREMENTS FOR WORK[a]

	State	1 Compulsory School Age	2 Minimum Work Age (school hrs.)	3 Minimum Work Age Nonfactory Outside School
New England	Connecticut	7–16	16	16
	Maine	7–16	15	None
	Massachusetts	7–16	16	14
	New Hampshire	8–16	14	14
	Vermont	8–16	14	None
	Rhode Island	7–16	16	14
	Typical for Region	7–16	16	14
Mid-Atlantic	Delaware	7–17	14	12
	Maryland	7–16	14	14
	New York	7–16	16	14
	Pennsylvania	8–18	16	14
	West Virginia	7–16	16	14
	Virginia	7–16	14	12
	New Jersey	7–16	16	14
	Typical for Region	7–16 plus	14 or 16	14
Southern	Alabama	7–16	14	12
	Arkansas	7–16	14	None
	Florida	7–16	16	14
	Georgia	8–14	16	14
	Louisiana	7–15	16	14
	Mississippi	7–16	14	None
	North Carolina	7–14	16	14
	South Carolina	7–16	16	None
	Tennessee	7–16	14	None
	Texas	7–16	15	None
	Typical for Region	7–16 minus	14–16	None
Middle Western	Illinois	6–16	16	14
	Iowa	7–16	14	None
	Kansas	7–16	14	14
	Kentucky	7–16	14	None
	Michigan	6–16	15	14
	Minnesota	8–16	14	None
	North Dakota	7–17	14	14
	South Dakota	7–16	14	None
	Nebraska	7–16	14	14
	Ohio	6–18	16	14
	Oklahoma	7–18	14	None
	Wisconsin	7–16	16	14
	Missouri	7–14	14	12
	Indiana	7–16	14	14
	Typical for Region	7–16	14 plus	14 minus
Rocky Mountain	Arizona	8–16	14	10
	Colorado	8–16	14	12
	Idaho	8–18	14	12
	Montana	8–16	16	14
	Nevada	7–18	14	None
	New Mexico	6–16	14	None
	Utah	8–18	16	14
	Wyoming	7–16	None	None
	Typical for Region	8–16	14 plus	
Pacific	California	8–16	15	14
	Oregon	8–16	14	12
	Washington	8–16	14	12
	Typical for Region	8–16	14 plus	12 plus
	UNITED STATES	7–16	14 plus	14 minus

[a] Computed from data in "School Census, Compulsory Education, Child Labor State Laws and Regulations," U. S. Office of Education, *Bulletin* 1945, No. 1.

intelligence, nationality, interest, abilities, home backgrounds, probable future needs, and many other differences. In this section only the more important considerations will be discussed.

Intelligence.—Within a single grade, children will be found with mental ages differing as much as five or six years. In a typical ninth grade class of twenty-five youngsters, for example, there will usually be found children with mental ages ranging from twelve to seventeen years, and in a fourth grade class from seven to eleven years. In a typical high school entering class of a hundred individuals will be found students with I.Q.'s as low as 80 and as high as 130. In the lower grades of elementary schools, there will be found morons with I.Q.'s in the fifties and sixties. There is a growing trend to place children with I.Q.'s between 55 and 75 in special classes, and those with I.Q.'s of less than 55 in institutions for the feeble-minded.

Sex.—There is no difference in general mental ability between boys and girls. What differences there seem to be are the result of environment, tradition, or variations in interests resulting principally from tradition and experience. Boys seem to do better in mathematics and girls in literature. Both in college and below college, girls seem to do better for their intelligence than boys. Boys surpass in mechanical studies and activities. There are sex differences in reading interests and in plays—girls leaning to love and "cute" plays and stories, boys to those of adventure and danger.

Without question, there are important sex differences attributable to training and tradition and/or to glandular differences, in personality, temperament, and interests.[8] Girls are more steady, obedient, less daring, and less variable in many respects than boys. It would seem that whatever differences in school curriculum and methods of teaching may be considered to adjust for variations among pupils should be established on the basis of interests and probable future needs, rather than on the basis of differences in intelligence or in temperament.

Nationality.—As already stated, there are no significant differences between children of various nationality and racial origins in capacity for learning or for developing qualities of character, but differences between ethnic groups are significant with respect to attitudes, interests, language difficulties, and other environmental results. On achievement tests, the English, Scotch, and Jewish rank better

[8] E. A. Lincoln, *Sex Differences in the Growth of American School Children.* Baltimore: Warwick & York, p. 43.

on the average than other national groups; Polish, Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, French-Canadian, and Mexican children generally are found in the lowest groups. In addition to the environmental factors mentioned above, in some instances differences can be attributed to selective factors which have operated to bring into the United States from some countries people of the lower levels of intelligence, ideas, and culture, while from others the immigrants have come from higher levels of their countrymen.

Interests.—Probably of more importance in planning for and teaching young people are their differences in interests. These vary so widely from time to time, community to community, and pupil to pupil, as almost to defy classification or description. At any rate, the teacher should keep constantly reorienting himself through his daily contacts with youngsters and their interests as individuals and as groups. An increasing number of teachers have their students fill out an interest check list for this purpose.[9]

Other factors being normal, retention in school and the quality of achievement of a given pupil will be found to be in proportion to the relationship between the student's interest and his school work—in proportion to the degree to which the teacher capitalizes and exploits his present interests, develops new ones, and strengthens the desirable ones. When teachers and schools motivate study largely by means of compulsion and exert little effort to make study interesting and the materials worth learning, they are contributing to a shortened stay in school.

Age and Maturity.—In recent years children in each grade have become more and more homogeneous as to chronological age. This is largely because of the growing practice of promoting practically every pupil every year and the growing reluctance to permit bright pupils to move through school more rapidly than those less able.

There may be, however, significant differences in maturation. Children vary greatly with respect to the age at which they mature physiologically. Some, usually girls, become pubescent at ten; others, usually boys, not until sixteen or seventeen. Girls, on the average, mature about sixteen months earlier than boys. Bright children mature a little earlier than dull ones. Negroes and children of Mediterranean nationalities also tend to mature somewhat earlier.

Children also vary in their social maturity and in their maturity of intellectual interests and processes, though it is the brighter ones

[9] Such as the one shown in Chapter 12.

who usually mature earlier in these respects, especially with respect to intellectual qualities. Dull children tend to hold on to interests of younger children even if they appear physically to be very much "grown up."

Special Aptitudes.—School children vary significantly in special aptitudes, e.g., for singing or playing a musical instrument, for learning mathematics or a foreign language, for learning to be proficient in tennis or in football, for understanding and getting along with people, for memorizing, for creative thinking, for drawing, painting, or making things. Many times, however, what is thought of as a special aptitude is only the result of concentrated interest and effort, while the lack of it may be merely the psychological result of an unhappy experience in the field in which lack of aptitude is supposed to exist.

Moral and Emotional Traits.—Children vary widely with respect to their moral ideals and prejudices, the social-ethical acceptability of their habits, and their emotional stability. To a very great degree, most of these are matters of training and experience. Unfortunately, they are influenced greatly in early years before the child enters school. Some children are also much more sensitive than others—sensitive to different things and to different approaches.

Because all these things are so and because of their importance, it is clear that the teaching and management of young people can not be reduced to rules; to a considerable extent, it must be a matter of understanding each child. This is particularly true in the United States because of the greater heterogeneity of methods and standards characteristic of the homes in which the children have a major share of their life and experiences.

School Achievement.—College students and high school children of the United States—and to some extent elementary school children—differ more widely than those of other countries in their school achievements. Children are promoted in this country on a basis of a lower minimum of subject-matter mastery. There is also much less home and social pressure put upon children to learn school materials.

Heterogeneity in this respect has increased with the growing tendency to promote every youngster a grade each year. Children are found in the seventh grade with fourth grade ability in arithmetic and in the ninth grade with fifth grade reading ability. A considerable number of college students cannot read as well as the best readers just leaving junior high school.

These conditions have become aggravated in recent years with the result that an increasing number of schools are inaugurating special classes for poor readers and special sections in the upper elementary grades in arithmetic for youngsters who cannot profit by advanced instruction. These conditions also call for increased attention to the individual's status in such sequential subjects as mathematics in all the grades.

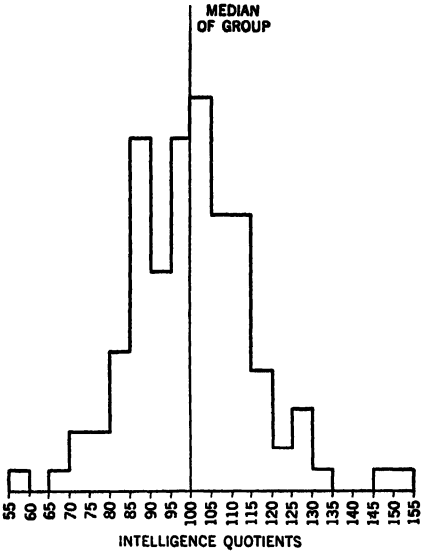


Figure 20. Variation in I.Q.'s in 123 First Grade Pupils as Tested on the Pintner-Cunningham Test

The Form of Distribution of Abilities.—Investigators of the variations of mental abilities and achievements have observed that the distributions tend to follow a certain pattern called the normal probability distribution. When graphed it is bell shaped. That is because people tend to bulk in the middle levels of ability with fewer and fewer cases as the degree of ability is less and less or more and more. Figures 20 and 21 illustrate the distribution of I.Q.'s and scores on an algebra test.

Physically Handicapped Children.—Children differ significantly for education in a number of important ways by reason of physical handicaps. Among the types of handicaps, the following may be mentioned:

Visually Handicapped. About one child in four has defective vision; they are in need of glasses or eye exercises and special care, or both. The blind or nearly blind should be put in special schools or classes where they can be taught to read by touch and will receive special instruction about taking care of themselves.

Cripples. About one child in 400 is badly enough crippled to be in need of a special program of education.

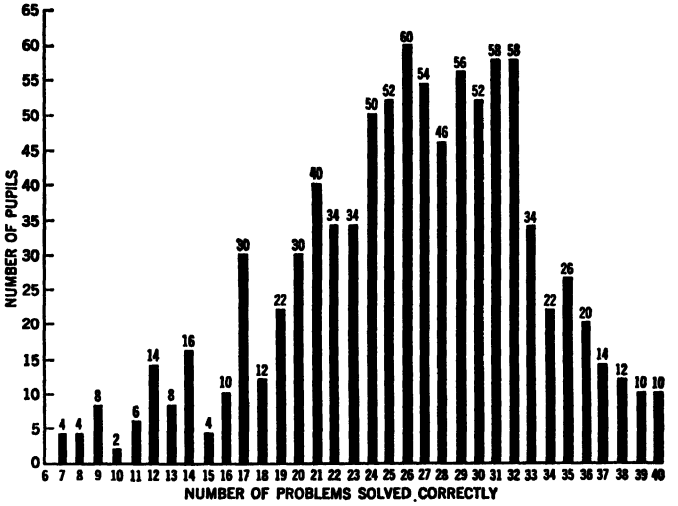


Figure 21. Range of Scores on Douglass Algebra Test Among Ninth Grade Pupils

Defective in Hearing. About one child in 2,000 cannot hear at all and about three in 100 are at least slightly defective in hearing. Even more particularly than in the case of the visually handicapped, the defect should be detected as soon after the child's entrance in school as possible; it should be made a part of his record and called to the attention of all of his teachers. A child with severe hearing defects should be put in lip-reading classes while he can still profit by oral instruction.

Handicapped in Speech. This classification includes stammering, stuttering, lisping, cleft palates, chronic hoarseness, extreme nasality, foreign accent, and other defects. It is estimated that between 10 and 15 per cent of school children need some special speech re-education. Teachers in the better schools, especially those in the elementary

schools, attempt to identify such cases and either give help themselves or see that the child gets it elsewhere.

Undervitalized, Undernourished, and Delicate. For a variety of reasons, about 2 to 15 per cent of school pupils (highest in the south central states and lowest in western states) are undervitalized to the extent of needing special treatment—rest at school, special food with increased amounts of vitamins, especially B_1 and B_2, and thyroid extract. In the better schools they are identified early and referred to the school physician or a private doctor for examination and advice. School luncheons with appropriate food at cost have reduced the number of cases of this type. In addition, another 10 to 30 per cent—in some communities as high as 50 per cent—are undernourished. About one child in twenty has a weak heart or organic heart trouble. About the same proportion suffer from anemia, and about one in fifty develops a serious case of tuberculosis. Such facts emphasize the necessity for annual or biennial physical and health examinations and for appropriate school life.

The Dull and Mentally Handicapped. These fall into three classes: idiots and imbeciles who should not attempt to go to school at all; morons (I.Q. 50 to 75) who should be sent to a special school or be put into opportunity rooms with special programs and a specialized teacher; and dull normals (I.Q. 75 to 90) for whom instructional materials should be adapted, whether ability grouping is used or not.

The teacher must remember always that, particularly for the dull student, school is dull and unexciting compared to his out-of-school life. Above all, the teacher should observe the following general principles:

1. Be content to attempt less and make sure of better learning of what is attempted.
2. Employ practical, concrete, and lifelike materials and learning activities.
3. Be sure that the student understands as he goes along.
4. Be patient and encouraging in word and in manner.
5. Remember that more repetition is required for the slow learner.

The Gifted Pupil.—Pupils of I.Q. up to 115 or 120 do well for their abilities under good teachers who stimulate them in normal classes. Those with I.Q.'s above 120 (about one in twenty) should be taught in special classes and given special work by teachers in schools of sufficiently large enrollments to make such sections

The progress of civilization depends largely upon the contributions of genius. The work of one Edison, of one Pasteur, of one Franklin, of one Bacon, or of one Shakespeare can be of more consequence to civilization than the tragedies of ten thousand weaklings. The loss to society and to civilization of our failure to develop fully the capacities of the ablest young people is many times greater than the human capacity to imagine.

It is particularly important that bright seniors in high school classes be given unusually challenging tasks of college grade. Bright students are not stimulated to grow intellectually and educationally—probably they actually deteriorate—in the great majority of high schools, as is indicated in the conclusions drawn from investigations by Terman, Hollingsworth, Featherstone, Baker, and others.

As the result of classroom experience and research, we are able to characterize bright pupils for the purposes of teaching. The bright youngster possesses greater energy and more curiosity; he is sociable and active, more capable of dealing with abstractions; he perceives relationships more clearly and quickly; he prefers to work under his own planning and initiative and likes to explore new and more advanced areas; he becomes bored more quickly with simple routine tasks; he learns mechanical processes much more rapidly than an average pupil; he dislikes tasks he does not understand and rote memorizing, though he is superior at it; he is good-naturedly critical of dullness and dull people; he has confidence in his own abilities; he appears lazy if given uninteresting things to do and so is likely to seek short cuts, and he possesses a wide range of worthy interests.

Plans for Adjusting Education to the Individual.—In a national survey of secondary education, it was discovered that a great many plans of adjusting instruction to the individual were in use, as is shown in Table 26. While the numbers and percentage of schools using the various plans have no doubt changed, general trends have remained essentially the same. A number of these are discussed in various chapters in this volume. Others are discussed in some detail throughout the latter half of this chapter.

4. Age-Grade Progress and Retardation

Age-Grade Status.—If by retardation we mean that a pupil is older than is normal for his grade,[10] retardation has been greatly diminished in recent years, as may be seen by a comparison of the

[10] Retardation may also be used to refer to the degree that a pupil is behind the average for his age in one or more school subjects as shown by tests and measurements, even though he may be in the normal grade for his age.

TABLE 26

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS EMPLOYING VARIOUS DEVICES AND PROCEDURES IN ADAPTING INSTRUCTION TO THE INDIVIDUAL[a]

Provision	Use	
	Number	Per Cent
1. Variation in number of subjects a pupil may carry	6,428	75
2. Special coaching of slow pupils	5,099	59
3. Problem method	4,216	49
4. Differentiated assignments	4,047	47
5. Advisory program for pupil guidance	3,604	42
6. Out-of-school projects or studies	3,451	40
7. Homogeneous or ability grouping	2,740	32
8. Special classes for pupils who have failed	2,612	30
9. Laboratory plan of instruction	2,611	30
10. Long-unit assignments	2,312	27
11. Project curriculum	2,293	27
12. Contract plan	2,293	27
13. Individualized instruction	2,145	25
14. Vocational guidance through exploratory courses	1,911	22
15. Educational guidance through exploratory courses	1,900	22
16. Scientific study of problem cases	1,343	16
17. Psychological studies	1,077	12
18. Opportunity rooms for slow pupils	946	11
19. Morrison plan	737	9
20. Special coaching to enable capable pupils to "skip" a grade or half grade	726	8
21. Promotions more frequently than each semester	686	8
22. Remedial classes or rooms	593	7
23. Adjustment classes or rooms	544	6
24. Modified Dalton plan	486	6
25. Opportunity rooms for gifted pupils	322	4
26. Restoration classes	191	2
27. Dalton plan	162	2

[a] R. O. Billett, *Provisions for Individual Differences, Marking, and Promotion,* National Survey of Secondary Education, U. S. Office of Education, *Bulletin* 1932, No. 17, Monograph 13, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, p. 9.

two age-grade distribution tables (Tables 27 and 28), one for 1928 and the other for 1946.

In the schools of Shelbyville, Kentucky, in 1928, of 521 pupils 154 children were retarded one year, eighty were retarded two years, forty-two were retarded three years, and twenty-nine were retarded more than three years, while only sixteen were accelerated and none of these more than one year. It is easy to understand why relatively few children in schools with such a proportion of retarded pupils continue their studies long enough to be graduated from high school.

Results of Retardation.—There is a great variation today among different schools and school systems with respect to both the number

TABLE 27

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS BY GRADES AND CHRONOLOGICAL AGE —AN AGE-GRADE TABLE, 1928[a]

Age in Years and Months	Grade 1		Grade 2		Grade 3		Grade 4		Grade 5		Grade 6		All Grades Total
	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	
15–9 to 16–2.....												1	1
15–3 to 15–8.....							1	2		1	1	1	6
14–9 to 15–2....									2			4	6
14–3 to 14–8.....									1	2	3	1	7
13–9 to 14–2....						1		3		3	7	7	21
13–3 to 13–8....				1			1		2		2	2	8
12–9 to 13–2....	1		1				3	1	2			2	10
12–3 to 12–8....					1	3	1		4	3	2	3	17
11–9 to 12–2....			1		3	3	3	2	7	5	5	3	32
11–3 to 11–8...		1		2	1		3	4	7	13	8	3	42
10–9 to 11–2....		1	1			1	1	3	4	7		2	20
10–3 to 10–8 . .			4	1	3	3	4	7	4	10		1	37
9–9 to 10–2 . . .				3	3	3	8	7	4	4			32
9–3 to 9–8....	1	2	3	4	8	5	7	7		1			38
8–9 to 9–2	3	2	5	4	6	7	6	1					34
8–3 to 8–8. .	4	3	8	3	9	5	2						34
7–9 to 8–2....	4	6	7	10	9								36
7–3 to 7–8.....	10	10	11	3									34
6–9 to 7–2....	21	13	5										39
6–3 to 6–8... .	24	8											32
5–9 to 6–2.....	30												30
5–3 to 5–8 ..	5												5
Total	103	46	46	31	43	31	40	37	37	49	28	30	521
Number over age	44	25	30	18	25	19	25	22	29	27	20	21	305
Number normal age.....	54	21	16	13	18	12	13	14	8	17	8	6	200
Number under age.....	5						2	1		5		3	16

[a] *Report of a Survey of the Public Schools of Shelbyville, Kentucky, Bulletin* of the Bureau of School Service, Vol. L, No. 1, Lexington (Kentucky): University of Kentucky, 1928, p. 176.

TABLE 28

SEPTEMBER AGES OF THE NUMBER OF PUPILS REMAINING AT THE CLOSE OF SCHOOL, MAY, 1946, KANSAS CITY, KANSAS —AN AGE-GRADE TABLE

Age in Years	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	All Grades Total
16					2	3	5
15					1	8	9
14		1		2	15	85	103
13			1	13	80	227	321
12		1	3	53	210	466	733
11		4	34	213	502	744	1,497
10	2	17	152	515	796	67	1,549
9	8	134	516	824	67	1	1,550
8	79	552	961	113			1,705
7	513	1,095	95				1,703
6	1,378	78	1				1,457
5	74						74
Total	2,054	1,882	1,763	1,733	1,673	1,601	10,706
Number over age	89	157	190	281	308	323	1,348
Number normal age	1,891	1,647	1,477	1,339	1,298	1,210	8,862
Number under age	74	78	96	113	67	68	496

of pupils retarded and the amount of retardation. In some cities, pupils rarely fail and retardation is indeed small; in others, higher percentages of students fail and retardation is much greater. In view of the known effects of retardation upon withdrawal from school and upon self-confidence, satisfaction in school and respect and good will for school in later life, it seems that careful study of local conditions is required wherever there is a considerable amount of retardation.

Many investigators have shown that most repeaters do little if any better the second year. Caswell reports data of this type from which it seems that, judged by results obtained on standard tests, children average as well, grade for grade, in a school in which there is negligible retardation as in schools where retardation is great.

Because short school terms, poor attendance, large classes, only seven years in elementary school, outmoded courses of study, and much more poorly paid teachers are found there more generally, retardation exists in the South to a greater extent than elsewhere. In 1938 about half of southern students were retarded at least a year, and less than 5 per cent were accelerated. Since the eleven-year school, having proven inadequate for more than a century, is being replaced by a twelve-year system in all but a small portion of the South, and because of other forward-looking developments, including improved schools for Negroes in some states—notably North Carolina—the amount of retardation has for a number of years been declining.

Illustrative of typical practice today, the percentage of white pupils promoted in each grade in 1945–46 in Baltimore, Maryland, is shown in Table 29.

TABLE 29

RATE OF PROMOTION IN WHITE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, SECOND SEMESTER, 1945–46, BALTIMORE, MD.

Grade	Boys	Girls
1B	84.3	90.9
1A	87.2	93.2
2B	88.6	92.1
2A	90.8	94.1
3B	88.2	93.0
3A	92.5	95.1
4B	85.3	91.4
4A	90.6	94.0
5B	87.1	92.2
5A	92.5	95.0
6B	91.0	93.6
6A	96.0	96.1

Causes of Failure.—Hundreds of studies of the causes of failure have been made, some by methods of measuring the extent to which failure is correlated with certain other factors, some by asking pupils' or teachers' opinions. The studies are for the most part unreliable, and the results are in disagreement and confusing. It is clear that factors associated with failure include lack of ability, poor economic status, short terms, poor attendance, lack of guidance service, and poor schools. Beyond that, not much can be concluded except that

lack of ability and interest and low economic status, all interrelated, seem to be more potent than any others, though the relation between failure and poor teaching has never been adequately studied.

Nonpromotion exists more in the first grade than at any other point. Children come to school varying in mental age, I.Q., reading readiness, and background. A considerable number of schools are eliminating failures in the first two or three grades by classifying children according to their ability to make progress. Each progresses at his own rate, some taking two years, some three, some four, to complete the first three grades. After that failure is rare.

Plans for Reducing Failure and Retardation.—A great many different plans have been employed by at least a few schools in an effort to reduce retardation, to permit optimistic progress according to ability, or both. A brief discussion of some of them is relevant here:

1. *Ability Grouping.* Providing special sections for the dull normals and for the brightest students, usually the upper 15–20 per cent and lowest 15–20 per cent. Of little value unless courses of study are adapted to needs, interests, and abilities of groups. Probably unfairly criticized on the basis of effects on slow children which are no worse than in sections.
2. *Individual Progress Plans.* The Dalton plan and several varieties of this plan have been tried with varied success. Pupils are permitted to go at their own rate, completing a year's work in less or more than a year.
3. *Differentiated Curricular Plan.* Triple track and other plans for providing different versions of the curriculum were tried out years ago. They are found in few places today, except in the lower grades.
4. *Supervised Study.* In larger class periods, students are helped with their lessons, trained in study techniques and habits, and assignments are adjusted to individual ability.
5. *Careful Study of Marking Practice.* By studying the philosophy, purposes, systems, and effects of marks and marking systems, reductions in number of failures have been brought about.
6. *Improvement of Teachers and Teaching.* Where better teachers have replaced mediocre ones, and where teachers have been persuaded to study the philosophy and problems of better teaching, especially of slow learners and hard-to-interest pupils, failures and retardation have been decreased.
7. *Mid-year or Semi-annual Promotions.* Although introduced in many cities in order to avoid failing pupils for an entire year's

work, it did not reduce failure and retardation and has been rather generally abandoned.

8. *Summer Schools.* Where established, summer schools have reduced retardation, as failing pupils may usually make enough additional progress to be permitted to go on.
9. *Various Types of Artificial Rewards and Punishments.* To stimulate better scholarship, awards of pins, flattery, publicity, honor rolls, contests, scholarships, on the one hand, and post-lists, warnings, letters to parents, restriction of privileges, and other punishments, on the other hand, have not seemed to improve scholarship and are on the way out.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Be prepared to give a three-minute talk on why (1) a larger per cent of children attend school in the United States than elsewhere and (2) why they are staying in school longer than formerly.
2. Do you believe it is best for:
   a. All or nearly all pupils to attend public schools?
   b. About half to attend public schools?
   c. About nine in ten to attend public schools?

   Explain your answer.
3. What is the relative position of your state with reference to the percentage of children seven to thirteen attending school? Fourteen to seventeen? Give reasons for your state's relative rank among the states.
4. In what regions has attendance improved most since 1920? Why? In what regions has it increased least? Why?
5. In what states and regions do young people stay on to high school in greatest percentage? Why? Where does your state rank? Why?
6. At what grade or age level do young people drop out of school in the largest numbers? At what grade level is the percentage of elimination greatest, of those at that grade level?
7. What do you think are the three most important factors in elimination of pupils from school? Explain.
8. Why should children be compelled to attend school? Give several reasons. At what age or grade should compulsion stop?
9. In what states or regions are children compelled to attend school to the more advanced grades? To the least? How about your state?
10. For the purposes of teaching, in the order of importance, list the most significant differences among pupils. Why are they the most significant?
11. What kind of curriculum and methods of teaching are best adapted to the "other half" (those who a generation ago would have dropped out before high school)?

12. Be prepared to give a five- to ten-minute talk on providing in school for physically handicapped children.
13. Be prepared to give a five- to eight-minute talk on the bright pupil and how the school should provide for him.
14. Be prepared to give a five- to ten-minute talk on the dull pupil and how the school should provide for him.
15. What do you think are the principal causes of failure in school—in the order of their importance? Give reasons and facts.
16. What do you think of the relative merit of the plans mentioned for reducing failure and retardation?
17. Do you believe practically all children should be promoted every year? Give arguments pro and con and evaluate each.

Chapter 11

THE CURRICULUM OF AMERICAN SCHOOLS

1. Theories of the Nature and Function of the Curriculum

In Our Early Schools.—In our earliest schools, courses of study were intended for very practical purposes. In the elementary school they existed for the purpose of (1) developing proficiency in the three R's, reading, writing, and arithmetic, (2) supplementing the home and church in religious training, (3) training in habits of obedience, and (4) developing some skills in very elementary handiwork (chiefly for girls). The curriculum of the Latin Grammar School was intended to prepare for the ministry and for college.

As time passed it became obvious that the elementary school curriculum was not highly effective. The materials of instruction were not adapted to interests and maturity of young children, were too bookish, placed too much emphasis upon memoriter learning and too little upon understanding, and provided insufficiently for self-activity on the part of the learner. The theory that the young learner was to be transformed into an adult by means of materials suited to the needs, backgrounds, and interests of adults did not, even after two centuries of trial, produce satisfactory results.

In the secondary school, the college preparatory theory also proved unsatisfactory. Latin and Greek did not prove to be the *sine qua non* for success in the ministry, or even in college, to say nothing of the needs of the great majority of youth who went neither to college nor to the ministry. Parents, professional educators, and pioneer thinkers like Benjamin Franklin began to call for a more practical curriculum—one which prepared for citizenship, vocation, and culture on the level of the masses. The academy with its curriculum of English, history, science, mathematics and some vocational subjects superseded the Latin Grammar School with its preponderant emphasis upon Latin and Greek.

The development of colleges and the democratic idea expressed by Peter Dunne via Mr. Dooley that "every man is as good as every other, if not a little bit better," brought into relief once again the rel-

ative failure of the high school curriculum to be practical. The awesome respect for foreign tongues, particularly languages of the remote and mystic past, and for queer-looking mathematical symbols and formulas made the general populace easy prey for those—still entrenched in the tradition that foreign languages and mathematics are liberal education—who believed and/or wished to develop the belief and concomitant practice that the best curriculum was one which supposedly prepared for college.

Conflict: Utilitarianism vs. Preparation Theories.—It should be noted that in our earlier schools two principal theories were in conflict—the utilitarian and the preparatory. Both these theories were in harmony with the philosophy and thinking of our colonial ancestors, particularly in the north where schools were more common and more advanced. The Pilgrims and our early settlers were by necessity practical people who believed in practical institutions. They were, however, at the same time a religious people who believed *deeply* in preparation—preparation for the hereafter, preparation for a long cold winter, preparation while young for adulthood and old age. The present was usually sacrificed in large part for the future.

The struggle tipped first one way and then the other. The nature of our pioneer life and the propensity for practical things on the part of pioneers constantly favored a practical curriculum. As a result, the elementary school curriculum became increasingly practical—both as preparation for adulthood and as adjusted to the interests and economy of learning of children. This was particularly true in the latter half of the nineteenth century under the influence of Pestalozzi, Herbart, and their disciples, and in the twentieth century under the influence of the child study movement and child research.

In the secondary school, the preparationists usually held the advantage. This was principally because the secondary school was largely dominated by the colleges through entrance requirements, accrediting powers, and the training of the teachers for the secondary schools. The battle still goes on, though the preparationists have lost much ground as the result of the findings of researchers that "college preparatory" subjects possess little unique preparatory value.[1] The utilitarian theory has also been favored by the establishment and growth of schools and colleges of education, where specialists in the theory and practice of education, untrammeled by outmoded theories, came out strongly for utilitarian values.

[1] E.g., Wilford M. Aikin, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study, with Conclusions and Recommendations*, New York: Harper & Bros.

The Theory of Discipline and Transfer of Training.—When the preparationists began to lose ground heavily to the utilitarians, they fell back upon the theory of discipline or transfer of training. When it became more and more difficult to justify the teaching of the vested-interest subjects and changes seemed called for, the theory was advanced that it mattered little what was taught as long as it was so taught as to develop general intellectual powers, habits, and attitudes. In fact, they said the old preparatory subjects were much better suited for such purposes. By their very nature they were best suited for developing the memory, reason, stick-to-it-iveness, patience, and neatness. Those were the powers most important to develop in young people. Later on they could develop initiative, judgment, and creativeness, it was said, if anything was said at all of those qualities. The fact that the traditional subjects were hard and uninteresting made them peculiarly suitable for developing the desired traits and powers.

Harold Benjamin satirizes the disciplinarians and their theories thus:

Three fundamentals marked the first educational curriculum:

1. Catching fish with the bare hands.
2. Clubbing tiny horses to death.
3. Frightening saber-toothed tigers with torches.

By studying those three subjects in their "schools" the stone-age people got along fairly well until there came a changed condition caused by the movement of ice from the north, the forerunner of the ice age.

The stream became muddied and fish could not be seen to catch with the bare hands, so someone invented the net, made of vines. The tiny horses fled and the antelopes replaced them. The stone-agers invented antelope snares. The saber-toothed tigers died of pneumonia, but a big ice bear replaced them, and the stone-age men dug pits to trap them. So net-making, twisting antelope snares and digging bear pits became the three essentials of life.

But the schools continued to teach fish-catching with the hands, horse-clubbing, and tiger-scaring because they had taught them for years. Some "liberal" wanted to teach net-making, snare-making, and pit-digging but he was met with opposition. Some even wanted to do away entirely with the old subjects, but they aroused a storm and were called radicals.

The old subjects must be retained for their "cultural value," the school people contended. The proposed new subjects had no place in the curriculum.

The conservatives said: "Training to catch non-existent fish with bare hands is the best way to achieve muscular co-ordination and agility; training in clubbing horses that do not exist is an education in stealth and ingenuity; practicing to frighten tigers that do not exist develops courage.

Some things are fundamental and sacred in education and must not be changed." [2]

The theory was easy to accept by those who wished to defend the status quo, and it seemed a godsend to those who were incapable of teaching practical applications of their subjects in an interesting manner. It absolved them of their sins of sloth as well as their weaknesses as creative teachers. It also was received joyously by those who needed a means of rationalizing their rough treatment of ordinary youngsters who did not readily respond to mediocre teaching.

As pointed out above, the disciplinarians believed (a) that there were general powers or traits of such things as reason, memory, neatness, industry, etc., and (b) that these general powers could be trained in specialized situations so that they would apply to all situations. Typical of the intriguing claims made for transfer of training is the following quotation made by Professor John T. Wheeler of the University of Georgia from an unnamed proponent of the old theory of formal discipline:

> A public school is designed to train the mind, to develop powers of reasoning, to exercise the memory, to encourage the initiative, to cultivate the powers of expression, and in order to do all that, it uses as its chief instruments those subjects which long years of experience have shown to be the best for the purpose. The boy who worries out the meaning of Latin is developing just that faculty which enables him, years later, to grapple with the problems of business. The solution of a difficult arrangement of logical steps in orderly sequence, requires from him exactly the same reasoning power which he will use when he prepares for the board of directors a memorandum advocating some important new line of policy for his firm. That is why school-masters cling instinctively to the same old subjects.[3]

Investigations through the past half century have pretty well discredited both of these theories, though many still cling to them or use them to support their views. It has also been repeatedly shown—whether there are such general powers—that reason, industry or any other trait, as developed in a specialized situation, transfers very little if at all to situations different in content and methods of procedure. What is even more devastating is that as much transfer can be demonstrated for such utilitarian subjects as the social studies, shorthand, and science, as for the "disciplinary" subjects, and that

[2] From a speech to Colorado teachers based upon his book *The Saber Tooth Curriculum*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

[3] John T. Wheeler, "Four Fundamental Fallacies in American Education," *The High School Quarterly*, XXII:54.

since they are more closely related to life situations the fields to which transfer may be expected are more important.

The Decorative Theory.—Never prominent in the writing of educational theorists, yet obviously quite important in the thinking and practice of many educators, and even more so in the minds of parents, is the decorative theory. Certain things are to be learned for no other purpose than because they are the hallmarks of education. Serving no intrinsic function or value, many things are taught and learned at the expenditure of great time and energy so that the learner may give evidence, however superficial, of erudition and culture. In conversation one may speak with a glow of superiority of things about which the envious and less well schooled know little.

Illustrative of the weakness of parents for this sort of thing is the story of Henry and his mother. At a relatively unschooled mother's home, the woman of limited formal school education and some of her friends sat one fall afternoon at tea, when Henry came bounding in and up the stairs. To her friends she beamed, "That Henry. He's in high school this year—studying foreign languages." And then to the son, "Come, Henry, and speak some algebra for us."

Any learning may have value according to this theory, regardless of its utilitarian application or its preparatory or disciplinary purpose, in that it sets the learner off as one who has studied "cultural" things—things which only those of a higher economic status and of greater social prestige would be expected to know. Travel abroad and the ability to speak of having been at recognized places in the better known cities of the world, and at places of classic and historic interest serve this decorative function, though indeed the traveler may have spent the entire time isolated from foreign culture and have returned even more provincial than before.

The Social Heritage Theory.—Another influential theory of the function of curriculum has been what is called the *social heritage* theory. In a variety of interpretations, it is fairly generally accepted. By superficialists, particularly those who are close to the old disciplinary theory, passing on the social heritage means principally passing on certain areas of book knowledge and subject-matter skills —classical languages, literature, art and music, mathematics, history of the race and nation, and science. It is their idea that unless these are passed on from generation to generation in the schools, they may be lost to civilization.

The superficiality of this interpretation becomes evident when it is compared to the sociological interpretation. The culture of the

race is not a preserved academic possession to be passed on like real property. Much more important are the ways of thinking and acting —the institutions, ideals, and patterns of thought and behavior—not undigested information. It consists of levels of intellectual abilities, self-expression and understanding, of qualities of individual and social character, of attitudes, interest and ideas in our culture, and of habits and modes of individual and institutional life. These must be acquired by the great mass of each oncoming generation. The accumulated knowledge of science, mathematics, and classical culture, beyond that required for the maintenance of our way of life and thinking, may be "passed on" through libraries, art galleries, museums, and concerts, and through specialists. Important as this latter avenue is, it is not the controlling function of education as a means of passing on the cultural heritage.

2. The Curriculum and the Objectives of Education

Relation of Objectives to the Nature of Society.—It is elementary that the nature and interest of the curriculum should be largely determined by the objectives of education in American industrial and capitalistic democracy. It is equally fundamental that the curriculum should facilitate the important educational functions: integration, differentiation, adaptation, preparation for later learning, and exploration. Yet the coordination with or adjustment of the curriculum to the objectives of education is far from complete.

Not only is it expecting too much to assume that teachers and other curriculum makers will keep objectives in mind, but the selection and arrangement of course of study materials and the organization of the curriculum so as to make the maximum contribution to the achievement of the objectives of education are difficult matters, requiring very clear thinking and a close acquaintance with life needs, child psychology, social trends, and curriculum materials far beyond that possessed by most teachers and administrators.

The Growth Concept.—The prevailing concept of education is usually referred to as "education as growth"; briefly it is as follows. With the limits set by individual and racial heredity, and according to laws of learning by human beings, growth is conditioned by the experience of the individual. What we are depends upon what we have experienced in the past. What we will be is determined by the modification of what we have become in terms of present and future experience. In other words, how we act, think, and feel in the future

is conditioned by how we have acted, thought, and felt previously. The school exists for the purpose of conditioning the child's growth advantageously, an objective to be achieved primarily by improving the environment by which he is influenced. The school is an important part of the learner's environment, an environment that includes his home, parents, playmates, the press, the radio, the church, and the business and industrial life of his community.

The curriculum of the school constitutes the major part of the school environment, which also includes the teacher, the building, his schoolmates, and the extracurriculum. It exists solely for the purpose of so controlling the experience of young people as to condition their future behavior. What future behavior is contemplated is that which, within limits of the individual learner, will contribute most effectively to the achievement of the objectives of education—social-civic efficiency, vocational efficiency, home and family efficiency, vital and mental efficiency, and effectiveness in enjoying life and leisure.

Electives and Required Courses.—While most educators accept, at least in principle, the growth concept and the objectives of education as indicated above, they disagree both in theory and practice upon a number of noteworthy points. Among these is the emphasis to be placed upon electives and required courses.

Several developments have given impetus during the last half century to the spread of the elective system: (1) the increasing heterogeneity of abilities, interests, and needs of learners in college, secondary school, and the upper grades of the elementary school; (2) the development in understanding of individual psychology and of the measurement of intellectual abilities and capacities which have brought into relief the significant differences among individuals in capacities, abilities, and educational achievement; (3) a swing toward establishing the welfare of the individual rather than the welfare of society as the principal purpose of education; (4) the development of vocational education.

Until about 1940, the elective system continued to expand. It invaded the elementary grades via the junior high school. In many high schools only three years of English and one of American history were required for graduation. In many others an additional few units were required, usually a year of mathematics or a year of social studies, or both. Otherwise, what a pupil didn't like or thought he did not need, he didn't study.

Beginning about 1940 the reaction against electives began to gain force. Educators began to see that a great percentage of high school graduates were not well rounded in their education, that they had alarming gaps and blind spots, and that the interests of society were not being safeguarded. In addition, the resulting competition among teachers and departments for numbers of students—already somewhat unwholesome—grew stronger as the number of students in high school no longer increased from year to year.

In recent years the core-curriculum has expanded in most schools and the number of required units increased. All students in many schools are required to have at least the equivalent of two years of history and social studies, two years of natural science, three years of English and one year of algebra or general mathematics. In a great many schools this minimum is exceeded.

General versus Specialized Education.—Closely related to and a part of the movement away from the excesses of the elective system has been the movement for general education. General education may be defined as education for the needs common to all. It is in juxtaposition to specialized education. Specialized education is chiefly of three types: (a) vocational education, (b) education thought to have special preparatory value, and (c) education for leisure interests or hobbies. It has become more generally recognized that effective specific vocational education is possible in school only for a few vocations and that no subject has any appreciably superior value as preparation for college. Together with the increased recognition of the value and need for the cultural and vocational outcomes of the so-called academic subjects, these considerations have resulted in the increased attention given to general education in the secondary schools and institutions of higher education.

The Curriculum and Society.—The nature of the curriculum should be, and usually is, one which is in harmony with, and educates for, the prevailing social and political philosophy and institutions of a given society. In an aristocracy, or any society in which social decisions are made by a few and in which those born of the masses may not hope to be rulers or leaders, a dual system of education is usual (as has been traditional in Germany and England, for example), one curriculum for the few destined for leadership, and another to prepare the others to do the work of the society, and to be loyal, respectful and obedient.

In a democracy, whatever differences may exist for the education of different groups should be determined on the basis of their differ-

ences in capacity and interests. Since all pupils are to be citizens and any may become leaders, the primary concern of curriculum makers must be education for intelligent citizenship, preparation for the responsibilities of the voter concerning matters of public policy, and, in the later grades, for leadership. School education for vocations and other phases of life, in which the benefit is primarily to the learner and only incidentally to society, is a secondary responsibility. On the basis of no other reasoning can we justify support of free public schools by taxation according to wealth or income rather than according to benefits to the children of the taxpayer.

A study of the history of the struggle for free public schools reveals that this was the primary purpose for establishing free schools, as is indicated by the following statements of former Presidents of the United States:

Promote them 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.—*George Washington.*

Laws for the liberal education of youth are so extremely wise and useful that, to a humane and generous mind, no expense for this purpose would be thought extravagant.—*John Adams.*

Above all things, I hope the education of the common people will be attended to; convinced that on this good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.

I do most anxiously wish to see education given to all degrees of our citizenry to enable them to understand what is going on in the world and to keep their part of it going on right.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

Education is the true foundation of civil liberty, and on it, therefore, rest the welfare and stability of the republic. A people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives. Popular suffrage without appropriate education is prologue to tragedy, to farce or to both.—*James Madison.*

I view education as the most important thing which we as a people can be engaged in.—*Abraham Lincoln.*

Next in importance to freedom and justice is popular education, without which neither justice nor freedom can be permanently maintained.—*James A. Garfield.*

The theory of the state in furnishing more and better schools is that it fits us to perform better our duties as citizens.—*Grover Cleveland.*

The Perversity of Conservatism.—It has been traditionally difficult in education, as in other social institutions, to adapt thinking

and practice to the times. It has been the history of education that supporters of status quo—conservative and aristocratic practices—have resisted stoutly the adaptation of the curriculum to democratic theories, modern scientific knowledge in education and psychology, and the needs of changing American life. This monkey wrench in the machine of liberal advance was well characterized by the late William McAndrew, a former superintendent of schools in Chicago and later editor of *School and Society,* in a review of Professor Thomas Woody's *Educational Views of Benjamin Franklin:*

Versatile and loveable old Ben, so Dr. Woody reminds us, held a life-long contempt for the system of higher education which wastes upon Latin and unapplied mathematics the time that could have been devoted to preparing youth to serve the public. Among the Franklin experiences, assembled in this volume, the academy adventure reads like educational fiascos of here and now. Franklin was the father of the project. He drew the prospectus and gathered the money. Here was to be an institution released from tradition and conditioned by public need. Life was too short and obligations too pressing to permit youth to devote precious time to dead languages and unapplied science. However, trustees of wealth and position must be got on the board. They are for the good old curriculum suitable for a gentleman and a scholar. Franklin, according to his life-long principle, takes half a loaf as better than no bread. He compromises on a school with two courses—a classical, an English. Then follows the oft-played educational game of putting the prospectus in the cupboard and throwing away the key. Like Ezra Cornell's or Jacob Tome's educational purpose, Franklin's, in the hands of educators, gets more and more moulded into the traditional pattern until it is hardly recognizable.

Absent in Europe and busied with the affairs of the Revolution, Poor Richard scarcely knows what the old-timers are doing to this project. But old, sick and within a year of his death, the philosopher writes one of the most scathing reports ever submitted to a school board. It consists of a series of minutes from the board records, exposing a startling contrast of resolutions with performances. "From the beginning, the contempt of your employes for the new, the English course has been allowed to damage it. They get you to give the Latin master a title. You gave none to the English principal. To the Latin head you gave 200 pounds; to the English, one half as much money and twice as many boys. You voted 100 pounds to buy Greek and Latin books, nothing for English. I flatter myself, gentlemen, that from the board minutes it appears that the original plan has been departed from; that the subscribers have been deceived and disappointed, that good masters have been driven out of the school and that the trustees have not kept faith."

It must strike you that Franklin's disappointment with the course of the academy, left to the management of traditional educators, would be paral-

leled and intensified if he were to compare our tremendous public school and college performance with the plans of the men who persuaded the legislatures to tax the people for the schools. The promise was that the schools would be run for public benefit. The fact is that the schoolmaster continues to conduct them for Latin, for geometry, for individual benefit or ornament, as if education were still paid for by parents for their children rather than by the community for community benefit. Educators have done to that new objective what the masters did to Franklin's modern system—starved it.[4]

3. Expansion of Curricular Offerings

Offerings.—Since the beginning of schools in this country there have been until recently tendencies to increase the number of subjects in the schools, to expand the content of the subjects and to push them lower in the sequence of grades. Arithmetic, once taught in Harvard University, then offered in many academies and high schools in the nineteenth century, by 1910 had become strictly an elementary school subject. Some one has said that the curriculum was like the foxes' den in one of Aesop's fables, of which the rabbit said in declining the invitation of the fox to enter, "All tracks lead in, none lead out."

Much of what is in the curriculum is there because, once there, no one could get it out. Attempts have been made to teach much of it before children could learn it economically or thoroughly. This condition is one of the basic causes of the great amount of time spent uneconomically by learner and by teacher in getting a verbal substitute for real mastery and understanding.

In secondary schools, subjects have multiplied until now in some four-year schools more than sixty units are offered, enough for sixteen years of study of four units each. Included among these offerings are several different foreign languages, a half dozen vocational curricula, variants of English (such as journalism, dramatics, and speech), and specialized new courses designed to fill the gaps left by conventional curriculum, e.g., psychology, vocations, guidance, safety education, etc. On the following page are shown by name the offerings in typical elementary schools and in typical secondary schools of the different periods.

Throughout the past two centuries there has been a distinct tendency to add to the drill subjects of the earlier periods such content subjects as history, literature, and arts, and extracurricular activities. Another definite trend that may be noted is that away from the dis-

[4] "Franklin Was Hot," *School and Society*, XXXIV:340–341.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL OFFERING

Early Nineteenth Century	*Later Nineteenth Century*	*Twentieth Century*
Reading	Those in column at left plus:	Those at left plus:
Writing	Geography	Manual Arts
Spelling	History, Civil Government	Household Arts
Language	Literature	Civics
	Nature Study	Elementary Science
	Physiology	Extracurriculum
	Art	
	Music	

SECONDARY SCHOOL OFFERING

Latin, Greek	Those in column at left plus:	Those at left plus:
Ancient History	German, French	Spanish
English Grammar	European History	Social Science
Algebra, Arithmetic, Geometry	United States History	Biology, General Science
Geography	Physical Geography	Typewriting, Shorthand
	Physics, Chemistry	Industrial Arts
	English Language, Literature	Household Arts
	Bookkeeping, Algebra, Geometry	
	Art, Music	

ciplinary and toward the truly practical, including the vocational subjects.

Combining and Absorbing Courses.—There have been in recent years two corrective or counter movements to the tendencies toward multiplication of elective courses. Courses have been combined and absorbed. In junior high schools, courses in English include grammar, literature-reading-spelling and handwriting, and courses in general science include nature study, physiology, and elementary physics and chemistry.

There is a similar tendency in senior high schools for the specialized courses in dramatics, speech, and journalism to be absorbed in the regular English classes. Courses in general social studies are being offered which include economics, political science, sociology, and sometimes geography and history; indeed, in some schools English and the social studies are combined. The trend toward general science, which began in the junior high school grades, has been carried into many senior high school grades in the form of general physical science.

Time Allotments in the Elementary School.—The relative amount of time devoted to the various elementary school subjects varies from school to school and from time to time. A good general picture of typical time allotments is given in Table 30.

TABLE 30

AVERAGE SUBJECT TIME ALLOTMENT IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS OF SIX REPRESENTATIVE CITIES[a]

Subject	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7
Language Arts	263	313	338	353	354	335	295
Social Studies	108	110	153	245	284	287	300
Reading	563	480	373	272	217	203	130
Arithmetic	85	118	192	250	238	236	233
Art	85	83	78	83	84	84	98
Music	88	87	96	96	103	103	100
Physical Ed.	90	90	105	107	119	118	148
Science and Health	65	66	69	98	95	97	143
TOTAL	1,347	1,347	1,404	1,504	1,494	1,463	1,447

[a] Alameda, Calif.; Dearborn, Mich.; Topeka, Kans.: Ottumwa, Ia.; Anderson, Ind.; and Bridgeport, Conn.

Postponement in Grade Placement.—Teachers have discovered how important it is not to attempt to teach children difficult and abstract things too soon. Since most children stay in school until sixteen years of age and about one half until graduation from high school, it is no longer necessary to place topics lower in the grades than psychologically sound merely to be sure that the child has contact with the topic before leaving school.

Prominent among the reactions to this fact is the tendency in the majority of schools now to allocate many topics in arithmetic to a later grade. Long division, for example, is no longer attempted in the third grade. In fact, in most schools it is now taught in the fifth grade, rarely before the second half of the fourth. At this point may also be mentioned the postponement of much formal grammar, formerly taught in grades 6, 7, and 8, to the high school. Arithmetic likewise is finding its way back into the high school, especially in the courses in general mathematics in the senior high school.

Because of the facts that young people stay in school longer and are not welcomed into employment as early as in former times, vocational education in recent years has been gradually shoved upward in the curriculum. Once a part of the junior high school curriculum, it was first pushed into the senior high school and now is in the last year or two of the senior high school and in the junior college.

Typical Grade Placement.—Typical grade placement of subjects today, both for the elementary school and for the secondary school, is shown in Tables 31 and 32.

TABLE 31

TYPICAL GRADE PLACEMENT OF SUBJECTS FOR AN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, GRADES ONE THROUGH EIGHT

1	2	3	4
Reading Numbers Writing Music Art Physical Ed. and Health Social Studies and Science	Reading Numbers Writing Music Art Physical Ed. and Health Spelling Social Studies and Science	Reading Arithmetic Writing Music Art Physical Ed. and Health Spelling Social Studies and Science	Reading Arithmetic Writing Music Art Physical Ed. and Health Spelling History Science English Civics
5	**6**	**7**	**8**
Reading Arithmetic Writing Music Art Physical Ed. and Health Spelling History Science English Geography	Reading Arithmetic Writing Music Art Physical Ed. and Health Spelling History Science English Geography	Reading Arithmetic Writing Music Art Physical Ed. and Health Spelling Science English Geography Literature State or Local History Home Ec. Shop	Reading Arithmetic Writing Music Art Physical Ed. and Health Spelling Science English Geography Literature State or Local History Home Ec. Shop

4. CURRICULUM AND COURSE OF STUDY ORGANIZATION

In the lower grades of the elementary school a single curriculum is typical, though to be sure there may be variations to meet the needs of pupils of definitely inferior and definitely superior ability. In secondary schools, on the other hand, except the smallest ones, there are usually two or more curricula, e.g., the college preparatory, the stenographic, and the like. In the elementary school there are few electives. Those that exist are almost always restricted to the seventh and eighth grades, and are limited to the fields of industrial and household arts, music, and fine arts. High school subjects fall into several curricular categories, as follows:

1. Constants: required of all graduates.
2. Curriculum prescriptions: while not requisite for graduation,

TABLE 32

TYPICAL HIGH SCHOOL GRADE PLACEMENT OF SUBJECTS

YEAR	SUBJECTS						
I	Phys. Ed. Music	English I	Gen. Math. Algebra I	Gen. Sc. Home Ec. I	Comm. Civics		
II	Phys. Ed. Music	English II For. Lang.	Algebra I and II	Biology Home Ec. II	World Hist. Geography	Gen. Shop I	Typ. I
III	Phys. Ed. Music	English III For. Lang.	Geom. I	Chemistry Home Ec. III	Amer. Hist. World Hist.	Gen. Shop II Voc. Courses	Typ. I and II Short-hand I
IV	Phys. Ed. Music	English IV	Geom. II Trig.	Physics	Soc. & Econ. WorldProbl.	Gen. Shop III Voc. Courses	Short-hand II Typ. II

7TH AND 8TH GRADES WHEN FOUND IN HIGH SCHOOL OR JUNIOR HIGH ORGANIZATION

7th	Phys. Ed. Art Music	English	Math.	Gen. Sc.	Geog.	Home Ec. Gen. Shop	
8th	Phys. Ed. Art Music	English	Math.	Gen. Sc.	Am. History	Home Ec. Gen. Shop	

these courses are required in a specific curriculum, e.g., algebra in a college preparatory curriculum.

3. Limited electives: those in which the pupil's choice is limited, e.g., music or art, any two years of some foreign language, or any one year of some science.
4. Free electives: those which may be elected at will by the students in the year or years for which they are offered.

In high schools offering two or more curricula, the form of organization is referred to as multiple curriculum type. In many junior high schools, all students in the seventh and eighth grades follow a single curriculum (with constants and electives), and in the ninth grade one of the curricula in a multiple curriculum organization. In small high schools, the single curriculum with constants and electives is the typical organization, though in a few a multiple type organization is followed. A few very small ones offer only a single fixed curriculum with no electives. There has been in recent years a trend in practice toward the single constants-with-electives curriculum.

For years in many high schools with multiple curricula these curricula were organized around (1) vocational aims, and (2) preparation for college. For some time there has been a growing tendency

to include a "general" curriculum. In recent years this practice has spread very widely, and in many schools it is followed by more students than any other. In the required core of the general curriculum there are usually at least seven or eight year-units intended for common and general needs—English, science, the social studies. They are in the form both of constants and of limited electives.

Combined Core and the Unified Curriculum.—The reaction against a curriculum made up of compartmentalized subjects has taken many forms. A number of these pool subject fields, disregarding subject-field boundaries. In this category is the combined core-curriculum in which the required work is organized into one large subject of study, often embracing what we have ordinarily thought of as several separate fields. Where used in the elementary schools, the combined core-curriculum is supplemented by special instruction in drill subjects, particularly arithmetic.

The core-curriculum may vary considerably in its inclusiveness. Almost always, however, it includes the English subjects, history, and the other social studies. In some schools it will also include, as in the Virginia state curriculum, some science; in still others there may be some mathematics—usually arithmetic and intuitive geometry. In some schools an effort has been made to combine all subjects, except a few such electives as vocational subjects, foreign languages, art, and music in a single, unified curriculum. Partly because of the scarcity of teachers qualified to teach such a curriculum, the practice has been confined to a small number of schools, some of which have abandoned the experiment.

The Broad Field Movement.—Since 1910 there has been a trend toward combining into a single, broad field a number of related subjects, organized with unity in terms of the logical interrelationships. Among its earliest manifestations were the courses in general science, general mathematics, English. A little later came general language, general social studies, e.g., problems of American democracy and community civics. More recently general home economics, general shop, general or junior business, and physical science and senior mathematics have followed this trend.

At the junior college level, similar trends and courses have developed—survey and general courses in science, biological science, physical science, history, social science, etc. Partly because of the amount of time involved in planning the course of study, and partly for other reasons, the experiment has not been very successful or widespread.

The Integrated Curriculum.—In some schools the combining of subjects has been carried out with reference to life problems. Materials from the various subject fields are selected and organized in terms of their pertinence to the problems studied, which are chosen in the light of the interest and maturity of the learners as well as future needs. Such a curriculum is often called an integrated curriculum.

Integration means unity—unity with respect to some agreed-upon principle or point of reference. The integrated curriculum is integrated with reference to a series of problems. The criterion for selection, arrangement and emphasis of learning material and activities is the probable contribution of each to understanding and solving the problem. Like the unified curriculum, it is quite difficult to organize and teach and is not widely employed.

Correlation and the Correlated Curriculum.—A milder form of lowering the barriers between subjects and coordination is the use of correlation between the subjects. The subjects are taught separately, but cross-reference is constantly carried on between subjects, and in the teaching of any subject closely related material from other subjects is interwoven when germane. Where correlation is consciously carried to a high level, the curriculum is frequently spoken of as a "correlated curriculum." The idea, advocated by Herbart and others a hundred years ago and practiced to some extent ever since, has been given new emphasis in recent years.

Large Units.—Another recent and current trend in the organization of the curriculum is the organization of courses of study into units extending through several days or several weeks. This movement has taken many forms, each of which has distinguishing characteristics other than the size of the unit. Among them are:

1. The project method, involving a definite pupil-accepted goal of achievement around and toward which the purpose of the learner, the materials and the learning activities are selected and organized, and in which purposeful study, pupil planning, and activity replace arbitrary assignments and recitations; it is widely used in the industrial and household arts.
2. The contract plan, the chief characteristics of which are long assignments of things to study and to accomplish; it is usually mimeographed and accepted by the learner, sometimes with modifications; it also emphasizes study rather than recitation.
3. The Dalton plan, a special form of contract plan that emphasizes supervised study in the subject "laboratory," pupil budgeting of

his learning activities, individualized rate of progress, and graphic records of individual progress toward the completion of the assignment.

4. The topical unit plan, merely the organization of the study of a given subject into logical subdivisions in which carefully planned learning activities have been formulated.

Such approaches as topical units and integration involve the organization of course materials around selected themes or problems. More and more large unit courses of study are being developed and employed, not only in separate subjects, but also in various forms of combined curricula.

The Activity Movement.—Stemming from the emphasis and importance attached by Pestalozzi and his followers to the principle of the learner's self-activity, the employment of this self-activity at higher levels has in recent decades come to characterize increasingly the curriculum and methods of progressive teachers and schools.

The activity idea stresses certain activities other than memorizing and drill designed only for fixation. It emphasizes motor-activity —doing things—especially activity leading to definite pupil-accepted goals, such as making things, writing letters, and the like. It emphasizes pupil initiative. The activity movement has acceptance in some degree at all school levels but it has been carried much further in the lower six grades.

The Experience Curriculum.—An idea and a movement that is still largely in a nebulous stage is called the experience curriculum. While, to be sure, all curricula depend for meaning or purpose upon stimulating and guiding experience—the only means of learning—the "experience" curriculum emphasizes the utilization of the normal and natural experiences of young people as the curriculum. While some trends have been toward making learning more life-like and less detached from actuality in the lives of young people, this movement carried to a consistent extreme would abolish schools, and life would be the curriculum. After all, the school is essentially an artificial substitute for the hazardous, uneconomic, normal life experience, one that is designed to provide a better environment for growth and learning.

The Community School or Curriculum.—Following the same general trend toward large units, integration, experience, and learner activity is the movement to bring the community, community life, and community problems into the curriculum. Here and there the

whole curriculum, or at least a very large part of it, revolves around the community. What is studied in mathematics, the social studies, science, and other subjects grows out of problems of the community life. Its proponents claim that what is lost in the way of gaps in the curriculum is far less important than the superior learning made possible through interest, vividness, reality, application, and orientation. Prominent among the gains are said to be the development of greater interest in curriculum materials, greater understanding of materials and their significance, greater appreciation of life and adults and their problems, and skill in application of subject matter to life problems, and larger retention. Here, again, curriculum development along promising lines is hindered by the lack of teachers sufficiently industrious, progressive and practical, and oriented in and out of school life.

5. Determiners and Sources of Course of Study Materials

Determiners.—The legal source of authority for determining the curriculum in this country is the state legislature. It may exercise the authority directly, or delegate it to state officials. For the most part, however, it gives authority to the local board of education, which exercises it in broad policies and as a reviewing board, leaving details to the teachers and administrators.

State legislatures have exercised their authority directly numerous times, but usually with respect to some detail, and even then usually leaving room for discretion on the part of boards of education, administrators, and teachers. State legislation has been related largely to requiring the teaching of United States history, civics, safety and health, physical education, the evil effects of alcohol, and the appropriate observance of such days as birthdays of certain Presidents, Arbor Day, and Memorial Day.

In many states, the state department of education is charged with the preparation of state courses of study for various subjects and grades. While usually advisory, such courses are mandatory in a number of states, although in some cases required in elementary schools only. In a few states, principally in the South, textbooks are adopted for the schools on a statewide basis. In this, a certain leeway is usually allowed to larger schools and high schools which either may be exempt from compulsory use of state-adopted textbooks or may choose from an adopted list. In some states, state aid for high schools is conditioned upon meeting specified curriculum requirements.

College Control.—What subjects are offered in schools is influenced to some extent by college entrance requirements. In many states, small high schools offer to their students (less than 20 per cent of whom will enter college) the subjects required for entrance to the leading institutions of higher education in the region. As the result of the tendency of colleges and universities to recede from the strait-jacket requirement of specified entrance subjects this influence is diminishing.

Also diminishing is the formerly strong tendency among eastern schools to prepare students for the entrance examinations of particular colleges. Replacing it is the tendency in the schools of this area, especially of New York and New England, to prepare high school students for the national College Entrance Examination Board examinations which have become the conventional method of entrance into most of the better known eastern colleges.

Among the types of influence of the college upon the curriculum of the lower schools is that incidental to the training of teachers in colleges. College professors determine what future teachers shall learn, and they teach with well defined points of view. Very important is the influence of professors of education who assist in molding the fundamental philosophy and professional opinions and points of view of future teachers. Many recent reforms and improvements in education owe their being to this source.

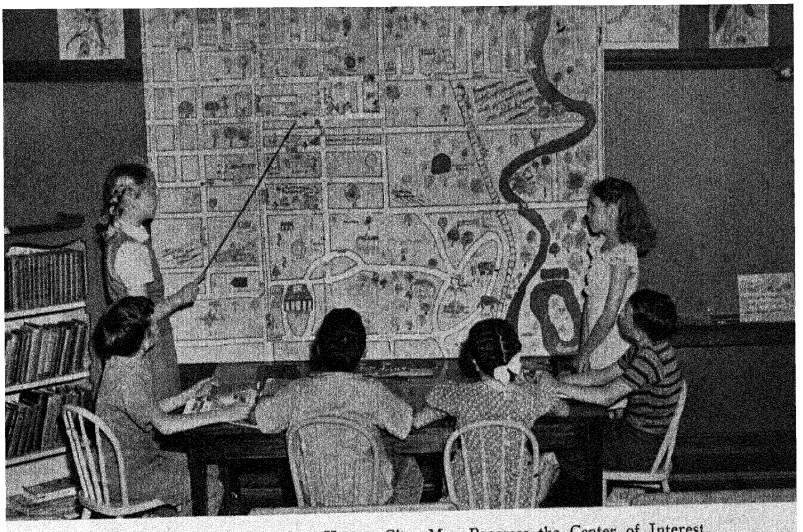
College teachers also wield an influence upon the curriculum as writers of textbooks upon which the teacher is dependent. Professors of education especially are influential through their participation in various professional organizations and teachers' meetings and through their writings in professional periodicals and of textbooks.

The Influence of the Layman upon the Curriculum.—As described in Chapter 9, what is taught in the schools is influenced to a very great extent by laymen, both as individuals and as pressure groups. The principal influences include the following:[5]

Positive Pressures:

1. Commercial influences to teach the uses of banks, the buying of insurance, the use educationally of materials containing direct or indirect advertising of goods or firms.
2. Influences of patriotic societies, historical groups, temperance organizations, safety agencies, and other groups with special

[5] See Chapter 9, "Nongovernmental Influences Upon American Education," for a more thorough discussion of this topic.



The Mark Twain School at Kansas City, Mo., Becomes the Center of Interest in a School-Made Map of the Community

The School Store Is an Excellent Tool for Training in Economic Citizenship

This school store at Winnetka, Ill., is organized as a pupil-owned cooperative, through which pupils learn the advantages of the cooperative type of organization.

Pupils in an Elementary School at Rochester, N. Y., Learn about Other Lands from a Sailor on Leave

interests to have materials introduced into the curriculum favorable to their interests.

3. Religious organizations to have attention in the curriculum given to the study of religion or the Bible.

Negative Influences:

1. Patriotic societies, chambers of commerce, associations of manufacturers and other groups and of individuals to prevent the teaching or consideration of various matters and questions, usually of controversial character.
2. Religious groups or individuals to have omitted from the curriculum historical or scientific, or other materials or discussions not favorable to their religious beliefs or denomination.
3. General public opinion (not necessarily exercised directly upon the schools) to exercise a powerful and sometimes determining influence upon teachers especially in matters of sex education, religion and science, and political evils tolerated or defended by powerful sections of the community.

Textbooks, Units, Pamphlets.—Until recently, courses of study in most schools have included little more than the textbooks themselves. This is particularly true in the elementary school and in high school courses in foreign languages and mathematics. Because of their limited size, textbooks in many subjects, such as history, literature, and science, need much supplementation. As the result of the growing recognition of the limitations of textbooks, there has been a steadily increasing use of library reference books, audio-visual materials, field trips and of pamphlets or small books for pupil use on units of the course of study.

In many instances these materials are used in place of textbooks and, as more are published, textbooks may not be used at all in some courses in many schools. Examples of these published courses of study units are the following:

1. Arithmetic: "Kindergarten-Grade Three." *Curriculum Bulletin* 1947–48 Series, No. 2, New York City.
2. *Adapting the Reading Program to the Needs of the Individual Child.* Curriculum Bulletin for Elementary Schools, State of Colorado, Denver, 1940.
3. *Elementary Mathematics Course of Study and Teacher's Handbook, Grades One to Eight.* Department of Public Instruction; Bulletin No. 127, State of Indiana, Indianapolis, 1940.
4. *Mathematics.* Secondary School Series, Bulletin 5, Missouri at Work on the Public School Curriculum, Jefferson City, 1941.
5. *Health and Physical Education Course of Study, Rural Schools of Illinois.* Department of Public Instruction, Springfield, 1943.

6. "The Freedoms We Defend and Seek," *A Unit for the Denver Junior High Schools.* Department of Instruction, Denver Public Schools, September, 1943.
7. *Guide to the Teaching of Manners and Morals in the Elementary Schools.* Long Beach, California, 1944.
8. *Syllabus in Business Subjects* (for high schools). University of the State of New York, Albany, 1944.
9. *Course of Study in Arithmetic* (grades 4, 5, 6 and 7). Bulletin No. 503, State Department of Education of Louisiana, Baton Rouge, 1943.
10. *A Course of Study in Essential Mathematics* (for experimental use in Chicago Public High Schools). Bureau of Curriculum, Chicago, 1943.
11. *The Program of Studies in Oregon High Schools.* State Department of Education, Portland, 1945.
12. *The Primary Manual.* Curriculum Bulletin 95, Cincinnati Public Schools, Cincinnati, 1946.
13. *Curriculum Guide for Elementary Schools.* Kern County, California, 1945.

More and more widely the selection of textbooks is made by committees of teachers in a school or school system. Because of the very great responsibility involved, teachers should prepare themselves to make wise selections. Score cards and techniques for textbook selection have been developed for almost all subjects.

Teachers as Curriculum Sources.—As teachers become better prepared generally (in subject fields and general knowledge of life and culture) and professionally (in the philosophy of education, methods of teaching, and course-of-study construction) they are gradually becoming more independent of textbooks. Not only are they using a much wider range of reading materials, but they are also employing films, pictures, radio, community life and other educational materials to supplement textbooks.

In addition teachers are drawing more upon their own knowledge and experience, and reading more widely than did their predecessors, the "school marms." Not only do they participate more fully in determining the courses of study for their schools and their subjects, but from day to day they are exercising more actively their discretion as the final determiner of the learners' educational environment.

6. Criteria and Methods of Course of Study Construction

There are two broad types of approach to course-of-study construction—one which emphasizes the interests, the capacities, and the

modes of learning of the pupil, and the other which emphasizes the needs of people and of society in our current life and culture.

The psychological approach emphasizes the learner. It begins with the study of his interests and is concerned with his manner of growing up, with his expanding powers and natural tendencies, with his moral and emotional development, and with the science and art of manipulating his experiences in the light of increasing knowledge about him.

In the psychological approach, there are two dominant interests: what is contributive to child growth—mental, physical, moral, and social—and what are apparently the laws of learning. This approach lays heavy emphasis upon pupil interests and normal child concerns. In its extreme, it is sometimes thought of as completely following normal child interest. The "child-centered school" was an outgrowth of this theory.

The Sociological Approach.—Somewhat opposed to the idea of a child-centered school has been that of a "society-centered" school. This approach emphasizes an analysis of the needs and demands of society today and of life in the immediate future. It puts first in the approach to curriculum formulation the necessity for determining what individuals must learn and be in life if they are to fit into society effectively and happily and if they are to play their parts in giving it direction and strength. By this approach, the needs and activities of the individual in current society and in that of the probable future are identified—his vocational, social, civic, health, parental, consumer, and leisure needs.

According to those who attach great importance to this approach, the development and progress of a democratic society call for a high degree of social education for all, education of a type that will enable voters to make intelligent decisions and to choose sound leaders in meeting the problems which challenge democratic solutions.

Criteria of Need and Learner's Ability.—The criteria of need for various possible curricular items designed to assist the pupil in meeting the problems of life are commonly used in selecting potential instructional materials. Among these are:

1. The relative importance of the need
   a. To the individual.
   b. To society.
2. The number of individuals who need to acquire the phase of growth under consideration.

3. The frequency with which the typical individual will have need of the acquisition.
4. The degree to which need for the acquisition lies in the immediate future rather than in the remote future.
5. The degree of certainty of the learner's need, and the degree to which it may be contingent upon conditions and factors not certain to exist or to continue to be influential.

In these criteria, care must be exercised not to fall into such fallacies so often operative in the past as:

1. Teaching much of subject because some of it is useful.
2. Educating for production when the great need is educating for consumption.
3. Considering the value of the subject to society rather than its value as learning materials.

Criteria of Learnability.—In addition to the criteria of need, there are rather well recognized criteria of learnability. Prominent among these are the following:

1. To what extent can all or most pupils acquire the learning in question?
2. How much time must be devoted to the acquisition of the particular item?
3. What is the appropriate age level for economical learning of the item?
4. At what expense of undesirable learning may the item be acquired?

It is evident that what shall be taught and learned in the schools of the United States cannot be determined entirely by scientific research or by the dicta of authorities. It is largely a matter of careful individual judgment in the light of circumstances and changing conditions—a matter of answering Herbert Spencer's question, "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?"

Curriculum and Social Change.—Life in the United States has never been static. Changes very significant to education have been taking place in considerable degree and number. To these the curriculum must be keyed to at least a reasonable degree. Prominent among these adjustments may be mentioned the following items:

1. *In the Home:* less leisure and social life in the family; less parent-child association; less attention to religious ceremonies and attitudes; less opportunity and responsibility for work expe-

rience; better language, dress, and social custom; lower moral standards, less thrift, less responsibility.

2. *In the Church:* less frequent church attendance, less fear of the consequences of sins.
3. *In Industry and Business:* more extensive use of machinery; more complicated set-up for workers; less need for special vocational education for most jobs; the development of monopolies and of labor unions; greater interdependence and danger of unemployment.
4. *In Recreation and Social Life:* trend to commercialized amusement; greater use of the automobile; increased use of alcohol.
5. *In Communication and Transportation:* development of airplanes; development of radio; influences upon the press and the radio for commercial and political propaganda.

The curriculum of American schools, as Bertrand Russell said, is always "driving the tacks where the carpet was last season," and has far to go if it is to prepare our youth for current life and its problems, not to speak of those of the future in which today's school children must live.

Methods of Courses-of-Study Selection.—Prominent among the methods employed to determine what shall be taught in American schools are the following:

1. The adoption of a textbook.
2. The cooperative formulation of courses of study by groups of teachers.
3. The survey of the needs of large groups of individuals by observation and questionnaire, usually in such restricted areas as spelling or letter writing.
4. The survey of needs by means of analysis of reading content of newspapers and periodicals, of political platforms, etc.
5. The analysis of the activities engaged in by workers in specific and relatively uniform occupations, e.g., the needs of printers, of bookkeepers, of cooks, or of community citizens.
6. The canvassing for their expert judgments of a small group of individuals highly qualified by training and experience in a given field, e.g., department heads in business or industrial establishments.

The Minimum Essentials Movement.—Very prominent at one time, one factor in curriculum determination is the principle of "minimum essentials." It is operative in two forms. In one of these, the objective is to discover and identify the more important things to be learned in a given subject; that is, the minimum essentials as

arrived at by an examination of life needs and of the needs for further study of the subject.

Minimum essentials are also thought of in terms of the necessary factors essential to success in a given activity—as a parent, a citizen, etc. Regardless of which approach is used, it is obvious that what is essential is a matter of judgment and of relative value.

Steps in Course-of-Study Construction.—While generalization may prove somewhat misleading, the basic philosophy of good procedure may be indicated by the two following outlines.

Steps in curriculum construction suggested by Dr. W. W. Charters:

1. Determine the major objectives of education by a study of the life of man in its social setting.
2. Analyze these objectives into ideals and activities and continue the analysis to the level of working units.
3. Arrange these in order of importance.
4. Raise to positions of higher order in this list those ideals and activities which rank high in value for children but low in value for adults.
5. Determine the number of the most important items of the resulting list which can be handled in the time allotted to school education, after deducting those which are better learned outside of school.
6. Collect the best practices of the race in handling these ideals and activities.
7. Arrange the material so obtained in proper instructional order, according to the psychological nature of children.[6]

Professor Nelson Bossing, University of Minnesota, suggests the following series of steps:

Step 1. A Clearly Defined Conception of the Curriculum.
Step 2. Statement of a Social and Educational Philosophy.
Step 3. Statement of the Accepted Basic Principles of Learning.
Step 4. Statement of the Aims of Education.
Step 5. Scope and Areas of Curriculum and Course of Study.
Step 6. Sequence and Time Allotment.
Step 7. Determination of Content Materials and Activities.
Step 8. Organization of Materials and Activities.
Step 9. Teaching Procedures.
Step 10. Evaluation Procedures.
Step 11. Pupil-Teacher Reference Materials.
Step 12. Mechanical Makeup of the Course of Study.[7]

[6] W. W. Charters, *Curriculum Construction*, New York: The Macmillan Company, p. 102.

[7] From *The High School Curriculum*, New York: The Ronald Press Co., Ch. 15.

7. Current Developments and New Emphases

The curriculum is and should be in constant evolution. While our best achievements have lagged a generation behind the needs of society, it is vital that we recognize in our planning that education must be designed to meet the conditions and problems of the years that lie ahead, that education fails in its obligation if it prepares only for the needs of the past or even those of the present. Under these conditions, it is obvious that much deadwood remains to be cleared from the curriculum to make room for new course-of-study materials, particularly those materials designed to meet new needs. That the curriculum is and will continue for some years to be in an accelerated period of transition should be recognized; it is the natural result of the fact that only recently have teachers decisively and in increasing numbers turned their backs upon such discredited assumptions and practices as (1) the belief that it does not matter much what is taught, (2) the serious overemphasis upon preparatory values—the consideration of learning as preparation for future grades and subjects, and (3) similar overemphasis upon information as a means and an objective of education.

Consumer Education.—One of the most important developments in course-of-study construction has been the increased recognition of the need for consumer education. All people live in some sort of community and have serious responsibilities as purchasers of food, clothing, shelter, medical and dental service, transportation, amusement, and security in old age and in periods of unemployment. The need for consumer education has increased greatly in recent decades. Previous to the twentieth century the home was much more a producing than a buying unit. Less than half of the needs of the average home were bought as recently as 1900, less than a third in 1880, less than a fifth in 1850. Formerly the typical family lived on the farm or in a rural home with a garden, fruit trees, chickens, a cow, hogs and other sources of food. In times of unemployment a living could still be had. Homes were large enough to take care of the aged and the ill.

Today, for the great majority of families, from 50 to 95 per cent of all consumer goods and services is bought; hundreds of millions of dollars are spent in advertising to influence these purchases; and science has gone far to make goods look and sound more attractive.

Consumer education has been offered in many high schools as a separate course. In the elementary school and in most high schools it

has become at least a minor objective in almost every course, particularly in arithmetic, economics, chemistry and other sciences, art, music, the social studies, and industrial arts. Young people are given help in learning how to choose goods and services on the basis of cost, durability, validity for their advertised purpose, cost of upkeep, suitability, and relation to health. They are given training in taste in music, drama, art, home decoration, clothing, jewelry, cosmetics, and other areas. They are trained in budgeting and in calculating interest costs, particularly necessary since the great growth of installment buying and of other borrowing for consumer expenses. The adaptation of courses of study in this direction still has much further to go.

Safety and Health Education.—Another curriculum development has been the increased emphasis upon safety and health education. With the greatly expanded use of machines, more Americans lose their lives annually as the result of preventable accidents than have been killed in any year of any war. And many times as many are seriously injured as in war. Almost 40,000 lose their lives annually in automobile accidents alone, and several hundred thousand more are seriously injured. With the growing trend toward urban life and the great advances in medical knowledge, the opportunities for avoiding illness have been greatly increased.

In recognition of these developments and stimulated by knowledge of the percentage of young people rejected by the armed forces because of physical defects, much more attention is being given to health, safety, and physical education. Contributions in this field are made at every grade level through a variety of subjects—in the sciences and in courses in physical and health education, in home economics, mathematics, English, and in social studies where the social control of disease, health conditions, and medical and dental service are appropriate subjects of study. Health and safety education have been important topics in home room discussions.

Speech Education.—Today vocational success as well as social and personal happiness are dependent greatly upon the ability to express one's self attractively, fluently, and effectively. It has been discovered that most speech defects are remediable either by speech training alone or by minor operations. An increasing number of schools now offer special clinics and courses in speech training. These are both for normal youngsters and for those with various speech defects. Like many other recent additions to the curriculum, provision is made in many subjects for additional speech training and in extracurricular activities.

Other New Developments and Trends.—Among the many current and recent curriculum trends the following are noteworthy.

1. Increased attention to instruction related to sex and sex relations.
2. Less attention to separate thrift education through such activities as school savings banks.
3. Increased attention to the peoples and geography of Asia, Russia, and Latin America.
4. Increased attention to such problems of American democracy as:
   a. Labor unions and labor-management relations.
   b. Federal and state spheres of government.
   c. Business cycles, depressions, and unemployment.
   d. Socialism and the relation of government to business.
   e. Social security through government, employer, and individual means.
   f. Improving the quality of city, state, and national government and politics.
   g. The continued extension of democratic rights and opportunities to minority groups, particularly Negroes.
5. Increased attention to problems of peace and war and international understanding.
6. Increased use of audio and visual aids, particularly sound films and film slides.
7. Extension of cooperative work-study plans of vocational education involving part-time training on the job, under school supervision, of high school and college students.
8. Increased attention to instruction, training, and guidance related to mental hygiene and the development of an effective, healthy personality.
9. Increased attention to general industrial arts training for leisure and home repair purposes.
10. Increased attention to training in general business affairs designed to prepare the student for nonvocational business responsibilities and as prevocational training.
11. Increased participation by pupils in planning their own instructional activities and materials.
12. Increased use of laymen in curricular organization and construction.
13. The introduction of a course in general mathematics, largely the arithmetic of difficult adult problems of home, shop, business, health, and recreation.
14. The two-track plan of high school mathematics: one for prospective engineers, scientists, mathematicians, another for all others.
15. Increased use of current events as the center or starting point of instruction in social studies, also in correlation with instruction in other subjects.

16. Supplementing the curriculum of organized subjects with discussion units in home rooms and with student volunteer clubs of subject-matter types, e.g., the radio club.
17. Increased attention to developing tastes for literature, art, and music of high middle-grade levels.
18. Adaptation of courses of study to groups of atypical children—bright, slow, hard of hearing, etc.—and of courses-of-study materials to variations within classes.
19. Increased attention all along the line to the problem of conservation of natural resources, and more efficient exploitation of some of them through flood control, irrigation.
20. The greater use of special occasions as curriculum opportunities, for example, commencements, patron's day, anniversaries, community celebrations, etc.
21. The increased extent and vigor of effort of commercial, patriotic, and other organizations to influence the curriculum through free teaching materials, films, pamphlets, speakers, etc.
22. The developing determination of teachers and professional groups to protect the schools and teachers in their rights and responsibilities for teaching what needs to be taught for the future welfare of American democracy and future citizens.
23. The spread of nursery school and kindergarten training accompanied by increased social and health training.
24. Increased facilities and range of courses for the education of adults.
25. Less attention to the subjects previously thought to have peculiar value as preparation for college.
26. Increased attention to distributive education, for example, salesmanship.
27. Increasing attention to education for parenthood, including instruction in child psychology.

Many new developments in the curriculum follow the philosophy expressed in "A Prayer for Teachers" by the late Glenn Frank, editor and university president, as follows:

O Lord of Learning and of Learners, we are at best but blunderers in this godlike business of teaching. Our shortcomings shame us, for we are not alone in paying the penalty for them; they have a sorry immortality in the normal minds of those whom we, in our blundering, mislead. We have been content to be merchants of dead yesterdays when we should have been guides into unborn tomorrows. We have put conformity to old customs above curiosity about new ideas. We have thought more about our subject than our object. We have been peddlers of petty accuracies, when we should have been priests and prophets of abundant living. We have schooled our students to be clever competitors in the world as it is, when we should have

been helping them to become creative cooperators in the making of the world as it ought to be. We have regarded our schools as training camps for existing society to the exclusion of making them working models for an evolving society. We have counted knowledge more precious than wisdom. We have tried to teach our students what to think instead of how to think. We have thought it our business to furnish the minds of our students when we should have been laboring to free their minds. And we confess that we have fallen into these sins of the schoolroom because it was the easiest way. It has been easier to tell our students about the motionless past that we can learn once for all than to join with them in trying to understand the moving present that must be studied afresh each morning. From these sins of sloth may we be freed. May we realize that it is important to know the past only that we may live in the present. Help us to be more interested in stimulating the builders of modern cathedrals than in retailing to students the glories of ancient temples. Give us to see that a student's memory should be a tool as well as a treasure chest. May we so awaken interest that discipline will be less and less necessary. Help us to realize that, in the deepest sense, we cannot teach anybody anything; that the best we can do is to help him learn for himself. Give us a reverence for our materials, that we may master the fruits of our particular fields, but help us to see that all facts are dead until they are related to the rest of knowledge and to the rest of life. Help us to see that education is, after all, but the adventure of trying to make ourselves at home in the modern world. May we be shepherds of the Spirit as well as the masters of the mind.

Broadly stated, it may be said that the principal trends of the curriculum are:

1. Toward a more certain functionalism.
2. Toward a better recognition of the social purposes of education.
3. Toward a more adequate adaptability to the interests, capacities, abilities, and future needs of the students.
4. Toward a larger required core for the common needs of individuals.
5. Toward synthesis and integration as opposed to specialization and disintegration.
6. Toward greater recognition of the psychological values of pupil initiative and self-activity, especially of a sort involving physical and self-planned activity.
7. Toward the education and development of reasoned judgment and other higher mental process, of mental and emotional balance, and of character of high social value.

Certain fundamental issues are still controversial to some extent, at least including the following:

1. Should the curriculum be developed on the assumption that all children shall be promoted every year and stay in school until the age of sixteen?
2. How shall vocational and general education be coordinated?
3. To what extent shall formal subject matter, logically organized, be employed in planning learning activities?
4. To what extent shall the curriculum be adapted to present individual concerns and interests of pupils?
5. To what extent shall the curriculum go beyond the ability and willingness of the community to recognize the validity of education for democracy in the future and for assisting in social evolution?
6. To what extent shall emphasis be placed upon the development of ideals and attitudes?

Curriculum Terminology.—In recent years there has been a tendency toward uniformity in curriculum terminology, a movement needed to eliminate the previously existing and confusing lack of standardization of meaning of terms used. "Course," for example, has been employed in a variety of uses, including the particular curriculum being followed ("the college preparatory course") and also a given subject unit ("course in American History"). Other terms, program of studies, and subjects have similarly lacked standard meaning. For some concepts, two or more terms have been used, as, for instance, "variables" and "electives," and "constants," "core subjects," and "required."

Below is one author's statement of what seems to be becoming a standard glossary of curriculum terms, included here for the student's future reference: [8]

Program of Studies—The list by years of all high school courses of instruction (for example, physics and algebra), offered for study in a given school without reference to grouping into curricula.

Curriculum—The systematic arrangement of a number of courses into a unit group for differentiated groups of pupils; for example, the college-preparatory and the stenographic curricula. (Also used to mean the whole of the learning material of the school subjects.)

Course of Study—The arrangement of the detailed materials of instruction within a given unit of a subject; for example, the course of study in first-semester or in first-year algebra.

Schedule of Classes—A time schedule of all sections of pupils organized as units of instruction, showing the days, hours, and place of meeting, and usually the names of the instructors.

[8] Harl R. Douglass and others, *The High School Curriculum*, New York: The Ronald Press Co., pp. 45–47.

Constant—A course which is required of all pupils no matter what curriculum is elected.

Variable or *Curriculum Prescription Constant*—A course not required of all pupils in the school, but required of all pupils in a given curriculum; for example, algebra in the college-preparatory curriculum.

Limited Elective—Any one of two or more subjects, not all of which are required of all pupils of the school or of a given curriculum, but one of which must be elected by the pupil.

Free Elective—A subject not required of a pupil in the curriculum which he is following.

School Subject—Any one of the organized bodies or subject matter for instruction; for example, history, typewriting.

Class Period—The time spent in one meeting of a class section for instruction; for example, a forty-five minute period.

Subject Class or *Section*—A group of pupils meeting regularly as a unit for instruction.

School Class or *Grade*—The pupils of a given stage of advancement toward graduation; for example, the senior class, the 10A class, or the low-ninth group.

Mark (not grade)—The teacher's estimate of the progress or quality of the work of the pupil.

Year Unit of Credit—The credit allowed toward graduation for the successful completion of the course of study for a subject in which the section meets throughout the school year five periods a week of from forty to sixty minutes, with outside preparation.

Integrated Curriculum—A curriculum in which several fields, for example, English, history, art, science, and mathematics, are organized around topics, areas, or problems which involve several or all the subjects.

Core-Curriculum—The required part of the curriculum which is integrated or closely correlated.

Broad Fields Curriculum—A curriculum in which various relatively homogeneous subjects are unified; for example, the social studies.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Why was the curriculum of the early secondary schools in the United States ill-suited for a democratic country?
2. What subjects today seem to depend for justification of their place in the curriculum in part upon values of formal discipline or of transfer of training?
3. What is the difference between "formal discipline" and "transfer of training" as applied to the curriculum?
4. Why did the elective system spread and why is it being reduced in scope today?
5. Write a paper of 800 to 1,200 words or prepare a ten-minute talk on "Education and Society in the United States."

6. Distinguish between core-curriculum, broad fields, integrated, and correlated curriculum movements.
7. Explain: the activity movement; the experience curriculum; general education.
8. Write a 500-word paper on "The Teacher as Course-of-Study Determiner."
9. What is the difference between the psychological and the sociological approach to curriculum building? Which is the right approach?
10. Bossing's and Charters' steps in course-of-study building are neither similar nor inconsistent. Explain.
11. Be able to explain briefly each of the twenty-seven curriculum trends and developments listed in this chapter.
12. Study the suggested curriculum for modern secondary schools. Note at least seven differences from typical curricula today and give reasons for the diversities.
13. Criticize at least five features of the suggested curriculum and write out one as you believe it should be.

Chapter 12

THE CO-CURRICULAR PROGRAM

1. The Basic Philosophy of Co-curricular Activities

Broad Scope of Schools in United States.—Schools in the United States are unique in the comprehensiveness of their educational objectives and activities. Not only do they attempt in the same schools to educate for vocations as well as for general culture both boys and girls but they also make contributions by means of educational services beyond the curriculum and outside the classroom.

Young people are assisted, in and out of the classroom, in many problems related to vocational choice, educational decisions, health, social and leisure life, and in personal matters. They are also given valuable training in clubs, teams, and various types of student organizations—often referred to as student activities or extracurricular activities.

Except in boarding schools in England and occasionally elsewhere, European schools typically confine their educational activities to the teaching of a fairly fixed academic curriculum. Students who want vocational training go to schools especially maintained for that purpose. There are few if any extracurricular activities and there are few formal or well developed programs or facilities for guidance.

In the schools of our country, attention is focused more upon the growth of the child, upon objectives, rather than upon the content or the means of education. The school is an environment established avowedly for accelerating and guiding growth of young people along lines calculated to produce effective citizens, workers, parents, and consumers. According to the prevailing theory in this country, all kinds of experiences are legitimate educational material if they are likely to result in the acquisition of desirable information, concepts, habits, skills, ideals, attitudes, and interests.

Relationship of Curriculum to Co-curriculum.—The regular curriculum occupies the central and prominent place in the school day. Guidance and other co-curricular activities occupy less formal place. They are worked into and around instruction in the school subjects.

They are related in many ways to the curriculum. Many clubs grow out of and reinforce subjects; for instance, the science club, the debating club, the orchestra, the French club, etc. In some rooms there is often a supplementation of subject matter filling in important gaps in the more definitely curricular total, e.g., Safety Education, Getting Along with Others, etc.

There are characteristic differences between the formal curriculum and the co-curriculum. The more important of these are:

1. In the co-curriculum, students have a larger part in leadership and in determining the activities.
2. The co-curriculum activity is more spontaneous and planned less in detail.
3. Examinations and marks are seldom employed in the co-curriculum.
4. The co-curriculum enjoys less prestige with most teachers and parents.
5. The co-curricular work is usually, in large part, conducted outside regular school hours.
6. The materials of the co-curriculum are usually found prepared locally, and are not standardized as are, for example, textbooks.
7. The co-curriculum is, as a rule, not part of the required experience of all pupils, but is participated in on a voluntary basis.

It has frequently been suggested that the co-curriculum should, at least in large part, be combined and integrated with the more formal curriculum. Among the arguments advanced in favor of the idea are the following:

1. There would be less duplication and overlapping.
2. The co-curriculum would thus attain prestige comparable to that of the curriculum.
3. The co-curriculum would thus reach all students, not merely volunteers.
4. The methods and spirit of the curriculum would become more informal and spontaneous and place more responsibility upon the student.
5. The co-curriculum would be better financed and be freed from reliance on pupil fees and other voluntary income.

It has been objected that many teachers are not capable of making a success of co-curricular activities, that there is not time in the already overcrowded curriculum for the extracurriculum, and that instead of adding spontaneity and student responsibility to the curriculum, integration would result instead in formalizing and deaden-

ing the co-curriculum and thereby destroy very important and unique values.

2. Guidance in American Schools

Growth of and Developments in Guidance.—The growth of guidance in schools in the United States is the result of many factors, including a number of changes in the pattern and nature of American life. To be sure, there was always informal guidance in schools. Teachers have always attempted to assist young people with some of their problems and to render service over and beyond the teaching of their subjects.

Among the developments which have accelerated the growth and have affected the nature of guidance in the schools are the following:

1. The increased complexity of the problem of selecting a vocation, resulting from the greatly increased specialization in vocational life.
2. The increased length of stay of the average student in school—the greatly increased number staying on for secondary education.
3. The development of the elective system and the increased number of elective subjects and curricula offered in schools, thus making necessary more decisions and choices.
4. The presence in school of greatly increased numbers of children coming from homes in which parents are not well qualified to advise students and prepare them for life responsibilities.
5. The advances of medical science, and consequently the increased possibilities of maintaining and improving health.
6. As the result of technological progress, the greatly increased amount of time for leisure of young and old, along with the greatly increased opportunities for commercialized leisure activities of harmful or doubtful value.
7. The development of specialized industry and of large industrial centers, bringing about greatly increased mobility of the population, and the taking away from smaller communities and the neighborhood various vocational activities which formerly were of great educational value, especially in developing a basis of orientation for vocational decision.
8. A growing conviction that preparation for life includes more than learning the contents of books and courses of study.

It is not difficult to see that, as these developments took place and as many adjustments were consequently made necessary in the lives of young people, the schools began to supplement the curriculum increasingly with services designed to assist in adjustment and thus

began to develop guidance service. Young people, following in declining proportions the vocations of their fathers, became more and more forced to select an occupation from an ever widening list. They needed more help in planning their educational careers. They were in need of more guidance in developing leisure and social activities. They required more and more health guidance.

Guidance in the Elementary School.—Contrary to the belief of some, guidance is not a matter primarily of the secondary school. Basic orientation relative to vocational decisions is accumulated throughout school in the form of information about vocations and through the continued exploration of the individual's interests and aptitudes. Health guidance not only begins but is prominent as early as nursery school and kindergarten. Social guidance—learning to work and play with others—is a very important part of the work of the kindergarten and primary grades. Educational guidance starts when a child begins to have individual problems with his learning. Personality guidance is of unusual importance in the early grades.

In the elementary school, guidance is for the great part carried out by the classroom teacher incidentally, or perhaps as a part of his teaching activities. In secondary schools, the guidance service tends to become more separated and performed by specialized staff members. The elementary school teacher usually has a class of some thirty children with whom he works throughout the school day and whom he comes to know rather well. He is not encumbered with an inflexible time schedule which at specific times brings a new group of youngsters.

Guidance in Secondary Schools.—In secondary schools, a teacher comes to know less well the 100 to 150 different pupils who make up his teaching constituency. In addition the guidance activities at the higher level tend to become more technical and call for more specialization. It is natural that there has developed the practice of assigning to teachers in secondary schools groups of students for guidance and counseling.

In high schools, therefore, there are commonly found girls' advisers, boys' advisers, special vocational counselors, counselors for students planning to go to college, school psychologists, directors of testing and guidance, home room sponsors, class sponsors, etc. With the development of guidance and personnel service in secondary schools, an increasing number of teachers and principals are becoming available who have done graduate study in the field.

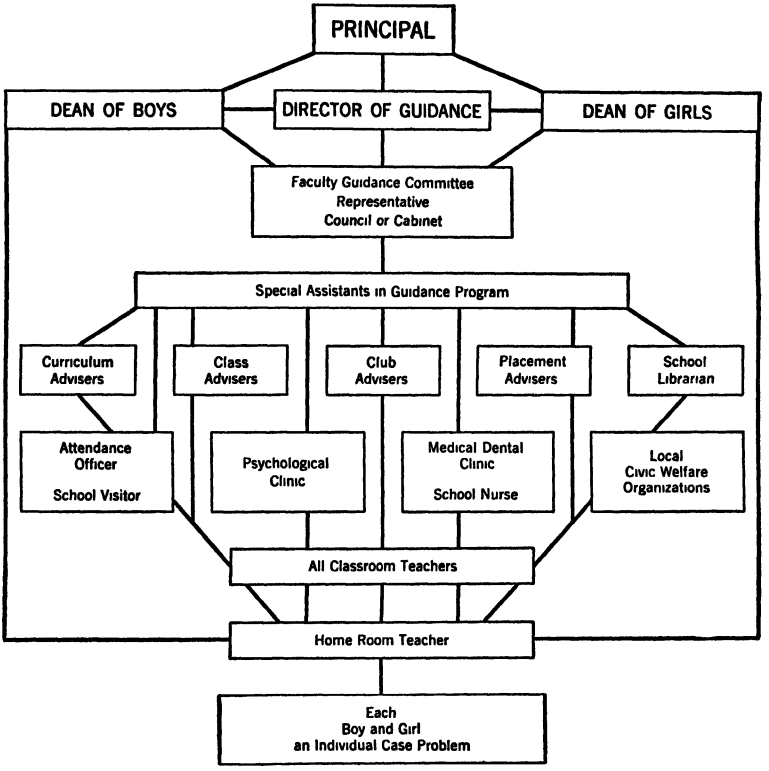


Figure 22. Plan of Staff Organization for Guidance in a Large High School
(From "Guidance in Secondary Schools," *Bulletin of the Department of Secondary School Principals*, Washington, No. 19, p. 8)

A plan of staff organization for guidance in a large high school is shown in Figure 22, and another for a small school appears in Figure 23.

Guidance in Colleges.—In colleges, guidance service has developed markedly in recent years. In many institutions there are now offices staffed with from two to twenty specialists under the dean of

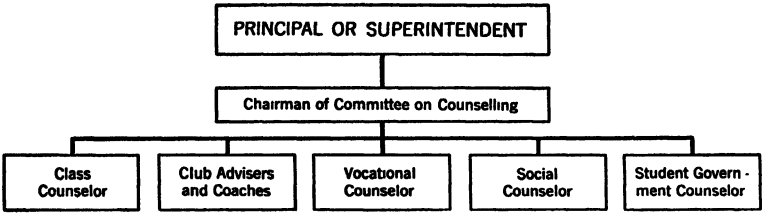


Figure 23. Plan of Staff Organization for Guidance in a Small High School

men, the dean of women, the dean of students, the deans of the college, the testing bureau, and the director of admissions. In addition there has grown up the practice of designating a number of the members of the faculty as counselors who are given counseling as a part of their duties and responsibilities. Most colleges have a health service and give health and physical examinations. In a growing number there is at least one psychiatrist to counsel with students suffering from lack of mental health or actual mental or emotional complexes of one kind or another.

Pupil Data.—In colleges and universities, and in secondary and elementary schools, the development of counseling has stimulated the development of testing programs and pupil records. In order of the frequency with which they are to be found in schools and colleges, the following types of tests and inventories are now given:

1. School achievement tests.
2. General intelligence tests.
3. Special aptitude tests—mechanical, musical, mathematical, etc.

4. Interest inventories.
5. Adjustment inventories.

Records of these are kept for purposes of counseling along with such other records as:

1. School marks.
2. Participation in co-curricular activities.
3. Citizenship.
4. Information concerning parents and home.
5. Anecdotal.
6. Work experience.
7. Health.
8. Attendance.

In Figure 24 is shown a typical cumulative school record blank. Examine this blank and note:

1. It covers both elementary and secondary school period.
2. It provides space for a wide variety of data, including:
   a. Health record and medical inspection.
   b. Personality ratings.
   c. Extracurricular activity participation.
   d. Out-of-school experience.
   e. Standard mental test and achievement test scores.
   f. Postgraduate educational and vocational record.
3. It is in the form of a folder to contain documents such as anecdotal records, etc. (The size of the folder is approximately 9¼ x 12 inches.)

On page 334 is shown an interest inventory and on page 336 portions of an adjustment inventory employed to locate areas of pupil maladjustment.

Records like these are kept in the great majority of the better high schools and appropriate ones of a similar nature in an increasing number of elementary schools. Teachers should early in their careers develop the practice of learning about their students from these records so that they may gradually extend and improve the quality of their counselling. They should learn to interpret such records. This requires careful study under competent direction.

The reader is urged to examine the adjustment inventory and the interest inventory and to think of some ways in which the results for individual pupils on these inventories may be used in guidance.

CUMULATIVE R

NAME _____ Boy ☐ Girl ☐ Date of Birth _____
(Last, First, Middle; Year)

Date of Entrance _____ Beginner ☐ or School Last Attended _____
(Year, Month, Day; District No., or Name; Grade)

Parent's Name _____
(Father or Guardian; Telephone No.; Occupation; National Extraction)

Parent's Residence _____
(School District No.; Township and County, Parish, or Street and City; State)

Rank in Family _____ No. of Children in Family _____ Economic Status _____

Changes in Residence, or Additional Data: _____

ELEMENTARY S

Grade Enrolled											
Name of Teacher											
Building											
School Year											
Semester											
Reading											
Language Arts											
Citizenship											
Arithmetic											
Spelling											
Geography											
History											
Hand Writing											
Music											
Agriculture											
School Attitude											
Effort in Work											
Days Absent											
Times Tardy											
Promoted To											

Standardized Educational Tests

School	Grade	Date	Test	Form	Score	Norm	Rank	

328 Figure 24a. Cumulative Guidance Record

ECORD FOLDER

MONTH DAY TYPE OF RECORD VERIFYING DATE OF BIRTH — RACE — BORN — CITY, COUNTY, OR PARISH — STATE OR COUNTRY

COUNTY, PARISH, OR CITY — STATE — PUBLIC ☐ PRIVATE · PAROCHIAL ☐ ACCREDITED ☐ UNACCREDITED ☐

CITIZEN YES ☐ NO ☐ MOTHER'S NAME — NATIONAL EXTRACTION

PUPIL'S ADDRESS
USE PENCIL — OR WITH WHOM LIVING IF DIFFERENT FROM PARENT — TELEPHONE NO. — TUITION DATA

CHECK IF LIVING WITH: GRANDPARENTS ☐ AUNT ☐ SISTER ☐ BOARDING ☐

CHOOL RECORD

		APTITUDE OR SPECIAL INTERESTS ENTER DATA WITH DATES

TRANSFER, WITHDRAWAL, RE-ENTRY RECORD			
DATE	T-W-R	FROM OR TO	REASON*

* 1. ILLNESS; 2. DEATH; 3. CHANGE OF ADDRESS; 4. WORK; 5. OVER SCHOOL AGE; 6. EXPULSION; 7. INSTITUTIONALIZED; 8. PROMOTED; 9. OTHER

CREDITS SENT TO

EMPLOYMENT CERTIFICATE

PHOTOGRAPH WITH DATE, FINGERPRINTS, OR OTHER IDENTIFICATION

APTITUDE AND INTELLIGENCE TESTS

GRADE	DATE	TEST	FORM	SCORE	C.A.	M.A. OR M.U.	I.Q. OR P.A.

UNCLASSIFIED RECORDS:

and Folder (inside upper half)

HEALTH

Directions

An entry based on the code below should be made after each item to indicate findings

Where no entry is made after item, the interpretation will be: Not examined or inspected.

Code

O — No defects found.
X — Defects noted.
I — Immediate action important.
P — Parent notified.
C — Correction made (with date).
V — Visited doctor or dentist (with date).

Note: All code markings should be entered accurately and legibly.

	Date of Examination								
	Age in Years and Months								
Structural	Height in Inches								
	Weight: Actual in Pounds								
	N-Normal or % + or % −								
	Growth: N-Normal R Retarded								
	Posture								
	Deformities								
	Eyes: Right								
	Eyes: Left								
	Ears: Right								
	Ears: Left								
	Teeth: Temporary								
	Teeth: Permanent								
Organic (Entered by Physician)	Skin								
	Nose								
	Throat								
	Lungs								
	Heart								
	Nerves								
	Lymph Nodes								
	Endocrines								
	Digestive Organs								
	Kidneys								
	Examined by: P-Physician; N-Nurse, T-Teacher								

DOCTOR'S RECORD

Date	Diagnosis and Follow-Up Work

PERSONALITY PROFILE

Kgn.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Courtesy												
Cooperation												
Leadership												
Reliability												
Self Control												
Appearance												
Posture												

CODE: A = Outstanding B = Above Average C = Average D = Needs Guidance I = Improving

Form A9 READY RECORD SYSTEM. Published By Educational Test Bureau, Educational Publishers, Inc., Minneapolis - Kasm

 Figure 24b. Cumulative Guidance Record

RECORD

SMALLPOX VACCINATION

ACCELERATION REACTION ☐ IMMUNE REACTION ☐ FAILURE ☐

AGE _____ DATE _____

DIPHTHERIA INOCULATIONS:

ONE ☐ TWO ☐ THREE ☐ FOUR ☐

AGE _____ DATE _____

TYPHOID INOCULATIONS:

ONE ☐ TWO ☐ THREE ☐

AGE _____ DATE _____

TUBERCULIN TEST

VAN PIRQUET ☐ MANTOUX ☐ POSITIVE ☐ NEGATIVE ☐

AGE _____ DATE _____

HAS PUPIL LIVED IN SAME HOME WITH CASE OF TUBERCULOSIS OF LUNGS ☐, GLANDS ☐, BONES ☐? IF SO, STATE HOW LONG, GIVING DATES IF POSSIBLE. _____

COMMUNICABLE DISEASES: NOTATIONS _____

OPERATIONS: KIND, AGE, AND DATE _____

DOCTOR SUGGESTED FOR EMERGENCY CALL: _____

TELEPHONE

DISEASE	AGE
SCARLET FEVER	
MEASLES	
WHOOPING COUGH	
SMALLPOX	
CHICKENPOX	
GERMAN MEASLES	
DIPHTHERIA	
MUMPS	
TYPHOID	
TONSILLITIS	
INFLUENZA	
PNEUMONIA	
POLIOMYELITIS	
CHOREA	
RHEUMATISM	

SUBJECT TO	YES	NO
FREQUENT COLDS		
HEADACHE		
EARACHE		

STUDENT AID

YEAR	ASSIGNMENT	SOURCE	AMOUNT

GUIDANCE DATA AND RECOMMENDATIONS

DATE		BY WHOM

ILLE - PHILADELPHIA

and Folder (inside lower half)

HIGH SCHO

SCHOOL _____ GRADE _____ YEAR 19___-19___

H. R. TEACHER _____ DAYS ABSENT____ TIMES TARDY____

SUBJECT	MARKS 1ST SEM	MARKS 2ND SEM		FINAL GRADE	CREDITS OR UNITS	CLASSROOM TEACHER
ENGLISH						

SCHOOL _____ GRADE _____ YEAR 19___-19___

H. R. TEACHER _____ DAYS ABSENT____ TIMES TARDY____

SUBJECT	MARKS 1ST SEM	MARKS 2ND SEM		FINAL GRADE	CREDITS OR UNITS	CLASSROOM TEACHER
ENGLISH						

SCHOOL _____ GRADE _____ YEAR 19___-19___

H. R. TEACHER _____ DAYS ABSENT____ TIMES TARDY____

SUBJECT	MARKS 1ST SEM	MARKS 2ND SEM		FINAL GRADE	CREDITS OR UNITS	CLASSROOM TEACHER
ENGLISH						

SCHOOL _____

H. R. TEACHER _____

SUBJECT	MARKS 1ST SEM	MARKS 2ND SEM
ENGLISH		

SCHOOL _____

H. R. TEACHER _____

SUBJECT	MARKS 1ST SEM	MARKS 2ND SEM
ENGLISH		

GRADUAT

GRADE SCHOOL: YEAR _____ MONTH _____

JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL: YEAR _____ MONTH

HIGH SCHOOL: YEAR _____ MONTH _____

NO. IN CLASS _____ RANK IN CLASS ___

SCORE IN COLLEGE APTITUDE TEST _____

TOTAL FOUR YEAR ☐ SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL ☐ CRED

HONORS AND AWARDS: _____

TRANSCRIPT OF CREDITS SENT TO: _____

ENROLLED IN COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY: _____

EMPLOYED BY: _____

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	YEAR IN SCHOOL 7	8	9	10	11	12	TYPE OF ACTIVITY	YEAR IN SCHOOL 7	8	9	10	11	12	DATE	
BASKETBALL							GLEE CLUB								
FOOTBALL							CHOIR								
BASEBALL							ANNUAL								
							SCHOOL PAPER								
DRAMATICS							STUDENT GOVERNMENT								
							TRAFFIC PATROL								
ORCHESTRA															

CODE: M = MEMBER ONLY; A = ACTIVE PARTICIPATION; D = DISTINCTIVE PARTICIPATION

 Figure 24c. Cumulative Guidance Record

OL RECORD

____ GRADE ____ YEAR 19__-19__ SCHOOL ____ GRADE ____ YEAR 19__-19__

____ DAYS ABSENT ____ TIMES TARDY ____ H R TEACHER ____ DAYS ABSENT ____ TIMES TARDY ____

Final Grade	Credits or Units	Classroom Teacher	Subject	Marks 1st Sem	Marks 2nd Sem	Final Grade	Credits or Units	Classroom Teacher
			ENGLISH					

____ GRADE ____ YEAR 19__-19__ SCHOOL ____ GRADE ____ YEAR 19__ 19__

____ DAYS ABSENT ____ TIMES TARDY ____ H. R. TEACHER ____ DAYS ABSENT ____ TIMES TARDY ____

Final Grade	Credits or Units	Classroom Teacher	Subject	Marks 1st Sem	Marks 2nd Sem	Final Grade	Credits or Units	Classroom Teacher
			ENGLISH					

ION DATA

____ DAY ____ GRADE 6☐ 7☐ 8☐

____ DAY ____ GRADE 8☐ 9☐

____ DAY ____ FOUR YEAR ☐ SENIOR ☐

____ PERCENTILE RANK ____

____ PERCENTILE RANK ____

ITS ____ HONOR POINTS ____

EDUCATIONAL AND VOCATIONAL PLANS

Measurement Records and Informal Diagnosis	Year in School 7	8	9	10	11	12

AVOCATIONAL OR HOBBY INTERESTS

Records and Informal Diagnosis	Year in School 7	8	9	10	11	12

COUNSELOR'S RECOMMENDATIONS

Interest Blank

Name _____ Age _____ Grade _____
Date _____ School _____

Directions:

1. Below are several different kinds of things to do. On the line BEFORE each one, put a letter to show how well you like to do that kind of thing.

   If you LIKE IT VERY MUCH, mark it with a CAPITAL L.
   If you LIKE IT FAIRLY WELL, mark it with a SMALL l.
   If you NEITHER LIKE NOR DISLIKE IT, mark it N.
   If you RATHER DISLIKE IT, mark it with a SMALL d.
   If you DISLIKE IT VERY MUCH, mark it with a CAPITAL D.
   If you HAVE NEVER DONE IT AND KNOW NOTHING ABOUT IT, mark it O.

_____General reading (books, magazines, newspapers)
_____Sewing
_____Cooking
_____Working with tools or machinery
_____Going to school
_____Going to parties
_____Hiking in the country
_____Taking walks around town
_____Playing with boys
_____Playing with girls
_____Playing indoors
_____Playing outdoors
_____Playing with several other persons
_____Playing with one other person
_____Playing alone
_____Playing make-believe games, or making up stories about yourself
_____Playing cards
_____Boxing or wrestling
_____Going for automobile rides
_____Going to the movies
_____Taking care of little children
_____Taking care of pets
_____Taking care of garden
_____Helping your mother
_____Helping your father
_____Being with grown people
_____Being with children of your own age
_____Being with younger children
_____Repairing automobiles

2. This is a list of subjects studied in school. Mark them as you did the first list. Put an O before any you have not studied.

_____Drawing
_____Modeling
_____Cartooning
_____Music (instrumental)
_____Music (vocal)
_____Painting (water color, etc.)
_____Folk dancing
_____Games (like football, volley ball, etc.)
_____Gymnasium
_____Composition
_____Debate or speaking
_____Dramatics
_____Grammar
_____Literature
_____Penmanship
_____Reading
_____Sheet metal
_____Printing
_____Woodworking
_____Electricity
_____Spelling
_____Nature study
_____History
_____Geography
_____Civics
_____Mechanical drawing
_____Sewing
_____Cooking

3. Have you made up your mind what occupation you would like to follow when you grow up?

_____

If so, write it here. _____

If you could not follow that occupation, what other kinds of work would you like?

_____

_____

_____

If you have not yet made up your mind what you would like to do, write here the names of any occupations you think you might like.

_____

_____

_____

4. Here is a list of different kinds of reading. Mark them just as you did the others.

_____Fairy stories	_____Bible	_____Politics
_____Love stories	_____Poetry	_____Business
_____Stories of home life	_____Plays	_____Garden books
_____Adventure stories	_____Essays	_____Housekeeping books
_____Travel stories	_____Biography	_____Inventions
_____Detective stories	_____Current events	_____Electricity
_____*Book of Knowledge*	_____History	_____Machinery
_____Encyclopedias		_____Nature study

5. What newspapers, if any, do you read? _____

_____

What magazines do you like to read? _____

_____

_____

What books have you read lately? _____

_____

_____

_____

Draw a line under the name of the book you liked best.

6. Read these questions, and DRAW A LINE UNDER the RIGHT answer:

Do you read story books VERY MUCH, OCCASIONALLY, VERY SELDOM, NOT AT ALL?

Do you go to the movies VERY OFTEN, ONCE IN A WHILE, VERY SELDOM, NOT AT ALL?

Do you study your lessons at home EVERY DAY, ONCE IN A WHILE, NOT AT ALL?

Do you work to earn money EVERY DAY, ONCE IN A WHILE, NOT AT ALL?

What kind of work do you do? _____

Do you work around the home VERY MUCH, ONCE IN A WHILE, VERY SELDOM, NOT AT ALL?

Do you play out-of-doors (not counting play at school) VERY MUCH, OCCASIONALLY, VERY LITTLE, NOT AT ALL?

_____

The Adjustment Inventory [1]

By

Hugh M. Bell

Directions

Are you interested in knowing more about your own personality? If you will answer honestly and thoughtfully all of the questions on the pages that follow, it will be possible for you to obtain a better understanding of yourself.

There are no right or wrong answers. Indicate your answer to each question by drawing a circle around the "Yes," the "No," or the "?." Use the question mark only when you are certain that you cannot answer "Yes" or "No." There is no time limit, but work rapidly.

If you have not been living with your parents, answer certain of the questions with regard to the people with whom you have been living.

Yes No ? Do you enjoy social gatherings just to be with people?
Yes No ? Did you ever have a strong desire to run away from home?
Yes No ? Are you subject to hay fever or asthma?
Yes No ? Did you ever take the lead to enliven a dull party?
Yes No ? Do you feel embarrassed when you have to enter a public assembly after everyone else has been seated?
Yes No ? Do you have many headaches?
Yes No ? Do you frequently feel very tired toward the end of the day?
Yes No ? Do you find it easy to ask others for help?
Yes No ? Are you easily moved to tears?
Yes No ? Would you feel very self-conscious if you had to volunteer an idea to start a discussion among a group of people?
Yes No ? Do you have many colds?
Yes No ? Are you frightened by lightning?
Yes No ? Do you have difficulty in starting conversation with a person to whom you have just been introduced?
Yes No ? Have you frequently known the answer to a question in class but failed when called upon because you were afraid to speak out before the class?
Yes No ? Do you get discouraged easily?
Yes No ? If you were a guest at an important dinner would you do without something rather than ask to have it passed to you?
Yes No ? Have you had a number of experiences in appearing before public gatherings?
Yes No ? Has it been necessary for you to have frequent medical attention?
Yes No ? Are you troubled with feelings of inferiority?
Yes No ? Do you often feel self-conscious because of your personal appearance?
Yes No ? Do you blush easily?
Yes No ? Are you ever bothered by the feeling that things are not real?
Yes No ? Are your feelings easily hurt?
Yes No ? If you come late to a meeting would you rather stand or leave than take a front seat?
Yes No ? Have your relationships with your mother usually been pleasant?
Yes No ? Does either of your parents become angry easily?
Yes No ? Was your father what you would consider your ideal of manhood?

[1] Published by Stanford University Press. The inventory presented here is a somewhat condensed version of the original.

Yes	No	?	Does criticism disturb you greatly?
Yes	No	?	Are you often in a state of excitement?
Yes	No	?	Did your parents frequently punish you when you were between 10 and 15 years of age?
Yes	No	?	Have you disagreed with your parents about your life work?
Yes	No	?	Have you ever been extremely afraid of something that you knew could do you no harm?
Yes	No	?	Do you have teeth that you know need dental attention?

Vocational Guidance.—The vocational guidance provisions found in a progressive secondary school usually include:

1. A class about occupations—usually offered in eighth or ninth grade, in which are studied not only a number of vocations but the criteria by which a vocation should be judged as to desirability, e.g., opportunities for advancement, income, conditions of work, effects upon health, education required, opportunities for employment, etc.
2. Information about vocations made available in various high school subjects.
3. Testing programs—general intelligence, aptitude, vocational interests, etc.
4. Home room discussions of vocations and how to make a vocational choice.
5. Talks at assembly or before interested groups of students by representatives of different occupations.
6. Individual conferences with counselors and with people active in the occupations in which an individual is interested.
7. An occupational survey of the community carried on by students.
8. Field trips to places where people may be seen at work in various occupations.
9. A vocational information shelf or alcove maintained in the high school library containing books and pamphlets about occupations.

In recent years there has been a trend away from efforts to guide students to a definite vocational decision early in their high school years. Instead, it is now considered much better policy for young people to think of possible vocational choices all through school, narrowing down as they grow older to a smaller number of possibilities. It is also a part of modern philosophy that each boy and girl should be encouraged to make his own decision, as opposed to the earlier idea that the counselor would advise the student what occupation to follow. The counselor's principal duty should be to assist the youngster to help him study himself and various occupations, and then to make an intelligent decision.

Many high schools and colleges maintain bureaus for vocational service. Not only do these bureaus assist students to find positions,

but there is also an increasing tendency for bureau advisers to assist in various problems of vocational adjustment, such as getting ahead and training for a different vocation.

Educational Guidance.—The objectives and activities of educational guidance center around planning educational careers, helping the student to become oriented in and adjusted to a new school, and assisting a student to overcome the difficulties that prevent him from making satisfactory progress in learning.

In the planning of his educational career, the individual may be given assistance of the following kinds:

1. At registration time he may be given information relative to:
   a. Requirements for graduation.
   b. Outcomes of study of the various subjects—their usefulness or application.
   c. The subjects available.
   d. The relative aptitude of the particular student.
2. Throughout his school career, help will be given him in understanding the subjects that are most useful in:
   a. Preparing for the type of vocation or vocations he seems most likely to enter.
   b. Meeting the entrance requirements of the college or colleges he is most likely to enter.

In assisting the student to become oriented in a new school, the following fields are usually covered:

1. Organization of the school day.
2. The plan of the building.
3. Routine relative to absences, tardiness, excuses, lockers, traffic in the building.
4. Materials, equipment, books, etc.
5. Practices, etiquette, and other matters pertaining to lunchroom and auditorium behavior.
6. Extracurricular activities and guidance services—their value and how to participate in them.
7. The values and techniques of using the school library.

This information and appropriate understanding are usually given by means of

1. Talks in assembly by members of faculty and student body.
2. Discussion in home rooms.
3. Student handbooks.
4. Student newspapers.
5. Individual conferences.

A Pupil, Her Father, the Director of Guidance, and the Counselor for the Eighth Grade Plan the Girl's High School Program; At Right a Pupil-Teacher Conference

(Webster Groves, Mo., Public Schools)

A Broadcast by a Junior High School Group, Cleveland, Ohio—an Excellent Example of a Worth-while Extracurricular Activity

6. "Big Brother" and "Big Sister" arrangements, in which an old student is assigned to help a new one.

In assisting the student to meet special problems in his educational progress, the following activities are common:

1. Instruction in how to study.
2. Instruction in the use of the library.
3. Individual diagnosis of relative achievement.
4. Diagnosis of reasons for inferior achievement.
5. Remedial learning activities adapted to the needs of the learner.
6. Special classes for groups of retarded students.
7. Conferences with the individual.

Other Areas of Guidance.—The great majority of American schools today offer facilities and activities for health guidance. Periodic medical and physical examinations are given, sometimes as often as once a year. In some schools dental inspections are given. In the medical examinations, observations are made of such things as the condition of skin, nutrition, and general bodily condition. Children are examined for unhealthy adenoids and tonsils. In physical examinations, eyesight, hearing, and weight are commonly inspected. In the dental examination, condition of teeth and gums is observed. Records of the examinations are kept, and usually parents are informed and their attention called to the need for remedial procedures or medical service.

In many schools, children are immunized, either without charge or at nominal cost, for the more common communicable diseases, especially smallpox and diphtheria. Frequently there are school physicians to supervise the various medical services of the school, and in a larger number of schools there are one or more nurses for health guidance of children and parents. In some schools, dentists are employed to render at nominal cost such services as filling cavities and treating oral infections. In no other country, except in Russia and in New Zealand, is so much health guidance furnished by the schools.

In addition, American schools are giving increasing attention to civic-social, personal, sex, and leisure guidance, both by group and by individual conference. Children are assisted in thinking through their numerous problems: of developing desirable relations with others, of adjustment to home conditions, of improving personal attractiveness, of acquiring sound attitudes toward sex, and of developing sound and useful leisure interests and habits. Clubs, home rooms, discussions, and individual conferences are employed for guidance in these areas.

Guidance Personnel.—Guidance service in various forms is contributed by all teachers and administrators, as well as by special counselors. As realization has developed of the technical and complex nature of certain phases of guidance and counseling, specially trained members of the staff are given the responsibility of work in their particular activities, especially in larger schools.

Indicative of the types and degrees of specialization are the following positions found in school systems in the United States: class counselor, home room sponsor, girls' adviser, boys' adviser, vocational counselor, school psychologist, director of guidance, school nurse, school dentist, school physician, and school psychiatrist.

Every teacher has abundant opportunities for group and individual guidance in and out of class, particularly of three types: educational guidance with respect to achievement in class, general personal guidance and encouragement, and reference of individuals to appropriate specialists. The classroom teacher and all other school personnel should refrain from attempting to render guidance service for which they are not competent, and from giving information of which they are not certain. This fundamental principle many teachers find it most difficult to observe.

Classroom teachers of some subjects are in especially good position to render guidance service, if they will but confine or adapt their activities to their field of competence. The teacher of home economics, for example, is in a strategic position to assist in problems of personal appearance and social attractiveness, in problems of diet, nutrition and health, in problems of parenthood, and in problems of leisure pursuits centering around boy-girl associations and the home. Group discussions often lead to the desire for conference by individuals with special problems. The teacher also has opportunities to be of service in assisting pupils to think about home economics vocational decisions.

Teachers of physical education, especially of boys' teams, also have good opportunities for guidance because of the regard with which they are held, not only by athletes but by other students as well. Teachers of vocational subjects have unusual opportunities for assisting with such problems as learning about vocations and their requirements and opportunities, how to get positions, and how to succeed on the job. The fact that the opportunities for teachers in the categories mentioned are far greater than the qualifications of most teachers in these fields is a challenge to them to acquire better training for guidance service.

3. Student Organizations

Beginnings of Student Organizations.—Particularly at the secondary school level, but also at the elementary and college levels as well, student organizations and extracurricular activities occupy in American schools a much greater place than in schools in other countries, where school officials are almost exclusively concerned with the schools' curricular program. In the United States, the focus of attention is more upon the growth of the learner in all areas and less exclusively upon his acquisition of subject matter.

The emphasis upon student organizations and their activities as learning opportunities is of comparatively recent origin, having developed largely since 1900. Nevertheless, its roots run back for more than a century. Grizzell in 1926 wrote of various related activities in the early American secondary schools.[2] In the *Student Gazette* of the Public Latin School of Philadelphia appeared an account of the election of officers and members of their assembly as early as 1777. Though little time was provided in our early schools for organized sports, football and "batball" were played in the early nineteenth century. The first interschool game was probably played in 1859.

A literary society featuring debating and oratory was established at Exeter Academy in 1812, and by 1860 there were more such in a number of schools. Student publications had appeared in at least a few schools before 1800, though not until a century later did many schools produce printed publications. Most of these were largely of a literary nature. The printed school newspaper is a development of the last few decades.

Interscholastic athletics developed rapidly after 1900. At first confined to occasional games of football and baseball with few spectators other than students, about 1910 they began to have seasonal schedules and larger attendance. Student participation in government and student-body associations also were not common prior to 1900, but have since developed in practically all secondary schools. The club movement has been even more recently developed, largely since 1915, and especially since 1925. Musical organizations existed in some schools as early as a hundred years ago, but bands and orchestras were organized for the first time in most schools in the period between 1920 and 1940.

Educational Values of Pupil Organizations.—Participation in extraclass group activities, when effectively managed, results in a

[2] E. D. Grizzell, "Evolution of Student Activities in the Secondary School," *Educational Outlook*, I:19–31.

variety of important educational contributions. In addition to assisting directly in the achievement of the fundamental objectives of education, they provide excellent opportunities for the exploration of pupil capacities and interests; they develop school loyalties; they possess socializing values; and they assist in the development of healthy personalities.

As one example of the potential contributions of pupil organizations to three of the important objectives of education the following arrangement is offered:

Objective	Type of Outcome	Contributing Activity
Vocational Efficiency	Information concerning occupation, evaluation of potential interests, basic vocational habits, skills and qualities of character, ideals and attitudes of efficiency, cooperation, fair dealing.	Clubs: musical, scientific, radio, photography, aeronautics, cartooning, agriculture, chamber of commerce, secretarial, cow-raising, hog-raising, school papers, debate teams, financial and management aspects of all enterprises.
Worthy Home Membership	Information about things of culture, human nature and character, biology, sanitation, household decoration, purchasing, budgeting, diet and nursing, preparation of foods, the construction and repair of clothing, household machines, children's reading. Habits and skills in fields mentioned above. Ideals: culture, monogamy, fair play, courtesy, happiness to others, happy and beautiful homes. Development of tastes and interests in fields named above, in artistic things and in games and sports.	All sorts of fine arts clubs, household arts clubs, and semi-scientific clubs. All clubs in so far as they develop an understanding of human nature and psychology and how to get on in close contact with others.
Citizenship	Information about government (national, state, and local), public utilities, community organizations, results of unsocial acts or neglect. Habits and skills: in getting along in group activities as followers and as leaders, respecting feelings and rights of others, repressing unsocial impulses, thinking through consequences of behavior. Ideals: "the group above the individual," fair play, service, patriotism. Tastes and interests: in local and other social institutions, in justice and fair play, in the welfare of others; antagonism toward unsocial ideas and acts.	All organizations involving group efforts: student government, teams, civic clubs, letter clubs, traditions clubs or committees, Girl Reserves, Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, Hi-Y clubs, service clubs.

Not the least of the potential values of extraclass activities are the possibilities for development of character and for socialization. People, especially young people, have an undeniable propensity for group play and activity. If unguided, it may take the form of very unsocial developments—groups with destructive activities and unwholesome speech, thought, and attitudes, and with disrespect for the law, for the rights of others and for the ideals of modern society. Experience has shown incontrovertibly that people, especially young people, must be engaged positively in constructive and socially acceptable activities if they are not to gravitate quickly to activities definitely harmful with respect to both the immediate effects and the more lasting effects upon moral and educational development.

In one recent study, in response to the question, "On the basis of your experience with clubs and activities in the secondary school, would you advise a freshman on entering a high school or academy to join and participate in activities?" 93 per cent of 507 replies were favorable. Replies from 182 members of Kiwanis, Lions, and Rotary Clubs and 338 graduates of a large high school to fourteen questions relative to the values of extracurricular activities, indicated a strong belief in them, as indicated in the data of Table 33.[3]

Types of Extraclass Activities.—In a study made by Gruhn, 279 different varieties of clubs were found in the junior high school. These may be classified in a small number of categories as follows:

Subject study clubs: Spanish conversation, Science, Mathematics.
Forensic: Debate, Dramatic, Discussion.
Journalistic: Reporters, Short story.
Athletic: Fencing, Football, Swimming, Hiking.
Civic-Social Character: Boy Scouts, Girl Reserves.
Hobby and Leisure: Candy-making, Marionette, Model Airplane, Chess and Checkers.
Musical: Orchestra, Choral, Popular Song, Band.
Vocational: Printers, Commercial Art, Future Farmers of America.
Domestic: Interior Decorating, Cooking, Garden.

Programs of Activities.—The activities any particular school offers are somewhat dependent upon the accidents of student and faculty interests and enterprise. In recent years, however, these have been so broad that in most high schools of more than 200 students a comprehensive and fairly well balanced program of activities has developed, even without conscious planning by teachers or admin-

[3] William C. Reavis and Charles H. Judd, *The Teacher and Educational Administration*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., p. 107.

TABLE 33

PER CENT OF REPLIES FROM MEMBERS OF SERVICE CLUBS ATTRIBUTING CERTAIN VALUES TO EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

Questions	Per Cent of Affirmative Replies
1. Are activities of sufficient value to warrant their inclusion in the high school program?	93.5
2. Is there a strong similarity between the problems of an officer in high school and an officer in an adult organization?	91.2
3. Were the officers elected in high school as a rule the type who commanded your respect?	86.9
4. Did office-holding in high school give you greater confidence in yourself as a leader?	78.5
5. Did office-holding in high school develop in you greater executive ability?	69.4
6. Did clubs have a positive influence in creating good citizenship in you?	74.4
7. Were the activities in college as effective as those in high school?	71.3
8. Have the community activities of adult life been as effective and satisfying as those of high school days were to that period?	73.7
9. Do you regard training in extracurriculum activities vital to club activity in adult life?	62.4
10. Do you think you should have spent more time in activities in high school?	65.3
11. Did membership in high school clubs induce you to continue similar activities in adult life?	47.8
12. Did your experience as an officer in high school aid in serving as an officer in adult clubs?	54.0
13. Did extracurriculum activities tend to hold you in school longer than you would have stayed without them?	17.2
14. Did these activities influence your choice of work?	21.9

istrators. Even in the smaller high schools, the effort is usually made to provide at least one activity in each of the above categories.

In the elementary school, activities not closely associated with the subjects taught are not nearly so well developed. This is partly because of the limited ability of younger children to organize themselves and to manage their activities, partly because of their preference for relatively unorganized activities, except in the field of sports, and partly because of the lack of plant and staff facilities.

The criteria for determining how many activities should be represented in any given high school have been stated as follows:[4]

1. No activity should be organized, or interest maintained in it, which requires stronger stimulus than casual suggestion and encouragement from the principal or other member of the staff.

[4] Harl R. Douglass, *Organization and Administration of Secondary Schools* (rev. ed.), Boston: Ginn & Co., pp. 221–222.

2. No activity should be organized or maintained which, for reasons of lack of local support outside the school or of the small number of pupils, requires excessive expenditure on the part of pupils.

3. No activity should be permitted to continue as a school activity which is not democratic in its membership, or which will not submit to school regulations for activities and respond reasonably well to advisory control.

4. No activity should be encouraged which does not promise a favorable balance as compared to possible harmful results or difficulties of management or a favorable balance in educational returns in proportion to expenditures of time.

5. The number of activities should not be multiplied to such a point that a reasonable quality of work may not be done in them without excessive activity loads upon the more talented pupils.

6. No activity should be maintained for which a capable and reliable adviser cannot be found.

7. Activities should be sufficient in number to provide opportunities for all pupils desiring to participate.

8. Within the bounds mentioned above, as wide a range of activities as possible should be organized and maintained.

Fundamental Questions.—The expansion of extraclass activities has precipitated several fundamental questions or problems. One of these is, "Does participation in extracurricular activities bring about a lessened quality of achievement in the school subjects?" The answer seems to be twofold: not if the participation is kept within reasonable bounds, and even if there is a slight loss there would still be a net educational gain. Investigations carried on to measure the effect of participation upon scholarship lead rather definitely to the latter conclusion.

Monroe reported that median marks made in semesters in which students participated in activities were no lower than in semesters in which they did not.[5]

Osterberg found no relationship between scholarship and the number of hours spent in nonclass activities.[6]

In order to prevent excessive participation and to equalize among all pupils the opportunities for participation, administrative plans have been developed for those purposes. Under one, participation in such activities is classed as "major" or "minor" and participation at any time by any given student is limited, for instance, to two majors, a major and two minors, or to four minors. The other plan, called

[5] Walter S. Monroe, "The Effect of Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities on Scholarship in High School," *School Review*, XXXVI:747–752.

[6] H. C. Osterberg, "A Study of the Load of Senior High School Pupils in Los Angeles," *School Review*, XXXVI:359–369.

the point plan, provides for the assignment to each variety of participation of a given number of points in proportion to the amount of time and responsibility involved; thus, president of student body, 10; captain of track team, 8; member of baseball team, 5; member of glee club, 6; etc. A maximum is set for the amount of participation at any one time by designating a ceiling number of points, e.g., 20.

In another area, the financial aspects of the program, two major problems are involved: (1) the financial support of the activities without any but insignificant fees and other costs to students, and (2) the handling of and accounting for funds. Harold Hand and others have called attention to the mounting costs of participation to pupils and their parents—admission fees, membership fees, costumes, transportation costs, etc.—amounting to so much in many schools that the less well-to-do are undemocratically embarrassed.

In most schools, very efficient systems of accounting are in use, assuring that young people will not be tempted to mismanagement or misappropriation, and that they will not be allowed to develop careless habits in business methods. In an increasing number of schools there is a common activity fund into which all receipts are deposited, and from which all expenditures are paid on the basis of a predetermined budget. This results in the contribution by football, basketball, and other more lucrative activities to the support of those that may be less lucrative but of equal or possibly greater value educationally.

Another important problem is that of providing adequate faculty leadership. While usually there will be found among the members of the staff of any given high school of some size at least a few teachers who can lead in each of the more important types of activities, that is not always the situation; in smaller high schools and in elementary schools it is the exception rather than the rule.

As a result of this unsatisfactory condition and because of the increasing realization of the importance of extraclass activities, those having the responsibility for the employment of teachers are now giving considerable attention to obtaining a balanced staff in terms of leadership in the various activities. In consequence, teacher-training institutions are beginning to give more attention to training prospective teachers for leadership in the co-curriculum.

Still another problem is the time involved in sponsoring activities —time often in excess of a full teaching load. In a few schools, teachers are paid bonuses for their extracurricular responsibilities. In others the extracurricular load is considered a part of the regular load. There still remains the problem of finding the time required for superior service.

Particularly in recent years, athletic competition has developed to a degree that is quite embarrassing to conscientious school authorities. The school has actually entered the amusement business. At first charged merely to assist in paying transportation costs, gate receipts have grown so large as to influence educational considerations. What is much worse is that community interest has centered around athletic contests, not only eclipsing the more important activities and phases of the school, but sometimes developing such an intense nature as to bring excessive and dangerous influence upon the school administration.

A problem ever perplexing to educators and school administrators is whether credit toward graduation should be given for participation in extracurricular activities. A proposal to grant such credit would be unthinkable by school authorities anywhere except in the United States. Yet much is to be said for it and, to a limited extent, it is done in many schools which usually require more than sixteen units of credit for graduation. Credit so earned is rarely allowed toward entrance to colleges or universities, where credit for extracurricular activities is never allowed toward graduation.

4. The Home Room

Except in the few schools in which departmental assignment of teachers is the practice, each grade section of elementary school pupils has a "home" teacher. For each group there is one teacher whose interest in the group extends beyond the lessons of the subject. This teacher looks after attendance, has contacts with parents and homes, has special occasion programs, renders guidance service, follows up medical inspection, makes announcements, distributes books and supplies, and does many other things for the particular group of pupils in his charge.

In the high school, conditions are different and there is need for a specially designated adviser for small groups of pupils. Each student has classes with from two to seven teachers, usually four or five. The teacher cannot come to know well, to feel a great interest in, or to do much individually for each of his 100 to 150 different students. The necessary impersonal relationship has grown as the number of pupils enrolled in individual high schools has become greater.

In the last few decades, the administration of high schools has become more complex and there has developed the need for at least some decentralization. In the same period the place of guidance has

become much more important, as has that of extracurricular activities. All these developments have increased the need for organization of the high school student body into advisory home room groups of from twenty-five to fifty students.

Functions of Home Rooms.—The activities and functions of home room groups fall into four categories:[7]

1. Administration: as an agency for distributing notices, report cards, textbooks, and materials; for making announcements, checking on tardiness and absence; for collections of scrap paper and other materials; for sales campaigns; for discussion of school policies, new rules, and the like.

2. Curricular Supplementation: as an opportunity for teaching important topics that are not adequately treated in the regular curricular subjects or which may be better learned by home-room procedures; for example, safety education, personality development, occupations, social conventions, current events, study habits and techniques, home relationships; as an excellent place for emphasis upon social and character education.

3. Guidance: (1) as an organization for group guidance in such fields as health, selection of courses, selection of an occupation, personal appearance, making friends, use of leisure time, securing, holding, and getting ahead in a job, boy-girl relationships, school citizenship, matters of ethics and of sportsmanship, problems of going to college, and similar ones; and (2) as an arrangement for guidance of the individual pupil by a home-room reacher who comes to know the individual pupil better than the typical teacher of his classroom subjects can and to whom a small group of pupils are assigned as protégés for guidance.

4. Promotion of Extra-Curricular Activities: The home room may contribute to this function in two ways: (1) by contributions to the all-school program of activities and (2) by its own program of activities. In the home-room clubs, the programs of school organizations and other activities may be brought to the attention of home-room members, values discussed, and participation encouraged. Certain types of administrative routine may be carried on—for example, making announcements, election of home-room representatives, rally programs. The home room may also have athletic, debate, or other teams to participate in inter-home-room competition.

(1) The home room may carry on its own program of activities in the form of putting on programs at the school assembly; and (2) it may have programs for its own members or with another home room as its guest, including musical numbers, talks, debates, vaudeville stunts, reading of the home-room "paper," etc.

Home Room Practices.—Practice in the organization and operation of home rooms varies greatly. Usually the members of a home

[7] Harl R. Douglass, *Organization and Administration of Secondary Schools* (rev. ed.), Boston: Ginn & Co., pp. 257–258.

room group are boys and girls of the same grade, chosen on no other basis. Sponsors are generally assigned by the principal, sometimes for a semester, usually for a year, and occasionally for the entire school career of the group.

Meetings are held from one to five times a week for a period of from ten to fifty minutes. Where meetings are shorter than thirty minutes or fewer than once a week, usually only a partial home room situation exists. Where there are very short periods, it is usually a roll-call situation, where the period is used only for recording attendance, making short announcements, and the like. Only in those schools in which there are not fewer than two or three longer periods weekly can it be said that the guidance and the curriculum-supplementation functions are adequate.

Usually the home room is organized with the customary officers elected every six weeks, quarter, or semester. Committees are named for specialized activities, e.g., citizenship, scholarship, student welfare, community welfare, room decoration, programs, finance, entertainment, and safety.

Home Room Programs.—Home rooms were formerly operated on a relatively impromptu basis, the programs being planned more or less from week to week. More commonly now, there will be at least an outline of programs and activities formulated in advance for each semester or year. Typical of such an outline are the following examples taken from a manual for Grosse Pointe, Michigan, High School.

Seven B Units

Getting Started
Important People
Parliamentary Practice
Our School Equipment
Marks, Honor Roll, Honor Pass
Cafeteria and Health Service
Character Education
The Student Association
(General Organization)
Bicycle, Bus, Traffic Officer
The Student Association
(Service Department)
Reviews and Examinations

Seven A Units

My Duty to My Home Room
The Intelligent Pedestrian

Reasons for Poor Scholarship
The Student Council
Yours and Mine
The Junior High School Idea
A Backward Look at the Year
Eighth Grade Schedule and Activities

Eleven B Units

Home Room Organization
My Attitude toward Work
How Can I Help My Chances of Succeeding?
Reasons for Unsatisfactory Work
Check on Our Knowledge of Our Vocation
Vocational Speakers
Proper and Improper Helping of Others
Value of Well Planned Recreational Program
Program Constructed by Each Home Room
Why Should Home Room Teachers Visit Your Home?

Eleven A Units

Home Room Organization
My Attitude toward Law
Self-Government
Am I Making the Most of My Present Opportunities?
Using Other People's Ideas
Vocational Speakers
To Consider the Value of Continued Educational Training
How Do I Form My Opinions?
How Can Vocational Adjustment Be Accomplished?
To Consider Our Rank in Class and What It Means
Appraisal of Guidance Program
Program Planned by Home Room

As typical of the fundamentals of better home room practice in high schools, the following is quoted:[8]

1. The staff should study home-room plans and philosophy, and should plan materials for a year before launching the home rooms.

2. A collection of not less than one book per pupil in the school should be made available, including books on vocations, vocational guidance, educational guidance, social conventions and etiquette, and the various topics likely to be discussed in the classroom. Hundreds of books very suitable for this use have been published in recent years.

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[8] Harl R. Douglass, *Organization and Administration of Secondary Schools* (rev. ed.), Boston: Ginn & Co., pp. 260–261.

3. Careful in-service training of home-room sponsors, with the use of key teachers, should be carried on for at least a few years and be repeated every few years for new additions to the staff.

4. The home-room period should be not less than 30 minutes and not more than 60 minutes a week, and should be allocated to home-room meetings.

5. New teachers should be selected partly on the basis of their ability to be good home-room sponsors.

6. When new teachers are employed, there should be an understanding that home-room sponsorship is an important part of the regular teaching load. Of course this same understanding should prevail with all teachers engaged in home-room sponsoring.

7. There should be available to all home-room sponsors collections of outlines, manuals, and units for home rooms, already worked out in other schools; and these should be kept up to date.

8. Sponsors should recognize that home-room discussions should be characterized by freedom to express opinion, spontaneity, naturalness, and they should be permitted to change their courses to wherever student interests lie.

9. Sponsors should avoid long lectures. Lectures should grow out of problems raised in the discussion, should be short, should be given in a conversational manner, and should not involve mere opinion and guessing by the sponsor. They should be followed by questions and discussion.

10. In the home-room period there should be little place for recitations, quizzes, and examinations. Good use should be made, however, of the practice of suggesting readings for students on the topics of the unit. These should be carefully selected.

11. Use should be made of the learning device of having individual students or small committees volunteer to make special investigations and reports on various problems and topics.

12. If, apparently, it is necessary to add dignity to home-room work, credit toward graduation may well be given, usually one fourth of a year unit or one half of a semester unit for each year in programs in which there are two to three periods a week of not less than 30 minutes each. Giving credit is hardly practical when home-room meetings do not involve as much time as 60 minutes a week.

5. Student Participation in School Management

Schools in the United States are also unique in the degree to which students participate in the formulation of policies and rules for conduct in their schools, in the management of extracurricular activities, and even in the administration of the rules for student behavior. Considering that our national government is a democracy, it was natural that some degree of student participation in school government should develop.

Beginning in the early years of this century, students were admitted to an increasing share of responsibility. At first two types of approach were employed: (1) experimentation with self-appointed officers to formulate rules of student behavior outside of class and to enforce them by means of student officers and student courts, (2) the increased participation of elected student officers to manage the affairs of extracurricular activities. After a widely advertised trial in a considerable number of high schools, the first approach was eventually abandoned. The second has proved to be more successful and is employed in the majority of secondary schools today.

In both secondary and elementary schools, student cooperation is employed in developing standards of conduct and general policies to be administered almost entirely by the faculty. As set forth in a treatise on high school administration, the responsibilities of students in the two fields of government and management are usually as follows:[9]

A. Government

1. Assemblies: developing the spirit of order; handling cases of discipline.
2. Study halls: developing the spirit of order; handling cases of discipline and tardiness.
3. Libraries: developing the spirit of order; handling cases of discipline.
4. Social functions: developing the spirit of good citizenship; cases of disorder.
5. Classrooms: cases of breach of discipline.
6. Cafeterias or lunch rooms: policies for order, cases of breakage, etc.
7. Lockers and locker rooms: cases of untidiness, damage, etc.
8. Tardiness: bringing pressure to bear upon offenders.
9. Vice defense: detecting, reporting, and recommending punishment for offenses of gambling, drinking, etc.
10. Trial courts: trying offenders and recommending punishment for them.
11. Grounds and games: administering rules and regulations.

B. Management

1. Assemblies: providing programs, presiding, seating arrangement.
2. Study halls: attending to bookkeeping incident to pupils' leaving and entering, attendance, etc.
3. Libraries: bulletin boards, charging books, working out policies and plans for managing.

[9] Harl R. Douglass, *Organization and Administration of Secondary Schools* (rev. ed.), Boston: Ginn & Co., pp. 287–288.

4. Social functions: plans and details of arranging and managing.
5. Lockers: assigning, keys, etc.
6. Lost-and-found service: managing bureau, bulletins, etc.
7. Book exchange: plant and details of operating, funds, etc.
8. Tardiness: recording tardiness and administering excuses and admissions.
9. Fire and safety: developing plans, managing drills, etc.
10. Employment service: planning and operating bureau.
11. Supervision of elections: determining procedures and means of supervision.
12. Grounds and games: planning policies and regulations.
13. Student clubs and organizations: initiating, governing, managing.

In recent years, in both elementary and secondary schools there has developed an increasing tendency to admit students to a share in planning the learning activities. To some extent these are planned in class discussions led by teachers. In some classes, the nature of topics to be studied as well as the determination of what pupil activities will be undertaken in connection with the topics or projects are the result of student-teacher cooperative planning. As would be expected, the degree of pupil participation varies with the school, with the subject, with the teacher, and with the age of the pupils.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. What important phases of preparation for life do you think are omitted from or neglected in the typical curriculum of the schools, to which guidance, home rooms, or other co-curricular activities could make useful contributions?
2. Make a list of the recent developments and trends in American life which make guidance more necessary than a generation ago.
3. Write about 600–800 words on one of the following topics:
   a. The scope and nature of guidance in the elementary school.
   b. The organization of guidance in the secondary school.
4. Make a list of all the types of data about pupils, e.g., attendance records, and after each type indicate briefly how it could be used in guidance.
5. What are interest and adjustment inventories and what are their uses and values?
6. To the list of activities for vocational guidance add two or three more.
7. To the list of kinds of assistance given in educational guidance add three or four more.
8. Write from 600–800 words on "The Role of the Classroom Teacher in Guidance."

9. Select one objective of education as given in Chapter 4 and show how each of eight or ten different student co-curricular activities could contribute something specific to that aim.
10. What do you think are the most important dangers to avoid in connection with co-curricular activities, and how would you avoid them?
11. What is your own opinion of the values and weaknesses of home rooms?
12. What are the dangers to be avoided in student participation in government, and how would you avoid them?
13. Write out what you think about using student participation in the various areas of school government and management.
14. What activities do you think are without need of reform or improvement? Give your reasons.
15. What improvements can you suggest for the cumulative guidance record shown in Figure 24?

Chapter 13

EDUCATIONAL PERSONNEL—WORKERS IN THE SCHOOLS

Those who teach children well are more to be honored than even their parents, for these only gave them life, those the art of living well.—*Aristotle.*

Teaching is one of the toughest kinds of work. Most jobs involving a great deal of personal contact with people are, but few can equal teaching in the physical and nervous demands made upon conscientious teachers.

This is certainly an inauspicious opening for a discourse which the student probably thinks is intended to "sell" him on teaching as a career. If that first paragraph scares him off, perhaps it is well, for a career in education, generally speaking, is no proper goal for anyone looking for a soft berth. On the other hand, educational work offers a large variety of opportunities in and out of classrooms, some of which may appeal to and even challenge all but the laziest, the most timid, and the dullards. Many people imagine that teaching must be an uninteresting life. On the contrary, for a "real teacher" it is stimulating and adventurous, with no two days alike.

1. The Importance of Teaching

One of the most striking things about teaching is that at one time or another practically the entire population of the country comes into contact with it—more so than with any other profession. In times of illness, for example, people call on the physicians; when they are in trouble with the law, or to keep out of trouble, they need lawyers; for spiritual help they have recourse to the clergy, but church membership includes only half the population. Teachers, in contrast, contact almost every individual in the nation, and furthermore, they do this in the formative period of his life.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the teacher's work. The critical position occupied by the teacher, with regard to both the individual and society, is expressed well (albeit a bit rhap-

sodically) by Joy Elmer Morgan, long-time editor of the National Education Association *Journal*:

The teacher is a prophet. He lays the foundations of tomorrow. The teacher is an artist. He works with the precious clay of unfolding personality. The teacher is a friend. His heart responds to the faith and devotion of his students. The teacher is a citizen. He is selected and licensed for the improvement of society. The teacher is an interpreter. Out of his maturer and wider life he seeks to guide the young. The teacher is a builder. He works with the higher and finer values of civilization. The teacher is a culture-bearer. He leads the way toward worthier taste, saner attitudes, more gracious manners, higher intelligence. The teacher is a planner. He sees the young lives before him as a part of a great system which shall grow stronger in the light of truth. The teacher is a pioneer. He is always attempting the impossible and winning out. The teacher is a reformer. He seeks to remove the handicaps that weaken and destroy life. The teacher is a believer. He has abiding faith in the improvability of the race.[1]

2. What Teachers Think of Teaching

The attitude toward teaching of nearly 5,000 classroom teachers was investigated in a nationwide study made by the Research Division of the National Education Association in 1944.[2] Among both urban and rural teachers, in both elementary and secondary schools, about two-thirds of the respondents revealed favorable attitudes toward teaching as a career. About one-sixth were unfavorable, and an equal proportion were "on the fence." These statistics indicate a high degree of "job satisfaction." About two-thirds stated that they preferred teaching to other work, about one-third that they probably could have enjoyed some other type of work as well, with less than 2 per cent expressing a definite lack of enjoyment in their work. The answers to the two questions quoted below from the report should be interesting to anyone trying to make up his mind about entering the profession.

3. Teaching a Large Profession

Professional educational personnel makes up one of the largest occupational groups in the country. Counting teachers in public and private schools, administrators, and college and university staffs, the total is well over a million. In 1947 there were 880,000 educators

[1] *Journal of the National Education Association*, XXXII.

[2] This study, "The Teacher Looks at Personnel Administration," is reported in detail in the *N. E. A. Research Bulletin*, XXIII, No. 4, pp. 95–147.

	Per Cent Indicating Each Opinion			
	Urban Teachers		Rural Teachers	
"Suppose you could go back to your college days and start over again; in view of your present knowledge, would you become a teacher?"				
Certainly would not become a teacher	8	21	5	15
Probably would not	13		10	
Chances about even for and against	17		15	
Probably would become a teacher	25	62	24	70
Certainly would	37		46	
"Do you enjoy teaching?"				
I seldom enjoy teaching	1		2	
I usually enjoy teaching but I probably could have learned to like some other work as well	34		33	
I enjoy teaching and doubt that I could have learned to like any other work as well	15	65	18	65
I enjoy teaching enough to be sure that I prefer it to other work	38		35	
Teaching is to me (quoting a famous teacher) "the most adventurous, the most exciting, the most thrilling of professions"	12		12	

in public elementary and secondary schools only. The number of professional educators is about double that of physicians, clergymen, and lawyers combined. Besides this, there are several hundred thousand secretarial, clerical, and buildings and grounds workers. Many thousands of full or part-time persons are employed in health and psychological services, research, library service, food service, and transportation. Probably there are as many positions in nonteaching, school-related work as there are in teaching itself.

The emphasis in this chapter, however, is on public school teaching. About 94 per cent of the professional public school workers—that is, those who hold certificates or licenses of various kinds to teach or administer schools—are engaged in classroom instruction. Only enough notice is taken here of other types of positions to indicate that worth-while contributions in educational work may be made through avenues other than teaching.

To simplify matters and to illustrate the scope of educational and school-related work, several categories, including most of the different kinds of positions, are given here. The comments relate primarily to public school work. Many positions are open only to those with a foundation of experience in classroom instruction. Furthermore, while teaching experience may not be required for all positions, unquestionably it contributes to the efficiency and insight of anyone connected with schools

4. Types of Career Positions in Education

Administration.—In educational administration the more important and lucrative positions are those of:

Executives in state education departments.
Presidents of colleges and universities.
Deans in institutions of higher education.
Presidents of junior colleges.
Deans of junior colleges.
Superintendents of schools.
Associate and assistant superintendents.
Principals of senior high schools, junior high schools, and elementary schools.
Business managers of city school systems.
Directors of instruction.
Supervisors of instruction.
Personnel directors.
Vice principals of schools.
County superintendents.

Not all these positions are necessarily filled by persons who have had formal preparation for educational work. This is true of business managers more than of the others. School and college business managers are usually selected on such grounds as business experience. For higher educational administration, public school experience is not especially valued, except in institutions devoted mainly to the preparation of school personnel and in departments of education within institutions. However, in public school administration it is exceptional, and in most states impossible, to obtain a position if one lacks teaching experience. This applies to all types of administration in public schools. As a rule, persons now seeking to qualify for such posts prepare themselves by taking one to three years of graduate work in addition to teaching experience.

Principalships and superintendencies normally used to be filled by men and women of promise regardless of their having had special preparation for administration. While this custom still persists in smaller communities in some states, it has almost entirely disappeared in city school administration. In some states, the laws specify that administrators must hold special administrators' certificates.

Teaching.—As the following partial list of those in teaching positions indicates, the types of work call for varied talents and afford choice in a wide range of interests:

College and university teachers.
Junior college teachers.
Teachers in high schools, junior high schools, elementary schools.
Adult education teachers.
Nursery school and kindergarten teachers.
Teachers of special subjects at various grade levels, e.g., music, art, physical education.
Extension workers.
Substitute and supply teachers.
Teachers of handicapped children: the deaf, blind, crippled, mentally retarded, home-confined children, cardiac, tubercular, and low-vitality cases.

Some people seem to have an aptitude for getting along with young children, others with teen-agers, and still others with post-adolescents and adults. Teachers are needed at all these levels. The numerous subjects taught in American schools and the co-curricular and extracurricular activities carried on afford opportunities of truly great variety for school personnel to work in areas of special interests.

As a rule, specific preparation in both subject matter and in the techniques of teaching is required for the types of teachers named above. College and university teachers are more specialized in subject matter than are teachers in the lower schools, but lack preparation in methods of teaching—a condition that should be remedied but which is difficult to improve. In some teaching fields—such as adult education, extension work and vocational subjects—the chief qualification is relative mastery of the subjects taught with little value attached to instructional techniques. For the great body of public school teachers, however, formal study of both subject matter and instructional methods is considered important, and in most cases is required. More is said about this later.

Special Fields.—Professional school personnel with special assignments (usually nonteaching) is listed in the next group. This category has grown in numbers in the last few years, especially the first five named.

School librarians.
Directors of guidance.
Deans of boys (or men).
Deans of girls (or women).
Directors of child accounting (attendance, school census, etc.)
Directors of research.

Guidance workers usually have specific preparation for their work. Deans of boys and deans of girls (deans of men and women in post-secondary institutions) usually but not always have enough of it. In high schools, deans are frequently the directors of guidance. The other positions listed call for specialized preparation if the work assigned is to be done capably. School librarians are often drawn from the field of general librarianship, but it is decidedly preferable to employ librarians with specific training for school positions as well as general preparation in library science.

Most city school systems employ the above types of personnel. Village and rural schools have not reached that point, primarily because of limited funds and small administrative units.

School-Related Work in Other Professions.—The schools draw on other professional groups for certain services. Few of the persons employed in the capacities listed here are specifically prepared for educational work; they develop it as a sideline or as a specialty within a general practice. Most common in this class are the following:

School psychologists, physicians, dentists, nurses, dental hygienists, dietitians, social workers.
School accountants.
School architects.
School engineers.
School attorneys.

Large city school systems in most instances employ full-time personnel in these positions. Cities under 100,000 rarely do, except for nurses, dental hygienists and dietitians. Instead, they employ professional consultants responsible for general oversight of the work in various fields, on a part-time or retainer basis. Village and rural schools have not, in general, reached the point of utilizing such specialists due to limited funds and small administrative units. Cooperative arrangements are in effect in some areas, for instance, where a number of school districts pool their resources for the employment of a county school nurse.

Interesting specialties may be developed in all these lines, and such developments should be encouraged. There is no lack of opportunity for noninstructional, professionally trained people, with an interest in school-related affairs, to build up practices wholly or largely in the sphere of education. The profession of architect, alone, includes a variety of examples of specialization in the planning and construction of school buildings. Better buildings would be planned if architects in this field would learn more about education.

Noncertificated Educational Workers.—Finally, many people are needed in jobs that are not strictly educational to carry on the work of the schools. The following are typical of such groups:

Clerks, secretaries, stenographers, bookkeepers.
Janitors, maids, firemen.
Electricians, carpenters, plumbers, auto mechanics.
Stockroom clerks, truck drivers, warehousemen.
School bus drivers.
Cafeteria and lunchroom workers.

It is not essential that this large body of workers be versed in educational theory and practice. It is important, though, that they be selected on two bases: (1) their fitness to work in schools in association with children and teachers; (2) their occupational competence. All school workers should be oriented to the conditions peculiar to schools, the general objectives of schools, and the problems of getting along with pupils, teachers, and administrators.

The health, personal grooming, and personal traits of the noninstructional workers are of prime concern, and high standards should be set for them. Especially is this important for those who come into immediate contact with children, for instance, bus drivers, food service workers, secretaries, clerks, and maids. Salaries, hours, and working conditions should be such as to attract and hold desirable persons, even as they should be for the professional staff. The discussion of personnel problems and policies relating to teachers and administrators in Chapter 14 applies in large part to all other personnel.

5. The Personal and Professional Traits of Teachers

The complex of elements that comprise a successful teacher cannot be analyzed and identified in the way a chemical compound may be. Many factors are involved, some inherent, some related to experience and environment. In studies made of good and poor teachers and teaching, the findings have not been clear-cut, and the general conclusions drawn are more or less tentative. It is safe to say, however, that good teachers are not simply born, and that training cannot transmute poor native ability into teaching ability of high quality.

Hundreds of studies have been made of personal and professional traits of prospective teachers and of teachers in service. The objective has been to determine a definite pattern of traits characteristic of good teachers. Likewise, there has been the hope that the traits of poor or unsuccessful teachers might be identified. Some progress

has been made, chiefly at the extremes. That is, it is fairly well established which traits are most desirable for teachers to possess, and which traits are definite handicaps to success.

Desirable Traits.—Personal traits shade into professional qualities, so that it is impossible to separate them sharply. One of the most exhaustive attempts to identify traits important to teaching success was made about twenty years ago.[3] The twenty-five most desirable traits were ranked in their order of importance for rural, elementary, and secondary school teachers. Those with the highest composite rank are self-control, dependability, adaptability, enthusiasm, good judgment, and honesty. Other traits listed are: attractive personal appearance, breadth of interest, carefulness, cooperation, fluency, forcefulness, health, industry, leadership, magnetism, neatness, openmindedness, originality, progressiveness or ambition, promptness, refinement, scholarship, and thrift.

Another large-scale study, published in 1934, summarized the responses of several thousand high school students, in all parts of the country, to questions about the "best-liked" and "least-liked" of their teachers.[4]

"Best Liked" Teachers.—The ten highest ranking traits for the "best liked" teacher were as follows:

1. Is helpful with school work, explains lessons and assignments clearly and thoroughly, and uses examples in teaching.
2. Cheerful, happy, good-natured, jolly, has a sense of humor and can take a joke.
3. Human, friendly, companionable, "one of us."
4. Interested in and understands pupils.
5. Makes work interesting, creates a desire to work, makes class work a pleasure.
6. Strict, has control of the class, commands respect.
7. Impartial, shows no favoritism, has no "pets."
8. Not cross, crabby, grouchy, nagging, or sarcastic.
9. "We learned the subject."
10. A pleasing personality.

"Least Liked" Teachers.—In contrast to this, the "least liked" teacher was ranked high on these points:

1. Too cross, crabby, grouchy, never smiles, nagging, sarcastic, loses temper, "flies off the handle."

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[3] W. W. Charters and D. Waples, *The Commonwealth Teacher-Training Study.*
[4] F. W. Hart, *Teachers and Teaching,* New York: The Macmillan Co., *passim.*

2. Not helpful with school work, does not explain lessons and assignments, not clear, work not planned.
3. Partial, has "pets" or favored students, and "picks on certain pupils."
4. Superior, aloof, haughty, "snooty," overbearing, does not know you out of class.
5. Mean, unreasonable, "hard boiled," intolerant, ill mannered, too strict.
6. Unfair in marking and grading, unfair in tests and examinations.
7. Inconsiderate of pupils' feelings, bawls out pupils in the presence of classmates, pupils are afraid and ill at ease and dread class.
8. Not interested in pupils and does not understand them.
9. Unreasonable assignments and home work.
10. Too loose in discipline, no control of class, does not command respect.

The Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education, in a recent report,[5] mentioned several qualities needed in teachers. "Of two teachers equally well equipped in some particular respect—say knowledge of subject matter—one may be superbly effective, the other mediocre or a failure." The qualities cited as of great importance are (1) respect for personality, respect for others and self-respect; (2) community-mindedness; (3) rational behavior, "emotional surefootedness"; (4) skill in cooperation; (5) interest in increasing general and specialized knowledge; (6) skill in "putting across" knowledge; (7) friendliness with children; (8) understanding children; (9) social understanding and behavior; (10) skill in evaluation—in checking upon one's own and the pupils' accomplishment; (11) faith in the worth of teaching.

In 1947, still another list of traits was compiled by Witty from approximately 12,000 letters written by school children on "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most."[6] Desirable traits mentioned most often, in order of frequency, are:

1. Cooperative, democratic attitude.
2. Kindliness and consideration for the individual; patience.
3. Wide variety of interest.
4. General appearance and pleasing manner.
5. Fairness and impartiality.
6. Sense of humor.
7. Good disposition and consistent behavior.
8. Interest in pupils' problems.
9. Flexibility (Use of various methods to fit the case).
10. Use of recognition and praise.
11. Unusual proficiency in teaching a particular subject.

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[5] *Teachers for Our Times.*

[6] Paul A. Witty, "The Teacher Who Has Helped Me Most," *Journal of the National Education Assn.*, XXXVI:386.

An Ideal to Strive For.—From a perusal of such findings and recommendations—and they could be multiplied many times—students may infer that a counsel of perfection has been given. Nobody can reach that exalted status prescribed for those who would be teachers *par excellence*. Most people are, of course, a mixture of good and bad. Nevertheless, the ideal must be set forth as something to strive toward. Every prospective teacher would do well to examine himself to see if he has the potentialities for attaining to a considerable degree those personal and professional traits here associated with good teaching.

Some of these qualities are of little consequence to vast groups of the world's workers. For example, while it might be well for us all, as individuals and parents, if we "understood children," to millions of people it makes little if any difference in their work if they understand children or not. It makes a great deal of difference in teaching.

6. The Selection of Prospective Teachers

During World War II, teaching and other educational occupations were recognized as "essential" by the War Manpower Commission. Many schoolmen were drafted, nevertheless, if they were qualified for military service, and many others enlisted. Coupled with this loss from the professional ranks, a far larger depletion, caused by teachers going to better paying war work and government service, created a critical shortage of school personnel.

Need for More Teachers.—In addition to these losses, enrollments in teachers colleges and departments of education in universities and liberal arts colleges dropped more than 60 per cent between 1941 and 1945. This cut the supply of new teachers far below the replacement needs of 80,000 to 100,000 per year. In the boom times of a war economy some drop was expected, but this was worse than looked for. The situation was radically changed from that of 1930–31, when there was an oversupply of some 200,000 certificated persons available for education, to a deficit of about 100,000. To meet this crisis of the war years, "emergency," or substandard, certificates were issued; in many states more than 25 per cent of the teachers held such certificates; in some states this emergency staff totaled almost 40 per cent. The issuance of such licenses was resorted to in a desperate effort to keep open schools that otherwise would have been closed. Even during the current postwar period, tens of

thousands of emergency certificates are issued annually, for the shortage of teachers is still acute.

The supply of American teachers has come very largely from the economic "lower middle" class of the population. Education is not a profession in which earnings, on the average, compare favorably with those in law, medicine, dentistry, managerial and executive work, and some civil service classes. With opportunities being more remunerative in other lines during the war and postwar periods, the recruitment of prospective teachers has been very difficult.

Education Attractive as a Career.—There are certainly some attractions in educational work which make it desirable as a career. Annual initial salaries are higher than in many other lines of work. The surroundings in which one works are definitely superior, on the average. Social position is respectable. The work is varied, even though often exacting and demanding. Associates are usually congenial. For one interested in intellectual activity, there are no limits. Vacations are more numerous and longer than in other fields, and such provisions as sick leave, tenure, and retirement in many places are good, and in other places improving. Beyond these considerations, a teacher can really have the consciousness of doing something very much worth while, of doing work that is second in importance to no other.

In the last few years, a number of veterans of the military services enrolled in colleges and universities to prepare for educational positions. Many had had no teaching experience. At the University of Colorado, as one example, veterans responded, when questioned by the authors as to how they had arrived at this decision, that they had had "lots of time to think things over," that education appealed to them as "a good thing to get into," as something they could feel was really constructive, and through which they could make a positive contribution to humanity.

That education has not always attracted the most able people must be admitted. In an investigation, published a few years ago, of the subject-matter attainments of 45,000 college students in Pennsylvania, this unflattering conclusion was reached:

> In so far as those expecting to teach are concerned, the results of the Pennsylvania examinations are disappointing. And there is no good reason for believing that the conditions described are confined to Pennsylvania. The majority of the group are most at home in the lower half of total college distributions; they exhibit inferiority in contrast with the non-teachers in nearly every department of study; and they show up badly

when compared in the same tests with students four years below them [high school seniors] who represent the educational problems with which they must be prepared to deal.[7]

It is apparent that young people of superior personalities and superior intellectual abilities go further and earn more than the average teacher—especially young men.

Aptitude for Teaching.—No entirely satisfactory tests of aptitude for teaching have been devised. Many institutions do give intelligence, subject matter, and personality tests to prospective teachers, and require that designated levels of performance be achieved by students for admission to teacher-training curricula. Such requirements serve primarily to weed out the obvious misfits or the unfit. Only to a small degree do they help single out the sure-fire successes.

If a student can answer "yes" to a series of such questions as the following, he should give serious thought to a career in education:

1. Do you like children and young people?
2. Do you work well with people?
3. Are you a good student?
4. Are you healthy?
5. Are you interested in developing the nation's greatest asset—its human resources?
6. Are you willing to work hard?
7. Do you want to keep on learning?
8. Are you interested in preparation for a profession that will help you become a successful parent and homemaker?

There never has been, and there is not now, an adequate supply of *good* teachers. Top-notch men and women are needed for education. Admittedly, the profession stands in need of improvement in such things as the economic security of its members, the teaching load, and professional status—topics that are taken up in Chapter 14. But with a highly qualified personnel, these problems can be attacked successfully, and while this is being accomplished, satisfying lives of real achievement can be led.

7. Education as a Career for Men

The urgent need for more good men in education is recognized by all leaders in the field. The authors consider it of such importance

[7] W. S. Learned and B. D. Wood, *Bulletin Number Twenty-Nine*, "The Student and His Knowledge," The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, p. 64.

that a few paragraphs are included here on this special phase of the personnel problem.

Financial Considerations.—The question naturally arises, "Can one in good faith advise young men to prefer educational careers to the possible alternatives?" In view of the prevailing levels of teachers' salaries, many men do not believe that a decent living can be made in education. However, the true situation for men is not presented by data on average salaries, because some 80 per cent of all teachers are women. Salary data should be broken down by sex, but such data are not available. It is known that the majority of administrative positions are held by men, so that salary data for these positions have some bearing. For 1944–45, the median salaries of city school superintendents, principals, and supervisors are presented in Table 34. Since that date, increases of 10 to 30 per cent have been made rather generally.

TABLE 34

MEDIAN SALARIES OF CITY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS, PRINCIPALS, AND SUPERVISORS, 1944–45 [a]

Position	Size of City				
	Over 100,000	30,000 to 100,000	10,000 to 30,000	5,000 to 10,000	2,500 to 5,000
Superintendent	$9,150	$6,750	$5,250	$4,339	$3,736
Associate, Assistant, or Deputy Superintendent	6,510	4,750	4,150	3,633	3,250
Business Manager	4,825	3,775	3,162	3,033	2,750
High School Principal	5,310	4,396	3,657	3,139	2,757
Jr. High School Principal	4,657	3,651	3,077	2,563	2,219
Elementary School Principal	3,772	2,880	2,644	2,510	2,457
Supervisors or Directors of:					
Research	3,788	3,000	3,033	2,450	....
Vocational Education	4,250	3,660	3,171	2,517	2,633
Physical Education	3,850	3,063	2,546	2,150	2,090
Industrial Arts	3,950	3,250	2,600	2,180	2,183

[a] Data taken from *N.E.A. Research Bulletin*, XXIII, No. 1 (February, 1945), "Salaries of City-School Employees 1944–45," Tables 2–6, Washington: National Education Association, 1945. Not all supervisory positions are listed in table above but only a few examples primarily of interest to men.

Earnings in Other Occupations.—A current study by Professor Harold F. Clark [8] includes estimates of average earnings of various

[8] Harold F. Clark, "Earnings in the Major Occupations in the United States," *Encyclopedia of Vocational Guidance* (O. J. Kaplan, ed.), New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. The manuscript of Clark's study was made available to the authors before publication through the courtesy of Messrs. Clark and Kaplan. See also Harold F. Clark and others, *Life Earnings in Selected Occupations in the United States*, New York: Harper & Bros.

occupations in 1945, compared with average earnings during the period 1920–36. His data are given in Table 35.

TABLE 35

ESTIMATES OF EARNINGS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, 1920–36 AND 1945

Occupation	Average Earnings per year 1920–36	Estimated Average Earnings 1945
Doctors	$4,850	$8,100
Engineers	4,410	7,600
Lawyers	4,730	7,200
Architects	3,820	6,300
Skilled Workers	1,430	2,800
Farmers	580	2,000
School Teachers	1,350	1,800*
Unskilled Workers	795	1,700

* Average salary of teachers, of whom approximately one third are not college graduates, was estimated to be about $2,500 in 1947–48.

It is quite apparent that *average* annual earnings in the profession of teaching as a whole do not compare acceptably with those in other professions. The *median* earnings of *school administrators* do compare somewhat more favorably. A close estimate of the earnings of *men* in education is somewhere between $3,500 and $4,000 a year. In cities over 30,000, the figure probably is around $4,000 to $4,500. If men teaching in colleges and universities are included, the average would be raised several hundred dollars.

In referring to Table 35 above, one should keep in mind that during the war period doctors, engineers, and architects in civilian life were scarce and commanded remuneration far above the normal. Some of them, and also skilled and unskilled workers, were engaged in war-related work that gave them incomes from 20 to 75 per cent above the level of peacetime years. Salaries in education did not experience a war boom, and the gradual rise in teachers' salaries may prove more enduring than the abnormal rise in salaries in other professions. For these reasons it is probably more accurate to compare the salaries of school administrators given in Table 35 above for 1944–45 with earnings in other occupations as of 1920–36.

There are strong indications that teachers' salaries are still on the way up and are not likely to suffer any serious decline, even in times of depression. What decreases may take place then should be more than offset by the increased buying power of the teachers' dollar.

There are thousands of administrative positions in the schools paying more than $4,000 per year. There are tens of thousands of classroom teaching positions paying more than $3,000. Besides these, there are many thousands of positions in colleges and universities and in private schools which pay more than $3,600. In addition to teaching and administrative positions, there are about one hundred thousand well-paying positions for men trained in education in allied fields. Book companies, school equipment firms, insurance, periodicals, airlines, and many other types of enterprises frequently prefer men with an educational background.

If men in education were as well selected as men in other professions, and if they stayed with their profession as long, it is reasonable to believe that there would be less, if any, difference. If matched on the basis of experience and amount of college and graduate preparation, the male educator does about as well financially as the male practitioner in other professions.

Education Compared with Other Professions as an Occupation for Men.—It is still evident, however, that factors other than the financial must enter into a young man's choice of profession. How does education compare with other professions on the basis of service, conditions of work, opportunities for various types of work, social prestige, security, and opportunity for changing location?

1. The educator should experience as much satisfaction from the value of his service as the physician, more than the attorney.
2. His working conditions are generally better than either of the others. He can have his evenings and weekends relatively free. He has much longer and more vacations.
3. His work gives him opportunity for expression and he is not dependent for his income upon the misfortunes of others. Rather than merely mitigating evils, his work is creative; it builds for the future.
4. The social prestige of the school administrator and college teacher is on a par with that of other professions.
5. While the attorney, dentist, or physician may move around only at great risk because of the necessity of building a new practice, the educator's career may call him to various sections of the country.
6. There is unusual security in educational work. Having a job does not depend on keeping a practice, and, indeed, very little upon health.
7. Most colleges, and a rapidly increasing number of school systems, have plans for paying teachers and administrators an annual stipend sufficient to support them in old age.

8. The educator may continue to grow and to learn, and is therefore less likely to deteriorate intellectually than other professional men.

A careful analysis of the whole picture makes it clear that if a young man has the potentialities of a superior teacher or administrator and likes to work with both books and people, he should be encouraged to consider seriously going into educational work. In the market, his abilities and qualities will bring him as much in the way of salary in education as in any other profession—at least up to the point of $10,000, perhaps more.

8. Pre-Service Preparation for Teaching

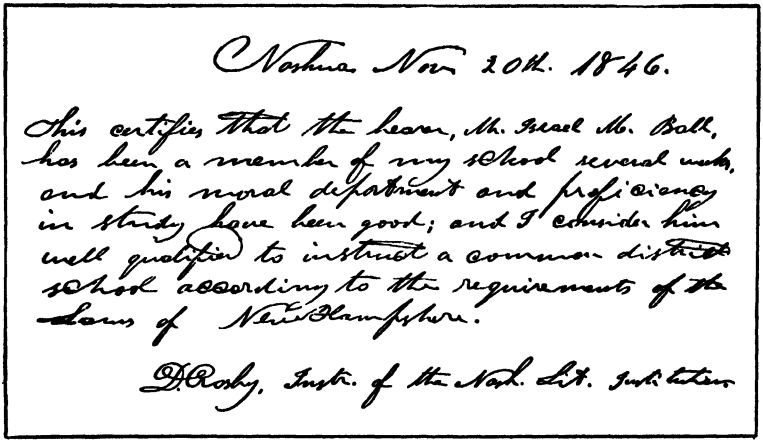
About 1,800 institutions above high school level offer preparation for teaching and other educational service. The majority are colleges and universities, but there are also about 250 teachers colleges and normal schools, the latter usually limited to less than four years of college work; these are gradually being converted to either junior college or college status. There are also about 300 of the nation's 700 junior colleges, and several dozen independent professional schools, that engage to some extent in professional preparation. Three or four states still allow some initial preparation for rural teaching to be done in high schools, but this is passing away in the face of much justified criticism.

Early Teacher Preparation.—For two centuries after the first colonists came, there was no opportunity in this country for one to prepare specifically for teaching or for other educational service. Anyone who could persuade a community or a school committee to employ him as a teacher could teach in the elementary or "common" schools. In the secondary, or "grammar," schools the teachers, always men, usually had had some university work in England. This was invariably subject-matter specialization, with no professional preparation whatever—that is, no study of teaching methods, organization and presentation of materials, testing, grading, discipline, etc.

In 1823, a small private academy in Concord, Vt., operated by the Reverend Samuel Hall, offered a bit of preparation for teachers in the final year of the three-year academic course. This was the first attempt to prepare school personnel. Many teachers in the common schools had only a rudimentary sort of preparation for teaching in academies and "literary institutes." Figure 25 is a facsimile of a certificate issued in 1846 by the instructor of an academy, approving

as "well qualified to instruct a common district school" a young man who had been a student for "several weeks."

Not until 1839 was the first tax-supported institution for the training of teachers set up, in Massachusetts, chiefly through the influence of James G. Carter and Horace Mann. Gradually, colleges


Nashua Nov 20th. 1846.

This certifies that the bearer, Mr. Israel M. Ball, has been a member of my school several weeks, and his moral deportment and proficiency in study have been good; and I consider him well qualified to instruct a common district school according to the requirements of the laws of New Hampshire.

D. Roby, Instr. of the Nash. Lit. Institution

Figure 25. A Teacher's Certificate of a Century Ago

and universities became interested in this work, so that by 1880 the inclusion of teacher preparation had become quite general. Educational work is now one of the most important vocational outlets for graduates of both public and private institutions of higher education.

Balance Sought in Teacher Education.—For many years, in fact until only two or three decades ago, the content of most curricula for prospective teachers consisted almost entirely of courses in *methods* of teaching. Little emphasis was laid on the attainment of either broad or intensive subject-matter mastery. The trend now, for both elementary and secondary school teachers, is toward general, broad, cultural education during the first two years of college. The last two years are devoted to professional courses in education and specialization in subjects to be taught. A year of graduate work in either subject-matter or professional courses, or both, is required in several states and by many city school systems for high school teachers, and this movement is gaining ground.

Trends in Teacher Preparation.—Many plans for the organization of the college work of prospective teachers are being tried out.

For elementary teachers, the content which they will actually teach is stressed, and considerable attention is given to selection and organization of the materials of study. It is not to be understood, of course, that teachers' knowledge of subject matter is to be limited to an elementary school level! This was formerly more or less the case and eventually led to serious criticism. A much higher level of accomplishment is necessary. This is the reason for postponing the beginning of professional education courses in a growing number of institutions until the second or third year of college.

For those looking toward teaching in high school, the trend is in the direction of preparation in broad subject *fields* rather than in specific *subjects*. For example, students are advised or required to major in *social studies* in preference to majoring in history, or government, or economics. Science teachers prepare in *science,* with some work in each of several branches, rather than in just chemistry, or physics, or biology. The student is encouraged to do enough work in each subject of a field to be able to teach it, with some specialization in one subject of the field.

The period of supervised practice teaching and observation is being lengthened. In some institutions and city school systems a period of cadet teaching, or internship, is required. Usually one or two periods each day for a semester, or the equivalent in a shorter period, is required in student teaching.

Increasing emphasis is being given to the all-round development of prospective teachers as normal, healthy, wide-awake persons. They are encouraged to take part in extracurricular activities, to pursue hobbies, and to keep up with the world through reading, lectures, travel, and vacation work. The days of the retiring, timid introvert in the schoolroom are numbered. We still have some like that from an earlier era, and we get a few even now, but only by accident.

Should students interested in entering the educational field try to make high marks in college? Some superintendents of schools declare that they won't employ "straight-A" or Phi Beta Kappa graduates. Some have said that they prefer "average" people, because they seem to understand children and their problems better than do the others. This is mere nonsense. If a "straight-A" average is the only outstanding qualification for teaching that one possesses, probably he shouldn't try teaching. On the other hand, of two persons with equally good personal traits and sound professional preparation, certainly the student with the higher intelligence and academic achievement should be preferred. The reservation in the preceding sentence is an important point.

9. Certification

Purpose.—All states control the licensing of persons to teach through certificate laws and regulations. The purpose is to guard society against having children taught by incompetents or definitely harmful characters. This purpose is only partially fulfilled, because certificate requirements are set almost entirely in terms of "time spent" or credits earned in various areas of preparation.[9]

General Character of State Requirements.—State requirements vary considerably. In Massachusetts, for example, there are no state requirements for teachers in grades below the ninth, certificates being issued upon examination by individual school systems. Three or four years of college are usually required by the school systems, law or no law. In about half the states the requirement of a bachelor's degree or the equivalent is the rule for elementary teachers, and more than two-thirds of all cities require this whether or not the state laws do. Nearly all states require a four-year college course for teachers in high school, and several now require a master's degree or one year's study beyond the bachelor's degree. For administrative and supervisory positions, most states require at least a bachelor's degree, and the trend is to require graduate work in the field of specialization. A great many teachers exceed the statutory requirements, which may well be regarded as bedrock minima. Master's degrees now are as commonplace as bachelor's degrees were a quarter century ago. The median number of years of college work done by teachers in service has risen since 1930 from less than three to between three and four.

In practically every state, certificate requirements include a certain amount of work in professional education courses, the average being about eighteen semester hours. For elementary school certificates the amount of required professional work is often greater because of the more varied subject matter teachers at that level are expected to handle. For high school teaching, a major and one or more minors in subject matter are usually required.

Certificates are usually issued by state departments of education on the basis of college credentials. In a few states, teachers colleges and county and city superintendents have authority to issue certain types of certificates, generally for a short term or for teachers of

[9] A useful summary, by states, of certification requirements for teachers and administrators, by R. C. Woellner and M. A. Wood, is published each year by the University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

special subjects, such as vocational courses, art, or music. This practice is on the way out.

Life of Certificates.—Teaching certificates are issued for periods from one year to life. Many states are beginning to require renewal of certificates every five years or thereabouts. In about half the states, evidence must be presented of professional improvement before a renewal is granted. This practice should be encouraged. All professions encourage their members to avoid becoming professionally obsolete, for example, the medical and dental groups, through clinics and post-doctoral study; teaching ought certainly to do the same.

Emergency Certificates.—During the critical shortage of teachers in the war and postwar period, practically all states made provisions for issuing emergency certificates on other than the standard requirements. These permits are valid for one year, and most of the states that issued them are gradually returning to normal certification.

10. Teacher Placement and Appointment

Probably the ideal in placement is that "the job should seek the man, not the man seek the job." But this holds good only with persons of unusually outstanding reputation and in fields of high specialization. It would not be well for beginning teachers to wait for someone to seek them, although a few do obtain positions upon invitation by employers. Most get their positions largely through their own efforts, in cooperation with regularly established placement services. Candidates are most successful in securing employment when they make their availability and qualifications known widely among employers.

Methods Used by Employing Officials.—The means most commonly used by boards of education and their executive officers to select candidates for teaching positions are as follows, in decreasing order of importance:

1. Obtaining names of candidates from college and university placement bureaus, commercial teachers' agencies, state education departments, United States employment services, and state teachers' association placement services.
2. Receiving applications sent by candidates on their own initiative.
3. Inquiring in other school systems.
4. Inquiring at conventions and similar meetings.
5. Publishing announcements of positions to be filled.

The last is rarely used in public school work. The first two are of most importance to inexperienced teachers, and of these the first is by all odds the *sine qua non.*

Agencies for Teacher Placement.—About two-thirds of all the institutions which offer preparation for teachers maintain placement bureaus or carry on some type of less formal placement activity for their students. Certainly, where such services are available it is essential for a prospective teacher to register his name, qualifications, and references in the placement office. Institutional placement services outrank all other agencies in number of persons placed. Some bureaus charge a nominal enrollment fee for the preparation of credentials.

Where the other public agencies listed above carry on placement work, similar credentials should be filed. There is ordinarily no commission charged by institutional and public placement services. Some state teachers' associations charge no commission; others charge from a small stated fee to 3 per cent of the first year's salary.

Commercial teachers' agencies, of which there are about 100, operate in much the same way, but with two important differences. Besides a registration fee of $1 or $2 collected by some agencies, a commission of 5 per cent of the first year's salary is charged. Secondly, commercial agencies are less selective in recommendations sent to employers, and, in some cases, more or less broadcasting notices of vacancies to their clientele. This of course reduces an applicant's chances of being elected.

Information about positions in schools operated under federal auspices may be obtained from the appropriate federal agency or from the United States Office of Education at Washington. Such schools are located in the territories and outlying possessions, on Indian reservations, and at many other points. For college placement, a student's own institutional bureau will afford the most assistance. A few commercial agencies specialize in college placement. Information about this can be procured from the Office of Education.

Obtaining a Position.—The object of enrolling in any kind of placement service is to put oneself in touch with employers who have vacancies to fill. The more vacancies one can discover, the more likely will he be to land a position, and the more likelihood there is that it will be a satisfactory position.

After a vacancy is discovered, the usual procedure is for the applicant to apply to the superintendent of schools, unless otherwise

directed. Most appointments are made from March to June, but a fair number are made later. Upon receiving a letter of application, most school systems send the applicant an application blank. If his qualifications interest the employing officials, further information is collected; if the candidate is seriously considered, a personal interview is arranged. City school systems, especially the larger ones, usually require a satisfactory physical examination, and some administer a written examination relating to his fitness for the position involved. Sometimes candidates are observed during their teaching, especially teachers in service.

About one-third of the city school systems place a candidate's name on the eligibility list if he meets the requirements for a position. This does not necessarily mean early appointment. When finally selected and nominated by the superintendent, the candidate is appointed by the board of education. A contract is then signed, or the teacher is notified of his appointment in some other way.

Getting the first position is the one big hurdle. No channel for learning about vacancies should be overlooked. Every effort should be made to prepare oneself so as to rank high among contenders.

11. What Teaching Includes

There is a lot more to teaching—straight classroom teaching—than most people think. Such a wide variety of activities is included that there need never be a dull moment.

The Complex Task of "Teaching."—Naturally classroom instruction stands out above other elements. However, this includes literally hundreds of things besides "hearing recitations," which is the first thing that comes to mind when "teaching" is mentioned. Conducting a recitation is a complex activity in itself, according to modern concepts, but there is far more than that in instruction. Other major elements include planning the work, selecting and organizing subject matter, guiding study, making assignments, providing facilities and materials for individual and group work, making and interpreting tests, marking, discipline, and keeping records. Any one of these could be analyzed and broken down into many components, in fact this has been done by research experts. Books have been written about each, yet they are only parts of the all-inclusive work of teaching.

Extra-Instructional Responsibilities.—The planning, supervising, and conducting of extracurricular activities command part of a

teacher's time and thought. Few teachers escape such responsibilities.

Records and reports of various kinds must be filled out by all teachers—reports for supervisors, for principals, and for city, state, and national offices. Also, the maintenance of records and files for his own use is essential to every teacher.

Many schools expect the instructional staff to assist in counseling and guidance, through home rooms or in other ways. Teachers' meetings and conventions are part of one's occupational life. Committee work may be assigned or elected, for the study of problems of importance to the school or the staff or of statewide or national significance. Professional relations within the school and the school system and getting along personally with associates involve the teacher daily. Community relations cannot be overlooked or ignored.

Improvement of Competence.—Self-improvement in the profession may assume rather large proportions and may entail considerable financial planning; it may involve summer school, a leave of absence, or travel. And not to be forgotten are the multitudinous activities which one must engage in for his own purely personal welfare and well-being: social life, church, hobbies, sports, reading, and shopping.

All in all, it looks like a busy life and a full one. It has its ups and downs, its disappointments and its triumphs. Perhaps no one has better expressed the satisfaction that a good teacher derives from his work than William Lyon Phelps, himself a master teacher:

> I do not know that I could make entirely clear to an outsider the pleasure I have in teaching. I had rather earn my living by teaching than in any other way. To my mind, teaching is not merely a lifework, a profession, an occupation, a struggle: it is a passion. I love to teach. I love to teach as a painter loves to paint, as a musician loves to play, as a singer loves to sing, as a strong man rejoices to run a race. Teaching is an art—an art so great and so difficult to master that a man or a woman can spend a long life at it, without realizing much more than his limitations and mistakes and his distance from the ideal. There never has been in the world's history a period when it was more worth-while to be a teacher than in the twentieth century; for there was never an age when such vast multitudes were eager for an education or when the necessity of a liberal education was so generally recognized. It would seem as though the whole world were trying to lift itself to a higher plane of thought.[10]

[10] William Lyon Phelps, *Autobiography*, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 307.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Think back over your own schooling and select the best teacher and the worst teacher you ever had. Write a brief sketch of each, illustrating why you chose these teachers.
2. Why is it difficult to judge whether one will or will not probably be a good teacher?
3. Propose three improvements for the preservice preparation of teachers. Explain and justify your suggestions.
4. Do state certification requirements guarantee the production of good teachers? Study the requirements for teaching certificates in your state, and make suggestions for improvements, if you think they can be improved.
5. Should institutions engaged in teacher education establish selective admission procedures? If so, on what bases should prospective teachers be admitted? If not, on what grounds do you oppose selective admission?
6. It is suggested in this chapter that more men are needed in education. Compare the opportunities for men and women in education as a career. How can more men be drawn into educational work?
7. Why do some school boards bar married women from teaching? Are the reasons sound?
8. Should there be state standards for licensing other workers in the schools besides teachers? Select one category of nonteaching personnel and make a list of pertinent items on which standards might be developed, if you favor such a move.
9. Interview five or more teachers of at least several years' experience, including some of many years' experience. Summarize their reactions to questions on the advantages and disadvantages of teaching as a career.
10. Which traits of personality do you think are of *special* importance to success in teaching?
11. Many teachers believe that they are not respected or esteemed by the general public as much as those in such professions as physicians, engineers, lawyers. Is this, as far as you can tell, generally true or not? What can teachers do to improve their status in this respect?
12. Write a brief history of the general and professional education of teachers during the last hundred years. Point out the main lines of development.
13. Find out from your state education department, your institutional placement bureau, or from other sources, the most frequent subject assignments and combinations of high school teachers. Should such facts have a bearing on teacher preparation?
14. Write an application letter to a superintendent of schools, enclosing with it a request for criticism. Enclose a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

15. In a book for teachers published in London in 1835, *The Teacher, or Moral Influences Employed in the Instruction and Government of the Young,* by Jacob Abbott, the following advice is given: "Every teacher who is commencing his work, should begin with the firm determination of devoting only six hours daily to the pursuit. Make as good a school, and accomplish as much for it, as you can in six hours, and let the rest go. When you come from your school room at night, leave all your perplexities and cares behind you. . . . Carry no school work home with you, and do not talk of your work. You will then get refreshment and rest. . . ." Is this good advice today?

Chapter 14

MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION

In Chapter 6 the thesis was developed that educational advancement rests largely with state authorities. The actions of state legislatures and departments of education crystallize and give effect to public opinion, but seldom run ahead of it. The development of public opinion on educational matters is a major responsibility of the educational profession, to whom the public looks for leadership in this field.

1. Professional Organizations in Education

Professional Organizations and Educational Progress.—Most of the progress made in American schools during the last century has resulted from the work of professional associations in education, especially at the state level. It has been such voluntary organizations which have investigated, or caused to be investigated by official agencies, educational conditions, which have exposed weaknesses and proposed correctives, and which have worked for the enactment of good school laws. Problems related to compulsory school attendance, teachers' salaries, tenure, retirement, qualifications for certificates, length of school term, and finance have been studied prodigiously in every state. Invaluable assistance has been rendered at state and national levels by the United States Office of Education, the National Education Association, and colleges and departments of education in institutions of higher education.

A second important activity, carried on largely by voluntary professional associations, is the improvement of school procedures. It is no exaggeration to state that almost all the advances in instruction and its manifold related activities have resulted from studies and experiments carried on by educators' groups locally and on a statewide scale. In this respect, too, valuable help has been given by universities and colleges, as well as by national associations and official agencies.

Development of Professional Consciousness.—Until about a century ago there was no true profession of teaching. There were individual teachers, to be sure, but there was little or no group consciousness among them. The vast majority were poorly prepared for teaching or entirely lacking in professional training. No organizations existed through which group action might be taken and ideas exchanged. No educational journals were published by which reports of experiences and variations in practice could be disseminated. Each teacher was a sort of free lance, insulated from others in his vocation.

In another sense, teaching and educational administration had not matured into a profession. One important criterion of a profession is the existence of a body of knowledge, techniques, and practices derived from scientific study. This had not been developed a century ago, although beginnings had been made. Another criterion is the necessity of a long period of study for professional competence. As pointed out in Chapter 13, professional preparation for teachers was not available, except on a most limited and rudimentary scale, until the latter part of the nineteenth century.

During the second quarter of the nineteenth century, there was considerable agitation for the extension and improvement of education. Propaganda groups were organized, composed largely of civic-minded citizens who understood the need for public schools in a democracy. Only a minority of the membership of these groups was made up of teachers. Short-lived though they were, these organizations led to the establishment of state teachers' associations. By 1855 there were at least sixteen such associations, all in states of the East and Middle West. However, the movement for professional organizations grew fast, each state and territory soon developing its own. Many state associations now enroll more than 90 per cent of the teachers.

It is well recognized in our time that individuals working alone have little chance to make headway on such large problems as those related to public schools and to the profession of teaching. The method of cooperative effort and group action is the only approach that can be expected to succeed. This is becoming increasingly apparent as the number of organizations representing every conceivable interest grows.

The problems dealt with in this chapter can all be tackled best by the profession through cooperative effort coupled with individual zeal and devotion. It is extremely important for prospective teachers to be well informed about professional problems and about the cen-

tral position which educational organizations hold in studying and solving these problems.

2. National Professional Organizations

The National Education Association.—The National Education Association of the United States, with headquarters at Washington, D. C., and usually referred to as the N.E.A., dates its origin in 1857, when the National Teachers' Association was set up by ten state associations. The N.E.A. (or its antecedents) grew very slowly for many years, reaching a total of only 10,000 members in 1918. Since then, it has grown rapidly. In 1947, the general membership included approximately 400,000, or about two teachers in every five. This is more than double the figure of a decade earlier.

The scope of the N.E.A.'s activities is impressive. General membership is open to all educators and friends of education. Membership entitles one to receive the *Journal* (published nine times a year), to attend meetings, and to purchase at cost a wide variety of reports on professional problems. The Research Division is regarded as the best single agency for authoritative data on educational conditions in the nation, especially conditions related to teacher welfare. There are also twenty-nine N.E.A. *departments*, open to eligible persons in practically every phase of school service. Separate dues, in addition to N.E.A. dues, are paid for departmental enrollment, and many educators belong to several departments. They range in membership from thirty-five in the highly specialized branch of Lip Reading to 12,000 in the Music Educators National Conference, and over 15,000 in the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation. Most of the departments publish magazines and yearbooks, some of which are quite valuable. The entire list of departments is as follows:[1]

Adult Education.
* American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation.
* American Association of School Administrators.
American Association of Teachers Colleges.
American Educational Research Association.
American Industrial Arts Association.
Art Education.
* Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

[1] Those starred have full-time secretaries and staffs at N.E.A. headquarters in Washington. Several others have part-time staffs.

Business Education.
* Classroom Teachers.
* Elementary School Principals.
* Higher Education.
Home Economics.
International Council for Exceptional Children.
Kindergarten-Primary Education.
Lip Reading.
Music Educators National Conference.
* National Association of Deans of Women.
National Association of Journalism Directors of Secondary Schools.
* National Association of Secondary-School Principals.
National Association of Teachers of Speech.
National Council of Administrative Women in Education.
* National Council for the Social Studies.
National Honor Society of Secondary Schools.
National Science Teachers Association.
Rural Education.
Secondary Teachers.
Visual Instruction.
Vocational Education.

Many special commissions are constantly at work on problems of great importance to the profession and to the nation. One of the most productive is the Educational Policies Commission, which for more than a decade has attempted to clarify sound lines for the future development of American education. Other groups work on problems of tenure, retirement, salaries, personnel procedures, credit unions, and many other subjects.

Since 1942, there has been a concerted effort made by the N.E.A. and most of the state associations to develop a plan of combined membership. Dues for local associations, where such exist, would also be included in one blanket membership fee. There is much merit in this plan and it will undoubtedly grow.

The American Federation of Teachers, A.F.L.—The American Federation of Teachers, with headquarters at Chicago, is the second largest national teachers' organization. Organized labor has always been friendly to public education. It has supported compulsory attendance laws, free textbooks, higher teachers' salaries, permanent tenure, personal freedom for teachers, and other educational measures. In 1916, the A.F.T., an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, was founded as a direct outgrowth of a resolution by the Chicago school board prohibiting teachers from belonging to or affiliating with trade unions. By 1920 there were 140 locals with a

total membership of 12,000. Thereafter, there was a decline until, in 1934, there were only seventy-five locals and 9,634 members. The A.F.T. now has several hundred locals and probably more than 100,000 members. The dues, set by the locals, average about $2.50 a year, which includes the cost of the official magazine, *The American Teacher,* published nine times a year.

The purposes and objectives of the A.F.T. are given as follows in its constitution:

1. To bring associations of teachers into relations of assistance and cooperation.
2. To obtain for them the rights to which they are entitled.
3. To raise the standard of the teaching profession.
4. To promote such a democratization of the schools as will enable them better to equip their pupils to take their places in the industrial, social and political life of the community.
5. To promote the welfare of childhood by providing progressively better educational opportunities for all.

The A.F.L. lends moral and at times financial assistance to the A.F.T., but the latter is an autonomous organization. It operates under a no-strike policy. On the whole, the A.F.T. is primarily concerned with teacher welfare, stressing increased salaries, tenure, smaller classes, retirement, and other welfare provisions. Where teachers' working conditions are not good, the A.F.T. sponsors an aggressive program for betterment, and deserves credit for many gains.

The National Teachers Division, C.I.O.—The Congress of Industrial Organizations has made a beginning in organizing teachers. The National Teachers Division of the United Public Workers of America, C.I.O., became active in 1946. Membership figures of this division have not been divulged by the headquarters in New York, but of the total membership of the U.P.W. (which includes state, county, and municipal workers), it is likely that several thousands are teachers. The C.I.O. teachers' union stands for much the same program as the A.F.T.

The rapid growth in recent years of teachers' unions may be attributed in part to the ineffectiveness of other teachers' organizations in advancing teacher welfare. The friendly relations of the N.E.A. with the National Association of Manufacturers, an extremely conservative and powerful pressure group strongly interested in lowering taxes, has weakened the confidence of some educators in the N.E.A. Furthermore, the N.E.A. and most state teachers'

associations are dominated by administrators, and classroom teachers are a bit cynical (often unjustly) about their interest in teacher welfare and the advancement of education, and their failure to achieve tenure and academic freedom for teachers, and federal aid for education. Classroom teachers, however, vastly outnumber administrators, and they can, if they will, control practically any group to which they belong. In the Department of Classroom Teachers of the N.E.A., their activity has been effective, and the A.F.T., which excludes administrators, has been locally recognized in a number of places as a bargaining group.

Serious question has been raised by responsible persons as to the wisdom of teachers affiliating with labor. These critics hold that teaching serves all the children of all the people, and that teachers consequently should steer clear of alignment with any other group, labor, management, or whatever. They advocate that teachers build their own strong, independent professional organizations. Unless they adopt strikes as instruments to achieve their demands, teachers' unions have no better channels through which to work than other teachers' organizations. The best method they can use is the same method other groups must use: the method of objective inquiry, conference, and consultation.

The unions' leadership has been, in general, more aggressive than that of other educational groups, and has made more noise than the others. They lean heavily on the assurance of support from organized labor, and this probably strengthens their hands in relations with school boards and administrators. Teachers' unions seem to thrive in times of stress, and where conditions of work are not good. Where administration is autocratic, salaries are inadequate, and tenure insecure, there unions flourish.

In politics, history tells us, the truly democratic planks of third-party platforms almost invariably are adopted by the major parties and become law—for example, woman suffrage, direct election of senators, and the federal income tax. The teachers' unions, much smaller than the nonaffiliated professional groups, occupy an important position, if for no other reason than that they may stimulate the older and larger groups to more aggressive action. And this is stated with no implication that the aims and objectives of the unions are not worthy in themselves.

The American Education Fellowship.—Another national association, with offices in New York, is the American Education Fellowship, founded in 1919 as the Progressive Education Association. (The name was changed in 1945.) The A.E.F. is the American

branch of the World Education Fellowship, an international organization for progressive education. An excellent magazine, *Progressive Education,* is published by the A.E.F. This organization has never had more than 10,000 members, and currently enrolls about 7,000, but its influence has been profound. It supports a modern philosophy of education which stresses the following points:

1. The child's physical well-being.
2. Opportunity for initiative and self-expression.
3. Social development and discipline.
4. Beauty of environment.
5. Interest as the motive of all work.
6. A curriculum based on the nature and needs of childhood and youth.
7. The teacher as a guide to pupils, with latitude to express his own initiative and originality.
8. Scientific study of pupil development.
9. Cooperation between school and home.
10. The school as an educational laboratory, where new methods are encouraged, and the result added to the sum of educational knowledge.
11. Democracy in *all* school relationships and in community life.[2]

Through an aggressive program of active committee work, experimentation, and publication, the A.E.F. has wielded an influence far greater than its numbers would lead one to expect. In the last few years, its enrollment has declined, and due to a lack of effective leadership its influence seems to have passed its peak. The contribution of the organization, however, to the improvement of American schools is of great and lasting significance.

Other National Associations.—For Catholic teachers, there is the National Catholic Educational Association, with headquarters in Washington. It publishes a quarterly bulletin. Many Catholic teachers also belong to state educational associations and to other national groups. There are scores of other national educational associations working in every field of education. A complete directory is published by the United States Office of Education each year.

3. State Associations

Objectives.—Each state and territory has its own teachers' or education association. All these organizations publish monthly jour-

[2] From mimeographed leaflet, *Progressive Education,* issued in 1946 by the American Education Fellowship.

nals, usually nine times a year, devoted mostly to articles on professional problems, state education news, and legislative programs. Few of these journals rate highly on quality or content, probably due to lack of editorial ability and, in some cases, of finance. The state associations direct their efforts largely toward obtaining improved school legislation and increased financial support for schools, and toward improving teacher welfare. In some states, notably California, they are very strong; in others, rather anemic. Typical objectives of state associations include:

1. Developing awareness of professional problems among the members.
2. Encouraging each teacher to work on problems of the profession and of educational advancement.
3. Improving teaching, curriculum, and administration.
4. Promoting better methods of selection, preparation, and certification of teachers.
5. Fostering a united profession through unified local, state, and national association membership.
6. Supporting important federal legislation affecting education.
7. Working for more nearly equal educational opportunities for all children.
8. Increasing state financial support of education.
9. Fostering world understanding and cooperation.
10. Improving teacher welfare with respect to salaries, tenure, retirement, sick leave, and teaching load.
11. Extending adult education.
12. Cultivating public understanding of the schools, their achievements, and their needs.

About 85 per cent of all public school teachers are enrolled in the various state and territorial associations. The membership ranges from about 60 per cent in some states to practically 100 per cent in others.

4. Which Organizations Should Teachers Join?

Every teacher should, as a matter of course, become an active member in at least four or five professional organizations, including the following:

1. The local teachers' association.
2. The state education association.
3. The National Education Association.

4. A specialized organization, such as the Department of Classroom Teachers, the Department of Rural Education, the National Council of Teachers of English, Department of Kindergarten-Primary Education, etc.
5. A teachers' union, if a local is available.

This is a minimum list. Membership in five or six such organizations costs less than $25 a year. Besides receiving many valuable publications, certain to contribute to professional competence, teachers can be assured that their membership dues are going into the continuing battle for better schools, better working conditions, better national and international life. Each type of organization should be supported, and actively so. No teacher can conscientiously accept the benefits accruing from the valiant efforts of such professional organizations, and refuse to contribute to their support. To do so would hardly be good citizenship.

5. Attending Meetings

The character of professional meetings varies immensely. It seems that the larger they are the less worth while they are to attend. State and national meetings that draw huge throngs often are less valuable than local or county meetings. In earlier times, when teachers were more deficient in preparation and professional literature was almost nonexistent, county institutes were used as a device for improvement. Later, state and regional meetings began to replace the smaller county meetings. Now there are dozens of national conventions in addition to state conventions.

With the large amount of excellent professional literature now available, it may be questioned if attendance at large state and national meetings is as important as it is often claimed. Many teachers attend to "make contacts," to shop, to attend the theatre, although their schools have been closed to enable the teachers to attend the meetings. Local meetings where real work can be done on problems and projects for the improvement of the schools are of greater value than mass meetings where merely "inspirational" or entertaining speakers hold forth. One should weigh the advantages of attending state and national meetings, entailing considerable outlay of time, money, and inconvenience, against the advantages of local activities. Frequently the same amount of effort that would be spent for a big meeting yields far greater returns if spent right at home, with colleagues or with good professional literature.

6. Teachers' Contracts

About one-third of the states prescribe the form of contract that school districts must use, and an equal number furnish recommended forms. In a few states, a written contract is not required for teachers on permanent tenure, and in some states oral contracts have been upheld by the courts under certain conditions. The wisest policy in all cases is to have a written contract, drawn in harmony with state laws and regulations. Of course, an individual teacher can do little about changing the practice of a school board regarding contracts, but professional organizations can work for better contractual relations. The N.E.A. has been active in this, as have state associations.

Essential Provisions in Contracts.—The Committee on Tenure of the N.E.A. suggests six contract provisions as "minimum essentials" for the mutual protection and understanding of both the employing board and the teacher. They are:

1. Definite statement as to length of school term.
2. Definite statement as to amount of salary.
3. Phraseology which is legally enforceable.
4. Specific legal requirements, such as kind of certificate, and any special provisions of state law that apply.
5. Definite date for notification of re-election (at least thirty days before termination and preferably sixty or ninety days).
6. Provision for equal protection to employer and employee.[3]

A vast number of court cases have grown out of disagreements between school boards and teachers about contracts.[4] Fortunately the idea of state-prescribed contracts is spreading, and more uniformity is being achieved. This is part of the general development of teaching as a profession.

There are still a few instances to be found of unusual personal restrictions written into contracts. The prize example was reported about twenty years ago:

> I promise to take a vital interest in all phases of Sunday School work, donating of my time, service, and money without stint, for the benefit and uplift of the community.
>
> I promise to abstain from all dancing, immodest dressing, and any other conduct unbecoming a teacher and a lady.

---

[3] National Education Association, *Research Bulletin*, XX:2, p. 71.

[4] Many interesting cases can be found in standard works on school law. See Newton Edwards, *The Courts and the Public Schools*. R. R. Hamilton and P. R. Mort, *The Law and Public Education*.

I promise not to go out with any young men except insofar as it may be necessary to stimulate Sunday School work.

I promise not to fall in love, to become engaged, or secretly married.

I promise to remain in the dormitory or on the school grounds when not actively engaged in school or church work elsewhere.

I promise not to encourage or tolerate the least familiarity on the part of my boy pupils.

I promise to sleep at least eight hours each night, to eat carefully, to take every precaution to keep in the best of health and spirits in order that I may be better able to render efficient service to my pupils.

I promise to remember that I owe a duty to the townspeople who are paying me my wages, that I owe respect to the schoolboard and to the superintendent who hired me, and that I shall consider myself at all times the willing servant of the schoolboard, and the townspeople, and that I shall cooperate with them to the limit of my ability in any movement aimed at the betterment of the town, the pupil, or the schools.[5]

This is probably a world's record, but it is not unheard of even now for boards to require teachers to abstain from smoking, dancing, marrying, having dates, and to remain in town a certain number of week ends per month. Such restrictions on personal liberty are supposed to contribute to a teacher's efficiency, but they are not justified and generally are illegal. The interesting book by Beale, *Are American Teachers Free?*[6] is the most complete analysis of this whole problem.

One of the briefer state-prescribed contract forms is shown in Figure 26 as an example. This contract is subject, as all teachers' contracts are, to the state school laws, and courts have held that established school board regulations also must be considered part of a teacher's contract.

7. Teacher Tenure

Many reasons can be given why teachers should have more protection from dismissal than that afforded by one-year contracts. In more than three-fourths of the states, laws either statewide in their effect or applying to the larger cities have been enacted to assure job security beyond the annual contract. Seven states have statewide "permanent tenure" laws, and ten states the "continuing contract" type of tenure law.

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[5] Stephen Ewing, "Blue Laws for Schoolteachers," *Harpers Magazine,* CLVI: 329–338.

[6] New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons.

4-1941—3000

TEACHER'S CONTRACT

STATE OF MARYLAND,

COUNTY OF.....

IT IS HEREBY AGREED by and between the COUNTY BOARD OF EDUCATION of.....

.....County and.....

that the said teacher shall be and is hereby employed to teach in the public schools of the said County, as

.....subject to assignment by the County Superintendent or transfer to some other teaching position within the County, provided that if the transfer be made during the school year or after the opening of the school *for any year*, the salary shall not be reduced for the *remainder of the year*. The salary of said teacher shall be fixed by the County Board of Education, which salary shall be not less than the minimum salary provided by law.

AND IT IS FURTHER AGREED that the teacher named herein shall become a member of the Maryland Teachers' Retirement System as of date on which h..... teaching service begins.

AND IT IS FURTHER AGREED that the said teacher will not vacate the position to which assigned during any school year, except in case of emergency, of which the County Board of Education shall judge.

AND IT IS FURTHER AGREED that either of the parties to this contract may terminate it at the end of the first or second school year by giving thirty days' notice in writing to the other during the month of June or July.

AND IT IS FURTHER AGREED that if the teacher named herein wishes to vacate his or her position after the second year, thirty days' notice in writing shall be given the County Board of Education during the month of June or July, except in case of emergency, of which the County Board of Education shall judge.

If any of the conditions of this contract shall be violated by the teacher named herein, salary already accrued will be forfeited, in the discretion of the County Board of Education.

This contract shall continue from year to year, subject to the aforegoing conditions, provided that if the teacher, on recommendation of the County Superintendent, is suspended by the County Board of Education in accordance with the provisions of Sections 52 and 86 of Article 77 of the Annotated Code of Maryland, said teacher shall have the right of appeal to the State Superintendent of Schools, if the decision of said board is not unanimous.

This contract is made in accordance with the provisions of the school law, and is subject to Sections 52, 83, and 86 of Article 77 of the Annotated Code of Maryland, Chapter 506 of the Acts of the General Assembly of 1916, and any amendments thereto, and will be filed among the records of the County Board of Education.

The said teacher on his or her part hereby accepts said appointment, to take effect on the.....

.....day of..... 19.....

Date of signing this contract..... 19.....

WITNESS OUR HANDS:

(SEAL) .....

President, County Board of Education.

.....

Secretary, County Board of Education.

.....

Teacher

OATH OF OFFICE

I..... having been appointed a teacher in the public schools of

..... County, State of Maryland, do swear (or affirm) that I will obey the school law of the State of Maryland and all rules and regulations governing my position as teacher, passed in pursuance thereof by the proper authority; that I will, to the best of my skill and judgment, diligently and faithfully, without partiality or prejudice, discharge the duties of a teacher in the public schools of said county, including attendance on teachers' institutes and associations when legally called thereto and will honestly and correctly make all reports as required by law or the school authorities of said county.

.....*Teacher.*

STATE OF MARYLAND .....County, to wit:

Sworn (or affirmed) before the subscriber.....

by....., teacher, who in my presence has thereto affixed h..... signature this.....day of....., 19.....

NOTARIAL SEAL .....

Signature of Notary Public

Figure 26. Prescribed Teacher's Contract for Maryland

This contract includes a clause providing for continued employment "from year to year."

Reasons for Advocating Tenure.—A few good reasons for teacher tenure, briefly stated, follow:

1. Teachers rendering good service should not be in a continual state of uncertainty and fear about their positions, a condition which is certain to lower the quality of their services.
2. The number of superior young people who will enter the profession is bound to be affected by the degree to which they can expect continued employment as long as their work is of high quality.
3. The difficulty of obtaining employment for teachers beyond forty years of age is so great that the failure to continue their services in a given school is likely to bar them unfairly from further practice in their calling.
4. Where tenure is not secure, teachers are encouraged to decide what to teach and what not to teach on the basis of what will please or not please the local citizens, and particularly influential individuals and pressure groups; and to abandon the professional practice of teaching according to their specialized training and insight.
5. Where tenure is not secure, an excessive turnover results, and the staff is composed of a high percentage of teachers who are relatively ignorant with respect to their pupils, the community, and the school, as well as the school's traditions, conventions, program, and ideals.
6. Honest, clear, and definite procedures should be set up by which undesirable persons may be removed from the profession.
7. Educators should be protected in their efforts to promote the financial and educational interests of public school children.
8. Educators should be protected in the exercise of their responsibilities and privileges as American citizens.

Tenure for Administrators.—In some states, school administrators are not covered by tenure laws. For administrators, however, there are, in addition to the reasons given above, special reasons why continuity of service is desirable. Where tenure of administrators is not secure:

1. There result wasteful changes of leadership, of program, and of procedures, and an excessive amount of time is lost in the inevitable readjustment accompanying a change of principal or superintendent.
2. Teachers are likely to find administrative heads afraid to stand firmly behind them and their teaching when unjustly criticized or attacked, and afraid to exercise leadership in educational matters.
3. Persons of the best professional quality hesitate to enter administrative work, and administrators tend to rely relatively more

upon ability to "keep their fences up" than upon professional contributions; boards tend to choose men of "tact" rather than men of professional training and ability as real leaders.

Evidence on the question whether tenure helps to improve standards of teacher preparation and competence is limited. What evidence there is supports the arguments for tenure more than it weakens them.

Permanent Tenure.—Two kinds of tenure laws are usually considered. "Permanent tenure" laws provide for continuous employment in a given school district, after a period of probation, which is commonly three years. Teachers on tenure can be removed by a school board for such causes (specified in the law) as incompetence, immorality, and insubordination, if the charges are supported by evidence submitted at a formal hearing. Appeals to higher authorities are also provided for by law. The difficulty of removing permanent tenure teachers who no longer give satisfaction, and the difficulty of getting permanent tenure laws enacted, have led to a new concept of tenure, referred to as the *continuing contract.*

Continuing Contracts.—The continuing contract affords protection to both teacher and school board. It is better than an annual contract, which automatically *expires* at the year's end without board action, in that it automatically *continues* from year to year unless terminated by the board or by the teacher. Usually the date for notice of termination is in March or April. The following brief excerpt from the West Virginia state-prescribed contract is an illustration of a continuing contract clause:

> . . . this contract is a continuing contract of employment and shall remain in full force and effect, subject to all the provisions herein set forth, except as modified by mutual consent of the Board and the Teacher, unless and until terminated with written notice, stating cause or causes, to the Teacher, by a majority vote of the full membership of the Board before April first of the then current year, or by written resignation of the Teacher before that date, and such termination shall take effect at the close of the school year in which this contract is so terminated.

Provisions are also included for termination at any time because of changes in salary or assignment, and so on.

No statewide permanent tenure law has been adopted in the last decade except in Wisconsin, where it was repealed at the next session

of the legislature. On the other hand, there is much interest in continuing contract legislation. The official stand of the N.E.A. favors permanent tenure laws, but the authors cannot agree that this is best for the welfare of the profession in general. Continuing contracts make it easier for teachers to move from one position to another for professional advancement. Under permanent tenure, a teacher must serve a period of probation in each new position before tenure is acquired. The continuing contract protects a teacher from unjust or unwarranted dismissal, yet it also enables a school board to dismiss unsatisfactory teachers without going through a harassing and sometimes undignified removal procedure.

8. Salaries

How much financial reward teachers receive is a factual matter under intensive study all over the country. How much teachers *should* receive is a far more difficult problem. Some of the intangible rewards of teaching have been cited in the preceding chapter. These satisfactions and rewards are important, but they do not buy bread and butter, pay the landlord, and so forth. This section is devoted to the mundane subject of financial returns, with a report of actual conditions and some consideration of proposals for improvement.

Every two years, the Research Division of the N.E.A. makes a detailed study of salaries paid in city school systems, with an average of 50 per cent of the cities included. The Office of Education gets salary data each year for all states, from which various calculations can be made. Teachers can usually get detailed data for their own states either from the state education department or the office of the state education association.

Average Salaries in Recent Years.—In the compilation of salaries for the year 1944–45, cities are classified by population. The trend in *median* salaries of full-time classroom teachers and administrators since 1930–31, the predepression high point, to 1944–45, is shown in Table 36. For 1946–47, the average salaries of classroom teachers in city school systems were as follows, with substantial increases over 1944–45:

Cities over 100,000	$3,064
Cities 30,000 to 100,000	2,458
Cities 10,000 to 30,000	2,299
Cities 5,000 to 10,000	2,121
Cities 2,500 to 5,000	2,044

TABLE 36

TRENDS IN MEDIAN SALARIES PAID CERTAIN EMPLOYEES IN CITY SCHOOL SYSTEMS, 1930–31 TO 1944–45[a]

Population Group and Type of Position	1930–31 (Predepression high point)	1934–35 (Depression low point)	1940–41 (Last prewar year)	1944–45 (Period of World War II)	Percent of increase 1930–31 to 1944–45
Over 100,000:					
Elem. Teacher	$2,118	$1,922	$2,268	$2,602	22.9
Jr. H. S. Teacher	2,348	2,078	2,471	2,812	19.8
H. S. Teacher	2,731	2,436	2,768	3,214	17.7
Supv. El. Prin.	3,519	3,016	3,420	3,772	7.2
Jr. H. S. Prin.	4,500	3,718	4,403	4,657	3.5
H. S. Prin.	5,100	4,252	4,806	5,310	4.1
Supt. of Schools	10,000	7,288	8,605	9,150	8.5[b]
30,000 to 100,000:					
Elem. Teacher	1,609	1,412	1,608	1,980	23.1
Jr. H. S. Teacher	1,860	1,612	1,847	2,226	19.7
H. S. Teacher	2,111	1,834	2,039	2,464	16.7
Supv. El. Prin.	2,646	2,364	2,470	2,880	8.8
Jr. H. S. Prin.	3,353	2,833	3,175	3,651	8.9
H. S. Prin.	4,281	3,635	4,000	4,396	2.7
Supt. of Schools	6,758	5,517	6,116	6,750	0.1[b]
10,000 to 30,000:					
Elem. Teacher (incl. Kndgtn.)	1,428	1,231	1,432	1,780	24.6
Jr. H. S. Teacher	1,619	1,390	1,597	1,978	22.2
H. S. Teacher	1,876	1,603	1,803	2,235	19.1
Supv. El. Prin.	2,349	2,119	2,220	2,644	12.6
Jr. H. S. Prin.	2,763	2,307	2,598	3,077	11.4
H. S. Prin.	3,613	3,010	3,303	3,657	1.2
Supt. of Schools	5,149	4,242	4,693	5,250	2.0
5,000 to 10,000:					
Elem. Teacher (incl. Kndgtn.)	1,428	1,231	1,432	1,780	24.6
Jr. H. S. Teacher	1,619	1,390	1,597	1,978	22.2
H. S. Teacher	1,876	1,603	1,803	2,235	19.1
Supv. El. Prin.	2,239	1,962	2,081	2,510	12.1
Jr. H. S. Prin.	2,184	1,669	1,992	2,563	17.4
H. S. Prin.	2,825	2,235	2,596	3,139	11.1
Supt. of Schools	4,188	3,440	3,780	4,339	3.6
2,500 to 5,000:					
Elem. Teacher (incl. Kndgtn.)	1,303	1,050	1,289	1,662	27.6
Jr. H. S. Teacher	1,494	1,208	1,452	1,859	24.4
H. S. Teacher	1,692	1,379	1,626	2,024	19.6
Supv. El. Prin.	2,175	2,038	1,878	2,457	13.0
Jr. H. S. Prin.	1,775	1,433	1,596	2,219	25.0
H. S. Prin.	2,403	1,851	2,136	2,757	14.7
Supt. of Schools	3,565	2,850	3,219	3,736	4.8

[a] Source: *N.E.A. Research Bulletin*, XXIII (February, 1945).
[b] Decrease.

Many interesting facts can be noted in Table 36, besides the dollar value of the salaries, which is interesting enough. It is clear that it took about twice as long (1934–40) for salaries to recover to predepression levels as for the drop in 1930–34 to occur. It is also

...r that there are substantial differences in salaries paid at the different levels of school service—elementary, junior high, and senior high school. Large differences also exist in salaries paid in small and large cities.

Figures for the average salaries of all professional school personnel show that salaries have more than doubled in each of the last two quarter-centuries. Reports of the Office of Education yield the following data for selected years, with estimates from other sources for recent years:

1869–70	$ 189	1939–40	$1,441
1900–01	325	1942–43	1,599
1919–20	871	1943–44	1,728
1923–24	1,227	1944–45	1,846
1927–28	1,364	1945–46 (est.)	1,950
1931–32	1,417	1946–47 (est.)	2,026
1935–36	1,283	1947–48 (est.)	2,424

Average salaries range from less than $1,500 in several southern states to more than $3,000 in two or three other states. About 20 per cent of the nation's teachers receive less than $1,500 a year. The latest available statistics by states are given in Table 37. The oft-touted "American faith in education," mentioned elsewhere in this book, may be open to question when the facts on teachers' salaries are examined.

Minimum Salary Laws.—Minimum salary laws are in effect in more than half the states, with a range from less than $600 to more than $2,600 per year, depending on type of position and on training and experience. Several states have since 1946 adopted statewide minimum salary laws which provide that no teacher may be paid less than $2,400. Such laws provide a floor below which no teacher may be paid, but progressive school systems usually pay more. A development that may be looked for in the near future is the enactment of statewide salary schedules. Delaware, North Carolina, and West Virginia have reached that point now, with a few exceptions. It is generally recognized that local school districts should have the power to pay in excess of state schedules if they so desire.

9. Major Issues Related to Teachers' Salaries

There are many vexatious problems tied up with teachers' salaries. These questions cannot be answered categorically. There is no "right" or "wrong" about them, but wisdom, judgment, and equity must be exercised. The most common are discussed briefly

TABLE 37

AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARY OF INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1947–48[a]

Continental United States	$2,424	Nebraska	$1,900
		Nevada	2,908
Alabama	1,800	New Hampshire	2,100
Arizona	3,128	New Jersey	2,832
Arkansas	1,400		
California	3,300	New Mexico	2,407
		New York	3,400
Colorado	2,000[b]	North Carolina	2,050
Connecticut	3,253	North Dakota	1,700
Delaware	2,568		
Florida	2,200	Ohio	2,760
		Oklahoma	1,938
Georgia	1,700	Oregon	2,650
Idaho	2,143	Pennsylvania	2,500
Illinois	2,172		
Indiana	2,830[b]	Rhode Island	3,253
		South Carolina	1,600
Iowa	2,073	South Dakota	1,875
Kansas	2,000	Tennessee	1,700
Kentucky	1,400		
Louisiana	2,222	Texas	2,500
		Utah	2,875
Maine	1,920	Vermont	3,000
Maryland	3,245	Virginia	1,950
Massachusetts	3,000		
Michigan	3,100	Washington	3,200
		West Virginia	2,108
Minnesota	2,100	Wisconsin	2,300
Mississippi	1,200	Wyoming	2,370
Missouri	2,000		
Montana	2,500	District of Columbia	3,398

[a] Data from survey on educational conditions by Benjamin Fine, published in *The New York Times*, Dec. 30, 1947. Quoted by permission.
[b] Estimated.

in the following paragraphs. How these problems are dealt with in individual school systems is a matter for school board policy to determine, unless state laws allow no discretion. It is emphasized, however, that organized educators have exerted and can exert a great deal of influence on local board policies. It therefore behooves teachers and prospective teachers to be more than superficially aware of the problems.

1. *How much should teachers be paid?* To this question only a general answer can be given. Complicated formulas have been worked out by experts that involve cost of preparation, interest on investment, cost of living at a subsistence level, additional cost of

living at a professional level, increments for experience, and other factors. One thing that practically all who study teachers' salaries agree on is that *good* teachers are not paid enough, in the light of their position as guides of the young and instruments for the perpetuation and improvement of our culture.

The recent teacher shortage has helped to raise salaries considerably above predepression and prewar levels. Further increases will have to be made in order to get and keep good people in the profession. The heart of the problem is to determine how much society should pay in order to have the best possible personnel in teaching. So far as can be ascertained, no upper limit has been discovered—nobody knows how much society can afford to pay. There is no doubt that the loss of almost half the teachers during World War II was due mostly to inadequate and inequitable pay, compared with earnings possible in other fields.

Currently a national campaign is being waged by various educational organizations for a *minimum* of $2,400 a year, which seems reasonable enough, if safeguards are adopted so that incompetents are not encouraged. To pay a stupid or dull teacher twice as much will not make him a better one. Practically, what determines salaries is the "going rate" in neighboring or comparable school systems, and what it takes to attract teachers. They should be paid enough to live on a standard of respectability and comfort that good service requires, on a par with other professional people, and with due regard for the need for additional preparation. They should be paid enough to compensate for increases in the cost of living. It is estimated that the 1948 average salary of $2,424, for example, had less purchasing power than the 1944 average of $1,728. Taxes, especially federal income taxes, reduced the take-home pay considerably more.

There are good reasons why teaching, important as it is, will probably never pay as high financial returns as some other careers. Teachers are public servants, and the public does not reward its servants as richly as profit-making private enterprises and ventures entailing unusual risks. Again, there is relatively greater stability of position in teaching, compared with most other occupations. Furthermore, no one can say with certainty what a teacher is worth, while in industry and commerce there often is a definite base for estimating a worker's worth, in units of product made, sales, or the like. Finally, average salaries are low partly because a very large proportion of teachers is women, and they do not generally command as high salaries as men. This leads to the second question.

2. *Should men and women be paid the same, assuming similar levels of preparation and experience, and similar positions?* One fundamental fact must be borne in mind in considering this problem: the average teacher's salary compares more favorably with earnings of women in other occupations than it does with earnings of men. For a given salary, say $2,000, it is possible to employ better women than men—better in personal and professional qualifications. More women than men are *available* for careers in education; there are more to choose from.

One of the serious problems of educational personnel is the small percentage of men. Before World War II, the proportion of men had risen to about 22 per cent (higher than at any time since 1910; between 1870 and 1900 it fell from 39 per cent to 30 per cent), and in some states it was 30 per cent. By 1945, the proportion of men had fallen to below 10 per cent. A slow comeback is being made, slower than it would be if salaries for men in the early years of teaching were higher, or if it did not take so long to reach the higher brackets.

"Equal pay for equal work" is a popular slogan. Several states and many city school systems have adopted this principle. One of the most recent state actions became effective in Connecticut on July 1, 1946.

Whether there should be salary differentials related to sex is a question that cannot be answered offhand. Teachers' organizations officially support the equal pay idea, and the trend in salary schedules (discussed below) is in this direction. Yet it is common practice for school systems where a single salary schedule is in force to assign special responsibilities or added duties to men in order to pay them more than the schedule allows.

Most men in education have families to support, and they have better alternative vocational opportunities than women teachers. The developing personalities of children need contact with both men and women teachers of the highest calibre. We must meet this obligation. Consequently, the welfare of children and of society must be given precedence over bringing about equality in salaries as between the sexes.

Although they understand the arguments for equal pay, the authors believe that caution should be used if equal pay tends to keep men out of education. At present, the economic laws of supply and demand seem to require higher salaries for men. The opinion of the most learned student of the subject, Willard S. Elsbree, supports this position:

If able men are to be attracted to the profession, unequal pay appears to be a necessary expedient until such time as conditions in all occupations make the supply of men and women teachers approximately equal; and when that happy day arrives, equal pay legislation will be superfluous. Moreover, unless some system of maternity benefits accompanies the establishment of equal pay, or is evolved independently, unequal pay will be a social and economic necessity for family support.[7]

3. *Should teachers at different grade levels—elementary, junior high, and senior high school—be paid alike, assuming similar preparation and length of experience?* The data of Table 36 reveal that substantial differences exist in median salaries at different grade levels. This is due in part to the fact that elementary school teachers have not been required, as a rule, to possess as high a level of training as secondary school teachers. It is also partly due to the fact that the supply of persons interested in and available for elementary school work has been relatively larger than the supply for secondary schools. And thirdly, tradition is partly responsible.

With the increase of knowledge and the improvement of techniques in elementary school instruction, probably little defense remains for the belief that less training and ability are required at that level than at the secondary level. Certainly the importance of effective teaching at lower grade levels is recognized as very great. One of the evils of differentiated pay is that elementary school teachers are encouraged to think of secondary work as a promotion; hence, the tendency is to lose the more competent and ambitious persons from the lower grades. For comparable levels of preparation and experience, the better plan is to pay the same salaries. Most city school systems with salary schedules now do this. If less preparation is required for elementary school positions, then a difference in pay is justified, but it is hard to defend such an arrangement.

A fairly typical teachers' salary schedule, taking into account preparation and experience, is given in Table 38; it is adapted from a schedule developed at Portland, Oregon, for 1947–48. To move from one schedule group to another, certain requirements must be met in additional training or other ways. In such schedules, new employees with experience elsewhere are given credit for such experience and placed on the schedule at an appropriate step. Usually two years of prior experience are counted as one, up to a limit of between five and ten steps on the schedule. Separate schedules are

[7] Willard S. Elsbree, *Teachers' Salaries*, New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, p. 50.

devised for other groups of personnel, such as principals, supervisors, custodians, secretaries, etc., in city systems.

TABLE 38

EXAMPLE OF SALARY SCHEDULE FOR CLASSROOM TEACHERS[a]

Index Level[b]	No Degree[c]	Bachelor's Degree or State Voc. Certificate[c]	5-Year Secondary Certificate[c]	Master's Degree
A	$2,400	$2,500	$2,600	$2,700
B	2,600	2,700	2,800	2,900
C	2,800	2,900	3,000	3,100
D	3,000	3,100	3,200	3,300
E	3,200	3,300	3,400	3,500
F	3,400	3,500	3,600	3,700
G		3,700	3,800	3,900
H		3,900	4,000	4,100
I		4,100	4,200	4,300
J				4,500

[a] Adapted from schedule adopted at Portland, Oregon, for 1947–48.
[b] Newly elected teachers are placed on the schedule according to this plan:
No experience or one year's experience, Index level A
Two to four years' experience, Index level B.
Five to seven years' experience, Index level C.
The annual increment for each teacher is $200, except in cases where $100 brings a teacher to the maximum of the class he is in, based on preparation and certificate.
[c] A teacher may move from one classification to another by meeting the standards of preparation required.

4. *Should there be provision for paying teachers according to merit?* Although most of us can remember teachers we have had who were outstanding, and likewise some we would rate as flops, nobody has yet devised a foolproof scheme of rating teachers on a qualitative scale. The evaluation of teacher merit is such a difficult and tricky thing that most school systems ignore it in their salary schedules. Some provide for "supermaximums" for teachers of recognized unusual merit, without attempting to make the evaluation highly scientific. No doubt some injustice is done when merit is ignored, but no one can say whether more or less injustice than when such rating is attempted. When better techniques are developed for judging teacher-efficiency and merit, these factors will probably be widely used in connection with pay scales. Less than half of city school systems rate the staff on merit or efficiency. Good teachers do not object to rating if it is done fairly, but at best it is a most difficult thing to do. The A.F.T. has come out strongly against merit rating.

5. *Finally, should supplementary allowances be made, in addition to basic salaries, for extra duties, special responsibilities, or for*

dependents? The answer the authors would give to this question is in the affirmative. The guidance or sponsorship of extracurricular activities, for example, added to a regular load of instruction, should be rewarded by additional pay. It is unfair to do otherwise if the duties are genuinely *extra* duties and not compensated for by reduced load in some other respect. The same is true of such special responsibilities as guidance or counseling, administrative work, and so on.

As to allowances for dependents, much controversy exists. It costs more for a person with dependents to maintain a standard of living similar to that of a single person with no dependents. If an objective base, such as the declaration of dependents in the federal income tax return, is used, it is hard to see how injustice can be done. Such a formula should, of course, be applicable to men and women teachers alike. Where allowances for dependents are used, it is customary to limit the amount to a given figure. For example, some school systems allow $100 for each dependent child up to two children, and $100 or $200 for a dependent adult.

10. Retirement, Disability, and Sick Leave

Retirement.—All states have some kind of provisions for the retirement of teachers. All but two are of the "joint-contributory" type, with payments made into reserve funds by both the teacher and the public (state or school district). Two states, New Mexico and Rhode Island, have a "pension" plan, to which teachers contribute nothing. The idea of retirement plans for teachers is not new: several state systems are thirty years old or more, and dozens of cities have established plans in the absence of state provisions. However, only in 1945 did the last states, Iowa and Idaho, finally come into the fold. Some state systems are not compulsory, so a few teachers are not covered, but this number is probably less than 5 per cent of the nation's public school teachers.

Since in most states newly employed teachers are required to join the retirement system (as is true also of independent city retirement plans), the individual has no choice. The authors wish to emphasize here only that teachers, through their professional organizations, can still do a lot of good work in improving existing provisions for old-age security. Since teachers are not covered by the federal social security system, and since their salaries do not permit the building up of substantial old-age benefits individually, sound retirement plans are of the utmost importance.

Principles of Sound Retirement Systems.—Principles for sound teacher retirement systems have been evolved over many years of study and trial. The fifteen criteria generally used to evaluate present plans and to improve them are:

1. Membership should be compulsory for teachers entering the service after the enactment of the retirement law; optional for teachers already in service.

2. Retirement ages and rules should be defined and administered so as to retain teachers during efficient service and provide for their retirement when old age or disability makes satisfactory service no longer possible. The retirement allowance should be sufficient to enable the retirant to live in reasonable comfort, thereby removing the temptation to remain in the classroom beyond the period of efficient service.

3. The amounts deposited by the teachers and by the public during the period of service should be approximately equal.

4. The deposit by the teacher and the payment by the public should be stated by the organic act creating a retirement system, subject to adjustment in accordance with future actuarial investigation.

5. The teacher's contributions and the public's payments to the retirement fund should be made regularly and concurrently during the teacher's period of service.

6. The retirement board should set up an account for each individual teacher. Deposits in that account by the teacher should be held in trust for him.

7. An adequate and actuarially sound reserve fund should be created to guarantee that the necessary money to pay the benefits promised will be on hand at the time of retirement.

8. Periodic actuarial investigations should be made of every retirement system to insure its actuarial soundness.

9. A retirement allowance should be provided for disabled teachers after a reasonable period of service.

10. Teachers leaving the service before the regular retirement age should retain rights to all moneys accumulated in their accounts. Teachers' accumulated deposits should be returnable upon withdrawal from teaching, or at death prior to retirement.

11. The teacher should have the opportunity to elect the manner in which he will receive the benefits represented by the accumulated value of his deposits and the public's payments.

12. Upon the adoption of a retirement plan, teachers should be given credit for their service prior to the establishment of the system. Funds for this purpose should be provided by the public.

13. The public should guarantee active teachers all the benefits which they had a reasonable right to expect under previous systems in effect. It should guarantee teachers retired under a previous system the allowance promised at the time of their retirement.

14. Provision should be made for cooperative or reciprocal relations between the retirement systems of the different states.

15. The administration of the system should be in the hands of a retirement board whose make-up is carefully prescribed in the law, and which represents both the public and the teachers.[8]

Current Practice for Teacher Retirement.—Most state retirement systems depart in one or more respects from these criteria. The following facts summarize prevailing practice.[9]

Most states provide for contributions by teachers of 3 to 5 per cent of annual salary. These contributions are either matched by state or school district appropriations, or sufficient appropriations are made to meet the need for payment of benefits to those retired.

In most states, professional employees in addition to teachers are eligible for membership. In more than half of the states, clerical and secretarial personnel are eligible, and in about one-third custodial employees are eligible.

Retirement is compulsory at age seventy in twenty-two states. Voluntary retirement is permitted at earlier ages, with reduced benefits. In fourteen states, no compulsory age limit is set, and in the others it ranges from sixty-five to seventy-five. Retirement is based on age or years of service, or both, in some states. Usually thirty years or more of service are required, except in cases of permanent disability.

About half of the states give credit up to a specified maximum, such as ten years, for service in other states. In these cases, teachers must either contribute to the new plan the amount due for the prior years, or have their accounts transferred from the former state to the new one. Transfers of funds are not possible in most states, a condition that should be remedied.

State average retirement allowances range from about $150 to $1,500 a year. The median payment for the whole country is only about $600. Larger benefits should be provided for, out of larger contributions by both teachers and public. Denver, for example, in 1946 adopted a plan calling for 6 per cent contributions by teachers and by school district, which will yield benefits at retirement after thirty-five years of service of approximately half-pay. Average

[8] These principles are given in more detail in a report of the National Council on Teacher Retirement, *How to Establish a Sound Teachers' Retirement System*, Washington: The National Education Association, March 1, 1938.

[9] These data are taken in large part from a report prepared jointly by the N.E.A. Research Division and National Council on Teacher Retirement, *Statutory Provisions for Statewide Retirement Systems*, Washington: National Education Association, 1946.

payments upon retirement under this plan are estimated at about $1,800 per year.

While retirement plans are not established to serve as savings accounts, all states permit members who withdraw from teaching or move to another state to draw out all or most of their contributions. In most states, options are available as to how benefits at retirement shall be paid, similar to options in commercial annuity plans.

Disability allowances prior to retirement for age or service are provided for in almost every system. The amount is less, of course, than for regular retirement, as the contributions are less.

Sick Leave.—Most city school systems, and a great many smaller districts, allow teachers a few days' absence without loss of pay. Five to ten days per school year is the customary allowance for sick leave. In many cases the "unused" days are accumulated, so that one can build up a longer period of sick leave through a period of years. Frequently a limit of twenty or thirty days is imposed, but in some cases there are more generous limits or none. If a teacher is absent in excess of the allowed time, deductions from his pay are made at a daily rate fixed by the school administration. Absence for attendance at professional meetings is generally allowed without loss of pay. Other reasons, such as funerals, weddings, sickness in the home, etc., are sometimes approved.

While not frequently taken advantage of in public school work, leaves of absence for study, usually without pay, are granted in about three-fourths of the city school systems. Sabbatical leaves at half pay would no doubt yield good results in staff improvement, and should be encouraged by professional organizations. About half the city school systems grant leaves for travel or rest, with more liberal provisions in large cities than in small.

11. The Problem of Growing in Professional Competence

Although the custom of requiring evidence of advancement to qualify for salary increases or certificate renewal is increasing, the professional and cultural growth of a teacher in service is largely his own responsibility. College graduation is an important milestone in one's preparation for a career of teaching, but it should not be regarded as a terminal goal. The art and science of education are, as William Lyon Phelps has said, so difficult and complex that after forty years of career work, one can still not claim to have mastered them. New developments and procedures continually challenge the alert and professionally minded person.

Many schools and school systems afford a climate of stimulation that encourages teachers in the pursuit of greater competence, and to surpass their previous efforts and achievements. When such efforts are not recognized by administration, the teacher's zeal is likely to cool, but top-flight career people do not let this stop them. As a matter of self-respect, such persons want to improve themselves. And the augmented satisfaction derived from a knowledge of one's growth and competence is not to be overlooked. Really good people are self-starters and do not need to depend on others for a push.

While no set pattern or formula for growth in service can be suggested, there are a few devices that stand out prominently. Some have more appeal for different persons than others, but at one time or another several routes to professional growth may be and should be followed by most teachers.

Summer School and Extension Study.—The most commonly used opportunity for growth is advanced study at a university or college, either through extension courses or summer school attendance. Teachers and administrators constitute a very large part of summer school enrollment, especially at the graduate level. A bachelor's degree no longer is a mark of high professional standing —master's degrees are now held by almost as high a proportion of teachers as held bachelor's degrees in 1920. Among school administrators, a doctor's degree is no more rare than a master's degree was then. For some, further study in a subject-matter field is desirable, for others in professional courses in education. Most teachers include both in their advanced work.

Workshops.—Related to summer school work and frequently conducted as a summer project are "workshops." Many large city school systems sponsor workshops during the summer, usually in cooperation with a university. Credit toward degrees may be earned in most cases. Problems of immediate concern are studied and related to a central theme. The Minneapolis schools, for example, with the cooperation of the University of Minnesota, conduct summer workshops for several weeks on curriculum and other problems. Teachers at all grade levels are invited to enroll. University and public school specialists make up the staff. A typical day's schedule runs as follows:

9:00–10:30. General sessions, three days a week: lectures, panels, discussions, films, demonstrations. Two days a week: work in art and music centers, study groups, demonstrations, school visits, individual conferences with staff.

10:30–12:00. Study group meetings: elementary, secondary, administration, and other groups as needed.
1:00–2:00. Recreation, social groups, relaxation.
2:00–3:30. Study groups: child development, inter-group education, arts and crafts, etc.
3:30–4:00. Conferences and workshop committees.

Regular attendance is expected, and provisions are made for university credit if an additional two weeks' work is done.

Supervision and Committee Work.—Expert supervision of instruction is another important means for the development of professional competence. The best modern supervision attempts to develop a teacher's professional ability without sacrificing his individuality or requiring him to "toe the line." It is characterized by cooperation and mutual assistance, not by domination and dictation.

Other widely available opportunities for in-service growth include committee work on local or such other problems as curriculum, courses of study, testing, textbooks, teachers' salaries; faculty meetings; study groups; lectures by visiting speakers; teachers' conventions and institutes; professional libraries which many school systems maintain.

The creation of teachers' councils in many school systems promises splendid opportunities for professional growth. These councils work with administrative officers on many kinds of local problems. Not only is the administration enriched by "picking the brains" of the staff, but better understanding between administration and staff usually results. Good accounts of this work in selected cities may be read in Chapter 6 of *Learning the Ways of Democracy,* listed in the bibliography for this chapter.

Creative Work.—More teachers should engage in writing and publication as an outcome of their creative and research activities. One of the most stimulating and satisfying events in a career is the publication of a book, a good magazine article, a course of study, a poem, or some other similar work. Besides the intangible reward, often tangible rewards, in the form of promotion, salary increase, or other professional recognition ensue. Modesty should not prevent a teacher's publishing creative or scholarly work, or useful and practical contributions that may not be scholarly in the usual sense. It has been said with truth that much sound work blooms, like a flower in the desert, unseen, unknown, and unappreciated. There is no good reason why teachers should not be more articulate.

An enlightened school administration makes positive efforts to provide opportunities and challenges for in-service improvement of the staff. Yet it would be a mistake for teachers to wait to be asked or coaxed to take advantage of them. The chief responsibility rests with each person to discover where and how he needs to improve, and where and how he can attend to it. Aggressive career people seek out ways and means or make them without being asked.

12. Ethics of the Teaching Profession

Codes of Ethics a Mark of Professional Maturity.—Most of the older professions, such as medicine and law, have well defined codes of ethics for the guidance and control of their members. As new professions emerge, they adopt such codes, and their enforcement becomes one of the means for raising professional standards. A strong and enforced code of ethics is a potent means for building a reputable profession out of a number of individual practitioners.

The profession of teaching in America coasted for a long time without a formally adopted code of ethics. It was only in 1896 that the Georgia state association became the first to adopt a code. Not until 1929 did the N.E.A., after five years of committee deliberations, adopt a code of ethics for the general membership. Most state associations have adopted either the N.E.A. code or a similar one.

The educational profession has always been pretty much under public scrutiny so that flagrant ethical violations were easily seen and action taken. This is more characteristic of teaching than of other professions. Also, school boards and administrators have generally been alert to more ostensible violations of ethics. State authorities have long had the power to revoke certificates for unethical conduct.

The important point is that a profession is not worthy of the name until its members exercise the internal control and discipline by which high standards can be maintained. Teaching is still in its infancy as a profession if this criterion is accepted, for it is a rare thing indeed for an educators' organization to oust a member for a violation of ethics. Ousters from the profession are still more rare. The most notable case of removal from membership is that of the Chicago superintendent of schools. His name was struck from the rolls of the N.E.A. in 1946, after he was found "guilty of flagrant violation" of the association's code of ethics.[10]

[10] This case was reported in the *N.E.A. Journal*, XXXV:3. A complete report of personnel practices in the Chicago schools was published in 1945. This report, *Certain Personnel Practices in the Chicago Public Schools*, may be had free.

A Faculty Committee on Health Reports Its Recommendations to the Administrative Staff
The resulting policy and program will be the work of many minds. (Courtesy Kalamazoo Public Schools)

Each profession has special problems on which standards of ethical practice must be developed. In education, some of the major problems relate to properly discharging contractual obligations, teaching truth uninfluenced by pressure groups, maintaining unbiased, unprejudiced, and helpful attitudes toward pupils and their problems, and promoting professional solidarity and welfare. The significance of a code of ethics lies primarily in its value for calling attention to standards that should be observed in the practice of a profession. A code of ethics helps to identify what is desirable conduct, and also to identify undesirable activities and relationships.

Violations of Ethical Practice.—Strange as it may seem, far more than half the violations of ethics reported in research have to do with relations to associates. The leading types are criticism of and failure to support associates, failure to assist in carrying out school policies, failure to transact business through proper channels, and failure to give credit for assistance and achievement. Another type of unethical practice is applying for a position when no vacancy has been announced, or using political or social pull to influence employing officers. Many violations have been reported in connection with contracts, and a large number have ended in court. Unethical relations with pupils and community are reported with far less frequency.

A condensed statement of the most widely known Code of Ethics for Teachers is given below as an example, adapted from the N.E.A. code. (The full text may be obtained from one's state association office or the N.E.A. office.) The contents of all codes for teachers are similar.

This code could be improved by placing more emphasis on the welfare of pupils, the relationship of teacher and pupil, and on freedom in teaching. It emphasizes unduly the teacher's relations with associates.

ETHICS FOR TEACHERS

(A condensed statement of the Code of the National Education Association)

1. The teacher should be courteous, just, and professional in all relationships.
2. Desirable ethical standards require cordial relations between teacher and pupil, home and school.
3. The conduct of the teacher should conform to the accepted patterns of behavior of the most wholesome members of the community.

4. The teacher should strive to improve educational practice through study, travel, and experimentation.

5. Unfavorable criticism of associates should be avoided, except when made to proper officials.

6. Testimonials regarding the teacher should be truthful and confidential.

7. Membership and active participation in local, state, and national professional associations are expected.

8. The teacher should avoid indorsement of all educational materials for personal gain.

9. Great care should be taken by the teacher to avoid interference between other teachers and pupils.

10. Fair salary schedules should be sought and when established carefully upheld by all professionals.

11. No teacher should knowingly underbid a rival for a position.

12. No teacher should accept compensation for helping another teacher get a position or a promotion.

13. Honorable contracts when signed should be respected by both parties and dissolved only by mutual consent.

14. Official business should be transacted only through properly designated officials.

15. The responsibility for reporting all matters harmful to the welfare of the schools rests upon the teacher.

16. Professional growth should be stimulated through suitable recognition and promotion within ranks.

17. Unethical practices should be reported to local, state, or national commissions on ethics.

18. The term "teacher" as used here includes all persons directly engaged in educational work.

All kinds of educational organizations need to be far more active in enforcing high standards of professional conduct. The mere distribution of hundreds of thousands of printed codes of ethics does not do the job. Codes will be effective when teeth are put into enforcement. Educators themselves have the greatest stake in this.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. What does the term "single-salary schedule" mean? Prepare a report for or against this plan of paying teachers.
2. Prepare a panel discussion on the question of teachers' joining a teachers' union affiliated with organized labor.
3. Examine critically several recent issues of one or more state education association journals. Write a report under two main heads, (1) contents, (2) format and mechanical aspects. Decide what you ought to include under each head. Make specific and practical recommendations for improving the journal or journals which you select.

4. What benefits of membership are advertised by the state education association in the state where you live at this moment? (A statement can be obtained from the association office.) Interview ten teachers of at least several years' experience and get their opinions on the subject.
5. Which principles for teacher-retirement plans does the plan in your state observe?
6. What conditions will have to prevail for teachers' salaries to rise to $5,000, $6,000 or $7,000 per year, as suggested editorially in the magazine *Life,* September 16, 1946? Does history encourage one to believe that such salaries will be reached soon?
7. Try your hand at writing a code of ethics for teachers. Consider carefully the various phases of professional relations that the code should include.
8. On the subject of tenure, should the views of school boards and teachers theoretically be similar? Are they, as far as you can ascertain?
9. Consult a city school superintendent on the subject of in-service improvement of the teaching staff. What aspects are emphasized, and what aspects, in your opinion, are neglected?
10. Ask for permission to attend a general faculty meeting of teachers in the city where you are now living. Prepare a report on the meeting, including an evaluation of its spirit, conduct, and worth.
11. Should teachers be required by law to attend summer school at stated periods? Should the school pay the cost of such attendance? Should the administration select the institutions and courses which teachers attend?
12. Try to discover instances of undemocratic procedures in relations of teachers and administrators. How do these situations arise? What can you suggest as remedies?
13. Collect examples which you believe reflect democratic relations of teachers and administration. On what bases do you consider them as democratic?
14. Should teachers be required to join national, state, and other professional organizations?
15. Make a list of five magazines which you think best for a teacher in your field. Include the bases on which you judged them.
16. During the years of World War II and during the postwar period, most states have provided for "emergency certification" of teachers. What steps do you recommend for a return to normal?
17. Should rural teachers be paid as much as city teachers? Defend your position on this question, making such qualifications or reservations as seem justifiable.

Chapter 15

THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

1. The Importance of School Money

What is necessary for a good school? Good teachers, good buildings, and good equipment, in that order. Only money can buy these, and as a people, we can buy any quality that is desired. It is of the highest importance that schools be adequately supported. They are the major instrument used by society for the conservation and development of our most important resources—our children and youth. Schools are the most important agency for the elevation of our standard of living. They are the chief means by which our nation can keep pace with the advances made in other nations. From every point of view, the welfare of the public schools in modern America is paramount among all public concerns. In this chapter, data are submitted on the financial basis of public education, and an attempt is made to discuss topics of the most significance to prospective as well as to in-service teachers.

Teachers and School Finance.—Teachers ought to know something about school finance if only as a matter of being informed generally about the schools in which they work. More specifically, it is well to study the subject because the level and method of financial support determine to a large degree the kinds of lives teachers may live. The allotment of school money for salaries is a major portion of a school budget. The standard of living of teachers is a function, generally speaking, of the budget. It controls to no small degree the kind of homes they live in, the kind of clothes they buy, their expenditures for insurance, dental and medical care, food, recreation, professional study, and so on. Working conditions and possibilities of success in teaching are intimately associated with level of support. In most school systems, teachers assist to some extent in developing the school budget. Furthermore, there are many financial problems in education which demand the united best efforts of the profession to solve or ameliorate. No teacher should be ignorant of the financial aspects of the schools.

2. Relation of School Support to Quality of Education

That the quality of educational service is closely related to the amount of money spent has been amply demonstrated in a number of researches. One of the best as well as one of the most exhaustive studies was made recently in New York State, with several hundred school systems cooperating.[1] About 1,200 items were used to evaluate school conditions and practices throughout the state. Schools at three levels of expenditure per pupil in grades 1 to 6 were analyzed. The lowest group, near the minimum expenditure level, was called the "$75 schools," the average group, "$115 schools," and the top group, somewhat above the average, the "$150 schools." A comparison of the findings for the lowest and highest groups reveals many *qualitative* differences:

The "$75 Schools"

Tool subjects are taught with little relation to use; methods for helping individuals are not efficient. Bookish methods and outdated courses are used. Thinking is limited to bookish situations; the chance to do one's own thinking is limited to a few. The chance to explore abilities is present in only limited fields, largely avocational. There is little positive planning for character development. Sports are for the few; there is little medical inspection and follow-up; health instruction is poor. Problems of home living are approached in a bookish way, and limited experiences are provided. Very little provision is made for vocational training. Citizenship is taught mostly from books alone. Little individual guidance and counseling are undertaken. The interpretation of schools for public understanding and community use of schools are extremely limited. The teachers are underpaid, and poorly prepared. The schools are ill-equipped. The administration of the schools is not democratic.

What a contrast is afforded by these fairly well supported schools:

The "$150 Schools"

The tools of learning are taught as tools for thinking, and careful check is kept on the development of each individual. Efficient methods are used for teaching many kinds of skills. Rich practical experiences are provided; splendid materials and resources abound. The best of the old is constantly revised and enriched. All pupils have opportunities to do independent thinking. Teachers counsel and guide rather than direct and dominate. Resourceful teachers build useful interests in many fields. Many provisions for

[1] *What Education Our Money Buys*, Albany (N. Y.): Educational Conference Board of New York State, 1943.

positive character growth are made; much attention is given to individual boys and girls. Excellent medical examination and follow-up programs are in force. There is a many-sided sports program for all, and much emphasis is given to wholesome living. Real problems characterize the study of home living for most pupils, with excellent equipment. There are elaborate opportunities for vocational training, guidance, and placement. Citizenship is taught by study, participation in school government, and utilization of community resources. Highly varied diagnostic approaches are used with individual problems. The public is invited to help form school policy; schools cooperate with community agencies. Teachers are well qualified in personality, general preparation, professional training, and resourcefulness. There is excellent equipment of all kinds. The administration is democratic, exercising leadership but not dictation.

Such findings cannot be regarded lightly in thinking about school money. The student should reread them carefully to grasp the very wide divergence in the *quality* of the school program at the low and high financial levels.

3. The Growth of School Expenditures

Present Level of Expenditures.—The schools constitute no mean financial enterprise. For two decades the annual expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools have exceeded 2 billion dollars, with the exception of a few years in the depression of the thirties. At present, the figure is in the neighborhood of 3 billion dollars. To this may be added another three-quarters of a billion for public and private higher education, and perhaps a quarter-billion for private schools of less than college grade. The grand total for all schools and institutions is therefore about 4 billion dollars.

Whether this is deemed large or small depends on the point of view. In an absolute sense, 3 billion dollars for public schools sounds like a lot of money to most people. In a relative sense, it is not so large. Compared with expenditures for other public services and for luxury consumer goods (to be referred to later), it is small. Taking into account the vast number of children in school and a payroll of perhaps 1,500,000 persons, it is small. The proportion of the total tax collections spent for public schools is not large. In the last prewar year of 1941, only 15.4 per cent of total federal, state, and local tax collections went for public elementary and high schools. The proportion of national income (total of all salaries, wages, and dividends paid) spent for education is only about 2 per cent, which seems a very modest outlay for a public service of primary importance. It varied from 3 to 5 per cent in the thirties.

Increases Since 1870.—For many years until 1929–30, school expenditures increased without interruption. The great depression caused a cutback of about 30 per cent. Slow recovery between 1935 and 1940 brought the total back to the predepression level. Since 1940, there has been a relatively stable outlay, with some increases in the last few years as salaries, wages, and cost of goods rose generally throughout the country. In Table 39 are shown the data since 1870 for total school expenditures, the per cent of increase over 1870, and the annual expenditures per pupil.

TABLE 39

INCREASE OF TOTAL EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, AND ANNUAL EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, 1870–1945 [a]

(1) Year	(2) Total Expenditures	(3) Per Cent of Increase over 1870	(4) Expenditures per Pupil in A.D.A. per Year
1869–70	$ 63,396,666	....	$ 15.55
1879–80	78,094,687	23	12.71
1889–90	140,506,715	122	17.23
1899–1900	214,964,618	239	20.21
1909–10	426,250,434	572	33.23
1919–20	1,036,151,209	1534	64.16
1929–30	2,316,790,384	3554	108.49
1933–34 [b]	1,720,105,229	2613	76.22
1939–40	2,344,048,927	3597	105.73
1941–42	2,322,697,688	3563	110.03
1943–44	2,452,581,036	3769	124.67
1944–45	2,638,665,908	4066	138.71

[a] U. S. Office of Education, *Statistics of State School Systems.* (Biennial Surveys of Education in the United States.) Superintendent of Documents, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office. The amounts tabulated do not include payments for retirement of bonds for buildings and other debts. Calculations by authors for columns 3 and 4.

[b] Low point in depression of 1930's.

How can the changes shown in Table 39 be explained? Total expenditures have increased more than 4000 per cent over 1870. The population of the nation in the same period increased only 270 per cent, from 38,000,000 to 140,000,000. The yearly expenditure per pupil in 1944–45 was almost nine times that in 1870.

Reasons for Increases in Expenditure.—Several factors have caused the increases. (1) The major cause, accounting for probably 50 per cent of the increase, is the *increased number* of pupils in

school, and *increased attendance* of those enrolled—more children go to school more days per year and more years than was the case formerly. (2) Another important reason is the *improved status of the teaching profession,* and a rise in the standard of living which would naturally affect teachers. (3) Some increase of expenditure is due to the *extension and improvement of school services.* (4) And lastly, the *decline in the purchasing power of the dollar* accounts for some of the increase.

Better School Attendance.—Space does not permit the inclusion of detailed data on these points. It is interesting, however, to see some figures on the first factor mentioned above, with brief comment on the other factors. Table 40 shows the astounding growth since 1870 in number of children in school, average number of days schools were in session, and average number of days attended by each child enrolled. Naturally, school expenditures would undergo vast increases, even without improvements or extensions of service. Not shown in the table is the rise in secondary school enrollment (given in Chapter 3), which practically doubled each decade between 1890 and 1940. Since secondary schools cost more than elementary schools, this is a significant point.

TABLE 40

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, LENGTH OF SCHOOL TERM, AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS ATTENDED PER CHILD ENROLLED, 1869–70 TO 1943–45 [a]

Year	Average Daily Attendance	Average Number of Days Schools Were in Session	Average Number of Days Attended per Child Enrolled
1869–70	4,077,347	132	78
1879–80	6,144,143	130	81
1889–90	8,153,635	135	86
1899–1900	10,632,772	144	99
1909–10	12,827,307	158	113
1919–20	16,150,035	162	121
1929–30	21,264,886	173	143
1939–40	22,042,151	175	152
1942–43	20,293,274	176	147
1943–44	19,602,772	176	148
1944–45	19,671,398	176	...

[a] U. S. Office of Education, *Statistics of State School Systems,* Superintendent of Documents, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office.

Another illustration of the fact that schools reach more people now than before is the difference in educational level attained by persons of various age groups. Statistics compiled by the United States Bureau of the Census for 1940 show that the median number of school years completed by persons twenty to twenty-four years old was 11.2, while the median for persons twenty-five and over was only 8.4. The data in earlier chapters on the number of high school and college graduates and the proportions now living are added evidence of the expansion of the schools in recent years.

Improvement in Status of Teachers and in School Services.—In Chapters 13 and 14 there is a discussion of changes in the status of the teaching profession. Ever higher requirements in personal and professional qualities have inevitably led to improved status, financially as well as otherwise.

The extension and improvement of educational services can be readily noted by comparing present school curricula with those of past generations. Specialized services of many kinds, now commonplace, were unheard of in earlier decades. Pupil-teacher ratio has declined, and in many other ways schools have been improved.

Rise in Cost of Goods and Services.—With respect to prices of goods and services used in the schools, it is estimated that an increase of 70 per cent occurred between 1914 and 1930, and there have been still further increases since. Between 1941 and 1946, the purchasing power of the dollar declined, according to many estimates, by at least 30 per cent. This created higher prices for goods and services generally, and led to increased school costs.

Effect of Free Schools.—Finally, a word should be said on the strong trend to make the schools free—to provide through taxation educational advantages that in times past were accessible only to the privileged few. The schools are not entirely free yet. In only two-thirds of the states are textbooks furnished to all pupils in public elementary schools, and in less than half the states are they furnished in secondary schools. In only about one-fourth of the states are school supplies provided for all public school pupils. It is common knowledge that it costs money for a boy or girl to attend high school —if for nothing else than for the cost of school activities. In some areas, the cost of tuition of rural pupils to high school, and transportation, or board and room are not borne by the public. Nevertheless, the continuing trend is in the direction of really free schools for all, and that goal may not be so very far off.

4. Variations in the Level of Support

Range of Expenditures Among the States.—A monumental study made under the auspices of the American Council on Education, using 1939–40 as the base year, revealed shocking variations in the level of school support among the states, and within individual states.[2] In this investigation, detailed analyses were made of expenditures for the approximately one million classroom units that would normally be in operation. The findings show that *median* classroom expenditures ranged from lows of $400 and $500 in Mississippi and Arkansas to highs of $3,500 and $4,100 in California and New York, respectively. The student should remember that one-half of the classroom units in the several states fell *below* the median and one-half *above*. For the entire country, the median per classroom unit of thirty pupils pupils was $1,650. Since 1940, increases in the level of support have occurred, but the general situation with respect to *range* and *relative position* of the states is much the same.

The study reported further that in 1939–40, of the 22,042,151 children in average daily attendance in public elementary and secondary schools, 4,837,332 or almost 25 per cent attended schools below the level of $1,000 per classroom. It is highly significant that for the year ended March 31, 1943, the average per cent of draft rejections for mental and educational deficiency in the ten states with lowest expenditures per classroom unit was 9.74, while in the ten highest states it was only 2.05. This supplements the statement made in the first part of this chapter that quality of education is closely associated with level of support.

State Differences in Support of Schools.—The latest national data available, for 1944–45, on school expenditures in the several states further illustrate the vast range in amounts of money spent for schooling. In Table 41, the states are listed alphabetically with figures for total current school expenditures for public schools, and average expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance.

Adequate Standard of Support Needed.—It should not be assumed that differences merely in expenditures are in themselves an evil. Uniformity is not the goal sought; school costs are bound to

[2] John K. Norton and Eugene S. Lawler, *An Inventory of Public School Expenditures in the United States.* Two volumes, Washington, D. C. The American Council on Education. An article by Dr. Norton based on this study appeared in *The American Mercury* for January, 1946, and other articles based on this study have been published elsewhere.

TABLE 41

CURRENT EXPENDITURES FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, BY STATES, AND AVERAGE EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, 1944–45 [a]

State	Total Current Expenditures[b]	Average Expenditure per Pupil[c]	State	Total Current Expenditures[b]	Average Expenditure per Pupil[c]
Alabama	$32,149,711	56.93	New Mexico	$11,683,693	$119.98
Arizona	12,898,892	127.55	New York	332,420,986	194.47
Arkansas	20,952,035	60.26	North Carolina	52,935,519	68.91
California	198,130,649	163.38	North Dakota	14,123,814	132.55
Colorado	23,288,859	129.47	Ohio	147,617,957	138.25
Connecticut	37,354,694	159.50	Oklahoma	38,789,702	96.61
Delaware	5,189,593	133.05	Oregon	26,800,066	144.56
Florida	33,779,345	94.55	Pennsylvania	202,738,871	137.00
Georgia	36,254,677	64.92	Rhode Island	13,065,661	148.96
Idaho	10,940,617	112.34	South Carolina	25,143,093	65.17
Illinois	172,598,614	169.32	South Dakota	14,697,903	144.62
Indiana	73,235,725	131.29	Tennessee	36,505,637	69.70
Iowa	49,534,472	124.83	Texas	114,122,266	102.46
Kansas	37,247,267	130.85	Utah	15,722,727	120.24
Kentucky	36,134,676	80.94	Vermont	5,993,634	117.90
Louisiana	36,894,317	95.31	Virginia	42,114,544	83.49
Maine	13,174,071	97.75	Washington	50,156,536	159.78
Maryland	30,692,798	113.98	West Virginia	35,387,533	93.18
Massachusetts	87,508,158	166.67	Wisconsin	64,550,798	140.41
Michigan	119,878,133	127.73	Wyoming	7,245,558	164.84
Minnesota	58,847,981	144.29	District of Columbia	13,213,920	161.02
Mississippi	21,555,872	44.80			
Missouri	61,806,394	113.07	Continental U.S.	2,638,665,908	125.41
Montana	13,210,112	163.42			
Nebraska	26,686,771	127.28			
Nevada	3,157,243	155.88			
New Hampshire	7,793,974	131.48			
New Jersey	112,739,974	198.33			

[a] Data from *Statistical Circular SRS–11.0–27*, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1944–45." U. S. Office of Education, February, 1947. A report, *Still Unfinished: Our Educational Obligation to America's Children*, was published in 1948 by the National Education Association. It presents data compiled by W. D. Cocking, John K. Norton, and Paul R. Mort on *median* expenditures per "weighted" pupil, by states, for 1946–47. The range is from $37 to $234 per pupil, with a national median of about $99.

[b] Includes all school expenditures except retirement of bonds.

[c] Based on current expenditures listed in table, excluding interest on indebtedness

vary, if for no other reasons than variations in living costs, the weather, and many other factors. However, no such wide divergences should exist as shown in the preceding table. The goal to be attained is adequate financing for an educational program of good quality, made available to *all* children and youth. Experts declare that a rock-bottom minimum of $2,000 per classroom unit was necessary in 1940 for a program of only fair quality. For not less than $3,000 could a good program be sustained. At current price

levels, conservatively estimating a rise of 30 per cent since 1940, it would be necessary to spend $2,600 as a *minimum* per classroom unit, or $3,900 for an *acceptable* program.

5. Sources of the School Money

The gradual shift from private to public support of schools has been described in Chapter 3. The reader will recall that it was not until about 1870 that the principle that public schools should be financed by taxation was generally accepted and made effective. Since then, major effort has been directed along three lines: (1) *to increase* the amount of school money to keep pace with expanding demands and improved services; (2) to modify the method of support in order *to distribute more fairly the financial burden;* and (3) *to equalize,* at least to some extent, the funds available to school districts in accordance with their needs. The latter two points are briefly discussed in this section and the one following. The problem of meeting increased needs in the future is taken up later in the chapter.

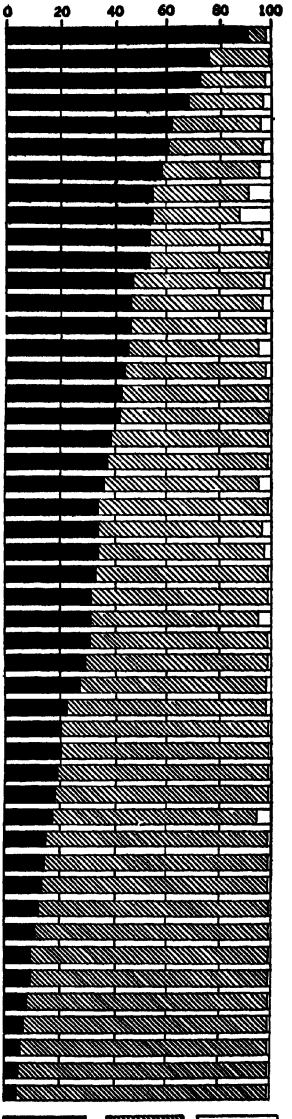
The Shift to State Support.—One of the most pronounced recent trends has been the shift from almost complete reliance, as late as 1930, on local and county taxation for school support to a growing assumption of financial costs by state governments. By 1947, the proportion of revenue receipts [3] derived from state sources had increased from 16.9 per cent to about 39 per cent. On the other hand, the per cent of receipts from local and county taxes had declined from 82.7 per cent to about 60 per cent. Table 42 shows the change for the period 1930–44. Federal aid, it will be noted, has remained very small, with scarcely any change.

For each state the per cent of school funds from the federal government, state sources, and local and county sources is shown graphically in Figure 27, for 1944–45, except as noted.

The increasing assumption by state governments of educational costs is further demonstrated by the data in Table 43, which lists the number of states contributing various percentages of school support.

[3] "Revenue" receipts include all moneys received for school purposes from taxation, permanent state school funds, lease of school lands, federal aid, and miscellaneous sources, such as gifts. Excluded are receipts from sale of bonds, sale of property, and insurance adjustments, which are called "nonrevenue" receipts, and make up about 10 per cent of the total of all school funds.

Rank	State	Total School Support (Approx.)	Per Cent of Funds		
			State[a]	Local	Federal
1	Delaware	$ 5,058,000[b]	91.7	6.0	2.3
2	New Mexico	13,650,000	76.8	22.9	.3
3	Washington	48,850,000[b]	72.9	25.0	2.1
4	Alabama	37,100,000[b]	68.1	28.6	3.3
5	N. Carolina	60,360,000[c]	63.0	33.0	4.0
6	Arizona	10,550,000[c]	61.8	34.8	3.4
7	Louisiana	38,920,000	58.8	35.9	5.3
8.5	Georgia	37,712,000	56.1	34.6	9.3
8.5	S. Carolina	27,000,000	56.1	31.9	12.0
10.5	Arkansas	21,734,000	54.9	41.5	3.6
10.5	W. Virginia	33,571,000	54.9	44.4	.7
12	Texas	114,078,000	47.8	49.6	2.6
13	California	204,192,000	47.0	49.5	3.5
14	Mississippi	20,008,000	46.9	50.8	2.3
15	Utah	16,348,000	45.7	49.5	4.8
16	Oklahoma	25,149,000[c]	44.7	52.8	2.5
17	Florida	35,146,000	44.1	54.5	1.4
18	Ohio	141,365,000[b]	43.6	56.1	.3
19	Michigan	125,030,000	40.1	58.4	1.5
20	Kentucky	38,032,000	39.5	59.1	1.4
21	Virginia	37,762,000[c]	37.2	57.9	4.9
22	Indiana	81,887,000	35.2	64.1	1.7
23	Missouri	64,272,000	35.0	61.7	3.3
24	Tennessee	32,012,000[c]	34.9	63.4	1.7
25	Minnesota	63,400,000	34.3	64.9	.8
26	Pennsylvania	174,638,000[c]	32.3	67.1	.6
27	Oregon	30,000,000[b]	32.2	62.6	5.2
28	New York	347,017,000[c]	31.8	67.9	.3
29	Maryland	32,000,000	28.9	70.1	1.0
30	Wyoming	6,290,000[c]	27.7	70.6	1.7
31	Montana	12,100,000[c]	23.0	75.4	1.6
32	Maine	12,188,000[c]	21.5	77.6	.9
33	Kansas	33,245.000[c]	20.8	78.4	.8
34	New Jersey	116,956,000[c]	19.1	80.4	.5
35	N. Dakota	12,722,000[c]	18.6	80.8	.6
36	Nevada	2,898,000[c]	17.9	76.6	5.5
37	Iowa	56,156,000	15.4	83.9	.7
38	Wisconsin	59,689,000	15.0	84.6	.4
39	Idaho	12,090,000	14.6	84.5	.9
40	Vermont	6,579,000	13.5	85.0	1.5
41	Colorado	25,439,000[c]	10.7	88.8	.5
42	Illinois	154,816,000[c]	10.2	88.7	1.1
43	S. Dakota	16,554,000	9.8	89.1	1.1
44	Massachusetts	76,015,000	8.0	91.4	.6
45	New Hampshire	7,669,000[c]	7.3	91.8	.9
46	Connecticut	33,088,000	5.9	93.3	.8
47	Rhode Island	12,000,000	5.4	93.9	.7
48	Nebraska	24,830,000	4.8	94.1	1.1



[a] Includes distribution of income from permanent state school funds
[b] 1945–46. [c] 1943–44.
(Adapted from data compiled by Research Division, National Education Association, November, 1946)

Figure 27. Sources of Public School Support in the Forty-Eight States, 1944–45, Ranked According to Per Cent of State Support

TABLE 42

AMOUNT AND PER CENT OF SCHOOL MONEY FROM LOCAL AND COUNTY, STATE, AND FEDERAL SOURCES, 1930–48[a]

Year	Local and County		State		Federal	
	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent	Amount	Per Cent
1929–30...	$1,727,552,541	82.7	$ 353,670,462	16.9	$7,333,834	0.4
1933–34...	1,365,553,792	75.4	423,178,215	23.4	21,547,938	1.2
1937–38...	1,540,353,128	69.3	655,996,060	29.5	26,535,473	1.2
1941–42...	1,622,281,381	67.1	759,992,998	31.5	34,305,190	1.4
1943–44...	1,709,253,721	65.6	859,183,105	33.0	35,885,601	1.4
1947–48...	2,100,000,000	60.0	1,340,000,000	39.0	36,000,000	1.0

[a] U. S. Office of Education, *Statistics of State School Systems*, Superintendent of Documents, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, except 1947–48 estimated by authors.

TABLE 43

NUMBER OF STATES AT VARIOUS PERCENTAGE LEVELS OF STATE SCHOOL SUPPORT, 1929–30 TO 1947–48[a]

Year	Number of States Less than 25%	Number of States 25% to 50%	Number of States 50% or More
1929–30	33	14	1
1933–34	27	17	4
1937–38	23	15	10
1941–42	20	19	9
1943–44	19	18	11
1947–48	11	15	22

[a] Data for 1929–30 to 1943–44 from *Statistics of State School Systems, op. cit.* Data for 1947–48 are estimates from John K. Norton and Arvid J. Burke, *The Potentialities of the State Tax System in the Financing of Public Schools in New York State*, Albany: New York State Educational Conference Board, 1947.

Support of Higher Education.—The method of support of publicly controlled institutions of higher education has changed little in recent years, as shown in Table 44. Student fees and activities account for one fourth of the income of public institutions. There is no indication of larger appropriations from state governments. It is not in the interest of the country to have public higher education available to youth on the basis of their ability to pay fees rather than on the basis of their talents and capacities for learning and service. State appropriations should be increased. For the sake of comparison, data for private institutions, which enroll about 48 per cent of college and university students, are also given.

TABLE 44

PER CENT OF INCOME FROM VARIOUS SOURCES IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, AND TOTAL RECEIPTS, 1929–30 AND 1941–42[a]

Source of Income	Public Institutions		Private Institutions		All Institutions	
	1929–30	1941–42	1929–30	1941–42	1929–30	1941–42
Student fees and activities	28.5	25.0	63.5	58.1	46.3	40.6
Gifts and grants	.8	2.5	9.1	12.8	5.0	7.4
Endowment earnings	2.6	2.1	24.5	22.7	13.8	11.8
Public sources:						
Federal govt.	8.1	14.4	.4	3.6	4.2	9.3
State govt.	60.0	47.9	2.5	2.7	30.7	26.6
Local govt.[b]		8.1		.1		4.3
	$	$	$	$	$	$
Total receipts	242,808,975	330,794,692	252,100,435	295,501,129	494,909,510	626,295,821

[a] *Statistics of Higher Education, 1939–40 and 1941–42,* Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1938–40 and 1940–42, U. S. Office of Education, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1944, Table XVI.

[b] Local sources were reported with state government sources in 1929–30.

The changes illustrated in the foregoing statistical data are indications of a growing conviction of the American people that school support should be put on a sound footing. In the nineteenth century a great improvement was made when public agencies took over from private agencies the responsibility for carrying the financial load. In our century, a further improvement is being achieved: the move from almost complete reliance on *local* property taxes to greater dependence on other forms of tax levied by *state* governments. For two reasons, chiefly, this is a good move.

Criticisms of Property Tax for School Support.—First, the property tax is difficult to administer and is outmoded. In many places, all taxable property is taxed the same, by the "general property tax." This has been roundly condemned by public finance experts, because different forms of property have different earning power, and hence varying ability to pay, and should not be taxed all alike. Real estate bears most of the burden when the property tax is applied because it cannot easily escape the assessor's eye. Personal property and "intangible" assets (such as money and credits) are harder to check on for taxing. Furthermore, the assessment of property—that is, placing a value on it for tax purposes—is probably the least scientific aspect in the whole realm of political science. Everywhere wide variations in the valuation of similar kinds of property exist, although slow progress is being made in some states to alleviate this

inequity. Elected assessors sometimes go easy in order to be reelected. They have been known to overlook important assets possessed by friends or politically powerful persons, and to assess at high rates the property of others not so fortunate. Assessments do not keep pace with changes in values, but lag several years, and frequently lag many years. For detailed criticism of the property tax the student is referred to H. L. Lutz's *Public Finance*,[4] or any other good public finance book. Experts would not give up the property tax entirely, but would reserve it exclusively as a source of revenue for municipalities. Since schools are a state function, they should logically be supported by state taxes.

The second reason for the gradual shift to state support is this: taxable property valuation bears little or no relation to the educational obligations of given communities. For example, the authors recently found in Colorado that the valuation of taxable property varied from more than $10,000 per school child in some counties to $1,300 per child in others, a ratio of more than 7 to 1. In one county the taxable valuation per child in one district was $80,000, while in a neighboring district the figure was $3,000. The ratio of the taxable resources in the most able school district of the state to the resources in the least able district was 1,540 to 1. Tax levies for school support were found to have similar wide range, from as low as .22 of one mill to 39 mills. A like situation exists in many other states. Where much dependence is placed on district property taxes for school money, it is clear that great inequalities in tax rates and money available were inevitable. In the final analysis it is the school children, and ultimately society, which suffer. Boys and girls who, by the chance of circumstance, live in poorly endowed localities must attend poorly supported schools, unless outside aid is extended to such communities.

6. The Problem of Equalization

The equalization of educational opportunities is a most complex and difficult problem. It has implications related to both the quality of educational service and the financial basis of education. Our concern here is primarily with financial equalization, the qualitative aspects having been treated briefly above.

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[4] Published by D. Appleton-Century Co. The property tax and other phases of the tax structure are discussed in *State and Local Finance in the National Economy* by Alvin H. Hansen and H. S. Perloff, New York: W. W. Norton & Co., pp. 274–283. This book includes many allusions to the financing of education.

Evidence of Inequality.—Striking evidence exists on the differences in educational burden that must be borne by the several states. There are some states which have more than twice as many children five to nineteen years of age per 1,000 adults as others. The states with the highest ratio of children to adults are for the most part those with the least per capita wealth—the southern states. The greater the rates, the less wealth and income per adult. Table 45 shows figures for selected states, as calculated from the 1940 census. It is readily seen that the cost of keeping children in school in *South Carolina,* for example, would be very much greater than, if not double (assuming similar school programs), the cost in *California.* Within individual states, like inequalities are a matter of record.

TABLE 45

NUMBER OF CHILDREN AGES 5–19 PER 1,000 ADULTS AGES 20–69 IN SELECTED STATES [a]

State	Number of Children per 1,000 Adults	State	Number of Children per 1,000 Adults
South Carolina	686	Texas	511
North Carolina	644	Colorado	454
West Virginia	603	Ohio	408
Kentucky	584	New York	354
Oklahoma	555	California	329

[a] Calculated from *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Population, Second Series, "Characteristics of the Population," U. S. Summary,* Table 26.

The problem of financial equalization has, to repeat, two aspects: distributing equitably the burden of financing schools, and making available to each school district enough money for a satisfactory level of educational service without excessive local taxation. A highly simplified example will illustrate a principle frequently applied to accomplish these ends.

Illustration of Financial Equalization.—Let us suppose that there are three school systems: City A, City B, and City C, with the same number of children to educate. The state government has legislated that each school district should be guaranteed $100 per child in average daily attendance. In order to participate in state funds, each district must levy 10 mills school tax. If this levy or a lower levy yields sufficient funds in a district to operate at the $100 level, no state aid will be given. If the 10-mill levy yields less than the amount

guaranteed, the state is to furnish the remainder.[5] With the data in Table 46, it is apparent that City A, a wealthy district, would receive no state aid, as the 10-mill levy on its taxable valuation would raise more than $100 per pupil. City B would receive a small amount of state aid, and City C a substantial amount.

TABLE 46

SIMPLIFIED EXAMPLE OF OPERATION OF AN EQUALIZATION PROGRAM OF SCHOOL SUPPORT

	City A	City B	City C
Number of children in school (A.D.A.)	1,000	1,000	1,000
Cost of guaranteed school program at $100 per child	$ 100,000	$ 100,000	$ 100,000
Taxable valuation	$12,000,000	$9,000,000	$5,000,000
Yield of uniform 10-mill tax assuming full collection	$ 120,000	$ 90,000	$ 50,000
Amount to be paid by state government	none	$ 10,000	$ 50,000

With no help from outside sources, these cities would have to levy taxes of 8.33, 11.1+, and 20 mills, respectively, for a budget of $100,000. Through an equalization program, Cities B and C could depend on at least $100 per child at a levy of 10 mills.

In most states, any district would have the privilege of taxing itself heavier if the people desired a better program of education than that guaranteed by the state. The example given above illustrates only one method of equalization. In this case, the state would supplement local resources. Another method used in some states, notably California and Arizona, provides for flat grants by the state of a certain amount per pupil or per classroom or teacher unit. The local district then supplements the state grant by local tax funds. Flat grants are effective for purposes of equalization only if the state supplies a very great share of the total cost of education—at least 50 per cent.

All equalization plans now in use are complicated, and the student is advised to study carefully the plan in his own state. Practically

[5] A one-mill tax on a given valuation yields (at 100 per cent collection) an amount equal to 1/1,000 of the valuation. Thus, on a house assessed at $5,000, a one-mill tax means a levy of $5; ten mills means a levy of $50; etc. Some states calculate tax rates in terms of *dollars* or *cents* per $100 valuation. On a house valued for tax purposes at $5,000, a one-mill tax would be the same as a tax of $.10 per $100 valuation. Ten mills would be the same as $1.00 per $100.

all plans using taxable valuation as one factor are faulty to the extent that property assessment procedures are faulty, but improvement is slowly being made in this difficult field.

School Finance an Obligation of All Levels of Government.—The principle of taxing wealth where it exists to pay for public services, including education, where they are needed is well established. State governments, possessing greater taxing powers than local school districts, can (and do in many cases) iron out the most egregious inequalities. State funds for school support are usually derived from state income taxes, sales taxes, and appropriations from general state funds. There are many other minor sources. The preferred method is to guarantee, as a first charge on state funds, a stated amount per child, or per classroom unit, from state general funds. What remains to be done is to simplify state equalization procedures.

The subject of federal relations to school finance is discussed in Chapter 8. However, facts have been given in this chapter to show that educational and financial inequalities exist among the states in much the same way as they exist within individual states. Half of the children of school age live in thirty-two states which together have only one-third of the total national income. Federal aid bills for more than two decades have proposed some form of equalization so that relatively poor states (those with a high proportion of children compared with wealth) would receive more than wealthy states. Per capita income and number of children to be schooled are used as factors in the formulas by which federal aid is to be distributed to the states, when it is approved by Congress. This seems to be only a question of time, as sentiment in the states and in Congress is growing more and more favorable toward federal aid. Education should, of course, be supported by all levels of government: federal, state, and local. Many careful students of the problem believe that the state governments should furnish approximately 50 per cent of school support, the local units 30 to 40 per cent, and the federal government 10 to 20 per cent.

7. How the School Money Is Spent

The School Budget.—In a well managed school system, a detailed financial program is formulated in which three elements are included: the educational program to be provided, the spending plan, and the anticipated receipts. The document so developed is the *school budget.* The educational program must be considered so that the school board

and administration, and also the community, understand just what they are attempting to finance. Policies on class size, qualifications of teachers, salaries, curriculum, equipment, janitorial service, upkeep of the buildings, years of schooling to be offered, length of school term, and many other items have financial implications.

The spending plan is the largest part of a budget, and is worked out in great detail. Estimates based on past experience and needs for the coming year are made for a multitude of items, grouped under a few major heads. Careful estimates of receipts must be made so that the school district can operate on a sound financial basis. The standard divisions in budgeting and the amount and percentage of expenditures for each, for 1944–45, as shown in national data compiled by the United States Office of Education, are given in Table 47. The entrance of the United States into World War II in December, 1941, caused abnormal reductions in capital outlay and the maintenance of buildings, and it will probably take several years to get back to normal. Hence the ratios shown for these divisions are smaller than usual. In the few years preceding the war, capital outlay required about a quarter-billion a year.

TABLE 47

AMOUNT AND PER CENT OF SCHOOL EXPENDITURES IN THE UNITED STATES, BY MAJOR BUDGET DIVISIONS, 1944–45 [a]

Budget Division	Amount	Per Cent of Current Expenditures	Per Cent of Total Expenditures
Current Expenditures:			
General control (administration)	$ 117,340,795	4.8	4.1
Instruction (sal. and sup.)	1,696,320,687	68.8	59.6
Operation of buildings	251,509,131	10.2	8.8
Maintenance of buildings	91,214,486	3.7	3.2
Auxiliary services (Transp., health, lunches, etc.)	197,621,831	8.0	6.9
Fixed charges (rent, insurance, teacher retirement)	113,008,906	4.6	4.0
Total Current Expenditures	$2,467,015,836	100.1	
Capital Outlay and Debt Service:			
Capital outlay (new equipment, sites, buildings)	$ 76,133,856		2.7
Debt retirement [b]	218,469,534		7.7
Interest	86,789,965		3.0
Grand Total	$2,848,409,191		100.0

[a] *Statistical Circular SRS–11.0–27*, "Statistics of State School Systems, 1944–45," U. S. Office of Education, February, 1947.
[b] For 1943–44.

Budget Summary of a City School System.—A good example of a budget summary for a large city school system is given in Table 48. The percentage distribution of the estimates of income and disbursements for the budget year is shown graphically in Figure 28.[6]

TABLE 48

SUMMARY OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS BUDGETED FOR A LARGE CITY SCHOOL SYSTEM

REVENUES

Receipts for 1944–45 Compared with Estimates for 1945–46
(Excluding cafeteria and federal funds)

Source of Revenue	Receipts 1944–45	Estimates 1945–46
State School Fund	$ 7,562,001.61	$ 7,069,366
State General Fund (County)	9,636,794.71	12,338,287
State Teachers' Retirement System	.....	167,000
District Taxes—Current Year (realty and secured personal)	23,134,891.20	23,468,648
District Taxes—Prior Years	827,214.05	870,845
County School Taxes—Prior Years	27,536.77	20,482
Solvent Credits Taxes	286,553.05	303,799
Unsec. Real and Personal Prop. Coll.	2,370,960.58	2,650,820
Federal and State Voc. Educ. Fund	155,723.19	162,000
Tuition Contracts—Receipts	48,821.29	58,542
Housing Authorities in Lieu Taxes	75,171.40	48,803
Maintenance Detention Home Schools	26,135.13	36,000
Miscellaneous	28,710.27	30,000
Total	$44,180,513.25	$47,224,592
Surplus Applied to Budget	4,230,975.00	4,690,980
Total Including Surplus	$48,411,488.25	$51,915,572

DISBURSEMENTS

Expenditures for 1944-45 Compared with Budget for 1945-46

Classification	Expenditures 1944–45	Budget 1945–46
Educational Administration	$ 417,667	$ 567,344
Business and Control. Admin.	709,945	844,021
Misc. and Secretarial Admin.	369,789	253,443
Instruction	30,585,878	33,631,582
Operation of School Plant	3,739,630	4,088,716
Auxiliary Services	1,349,859	1,648,742[a]
Community Services	287,536	385,140
Maintenance of School Plant	1,567,411	1,775,199
Fixed Charges	216,861	333,207
Fixed Charges—District Retirement	2,804,878	3,078,230
Capital Outlays	714,701	3,414,667[b]
Stores Increase	98,681 CR	222,000
Undistributed Reserves	.....	473,281
Cash Reserves	.....	1,200,000[c]
Total	$42,665,474[d]	$51,915,572[d]

[a] Includes all payments on Tuition Contracts.
[b] Includes $955,000 for Special Accumulative Building Fund.
[c] Cash Reserves nonexpendable during 1945–46.
[d] Excludes cafeteria and federal funds.

[6] These tables and the graph are from *Financial Data, Los Angeles City School Districts, 1945–46*, published by the board of education.

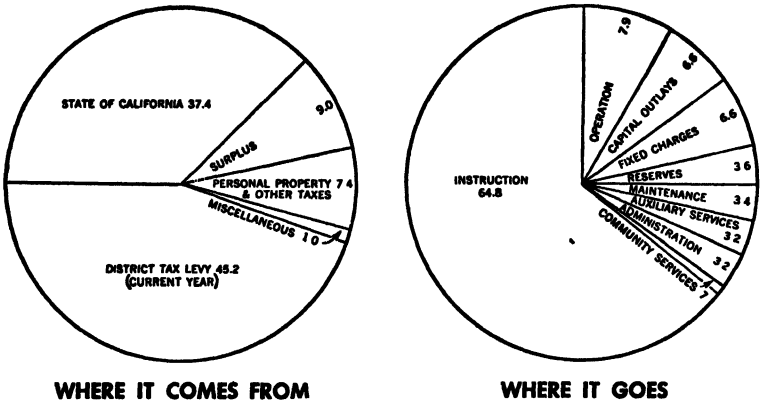

Figure 28. Percentage Distribution of School Receipts and Disbursements for a Large City School System

8. Future Financial Requirements

The cost of public education at any given time is affected by many variable factors, the chief of which have been discussed in this chapter. Estimates of future costs are likely to be somewhat unreliable, due partly to the variables involved and partly to different ideas of educational needs held by those who make the estimates. Some would seek to lift the level of quality to a specified minimum in all states. Some envision the extension of the normal school program to include all children from three to twenty years of age. The census of 1940 reports that some 5,000,000 children and youth, five to seventeen, were enumerated as not attending school. Nearly 3,000,000 adults were counted who had never attended any school—a condition that should never again be found. To rectify such conditions certainly will cost something.

Estimates of Future Needs.—The broadest and most comprehensive program was proposed by the National Resources Planning Board in 1943, as a plan to be gradually put into effect over a period of one or two decades. Many educational features not now widely provided were suggested, such as camps for all youth above elementary grades, nursery schools, and a broad program of adult education. The Board's estimate of future needs, based on 1940 purchasing power of the dollar, is compared in Table 49 with 1940 expenditures.

TABLE 49

ESTIMATES BY NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD OF EXPENDITURES FOR EDUCATION IN 1940 AND A "JUSTIFIABLE MINIMUM" PER YEAR IN POSTWAR PERIOD [a]

Educational Service	Expenditures 1940	Estimated Annual Needs in Postwar Period [b]
Preschool, elementary school and secondary school	$2,158,000,000	$3,900,000,000
Junior college	26,000,000	400,000,000
College, university, professional and technical school	460,000,000	1,000,000,000
Adult education, by schools and higher institutions	57,000,000	300,000,000
Student aid	66,000,000	300,000,000
Public library	50,000,000	200,000,000
Totals	$2,817,000,000	$6,100,000,000

[a] National Resources Planning Board, *National Resources Development Report for 1943*, Part I, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1943.
[b] At 1940 purchasing power. The table does not include building costs, estimated at $1,285,000,000 per year for ten years, or $755,000,000 per year for twenty years.

Table 49 reports one of the highest estimates found among studies of postwar educational finance requirements, and calls for an increase of $3,283,000,000 per year, or 116 per cent more than in 1940. This does not include about $13,000,000,000 estimated for school building construction needed in the next ten to twenty years. Other estimates of needed increases range from $1,000,000,000 to $5,000,000,000.[7]

With a decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar by about one third, all estimates must be revised substantially upward. Therefore, it would take at least $5 billion now to pay for services as of 1940 plus the most conservative estimate of necessary increases.

A Minimum of $5,000,000,000 Needed.—No one can say with assurance how much public school money we need. However, on the basis of several respectable studies and in the light of economic trends of the last few years, the figure of 5 billion dollars appears to be sound as a *minimum*. In *dollars* it would be 65 per cent over the 1945–46 level—a large but not impossible order, and one that should challenge both professional and lay leaders. It would not give us a

[7] In February, 1948, the American Association of School Administrators published estimates of needed *additional* annual financial requirements totalling $5,000,000,000. See *The Expanding Role of Education*, Twenty-Sixth Yearbook, American Association of School Administrators, Chapter XII. Washington: National Education Assn., 1948.

fancy school program, nor even what the National Resources Planning Board deems a "justifiable minimum." But it would finance a better program than we now have. It would bring to all children educational opportunities through high school that many children do not have.

9. How Much Can the United States Afford?

To this question no categorical answer can be given, with the possible exception that the United States can afford—beyond all doubt—as much as it is willing to pay. From many points of view, it can be shown that the cost of education is not only liquidated by expansion of consumer demand for goods and services, but also by increases in productivity and more efficient and intelligent use of goods and services.

Relation of Schools and Economic Well-Being.—Good schools that are accessible universally to children and youth, and with some provision for adult upgrading, mean good business. This thesis has been upheld by the Committee on Education of the United States Chamber of Commerce, in a report, *Education, an Investment in People.*[8] The report shows that, in general, the states with highest school expenditures also rank high in per capita income, retail sales, life insurance in force, circulation of national magazines, and other items. The states ranking low in school expenditures are low on these items. The differences are large, and while a cause-and-effect relationship cannot be conclusively shown, at least better educational opportunities are associated with superior buying power and productivity. Caution must be exercised in using this kind of data, as factors besides educational level and expenditures certainly affect economic indices. For example, impoverished soil, lack of capital, absence of industries, and weak state administration would contribute to a lack of wealth, which in turn results in poor school support.

Convincing logic is used in two important studies of this subject. These studies, well worth consulting, may be found in Henry C. Morrison's *The Management of the School Money,* pp. 44–69, and in the Educational Policies Commission monograph *Education and Economic Well-Being in American Democracy,* Chapters 2 and 3.[9]

[8] Published in 1944 at Washington, with a separate appendix of supporting statistical data.

[9] Morrison's book was published in 1932 by the University of Chicago Press, and the Educational Policies Commission report, written by John K. Norton, by the N.E.A. in 1940.

Both these books demonstrate that one very important basis of civilization is the economic basis, and that both the amount and quality of many kinds of demands are influenced by the schools. The common, everyday, garden variety of our wants for food, clothing, shelter, household furnishings and labor-saving appliances, travel, reading material, and so on—all are favorably influenced by education. The student can think of many examples of the schools' effect in such areas as home economics and health. Besides this, production is stepped up by more efficient and intelligent workers and managers who are the schools' products, and hence there is more employment and better employment.

Some of the most amusing illustrations of the effect of education on consumer demand were presented by Willis Sutton, formerly superintendent of schools at Atlanta. In a famous address at the 1941 convention of the American Association of School Administrators, after several examples relating to other economic interests, he gave the following report of an interview with a department store executive:

> We went down the line and got to a fellow who was in the department store business. He was president of it and I said to him, "Where do you make your money?" He said, "Well . . ." I said, "On bargain basements?" He said, "No, oh, no." "On ten-cent stockings and fifteen-cent hats and quarter dresses?" "Oh, no, we just put those quarter dresses down to get rid of them. We sell everything from toothpicks to pianos."
>
> "Well, let's pick out one thing." He said, "You pick it out." "All right, ladies' wear. Where do you make your money in ladies' wear?" "We make our money," he said, "when a lady buys an ensemble."
>
> I said, "I am just a plain Georgia cracker. You will have to talk English to me. I thought I knew everything the women were wearing, but I guess they have hidden something from me."
>
> He went into great detail to tell me what he meant. He said, "A lady will come in and buy a blue dress. She may have a good deal to say about the price of the dress but having once bought the dress, she looks around and sees a hat that just corresponds, and you don't even have to say the price. 'That is my hat!' And she gets the correct stockings, and then a blue topcoat, and a blue veil, and a blue handbag, and a blue parasol. And when she has got all that together, she has got an ensemble."
>
> "Now I want to ask you a question: Who has sense enough to buy an ensemble?" "Well . . .," he said.
>
> "A first-grader? Do you think a first-grader could buy one?" He didn't think so. He doubted whether even a seventh-grader could buy one, but when he got to thinking of the study of color and art, he thought those students might.

I said, "Brother, more ensemble, more business. Isn't that so?" "Yes," he said. "Now," I said, "it takes education to know how to get an ensemble." . . . Education does a lot for business.[10]

Vast Amounts Spent for Luxuries.—There would also seem to be no question about being able to afford good schools when the statistics for nonessentials such as tobacco and liquor are considered. In the latter years of the 1940's, Americans spent *per year* more than 7 billion dollars for alcoholic beverages, 3 billion dollars for tobacco, 2 billion dollars for beauty preparations and services. For alcoholic beverages and tobacco together, they spent three times as much as for public education. For all nonessentials, increases of 50 per cent or more have occurred since 1940, while for education only small increases have been made.

It is impossible to calculate the wastage of human resources when educational opportunities are denied or limited, let alone the waste of other kinds of resources. The example of foreign lands without democratic school provisions should be sufficient admonition to us not to neglect this most fundamental of all public services, and veritably the solid bedrock upon which our culture and civilization rest.

10. Education's Place Among Public Services

Decline in Proportion of Taxes Devoted to Education.—The proportion of total tax collections (federal, state, and local) devoted to public education has shown a long-time downward trend—a situation which should command the most sober attention of all Americans. The figures for the period 1929–45 are given in Table 50. It is natural for the percentage to drop during war years, when federal expenditures for war shoot upward. However, the downward trend, even before the war, was quite pronounced.

Schools' Portion of National Income Down.—The per cent of *national income* spent for public schools also dropped. Prior to 1929, the ratio was approximately 4 per cent. In 1929, when the country reached what was up to that time its peak national income, with $83,000,000,000, the proportion spent for schools was 2.7 per cent. During the 1930's, the figure hovered between 2.9 and 5.4 per cent. Since 1942, it has ranged between 1 and 2 per cent. If national income remains, as many economists think it must, at 150 billion

[10] See *Official Report*, Convention of the American Association of School Administrators, 1941, pp. 76–88, for complete address.

TABLE 50

PER CENT OF TOTAL TAX COLLECTIONS (FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL) SPENT FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1929–1945 [a]

Year	Total Tax Collections	Total Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Schools	
		Amount	Per Cent
1929	$ 9,768,000,000	$2,251,000,000	23.0
1930	10,277,000,000	2,317,000,000	23.0
1931	9,305,000,000	2,246,000,000	24.0
1932	8,151,000,000	2,175,000,000	26.7
1933	7,508,000,000	1,947,000,000	25.9
1934	8,778,000,000	1,720,000,000	19.6
1935	9,736,000,000	1,844,000,000	18.9
1936	10,508,000,000	1,969,000,000	18.7
1937	12,190,000,000	2,101,000,000	17.2
1938	13,108,000,000	2,233,000,000	17.0
1939	12,422,000,000	2,289,000,000	18.4
1940	12,890,000,000	2,344,000,000	18.1
1941	15,190,000,000	2,333,000,000	15.4
1942	20,917,000,000	2,323,000,000	11.1
1943[b]	29,755,000,000	2,308,000,000	7.8
1944[b]	49,196,000,000	2,400,000,000	4.9
1945[b]	49,147,000,000	2,500,000,000	5.1

[a] For 1929–43 tax collections, Paul W. Ellis, *The World's Biggest Business: American Public Spending*, New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1944, p. 8. For educational expenditures, U. S. Office of Education reports. Estimates by authors for 1944–45.
[b] Estimated.

dollars or more per year, to devote 4 per cent to education would mean 6 billion dollars available for schools, which is none too much.

Competition for Public Funds.—Competition for the tax dollar has developed in the last two decades from two services that formerly were of relatively small concern: highways and relief (including various forms of social security). In Table 51 are given comparative expenditures in selected states for education, highways, and relief for 1930 and 1941. The latter year was selected for comparison as the last fiscal year before World War II. During the war, state expenditures for highways and relief declined a great deal. Data in state budgets for 1946–47 indicate, in many cases, a recovery to prewar levels, and in some others greater expenditures than before, particularly for highways.

It is predicted that the growing tendency to finance schools and other state functions from general state funds rather than from earmarked taxes will continue. This should give education a more

TABLE 51

STATE EXPENDITURES IN SELECTED STATES FOR EDUCATION, HIGHWAYS, AND RELIEF, 1930 AND 1941[a]

(in thousands)

State	Year	Education	Highways	Relief
Arizona	1930	$ 4,070	$ 5,230	$ 168
	1941	4,282	3,102[b]	5,294
California	1930	40,981	45,072	1,255
	1941	94,425	42,245	91,730
Colorado	1930	4,163	7,947	277
	1941	5,062	9,522	21,201
Illinois	1930	17,174	34,150	2,069
	1941	29,428	27,791	87,421
Louisiana	1930	9,246	28,399	1,136
		21,729	9,042	14,320
New Jersey	1930	7,905	40,445	565
	1941	25,146	17,475	23,072
New York	1930	97,611	61,038	346
	1941	139,696	27,386	99,579
South Carolina	1930	5,876	15,992	941
	1941	12,785	9,716	3,408
Wisconsin	1930	19,199	24,830	666
	1941	17,063	16,795	18,272

[a] Data for 1930, *Research Bulletin*, XIX, May, 1941, "School Costs and State Expenditures, 1930–39," Table A, Washington: National Education Association. Data for 1941, *Financial Statistics of States, 1941*, Table 13, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1943.
[b] 1940.

nearly equal chance with other activities to share in state revenues. This is the way it should be. Certainly the constructive nature of education and its power to advance a people should be reason enough for allocating to it a fair share of public funds.

Good Schools Worth Their Cost.—In concluding this discussion of the financial aspects of education, the following quotation seems very much in point. The writer, editor of a Michigan newspaper, in discussing taxes for public services, has this to say, in part, about education:

Take education. A nation can't rise above the level of its average citizen any more than a river can rise above its source. And the source of citizenship in America is 'free' public-school education . . . Are your public

schools, in the town in which you live, instilling the ideals of Americanism, training boys and girls to fit into community life at the highest level of their ability, giving bright pupils the opportunity they deserve and doing what can be done for the dull ones? Are they giving adequate social readjustment to the incipient delinquents, maintaining standards of pay and advancement and community recognition and social security to attract the most competent teachers, and planning ahead to provide adequate buildings in the proper locations for the growth of your community? If you are satisfied that your school system is meeting all its obligations, you can rest assured that your tax rate for education is higher than the nation's average.

Recent disclosures by Selective Service regarding rejections of men for military service point an accusing finger at the low-tax lobby. They show that the percentage of rejections is highest in the areas where public-school education has the lowest tax support, while the lowest rate of rejections comes from the sections of the country where school taxes are highest and schools are doing the best job. In other words, we are sacrificing our most effectively trained youth . . . because those areas willing to foot the bill for education are producing the men most capable of defending the country. . . .

Niggardly school budgets make for bargain education, the one thing America, of all nations, can't afford. Money doesn't inevitably buy the best in schooling, but the best schooling naturally costs money. High enough taxes for adequate school plants and competent teaching staffs can spell the difference between education and a futile waste of time. . . .

What should education cost? I don't know, but I know we have paid too little and got only what we paid for. As a parent, I would gladly pay twice as much in school taxes if that would assure my youngsters of the kind of education I think they deserve and know they aren't getting.[11]

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Find the most recently published data on the total annual cost of public elementary and secondary education in the United States, and the per pupil cost per year. Find also the data on school expenditures for your state.
2. How is variability in the ability of school districts to finance education demonstrated? Illustrate by specific, actual examples.
3. Get a copy of a local school district budget. Examine it to determine whether it presents adequately the financial structure and needs of the district. How could the budget be improved, if at all? (For a good check list for evaluating school budgets, see page 474 of DeYoung's *Budgeting in Public Schools.*)
4. From what sources and in what proportions are funds for school support derived in your state? Confer with a local school superin-

[11] Karl F. Zeisler, "Who Wants Taxes Cut?" *Atlantic Monthly,* October, 1945. Quoted by permission of the author and the publisher.

tendent concerning the funds for the support of the local school system.

5. Do high expenditures for schools necessarily result in an educational program of high quality? Explain.
6. Suggest sources of school funds in your state that are not now tapped, or are insufficiently exploited.
7. Should persons who have no children in school, or who send their children to parochial or other private schools, pay taxes for public school support? On what grounds do you base your answer?
8. Some states have statutory limitations on the number of mills that may be levied for school taxes. Is this desirable or not?
9. Would complete financial equalization for school support, in terms of a certain amount per pupil per year, or per classroom unit per year, equalize educational opportunity? Explain and illustrate your conclusions.
10. From your observation and reading, name and discuss several major kinds of educational inequality.
11. Write to your senator for a copy of the leading bill for federal aid for education. Prepare a digest of the bill, with a tabulation of funds proposed and the method of their distribution.
12. How are the institutions of higher education in your state supported? Should higher education be available to all in a way similar to elementary and secondary education?
13. What improvements in the spending of school money can you suggest? Could better schools for the same amount of money, taking the state as a whole, be provided if the money were spent more wisely? How?
14. How could public education be improved if there were available 6 billion dollars or more per year, as compared with the current funds available for the entire country?
15. Organize facts to show that federal interest in financing educational activities is increasing. Is this trend, in your opinion, a good thing or not?
16. Write to your state tax commission for data on the total amount of taxes collected in the state, and the purposes for which collected. What proportion is used for education?

Chapter 16

A COMPARISON OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER LANDS

1. Introduction

In this chapter and the next, brief descriptions of the educational systems of a few selected nations are presented. The objectives are twofold: (1) to demonstrate the worldwide nature of modern educational reform; (2) to illustrate, by comparison and contrast with the United States, the objectives of education under various governments. With only a knowledge of our own domestic affairs, one may tend to become complacent or narrow in his view. Other lands are engaged in educational efforts from which we in the United States can pick up some pointers. In some cases, we may satisfy ourselves that "our way" is the better way; in some we may conclude that our way suffers by comparison; in other cases we may consider ourselves well warned against permitting the adoption of certain ideas and practices.

Two important considerations should be carried in mind in this brief study of education in other lands. First, it is not the purpose of the authors to evaluate the effectiveness of foreign school systems from the American point of view. An educational system ought, in all fairness, to be evaluated in terms of the goals and purposes it purports to serve. In our opinion it may be shot through with shortcomings, yet be very effective in fulfilling its announced functions.

This need not discourage the student from drawing conclusions about the functions and the schools' effectiveness. It is well, nevertheless, to bear in mind that whether a practice or a theory or an objective is "right" or "wrong" is not easy to decide. The decision will be influenced by the background and circumstances of the individual making it. We think that some of our practices are "right," others "wrong." But in time we ourselves or our posterity may be forced to change views about matters that seem now to be eternally true or good.

The second point to remember is that education is dynamic, that changes are always going on, that change will continue. It is unlikely, particularly in our era, that any nation will adopt a fixed, unchanging scheme of education. The United States has not been alone in undergoing educational change and reform. Our development has been slow and gradual, with no sudden, radical modifications, due in all probability to the fact that, broadly speaking, democratic procedures have been followed. Many other nations, great and small, have also wrought changes in their educational provisions, especially during the last century or so. Some of these changes appear to have been for the better, some for the worse. In many instances, the management of education has been revised by national decree or regulation, a revision so far-reaching in effect as to be tantamount to a social revolution. In others, change has been more gradual.

In these chapters, for the most part, current conditions and plans are considered, with some historical background included to make them clear. In a time when vast areas are under reconstruction, it is impossible in some cases to give information on current practices, so that modes of operation prevailing at the time of World War II are referred to. In some of the devastated countries, such as Germany and France, and also in Japan, extensive reforms are in the making which cannot be completely described.

We turn now to a glimpse of education in England, Russia, China, and Mexico, followed by brief generalization relating to a few other countries.

The student should bring to bear on his study of these two chapters his knowledge of the educational system of the United States, and draw comparisons as he proceeds. Against the background of foreign practice presented here the distinctive characteristics of American schools will stand out sharply.

2. Education in England and Wales

The school system of England and Wales underwent a veritable revolution in the enactment of the Education Act of 1944. This great act, about 100 pages long in ordinary book print, superseded all prior education acts, and will, when in full effect, work great changes in the entire structure of English education. Britons characterize it as "undoubtedly the most ambitious and comprehensive Education Bill ever passed through Parliament." It culminated three quarters of a century of gradual improvement of educational oppor-

tunities, and clarified and strengthened the national policy on education.

The British School System before 1944.—To understand the extent of the revision it is necessary to have a general idea of the provisions for education at the time of the law's passage. The English school system, if it can be called a system, was one of the most difficult to comprehend. In the absence of well defined national policy, a confused and complex pattern of tax supported and private schools had developed through a thousand years.

Mass education had never been a British goal, and in fact the history of *public* education began only as recently as 1870. For a generation thereafter, public authorities were expected merely to supplement the efforts of voluntary denominational and private agencies. However, even in the short period between 1870 and 1944 great strides had been made in extending school opportunities. The compulsory school age had been raised from ten to fourteen. Local educational authorities were required to provide school facilities for children not taken care of in private and denominational schools, at both the elementary and secondary levels. Provisions were also made for the preparation of teachers—training schools for elementary school teachers, and professional courses at the universities for secondary school teachers.

National Aid.—Standards of all tax-supported schools had been raised by the offer of financial aid from the Treasury to put into effect suggestions for improvement certified by inspectors of the national Board of Education. Aid was also held out to voluntary agencies (nonpublic schools) on a lesser scale. Practically all children of the ages five to fourteen were enrolled in some type of school. The cost of public education was to be shared about equally by local taxpayers and the national Treasury.

To administer the schools there were about 300 Local Educational Authorities (L.E.A.), which are the civil town and county councils, who operate through subcommittees on education. Many good features had been adopted here and there, including nursery schools, lunches and milk for school children, continuation schools, camp schools, some technical schools, and adult education. These were not found universally, however. Medical examinations for all children were required when a child entered school, at age eight, and at twelve. Defective children were required to be in school from age five to sixteen for blind and deaf, seven to sixteen for others.

A Dual System.—The English school system was a *dual* system, comprised of the publicly provided schools—Council schools—and a very large number of "Voluntary" schools as mentioned above. The whole range of education for children five to eighteen was thought of as being roughly divided into two parts: Primary (elementary) education for children five to eleven, and Higher (secondary) education for children from eleven to sixteen or eighteen.

This line of division was not definite, however, as many children continued in "senior" schools until fourteen, while being under the control of primary school authorities. Moreover, private secondary schools took children as young as eight or nine. At the primary level, although the number of Council and Voluntary schools was about equal, with approximately 10,000 of each type, the former enrolled twice as many as the latter. At the secondary level the majority of children were also enrolled in Council schools.

Limited Secondary School Opportunities.—Beyond the compulsory school age of fourteen there was a great falling off in attendance. Only about 25 per cent of the children of ages fourteen to seventeen inclusive were in full-time school attendance, as compared with about 70 per cent in our country. Undoubtedly two reasons may be assigned for this drop: first, the fact that fees were charged in secondary schools, and second, the fact that advancement to a secondary school was based on a satisfactory examination and "general intelligence and capacity," as certified by school authorities.

While about half the pupils in Council and public-aided Voluntary schools were accepted without fees, the average tuition for the rest was $50 a year. The examination system barred many children from secondary school and was under severe criticism. However, the ideal of secondary education for all youth had not permeated the national consciousness.

Great Variety in Type of Schools.—In the publicly provided schools the authorities decided, when a child reached "eleven plus," whether he should continue in a senior (upper elementary) school to age fourteen, or go to a secondary (academic high) school until sixteen or eighteen, or to a central school (more vocational than the secondary school). Several other minor types of school were also operated, such as junior technical schools for ages fourteen to sixteen.

Only graduates of secondary schools (in the limited meaning used here) could pass on to university or technical college, at about age eighteen and upon satisfactory examination. Graduates of cen-

tral schools could, on passing examinations, enter training colleges to prepare for teaching in primary schools.

Besides the several types of Council schools, there was great variety in the types of secondary schools. These still exist under the 1944 Act. They include small private day schools, preparatory schools, girls' schools, Grammar schools and the "Public" (private, endowed) schools. Of the Grammar schools, several hundred in number, many are ancient foundations established by deed or bequest. They take pupils of "eleven plus" to sixteen or eighteen. The "Public" schools are best represented in American minds by such institutions as Eton, Harrow, Winchester, and Rugby. Some are hundreds of years old, some of comparatively recent origin. They are primarily boys' boarding schools and enroll about 20,000.

Religious instruction was permitted in all schools, and as a matter of practice all schools offered it. Voluntary schools under church auspices gave denominational instruction, as a rule, while others gave general, undenominational instruction.

It can be gathered from the foregoing discussion that Britain not only allowed but apparently encouraged great diversity in educational matters. There was little exercise of central authority, and that chiefly by advice and encouragement. Almost anyone could open a school, subject to no regulations unless financial aid from public funds was sought. While the ideal of a general, liberal education prevailed, many different emphases were to be found, from strictest classical and traditional to highly specialized vocational.

The New British Plan of Education.—The Education Act of 1944 did not sweep away all the existing structure of education, but it simplified its administration, greatly extended school opportunities, and gave to the Minister of Education immense powers to regulate education and enforce national legislation. Very remarkable is the fact that Parliament enacted this law while the nation was still in the throes of war. This was not the first time that England acted in wartime to improve education—in 1918 another important bill was passed. This seems to indicate that in times of crisis, when severe drains are being made on her human and material resources, England takes firm steps to preserve and improve what are left, and if possible to increase them.

Administration.—The central authority for England and Wales is the Ministry of Education, presided over by the Minister, who is a member of the Cabinet. Besides the full-time administrative staff, the Ministry employs a large corps of school Inspectors

who report on the efficiency of schools and other educational institutions, and act as the Minister's local agents in administrative matters, and as his advisers.

The local educational authorities have been reduced in number to 145, with sixty-two county councils and eighty-three borough councils. These councils are, as before, the civil administrative bodies, much like our boards of county commissioners and city councils. For education they appoint a subcommittee from their own membership, and an additional number of persons of educational experience and acquaintance with school conditions in the area. This constitutes the Education Committee, or, as we should say, the board of education, for the district concerned.

All schools are now classified in two groups: *County* schools, provided and managed by the county and borough councils, and *Voluntary* schools, which are under denominational or private management. There are liberal provisions for aiding the Voluntary schools by grants for 50 per cent of the cost of buildings and equipment. There is also provision for complete, or nearly complete, support of such schools, if they wish to surrender their control to the public bodies while retaining their historic denominational affiliation or other traditions.

Religious instruction is now required in all schools, with the privilege reserved to parents to have their children excused. Denominational schools may give instruction in their faith. In the County schools the instruction must be undenominational.

Fees are prohibited in all publicly controlled schools, at both the primary and secondary levels. In Voluntary schools which receive financial aid, at least 25 per cent of the pupils must be admitted free, and fees for others are regulated according to family income.

The compulsory attendance age was raised to fifteen in 1946, and as soon as it is practicable in the opinion of the Minister, it must be raised to sixteen.

Organization of Schools.—The entire system of County schools is now organized in a single ladder system, with three levels for children and young persons from two to eighteen years of age. The term "primary education" now covers all provision for children under eleven, "secondary education" for children "eleven plus" to sixteen or eighteen. The third level, "further education," covers the provisions of full-time and part-time education for persons over compulsory school age, and "leisure-time occupation in such organized cultural training and recreative activities as are suited to their re-

quirements, for any persons over compulsory school age who are able and willing to profit by the facilities provided."[1] These words have been construed as meaning that each L.E.A. has the legal duty, acting under the direction of the Minister, to provide educational service adequate to meet the needs of every child and adult in England and Wales. How far this duty will be discharged at the adult level remains to be seen, but no doubt education will be greatly expanded at the college and adult levels.

A system of examinations is required, but instead of being used as competitive entrance or qualifying examinations, these examinations will be used as guidance instruments to assist school authorities, parents, and children to select the most suitable type of school for each child.

An important step in extending opportunities upward is the requirement that by 1949 every L.E.A. must have set up a *County College,* if there is a need for it. This unit will serve youth over the compulsory school age, fifteen (later to be sixteen) to eighteen. All young people not in school full time will be required to attend a County College one whole day a week for forty-four weeks a year, or the equivalent.

At the lower end of the age scale, it is the duty of each educational authority to provide Nursery schools for children two to five, if there is a need.

The plan of education provided for in the Act of 1944 is diagrammed in Figure 29. Free medical inspection is required at certain ages, and is available from age two on; in some cases treatment is also free. Milk and lunches are required to be furnished all children, free to those who cannot afford to pay. Children defective in any way must attend Special schools, from five to sixteen, and some may attend longer for vocational training.

National Interest Enlarged.—All schools of whatever kind—County, Voluntary, Private, etc.—must be inspected by the Minister or his agents, and any school may be closed that fails to meet required standards of buildings, educational efficiency, or staff. National salary scales continue to govern teachers' pay, and a national retirement system is in effect. The support of education in Council schools continues to be shared about equally by local taxpayers and the Treasury. However, when the Act becomes fully effective, it is

[1] *Education Act, 1944,* Section 41, London: H. M. Stationery Office, York House, Kingsway, W.C.2.

estimated that annual expenditures for education will be almost twice as much as before the Act.

The provisions of the 1944 Act, only the main features of which are referred to above, are all enforceable by the Minister. The duties laid on local authorities are not merely permissive, but mandatory.

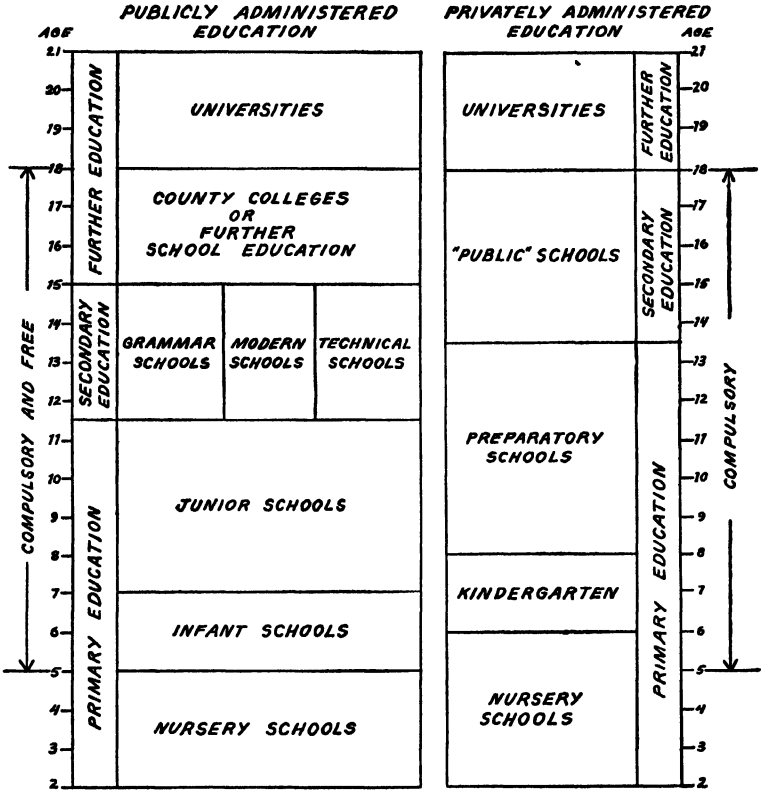

Figure 29. The British Plan of Education, as Provided by the Education Act of 1944

It is expected that the central authority will, as in the past, consult local authorities and refrain from arbitrary use of its powers. But the power is there if the need for its use arises.

It is transparently clear that in 1944 the British people decided to make some radical changes in their educational program, while keeping and strengthening some features which they cherished.

3. Education in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

No nation has been the center of more controversial writing and discussion than Russia. And, on the basis of official records of the U.S.S.R., it may be stated with confidence that in no ancient or modern country has a comparable educational revolution been achieved in so short a span of years. Whether we in America think well of the Soviet school system, the facts testify to the prodigious efforts of the Soviets to use education as a major means to "lift themselves by their own bootstraps."

There is little doubt that most Americans view the educational measures employed in the U.S.S.R. with mixed feelings. The incredible progress will be admired, and some of the principles governing that progress. Other principles will be condemned and certain features of the educational system will be disapproved. The question that looms over any discussion of things Russian, whether it relates to politics, industry, personal freedom, education, or whatever, is this: Does the end justify the means; is the price paid, in terms of human values, fair for the objective in view?

Very great contrast characterizes education before the Revolution of 1917 and education now. Also much change has occurred since the first Educational Act of 1918 was promulgated just as Soviet thought in many other respects has been modified. Without going into all the details of then and now, or into the many changes since 1918, a brief sketch covering important points is given here. The inquiring student will find a detailed study of the Soviet educational system most interesting, especially if he makes some comparative analysis of that system and ours.

The Soviet scheme of education has been described by some enthusiasts as surpassing ours. The student can judge of the truth of this claim from the following information, supplemented by some research.

Education Under the Tsars.—In prerevolutionary Russia, elementary and secondary schooling was the privilege of only about 20 per cent of the population. Children of the nobility and high officials, professional people and, to a smaller extent, children of businessmen and wealthy peasants had school opportunities. Only 4.7 per cent of the population attended school. Higher education was even more restricted. In all Russia, in 1917, there were only ninety-one institutions of higher education with about 60,000 students, as compared with more than a thousand in the United States, with

about 600,000 full time students. More than 80 per cent of the population was illiterate. Girls were not encouraged to go to school. In the higher institutions only one student in seven was a girl.

Education Highly Selective.—Education was, in brief, limited to the privileged groups, on a fee basis, largely controlled by the established church, and chiefly concerned with perpetuating the status quo. The curriculum at secondary and higher levels was heavily loaded with the classics. Outlying regions of the vast territory under the Russian flag were almost totally neglected. The dominance of Great Russia (the major portion of European Russia) was a primary concern of the government. The languages, customs, needs, and resources of the other parts were largely ignored.

The Soviet Plan of Education.—The necessity of mass education was recognized by leaders at the very beginning of the revolution, and has continued as a primary concern since that day. Under the Soviet system, education is regarded as an instrument of the Communist Party through which the Party hopes to achieve its objectives. Through education the state aims to create an active, determined, and knowledgeable proletariat, devoted to communism and to the building of the Soviet ideal of a socialist society.

Education enjoys a status equal to that of the Army, the state police, the state planning commission. Many of the best brains of the country have been assigned to the task of making universal education a reality. Since 1917 many changes have occurred in Soviet education, but the essential features of the system were crystallized about 1930, when compulsory elementary education was decreed for the entire domain of the U.S.S.R.

Elements of the School System.—The system now encompasses the following types of provisions: (1) Nursery schools for children under three, directed by the Commissariat of Health. (2) Kindergartens for children three to seven, which may be organized by workers associations, employers, or the state, but all under the direction of the Commissariat of Education. (3) Elementary schools, for ages seven to eleven, comprising a four-year course. (4) Junior secondary schools, with a seven-year course for ages seven to fourteen, including the four years of compulsory elementary education plus three years of secondary school studies. (5) Senior secondary schools, with a ten-year course for ages seven to seventeen, similar to the plan of the junior secondary school with three additional years. (6) Higher education, comprising the universities with five-year

courses, and institutes of technology, pedagogy, medicine, agriculture, music, and art with four-year courses. A diagram of the educational system is presented in Figure 30.

Special schools for children in delicate health (forest schools), for the deaf, dumb, blind, mental defectives, and orphans, for chil-

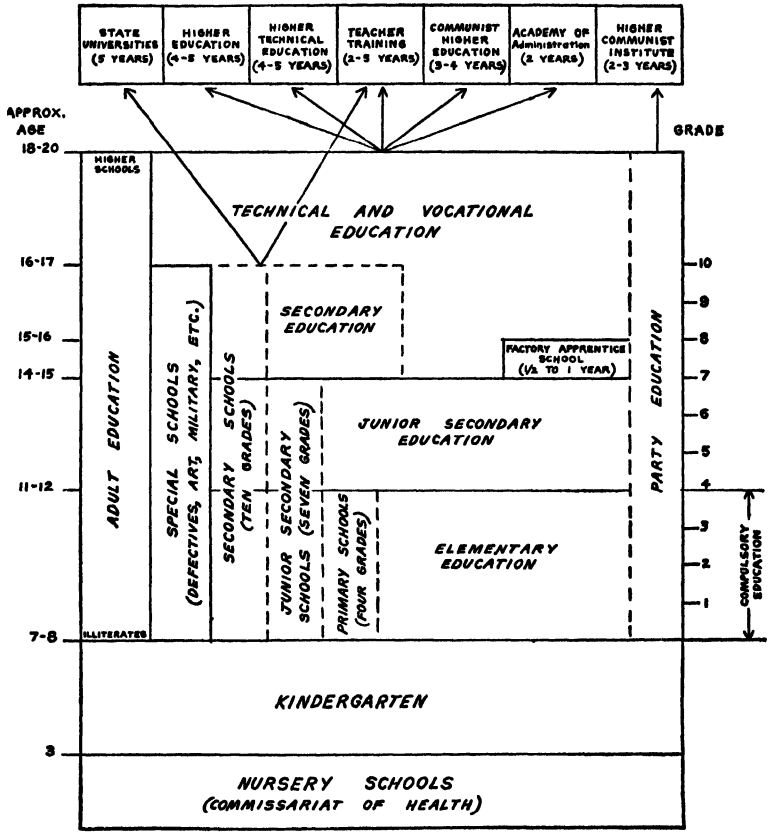

Figure 30. The Educational System of the U.S.S.R.

dren especially gifted in art, and for boys preparing to be army officers are operated under various government departments. Numerous short courses, evening schools, and correspondence courses are provided for children who go to work before completing secondary schools, as well as for adults. In the last prewar years of 1940–41

about twelve million persons were enrolled in correspondence courses alone.

Free Education Extended.—The nursery schools are financed by industry, farm cooperatives, or other organizations. The only compulsory part of the total program is the four years of elementary education. Beyond the age of eleven, pupils may and are encouraged to continue through the junior and senior secondary schools, which they may enter without examination (except some vocational schools).

Education is free through the junior secondary level. At the senior secondary level a small fee (in 1947, fifty rubles, about $10) is charged, but war orphans, and children of war invalids, pensioners, and partisans are exempted from fees. University and technical institutes are open to all who can qualify for admission by examination. At these institutions fees are charged (400 rubles, worth about $80 in 1947), but students with good marks are granted monthly allowances for subsistence as high as 300 rubles ($60).

The sexes are segregated in the junior and senior secondary schools, except in small towns and rural districts where the number of children does not justify separation. Segregation was adopted in 1943, with the idea of adapting the curriculum more closely to the differentiated needs of adolescent boys and girls. Physical education and military science are emphasized for boys; home arts and nursing for girls. However, equal opportunities are available to boys and girls alike. To allow for association of the two sexes, extracurricular activities are carried on without segregation.

Preparation of Teachers.—Teachers in the elementary schools must have at least three years of training beyond the junior secondary level in teacher training schools. In the junior secondary grades, corresponding to our grades 5 to 7, they must have completed a two-year course in a teaching institute after finishing the senior secondary school. To teach in a senior secondary school (grades 8 to 10), a four- or five-year course in an Institute of Education or an education department of a university must have been completed, after graduation from a senior secondary school. All teacher training work is under governmental direction. The teacher's work is highly esteemed in Russia, and the title of "teacher," when earned, is given for life. The holder can be deprived of this title only by a court.

Progress Since the Revolution.—Illiteracy in the U.S.S.R. has been cut in thirty years from more than 80 per cent to an estimated

10 per cent. Currently there are about forty-five million persons in schools of all kinds and grades—25 per cent of the population as against less than 5 per cent in tsarist Russia. The extent of school support in absolute value as well as in relation to national income is greater than that in any other country in all history, including the United States. Table 52 indicates the expansion of education under the Soviet regime.

TABLE 52

EXTENT OF EDUCATION IN TSARIST RUSSIA AND THE U.S.S.R.

	Tsarist Russia 1914–17	U.S.S.R. 1946
Number attending schools of all kinds and grades	8,000,000	45,000,000
Per cent of population in school	4.7	25
Number of universities and technical institutes	91	783[c]
Enrollment in universities and technical institutes	60,000	600,000[d]
Number of teachers	200,000[a]	1,200,000
Percentage of literacy	18	90
Financial support	$55,000,000[b]	$4,000,000,000+

[a] Estimated.
[b] In tsarist Russia public education was not provided. This figure represents grants for scholarships, etc.
[c] This is approximately the same number as in the last prewar years, 1940–41.
[d] This exceeds the previous peak enrollment of 1940–41 by about 25,000.

Highly Centralized Administration.—The entire educational system is controlled by the state. Each of the component republics of the Soviet Union has an educational authority that directs the educational program through local or district authorities. But all activity is subject to the central control of the Commissariat of Education. Textbooks are printed and distributed by the state. Teachers are prepared in state-operated institutions. The schools are financed by the state with the exception of the fees noted above. Education is completely secular. No private schools are permitted. Great emphasis is laid on subject-matter mastery, coupled with much practical application, especially in vocational and technical areas. The curriculum is highly standardized, with some modifications for regional peculiarities. For example, the standard curriculum of Soviet secondary schools throughout the land is set up as listed on page 452.

Trend Toward Conservatism.—After a period of rather lax discipline during which the authority of the teacher was at a low ebb,

Subject	Per Cent of Time Allotted per Year
Russian language and literature	28.1
Mathematics	22.0
Physics, chemistry, astronomy	8.9
Natural sciences	5.5
Geography	6.0
History and constitution of U.S.S.R.	8.3
Modern languages	6.8
Writing, draftsmanship, art, singing	3.4
Physical and military training (boys) Physical training, home arts, nursing (girls)	11.0

three or four years ago a set of rules was developed for school children in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (where about half the population lives). Other republics are following this lead. The twenty rules set forth strong regulations governing school attendance, study, respect for teacher, personal habits, courtesy to elders, helping at home, obedience, service to the Soviet Fatherland, etc. Violation is punishable even to the extent of expulsion from school.

There are many signs that education in the U.S.S.R. is becoming more conservative and less revolutionary, in many ways. Symptoms of this change found in education are: more emphasis on traditional school subjects; more emphasis on discipline and respect for the authority of teachers and parents; more emphasis on traditional methods of instruction, with wider use of school marks, competition, home work, etc.; segregation of the sexes in secondary grades; less participation of pupils and parents in school management; the imposition of fees in secondary schools; greater attention in school to nationalistic aims and domestic problems, with less attention to "world revolution."

The "Party Line" in Education.—Every effort is made to inculcate "the way of socialism" in the school children—even as we attempt to inculcate "the way of democracy." Soviet efforts, however, are infinitely more intense than ours. The whole life of child and adult, not only the school life, is overpoweringly pervaded by indoctrination in the Soviet system. It is indeed interesting that one of the main purposes of education is the same as that of tsarist times: the perpetuation of the status quo. The status has changed, but not the aim.

With such strong control by the Party as has been indicated, it would be a miracle if a highly nationalistic outlook were not attained. The Soviet "youth movement," the Pioneers and Young Commu-

nists (Komsomol) organizations for children and youth respectively, are closely tied in with the schools, and are required to support and promote the work of the schools. The socialistic system, under the dictatorship of the Communist Party, is continuously glorified as the most democratic in the world, as the guardian of the interests and welfare of the overwhelming majority of the people.

The aim of Soviet education from its foundations has been and continues to be, in the words of the leaders, "to master the knowledge of all races," and to catch up with and surpass "in the shortest possible historical period the most advanced capitalistic countries." Through each of the first three Five-Year Plans great progress was made. By the end of the fourth Five-Year Plan, 1946–50, the U.S.S.R. has planned to make even further gains in education, such as universal compulsory secondary education, and at least a 50 per cent increase in higher education.

4. The School System of China

Before the establishment of the Republic in 1912, education in China was supported almost entirely by tuition fees. While children were not excluded because of the social status of their parents, a selective economic factor operated to deprive most children of school opportunities. For at least forty centuries, reaching back to the beginnings of recorded Chinese history, almost down to the republican era, the purpose of education in China was to perpetuate the status quo.

Aims of the Prerevolutionary System of Education.—Since the time of Confucius, who lived about 2,500 years ago, the traditional aims of Chinese education were to cultivate the familistic conception of society, economically as well as socially; to harmonize the individual with established moral and social sanctions; and to perpetuate the wisdom and way of life of the past. No attention was given to the physical side of life; in fact, anything associated with the physical was discouraged.

These aims, however, were not accomplished by schools, as there were no compulsory attendance laws. Rather they were attained through family relations, rituals, and word of mouth communication by scholars. Less than 5 per cent of the population could be classified as literate. Formal education was conducted under private auspices, and for boys only. Calligraphy (the mastery of thousands of characters), the study of the classic works of Confucius and Mencius, and essay writing comprised the bulk of the work. Rote memoriza-

tion was the chief method of study. A rigid examination system selected students for advanced levels of training.

The individual's goal at the end of his formal schooling was appointment to a government position at whatever level his training qualified him. The professional scholar, or wise man, and the government employee held the highest stations in life. Changes did occur in the centuries of Chinese history, but the general situation sketched here remained essentially the same to the revolution. Only minor modifications had been introduced in the three or four decades prior to the founding of the Republic.

The Aims Achieved.—It is easy for us to condemn severely such a system, so remote is it from our conception of what an educational program should be, and so wasteful of human resources. Yet down the centuries, "China" has continued to exist. The system accomplished what it was intended to do, and in these terms it may be evaluated as highly effective. It produced a race of people the great masses of whom were peaceful, stable, and content.

The Chinese have thrown overboard the old way, and education is being completely overhauled. The changes now being wrought are due to a far-reaching revision of the *purposes* of education. In other words, it is a radical (in the literal sense) revolution.

In so vast a country, handicapped by political troubles, lack of economic resources, public and private, numerous dialects, a high rate of illiteracy, a predominantly rural population, and deeply ingrained social traditions, the task of educational reform is more formidable that most of us can imagine. Added to these difficulties, the life and death struggle with Japan from 1937 to 1945 seriously delayed progress, although it did not stifle it entirely. Yet in less than four decades such gains have been made as to give encouragement that ultimately the task will be accomplished. What is the nature of China's efforts in educational reform?

Educational Reconstruction Since the Revolution.—The major emphasis characterizing the whole educational ferment in China is to make the total population literate, as the first step toward gaining all the advantages that derive from literacy. While several national plans for educational improvement have been developed periodically, the basic principles were laid down in the Constitution of the Republic in these seven articles:

The educational aim of the Republic of China shall be to develop a national spirit, to cultivate a national morality, to train the people for self-

government and to increase their ability to earn a livelihood, and thereby to build a sound and healthy body of citizens.

Every citizen of the Republic of China shall have an equal opportunity to receive education.

All public and private educational institutions in the country shall be subject to State supervision and amenable to the duty of carrying out the educational policies formulated by the State.

Children between six and twelve years of age are of school age and shall receive elementary education free of tuition.

All persons over school age who have not received an elementary education shall receive supplementary education free of tuition.

In establishing universities and technical schools, the State shall give special consideration to the needs of the respective localities so as to afford the people thereof an equal opportunity to receive higher education, thereby hastening a balanced national cultural development.

Educational appropriations shall constitute no less than 15 per cent of the total amount of the budget of the Central Government and no less than 30 per cent of the total amount of the provincial, county, and municipal budgets respectively . . . Educational expenditures in needy provinces shall be subsidized by the central treasury.

Provisions were also made for government subsidy of approved private schools, the education of Chinese students abroad, teachers of long service and good records, needy students of high ability, and "those who have made academic or technical inventions and discoveries." These principles savor strongly of American ideas, a fact which is traceable to the work of John Dewey, Paul Monroe, and William H. Kilpatrick, three leaders of American education who have advised the Chinese government from time to time.

Rapid Progress Since 1930.—The era of rapid progress began in 1930, when a twenty-year plan for universal education was adopted. In 1935, China's first compulsory school law was enacted. This act, though difficult to enforce, especially during the war, was never abrogated. It provided that between 1935 and 1940 every child of compulsory school age (eight to twelve) and every illiterate adult must attend at least a one-year primary school; between 1940 and 1944 a two-year course, and thereafter a full four-year course. By 1949 it was hoped to wipe out illiteracy. The long war, among other factors, delayed the realization of this goal, but did not kill it. The enrollment of children was especially stressed during the recent hard years, to produce eventually a literate population from childhood on. Every primary school district, of which there are about 250,000, must provide a one-year school, and for every five to ten such districts, a four-year school must be maintained.

It is estimated now that about 40 per cent of the Chinese people are literate, in the sense of being able to read and write. The simplification of the written language, the dissemination of millions of books and pamphlets, the widening use of radio, government requirements and encouragement, intensified world relations and contacts, and great weight on adult education—all these and other factors contribute to the fairly rapid progress being made.

Current Plan of Education.—The plan of education which is in process of realization is diagrammed in Figure 31. While only four years of school are compulsory, gradually higher requirements are to be enforced. In the chart may be noted a type of school called "Supplementary Schools." These are "schools of literacy," for youth and adults who have not had school opportunities. Besides such facilities, there are numerous other measures for the promotion of literacy: mass meetings, movies, traveling troupes of teachers, libraries, the use of "little teachers" (children who teach their home folks what they learn in school), and "relay teachers" (adults who pass on to groups of other adults what they have just learned, similar to the monitors of the Lancasterian schools described in Chapter 2).

A mass attack on illiteracy is under way, which is planned to result in 800,000 "people's schools," one in each of the 800,000 *pao* of the entire country. (A *pao* is a civil and military unit typically comprising 100 to 150 families.) These will be in addition to the nearly 300,000 elementary schools now existing. The people's schools have three divisions, for men, women, and children. Adults are taught reading, writing, good citizenship, self-control, international affairs. The children's curriculum is referred to below.

Administration.—The primary schools are financed and administered by the counties and municipalities. Secondary schools of various types may be established by any of these units of government, but as a rule they are provincial schools. During the war the national government partly financed both primary and secondary schools in the most retarded regions; it also set up about fifty secondary schools which will probably be turned over to provincial authorities. It is not the policy of the national government to administer or finance schools on a permanent, dualistic basis.

Private schools of all kinds are permitted and encouraged, except schools for the education of teachers, which are controlled by central or subordinate government agencies. Higher education is under the auspices of the national government, the provinces, and private agencies, for example missionary enterprises.

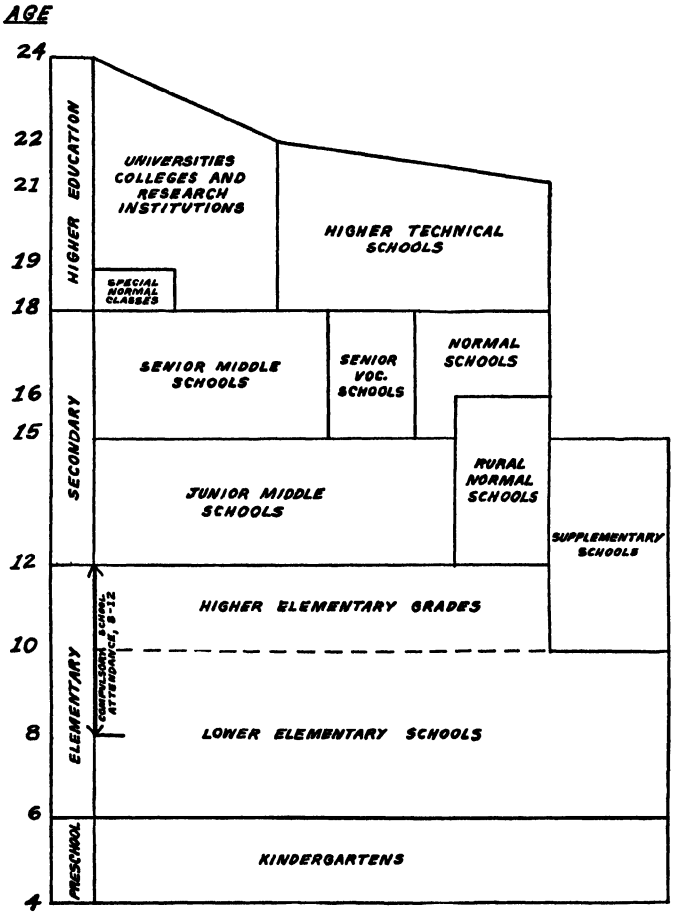

Figure 31. Major Features of the Educational System of China

There seems to be more central government direction, exercised through the expression of national policies, partial support, and operation of certain types of schools, than in the United States, less than in England, and far less than in the U.S.S.R. At the close of World War II, the following statistics on full-time regular enrollment were reported and are the most recent figures available:[2]

[2] Data from *Summary of Educational Statistics for China* (in Chinese), published October, 1946, by the Bureau of Statistics of the Chinese Ministry of Education.

Type	Number[a]	Enrollment[b]	Staff[b]
Elementary schools	254,377	17,221,814	655,611
Secondary schools	3,745[c]	1,163,116	90,635
Higher institutions	182	80,646	18,094

[a] In 1946.
[b] In 1945.
[c] Secondary schools include junior and senior middle schools, normal schools, and vocational schools.

Elementary education suffered a loss of nearly 5,000,000 pupils during the war, due to enemy occupation of certain heavily populated areas. Otherwise enrollment was larger than before the war, which bodes well for future growth. Very large increases are expected each year for a number of years. It is interesting to compare the enrollments above with those cited in this chapter for other countries.

Program of Studies.—Chinese pupils follow much the same program of studies as western children. The typical six-year elementary school program includes Chinese, social studies, nature study, arithmetic, physical education and hygiene, art and handicraft, and music. The children are in school from twenty to twenty-six hours a week, depending on the grade. In the junior and senior middle schools the typical program includes Chinese, social studies, natural and physical sciences, mathematics, physical education, drawing, music, manual arts, logic, and English. Military education is given in the first year of senior middle school. Pupils have about thirty hours of class work a week in the junior middle school, and thirty-two in the senior. While the government has tried to get all secondary schools on a continuous six-year plan, most of them follow a divided 3–3 arrangement.

Teacher Preparation.—Teachers are prepared in four types of institutions: the three types of normal schools shown in Figure 31, and normal colleges and teachers colleges, which are classified as higher institutions. The qualifications for admission can be read from the chart. The graduates of rural normal schools work in rural elementary schools; those of normal schools teach in elementary schools other than rural. The few normal colleges that now remain prepare personnel for the junior middle grades. Most of the normal colleges have been reorganized as four-year teachers colleges, which prepare teachers for both junior and senior middle schools.

The system of Chinese education herein set forth by no means blankets the vast reaches to which the name "China" applies. Much

of the plan is still in the blueprint stage. The educational plans of China may in part be described as reconstruction, and in part as building *de novo*. At every level much remains to be done to put into effect the principles and ideals so bravely enunciated in Constitution, statutes, regulations, and policies.

One interesting development resulting from the long and costly war is the extension of educational opportunities to the hinterland. Before the war, most of the educational progress had been made in the eastern part of the country, from Canton to Peiping. For example, about 85 per cent of all the colleges, universities, libraries, and museums were located in this area. The invasion caused millions of people to migrate westward. Three fourths of the institutions of higher learning made the trek, and some may remain in the west or leave nuclei of new institutions behind if they return to their original sites. The whole west of China has been opened up, by force of necessity. Unknown resources are being brought to light and exploited. With the present great interest in educational, scientific, and technical progress, truly a new era has begun.

5. Educational Reform in Mexico

The end of the dictatorship of Diaz in 1911 marked the great turning point for education in Mexico, as well as for other social, political, and economic institutions. During the Diaz regime, the country was "stabilized." Revolutions were stifled, the nation's financial system was put on a sound basis, railways were extended, and natural resources were exploited, mostly by foreign capital. From all outward appearances Mexico was a peaceful and prosperous land. And so it was, but only in the interest of the few.

The condition of the masses was execrable. Their lands had been seized by legal and illegal means by the rich, and the original owners were reduced to peonage. Their standard of living fell lower and lower. Neither the federal nor state governments had any concern about the social, economic, and political rehabilitation of the masses. Education, the chief means of lifting a people to higher planes of living, was neglected.

Education under the Diaz Dictatorship.—Before 1911, while in theory education was democratic, in practice it was a privilege of only the wealthy aristocracy and upper middle class. It was traditional and static, oriented toward the social doctrines of the rulers, the Catholic Church, and the aristocracy. Many of the existing

schools were operated under church auspices. There were no compulsory attendance laws, and the schools were not free. Three out of four persons ten years of age and over were illiterate. Schools were to be found only in the federal and state capitals and in the large cities. In the rural areas, where two thirds of the people lived, there were no schools.

The successful revolution of 1910–11 was motivated by the demands of the common people for a better life. Chief among their demands were restitution of the land to the Indians and the mestizos and the right to education. Provisions were made accordingly in the Constitution of 1917 which outlined the basic pattern of educational reform, one that still controls. Since then many changes have been adopted to strengthen the national educational program, but they have continued along the lines laid down three decades ago.

Education Since the Revolution of 1910–11.—In the Constitution of 1917 elementary education was made compulsory, free, and secular for all children to age fourteen or until the completion of grade 4. Religious bodies were forbidden to operate or to contribute to the support of schools, and all other private schools were made subject to government inspection and supervision. Agricultural, industrial, and mining companies were required to provide elementary schools for children of their employees. The federal government was empowered to fix the contributions of state and municipal authorities to school support.

The "Socialistic School."—In 1933 the school system, by constitutional amendment, officially became socialistic. In no school may doctrines contrary to the socialist philosophy of the government be taught. The interpretation of the "Socialistic School" in Mexico is very broad, bearing close resemblance to our ideas of equal educational opportunity. The school seeks to discover the needs of the country and of the people, and through wise use of resources to meet the needs of both. Thus education enters into every phase of Mexican life.

The broad character of the program included under the head of education is indicated by the term *"educación global"*—integral education, especially applicable in the rural areas. The schools teach far more than the Three R's. In fact, their foremost objective is to improve standards of health, home life, work, and recreation. In the rural schools, teachers spend more than half their time guiding adults in the use of better methods of farming and homemaking, teaching people how to improve their health through better diets

and hygiene, and encouraging social and recreational life by active leadership. The Mexican educational system in this way resembles the Chinese. In both countries, determined efforts are being made to make all the people literate. And beyond this, specific efforts are being directed toward raising the standard of living in all ways.

Organization of Schools.—The school system—federal, state, and private—embraces schools from kindergarten to university. Most of the kindergartens are conducted under private auspices and are found only in the cities. Primary (elementary) education is organized in three cycles, of two grades each. Outside the large cities, a four-year elementary school is the rule, and in rural areas three years or less are frequently offered instead of four. Six years of primary education must be completed by children intending to enter secondary schools. The compulsory attendance law is not enforced because of a lack of school facilities and teachers.

Secondary education is set up in two cycles, the first of three years, for children of thirteen to sixteen, the second of two additional years primarily to prepare for admission to post-secondary institutions. The system of higher education comprises five universities, several dozen normal schools, and a number of specialized schools of mining, agriculture, forestry, and so on. Figure 32 shows the main features of the educational system.

Administration.—The administration of education in Mexico is shared by the federal government and the twenty-eight state governments, an arrangement which was in effect before the revolution. However, since the revolution there has been a gradually increasing assumption of educational authority and responsibility by the national government. The central authority has made its primary task the extension of educational opportunities in the rural areas.

In 1910 there were only 600 federal primary schools, none of which were in the rural areas. In 1922 a vast program of rural education was undertaken, with the result that there are now about 15,000 federal primary schools, the vast majority in the rural parts, financed and managed by the Ministry of Education. Besides these the government controls about 3,000 state-financed schools by agreement with state authorities, and about 200 secondary and technical (vocational) schools.

The federal government also operates a variety of other types of schools, including normal schools for the preparation of rural teachers; several agricultural schools, some at the college level; Indian boarding and day schools; the National Teachers School in

Mexico City for the preparation of urban primary teachers; the Institute for the Preparation of Secondary Professors at the capital; more than one hundred Workers' Schools; and the National University at Mexico City, established in 1551.

Most of the states also operate normal schools for teachers in the state rural primary schools. Four universities, with less than

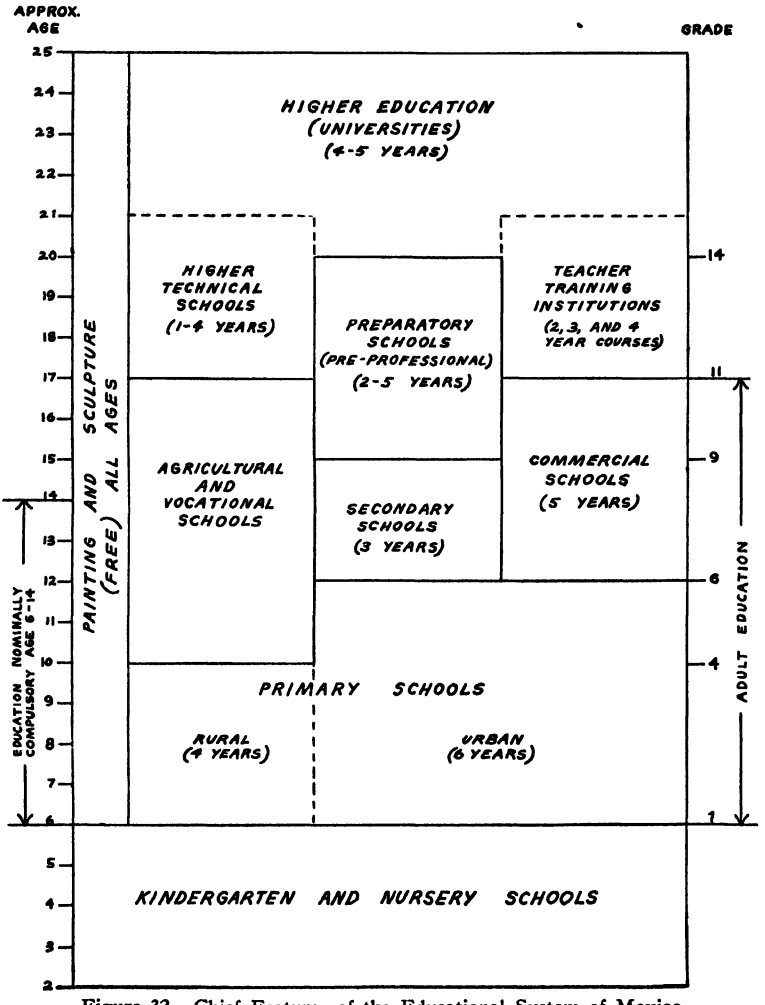

Figure 32. Chief Features of the Educational System of Mexico

half the total enrollment in higher education, are state financed. There are about one thousand schools at the elementary level operated by industrial companies, and several hundred other private primary schools. While private schools are encouraged by the government, due to the great need for schools and teachers, they are all subject to government supervision and control.

For several years, beginning in 1935, all public schools were coeducational. Recently boys and girls have been segregated after the first two years of primary education, except in small communities. A ten-month school year is the rule. Elementary, secondary, technical and normal schools are free, and there are many scholarships available in institutions which charge fees. Sentiment is growing to make education compulsory through high school.

It is likely that both federal and state interest in education will grow, but the national government is much more aggressive than the states, and undoubtedly will assume proportionately more and more responsibility for educational finance and administration.

Preparation of Teachers.—Normal schools for the preparation of rural teachers accept graduates of the six-year elementary program, keeping them four years. There are also shorter courses of two years for rural teachers, with emphasis on agriculture and the social and economic problems of rural life. The National Teachers School, mentioned above, requires secondary school graduation for entrance. A three-year course is offered. For secondary school teachers, a four-year course is offered at the Institute, which requires secondary school graduation or completion of the course for primary teachers for admission. Both subject-matter and professional courses are taught. The five universities crown the system, but engage primarily in cultural and professional work other than teacher education.

The Program of Studies.—At the elementary level the usual elementary school subjects are taught, but this program is greatly modified in the rural schools. Literacy alone is not the goal: school offerings include instruction in health, home life, social life, working conditions, recreation. Much attention is given to adapting the schools to local needs, which vary greatly in different parts of the country. It is estimated, for example, that 15 per cent of the people live at a most primitive level, four centuries behind the times. Another 45 per cent are reported to live at scarcely a higher level, one to three centuries behind. About one quarter of the people lead a fairly passable existence, and only some 15 per cent may be said to

have a satisfactory living standard, found mainly in the capital and other large cities. The 6,000,000 Indians require special education to overcome the effects of centuries of oppression and exploitation.

In secondary schools, elementary education is continued on a reduced scale, with the following required subjects added: mathematics, biological and physical sciences, social sciences (geography, civics, history of Mexico, and general history), Spanish, art, music, physical education, and practical arts. In the upper two-year cycle, electives in modern languages, instrumental music, and commercial subjects are customarily offered. The schools are officially reported to be progressive, rather than traditional, but competent observers state that in many schools the methods of teaching and the courses of study are quite traditional.

The "Cultural Missions."—An interesting device for the improvement of rural education was adopted in 1926, with the inauguration of the "Cultural Missions." These groups, numbering about twenty, are composed of experts in sanitation, economics, social and home life, education, agriculture and stock raising, rural industry, music, physical education, art, home economics, and nursing. They go about the areas assigned to them conducting six-week institutes for teachers. They also act as supervisory agents of the education ministry, and as propaganda agents for the spreading of the socialistic ideas of the government and for the struggle to improve the condition of the rural population.

School Statistics.—It is impossible to obtain complete information on the number of schools and pupils enrolled for the entire country. In 1946, official government documents reported that there were approximately 15,000 federal and federally administered schools, including all types from kindergarten to normal and technical institutes. Total enrollment in these schools was 1,900,000. It is estimated that there are about 7,500 schools administered by the states, and 1,500 private schools. The enrollment statistics for these two groups are not available, but it is estimated that the total is about 350,000.

Recent estimates of the percentage of children at various age levels enrolled in school are as follows: about 56 per cent of the children six to thirteen are enrolled, 5 per cent of children fourteen to seventeen, and 3 per cent of young people eighteen to twenty-one.

Problems and Needs.—A brave start has been made in Mexico in the brief period since the overthrow of the dictatorship and the

establishment of the liberal government. The national rate of literacy has been raised to 50 per cent, although in some sections it is still only 10 or 20 per cent. Tens of thousands of schools have been set up, and at least rudimentary education is available in most parts of the country. School attendance has increased, but probably less than half the children who should be in school are enrolled.

The major handicaps still to be overcome are lack of money, lack of school facilities and instructional materials, and a great shortage of personnel. As Mexico becomes more industrialized, more nearly adequate financing may materialize, which will in turn relieve the other needs. Another major obstacle to educational development of the nation is the apathy of large segments of the population toward schooling. This will probably be gradually overcome as the people come to recognize the benefits that flow from education.

The relationship of the states and the federal government in education is not yet clearly defined. All the signs point to increasing federal activity, and it appears now that a nationalized school system is evolving.

Topics for Study and Discussion are given at the end of Chapter 17.

Chapter 17

A COMPARISON OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND OTHER LANDS (CONTINUED)

6. Educational Reform in Other Countries

In many other countries, vast programs of educational reconstruction and reform are in progress. In war-devastated areas, among both Allied and enemy groups, the chaos following the war is being capitalized upon for improvement. To illustrate this movement, current developments in France, Germany, and Japan are briefly described. In other countries, interesting developments are also taking place, and students are urged to make a study of some of them.[1]

France.—The school system of France has always followed a highly centralized and selective plan. The Minister of Education has had great authority over the curriculum, textbooks, preparation of teachers, and financial support. While nominally children have been required to attend school to age fourteen, the law has been poorly enforced. A very small percentage of children has entered secondary schools, and a still smaller proportion has had higher educational opportunities. At the secondary level, France has had a dual system for a century and a half: local schools (*collèges*), and national schools (*lycées*). The standards of the latter have been higher than those of the former, the teachers better prepared, and financial support greater. In every way, the *lycées* have been considered as schools of the elite. Entrance examinations have been required for admission to all secondary schools, and fees have been imposed for tuition.

During World War I, a group of educational reformers, *Les Compagnons de l'Université Nouvelle,* organized to seek the development of a ladder system of education along the lines of American schools. This *"école unique"* (single school system) was not achieved in the interval between the two World Wars. However,

[1] The Scandinavian countries, especially Denmark, are good subjects for study in this connection, as are also Chile, Argentina, and Switzerland.

the idea never died, and recent recommendations of the French Commission for the Reform of Education seem to follow closely the earlier proposals. The nazified school system foisted on France during the years of German occupation made Frenchmen keenly conscious of the importance of schools and of the stultifying influence of a strongly centralized educational system.

Briefly, the Commission proposed to reduce the authority of the Ministry of Education, assigning more powers to the departments (somewhat corresponding to our states or to the English shires or counties) for the administration of schools. The ideal of equality of educational opportunity was advanced, and a school system was recommended to achieve the ideal. The new system, as proposed, would be set up as follows:

1. A common school system for all children, with no social or economic distinctions, affording both general and vocational preparation.

2. Three levels of schooling. The first level is to include primary school, of one or two years of preparatory or infant school, and six years of elementary school. At age twelve, pupils would enter, without examination, a secondary school. The first cycle of secondary school of three years would be compulsory; the second cycle of three years would not, but pupils who drop out of full-time school at fifteen would be compelled to continue part-time until age eighteen. The third level is to be higher education in a university or technical school, with a four-year course. Admission to this level is premised upon passing an entrance examination. The first two years are to be devoted to general preparation, the last two to specialized study.

3. Stress is to be laid on the testing and guidance of pupils between eleven and thirteen years of age so that they can be counseled on courses to take and can be directed, at fifteen, to the type of secondary school best suited to their needs and abilities. More emphasis is to be given to "activity methods," group work, library study, and remedial classes.

4. Primary teachers will qualify by completing secondary school plus two years in normal school. Secondary teachers will be university graduates with additional time spent in practice teaching. Salaries are to be raised to attract more highly qualified individuals to teaching. The government proposes to double the financial support of education, and to make subsistence grants to poor but able pupils so that no child will be denied educational opportunities by reason of poverty.

France does not expect to accomplish this broad program soon. Buildings, teachers, money, and supplies are all lacking. However, the plans are ready and their gradual achievement is anticipated. The cooperation of all youth-serving agencies is sought, as it is believed that the schools alone cannot carry the burden of improving the country's human resources.

The influence of the British Education Act, the "progressive" movement in America, and the decentralized American plan of administration are clearly apparent in the French proposals. One of the chief criticisms in France has been directed at the excessive emphasis on intellectualism, the mastery of content without much regard for its relation to life. The new plan calls for relatively less emphasis on the classics and mastery of textbooks. Classical, general, and technical curricula are to be on an equal status, and it will be possible for a student completing any type of curriculum to proceed to a higher institution, if he can pass the entrance examination. This is indeed a far cry from traditional French practice.

Germany.—After World War I, the German Republic in its fifteen years of life, made a good start in revamping the educational system along democratic lines. The private preparatory schools for young children were wiped out, and a universal eight-year common school was instituted. Secondary education was greatly expanded, and opportunities to attend were enhanced. The old dual system, with an elementary school for the "masses" and private preparatory school and selective secondary schools for the elite, was abolished. All this was lost when Hitler came to power. The dictatorship prostituted the schools in every conceivable way to the purposes of the regime. The student is referred to selections in the reading list for this chapter for pertinent works about education under the Nazis.

In occupied Germany, Great Britain, France, and the United States are reviving substantially the system of education in effect during the life of the Weimar Republic. Essentially, the school system will be comparable to the American system, with considerable authority allocated to local and state boards. A single school system, from elementary to higher education, is being gradually evolved. In the American zone, schools operated for children of occupation personnel have been established, which German educators are invited to visit and study for their own benefit.

Strenuous efforts are being directed to eradicate all traces of Nazism in the schools. All textbooks are being rewritten to remove false interpretations of history, unscientific racial doctrines, and

anti-democratic propaganda. Teachers are being carefully examined for their beliefs and qualifications, and specially licensed if they meet requirements established by the occupying authorities. If the occupation lasts long enough and is wisely directed, German schools —at least in the American zone—will come to resemble our own school system rather closely. In the Soviet-occupied zone, it is not clear just what is taking place. Probably the best guess, on the basis of scanty information, is that the Russians are allowing the Germans to develop a school system along their own preferred lines, with the proviso that they are to be completely purged of Nazism. It is also probable that the Russians are attempting to cultivate an attitude in German youth that will be friendly to the Soviet philosophy.

Japan.—The prewar school system of Japan was very highly centralized under a Minister of Education, with complete control (under the emperor) of lower and higher education, as well as vast authority in the fields of the arts, science, and religion. One of the seven divisions of the ministry was the "Bureau of Thought Problems," which attempted to guide and control the people's thinking and reading for the promotion of the "national spiritual culture." The modern era began with the issuance of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, which set forth in quite abstract terms the general principles which should guide the development of the school system. With subsequent modifications, the educational system of the early 1940's included the following provisions.

Six years of elementary schooling were free and compulsory, and official reports state that more than 99 per cent of the children were enrolled. Two more years of compulsory schooling were added in 1941, but the law was not enforced. Beyond the six years of elementary school, there was a middle school for boys (high school for girls) which could be attended upon passing an entrance examination and the payment of low tuition fees. Only about 10 per cent of the children who completed elementary school were admitted. Likewise, 10 per cent or fewer of the secondary school graduates were admitted to higher institutions, again on the basis of passing rigid examinations and payment of tuition. The concept of universal schooling beyond the ages of eleven or twelve did not prevail. Most positions in industry and commerce did not call for persons with secondary or higher education, and in fact one was disqualified for many types of jobs if one possessed "too much" education. A diluted form of secondary education for girls was provided, with specially

written textbooks and lower standards than obtained in the boys' middle schools.

Textbooks for all schools were written and published by the Ministry of Education, which also provided motion pictures and radio programs for schools. Teachers were prepared in normal schools and universities under the Ministry's control, and used in their teaching detailed manuals prepared by the central office. The glorification of the emperor and a highly nationalistic interpretation of the empire's history were important elements in the instructional program. Physical education and—for boys—military training also were stressed. Early in 1945, all schools were closed for the duration of the war, which ended suddenly in August of that year, a few days after the release of two atomic bombs on two important war centers.

In 1946, an American commission, headed by George D. Stoddard, Commissioner of Education for New York State (who later in that year became President of the University of Illinois), made a study of the educational system culminating in recommendations for reconstruction. This report, submitted to General Douglas MacArthur, supreme commander of Allied forces in the Pacific, was passed on to the Ministry of Education, not as directives but merely as recommendations. The Commission recommended the distribution of the centralized authority of the Ministry to prefectures (states) and communities, similar to the American plan. It urged that the textbook monopoly be abolished, that rote learning be largely supplemented by discussion and activity, and by practice in the ways of democracy. Three years of free and compulsory education beyond the usual six were recommended, as well as easier access to secondary and higher schools. It proposed that girls be given the same educational opportunities as boys through secondary and higher institutions. Reforms in the preparation of teachers to enable them to discharge their responsibilities under the new plan were also suggested. Curriculum reform and expansion at all levels were strongly recommended.

One of the most important proposals was for the adoption of a phonetic alphabet to replace traditional Japanese characters. Much of the time of elementary school children has been devoted to learning some 1,400 characters, of which about 600 are remembered. Since it takes a knowledge of about 2,400 characters to read a newspaper, it is apparent that most of the effort spent on learning characters is futile. On this question, there is a deep division of opinion among the Japanese themselves, some of whom wish to retain their

characteristic language as an important part of the national tradition. The Commission insists that the language difficulty is one of the most serious bars to universal education.

The import of the Commission's recommendations, in general, was that a greatly expanded school system along democratic principles be developed. Educational opportunities for all children, youth, and adults should be afforded to enable them to discover and develop every scientific, artistic, vocational, and personal trait which can help them personally and help the country.

Some Japanese resent the enthusiasm of the American occupation forces for exploiting Japan as a laboratory for the imposition of ideals which have not yet been realized in our own country. "Liberal elements," on the other hand, appear ready to adopt substantially the Commission's proposals. The ultimate resolution of the problem of maintaining some measure of Japanese national tradition while instituting extensive reform remains to be worked out. That the educational system will, if the occupation lasts long enough, undergo much change is almost certain. Undoubtedly, many of the features of American education, in somewhat modified form, will be adopted.

7. Some General Characteristics of National Systems of Education

Education as the Expression of National Policy.—It is commonly believed by scholars in the field of the social sciences that the character of a nation's educational system is an important indication of the prevailing social philosophy. The cultural level of a people is partly evaluated by the extent and quality of its provisions for education. It is also held, probably with sufficient reason, that an educational system is an instrument of national policy.

Much caution must be exercised in thinking in these terms. In most countries, certain groups are in control of government. They may have enough power or authority to make decisions for the whole people. "National policy" may mean many different things; it is probably safe to say that it usually means the policy of the ruler or the group or party in power at a given time. Thus, it is not always clear whether the official educational policies are a true index of the whole people's wishes or ideas.

In all the countries discussed, education has been and is being used as an instrument of governmental policy. The goals of nations vary, but in all cases the schools are used to promote the realization of certain national objectives. In general, no government tolerates

instruction designed to weaken or undermine it. Schools, especially tax-supported schools, are conceived of in all countries as purveyors of the dominant social, political, and economic mores.

With this in mind, a few generalizations based on the discussion of this and the preceding chapter are submitted. An attempt is made to point out characteristic differences or likenesses, with some reference to national political and social philosophy. National systems of education are not subject to easy characterization or classification. Various characteristics may be manifest in a given system to greater or lesser degree. Interpretations may vary, also. The authors do not hold that their interpretation is the only possible one, but at least it may serve as a point of departure for the student's own thinking.

In a broad sense, it may be stated that through education nations attempt, in varying degrees, to be sure, to preserve the status quo in government, in economic philosophy, and in social organization. The prerevolutionary schools of China are frequently cited as a classic example of education for the preservation of the status quo. In modern times, a good example may be seen in the educational system of Germany prior to 1919. One track of the dual school system was intended to prepare children of the elite for leadership in government, the professions, the army, business, and industry. The other track was for the children of the "common people," with no chance for their crossing the dividing line.

The present school system of Russia, as may be noted in the description given in Chapter 16, is pervaded with the ideology of the Communist Party. The Socialist orientation of Mexico's schools is another example. In our own country, there is some degree of emphasis on maintaining the existing order of things, but this tendency is less strongly marked. There is no "party line" which all schools must follow, although the perpetuation of the American system of government and the American concept of democracy is certainly, even if informally, accepted as an objective of the schools.

Education for Social and Individual Improvement.—In rather sharp distinction from the above view is that which regards the schools as a means for improving social and individual welfare. A nation well satisfied with the existing order is not concerned about improvement, but merely about keeping things as they are. In ancient times, the idea of progress had not been evolved; it is a phenomenon of only the last two or three centuries. In this modern era, outstanding examples of education as a means of social and individual

improvement are found in Mexico, China, the United States, and England. All these countries, at different stages and in their own ways, regard education as a means of lifting to higher planes the relations of group life. They also value education as a means of individual development, of discovering and developing talents and abilities of individuals, and as a means through which individual as well as social needs may be satisfied. The emphasis in our country, as mentioned elsewhere, has been increased with respect to the improvement of society, with relatively less weight on individual improvement. However, both ideals prevail.

This general objective is related to the extension of educational opportunities for the total population, or "the masses." There is a strong contrast, for example, between the limited opportunities which were available in prewar Japan, imperial Germany, tsarist Russia, prerevolutionary Mexico and China, in England prior to the Education Act of 1944, and the principle of unlimited educational opportunities for all that prevails in the United States. In all the countries just named, there is now a great deal of planning for extending educational opportunities to all. In some, notably the United States, the U.S.S.R., England, Mexico, and China, planning is leading to action, though at widely varying rates.

The extension of compulsory education is being gradually effected in many countries. Compulsory education is closely associated with economic status. In our early history, the labor of children was deemed an economic asset, for example, and only with industrialization did the sentiment for compulsory education grow strong enough to result in action. Indeed, not until 1922 did the forty-eighth state finally enact a compulsory attendance law, As machines free a people from the need for child labor, such laws become possible. Mexico, with only a few years of elementary education required by law, is at this moment looking toward making education through high school compulsory, as the country becomes more industrialized.

Industrialization leads to social problems which education can help solve. Some of these problems relate to labor and management relations, recreation, crime and delinquency, urbanism, and health and safety. More than elementary schooling is required for intelligent participation in the solution of such problems, not to speak of the complex problems which citizens must face in international relations.

Where the people are not called upon to make decisions, as is the case in a dictatorship, it is hard to see the need for compulsory education beyond a few years of elementary schooling. Nazi Ger-

many is an example of this, and the U.S.S.R., although some may not agree, is another.[2]

Centralization and Decentralization.—From a study of this and the preceding chapter, it should be apparent that in many quarters the trend toward centralization of educational authority and responsibility is growing. The most recent example is found in the British Education Act of 1944, in which great powers are granted to the Minister of Education. The trend is also pronounced in Mexico and Russia, and is in evidence in China. Opposed to this trend is the movement for decentralization in France, Germany, and, under American leadership, in Japan.

In totalitarian countries, the control of education, as of all other public services, is highly centralized. We Americans are proud of the development of our school system under the decentralized plan of control by forty-eight state governments. We believe that, while progress may be slower than under a unit system of control, our plan is more democratic and yields more substantial results. We also think that educational practice is enriched by the diversity of approaches to the solution of educational problems that is possible in a decentralized system.

In a highly centralized program, the major decisions (and many minor ones) are made by a national ministry of education. A prime instance of this is described in the section on the U.S.S.R. in Chapter 16. In a decentralized system, decisions are made by a number of official bodies, with little or no accountability to higher authority, providing that decisions do not contravene the national constitution. The United States is the best example of this. We have not only forty-eight state education departments and many state educational boards, but also many local and intermediate boards which make decisions for their community education programs. In England, a compromise between centralized and lower authorities is in effect, with the reservation of ultimate control in the Ministry of Education, to be exercised if necessary.

Freedom in teaching, as a rule, is more easily attained and maintained in a decentralized pattern of administration. It will be recalled that, in the centralized plan of the U.S.S.R., control over textbooks, content and methods of instruction, teacher preparation, etc., is exercised by the central authority in Moscow. The lamentable experience of educational institutions in Hitlerian Germany

[2] On this subject, see Victor Kravchenko, "The Politburo," *Fortune*, XXXIV: 93–99.

Teaching for **World Understanding and Brotherhood** in a Rochester, Minn., Elementary School

provides another example of the loss of academic freedom in a totalitarian regime. This is not to say that freedom in teaching and learning is automatically safeguarded in a decentralized system. In the United States, many instances of the repression of academic freedom occur every year. However, in the latter situation, there is a *better chance* of winning and preserving freedom in teaching than there is under a despotic government, whether it be a despotism of the proletariat or of a monarch.

Leadership and Followership.—It is a matter of pride with us that our educational system seeks to identify and develop potentialities for leadership wherever they are found. Under the Education Act of 1944, England and Wales apparently propose to go even farther than the United States in seeking to place each child and youth in the type of school environment most suitable for his development. In some other countries, the general aim seems to be the repression of individualism, the fitting of personalities into a mold. In prewar Japan, with its Bureau of Thought Problems, this was certainly the case. In Nazi Germany, the individual also counted for little, but did what he was told by "higher authorities."

Secularism and Church Dominance.—Throughout the western world, there has been a long and continuing trend toward secularism in public education. Until two or three centuries ago, education was conducted almost solely by religious bodies, or under religious auspices.[3] Today, this is the exception. Among the nations referred to in these two chapters, only England and Wales require religious instruction in all schools, and grant aid from public funds to schools under religious auspices. Some of the school systems mentioned specifically forbid church-operated schools, e.g., the U.S.S.R. and Mexico. In France, public education is completely secular. In Japan, the Education Mission recommended abolition of religious instruction. Public education in the United States is secular, although many local school systems make some allowances for religious instruction through released time, "chapel services," or similar arrangements. Even these minor departures from a strict interpretation of secularity may be obviated by judicial decisions on separation of church and state. Unlike Mexico and Russia, we protect, by our Constitution, the right of nonpublic agencies to operate schools, which enroll about 10 per cent of all American pupils.

[3] See Alexander Meiklejohn, *Education Between Two Worlds,* especially Chs. 1–5, 20, 21, for an interesting discussion of the secularization of education; New York: Harper & Bros.

8. Distinctive Characteristics of American Education

In General.—In Chapters 16 and 17 many comparisons at appropriate points have been made between education in the United States and in various other countries. By way of summary and emphasis the following statements on certain important characteristics of American education as compared with education elsewhere are included. It must be granted that in some cases certain attributes are not uniquely possessed by American schools, but taken as a whole the statements do serve to point up the distinctive characteristics of American practice as compared with practice elsewhere.

1. American education is characterized by a deep and abiding faith in the possibility and desirability, not only of individual improvement, but also of the improvement of society—the conditions of living in their totality.
2. Great reliance is placed on the ability of the people in their communities to manage their schools with relatively little outside control. Nowhere else is so much authority vested in local school boards, in spite of the trend toward more control at the state level. This is in decided contrast with the state and national control existing in all other populous nations.
3. There seems to be more willingness in schools of this country than in others to experiment, to try out new ideas, to adapt practice to defined and felt needs. As one writer has put it, the burden of tradition in Europe and elsewhere, compared with American readiness to attempt new things, is a matter of "old age vs. youth."
4. American schools show a marked propensity to join voluntary regional accrediting associations and other organizations for cooperation in promoting educational improvement.
5. American schools are more closely in touch with their communities than are schools elsewhere generally. Parents are encouraged to visit schools often; associations of parents and teachers are organized; community resources are utilized in many ways to enrich instruction; cooperative work-and-school programs are fostered, etc.
6. In other lands, as a rule, there is more emphasis in both teacher preparation and in the schools on subject-matter mastery. Scant recognition is made of child nature, of the psychology of learning, of emotional factors, and of methods of teaching, as compared with American practice and theory.
7. The teaching profession in the United States is far less stable than in many other countries. Individuals enter and leave the profession more freely. Teachers are held in lower esteem, espe-

cially when compared with teachers in Europe and the Orient. Women make up a far larger proportion of the total number of teachers than they do in other countries.

8. A greater proportion of the population is in school than in most other countries. Some nations hold that they cannot afford to keep as large a proportion in school as the United States does (between 20 and 25 per cent), while this country believes that it can ill afford not to do so.
9. The American ideal, and increasingly the practice, is to see that every child shall proceed through at least twelve years of schooling adapted to his ability, needs, and interests. Even now the United States is reaching toward a minimum of fourteen years of schooling for all. This far exceeds the ambitions of almost all other countries.
10. American education appears to be more self-critical than education in other countries. Far more studies looking toward the improvement of education have been made here than in all other lands combined. The "idea of progress" has a firm hold on the thinking of Americans with respect to their schools.

In Secondary Education.—At the secondary school level some of the differences between this country and other countries are thrown into bold relief, even more so than at other levels. The following general conclusions relative to these differences seem reasonable.

1. Secondary education in the United States is almost universally coeducational. In most other countries segregation of boys and girls is the rule.
2. Vocational education is usually given in comprehensive high schools in the United States, and only to a small extent in separate vocational schools, which are more in vogue elsewhere.
3. American children, and most adults, consider secondary education the birthright of every child, rather than a special privilege, as it is thought of in most other countries.
4. Guidance and extracurricular activities are relatively ignored in schools of other lands, while here they constitute an important part of the total school program.
5. In our country far more freedom is given the student and much less dependence is placed upon teacher authority. Much more opportunity is given for discussion, freedom of thought, and the development of initiative in class work, in student government, and in school activities. Student choice of subjects in our elective system is another sign of this.
6. Intellectual and academic standards are higher in leading European countries, lower in Mediterranean and Latin American countries. Failure, retardation, and elimination are more com-

mon in both Europe and Latin America than in the United States.

7. Students in the United States, though much less rigidly selected for ability, are about as well prepared in academic subject matter as students of the same age in the leading countries of Europe, in Japan, and in China, and definitely better prepared than in other lands.
8. More reliance is placed in textbooks in American secondary schools than in those of other countries. Espęcially in Europe are secondary school teachers more completely in control of their subject specialties than high school teachers of the United States.
9. Secondary education in most other countries is definitely slanted toward entrance into institutions of higher learning. While preparation for college entrance is still an important controlling factor in American secondary education, it is rapidly diminishing in significance as our schools define better their functions and goals.
10. Secondary education is free in the sense that tuition fees are not charged. In most other countries fees are charged, although generally such fees are not large. But, unlike practice in many European countries, few of the abler American students are assisted by maintenance grants.
11. It is not unusual to find high schools in this country enrolling 1,000 to 3,000 students. Schools of this size in other countries are rarely found.
12. In the United States various types of curricula are found in the same high school. In most European schools there are few electives, and if a student desires to follow a particular curriculum, e.g., mathematics and science, he must go to a school where that kind of curriculum is offered. Usually any one school offers but one or two curricula.

9. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

In November, 1945, representatives of forty-four nations met in London to draft a constitution for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, an agency of the United Nations. This was not the first attempt of nations to set up an international organization for promoting mutual understanding and cultural exchange. In the period between the two World Wars, several international cultural and scientific organizations were formed, the most important, from the standpoint of education, being the International Education Bureau which was affiliated with the League of Nations. UNESCO has greater official backing than

any of its predecessors, and it seems likely that it will make greater and more lasting contributions to international understanding than any of them.

The principles underlying the foundation of UNESCO, the purpose and functions of the organization, are stated in the ringing preamble and Article I of its constitution as follows:

The Governments of the States Parties to
This Constitution on Behalf of Their
Peoples Declare

that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For These Reasons,

the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

In Consequence Whereof

they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objec-

tives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims.

ARTICLE I.

Purposes and Functions

1. The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

2. To realize this purpose the Organization will:

(a) collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;

(b) give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture;

by collaborating with Members, at their request, in the development of educational activities;

by instituting collaboration among the nations to advance the ideal of equality of educational opportunity without regard to race, sex or any distinctions, economic or social;

by encouraging cooperation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture and the exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information;

by initiating methods of international cooperation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.

3. With a view to preserving the independence, integrity and fruitful diversity of the cultures and educational systems of the States Members of this Organization, the Organization is prohibited from intervening in matters which are essentially within their domestic jurisdiction.

The constitution also includes provisions on membership, permanent secretariat, budget, cooperation with the United Nations, selection of national delegates for the General Conference (ordinarily meeting once a year), procedure, and other relevant matters.

Upon its acceptance by twenty nations of the United Nations (including the United States), the constitution became effective in

late 1946. The first meeting of the General Conference was held in November of that year at Paris, the seat of the Organization's headquarters, with voting delegates from twenty-eight nations in attendance. The General Conference consists of not more than five delegates from each member state.

The participation of each member nation is exercised through delegates selected by a National Commission. In the United States the National Commission, as provided by Congress, consists of 100 persons, sixty named by national organizations representing many phases of American life, and forty designated by the Department of State.

UNESCO is not an international board of control. It is a voluntary organization for the promotion of "full and equal opportunities for education for all, the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and the free exchange of ideas and knowledge" among the world's peoples. While its goal is the preservation of peace through cooperation and understanding, it is not, as supposed by some, an agency interested in cultivating an attitude of "peace at any price."

If the realization of the announced purposes and functions quoted above is conscientiously sought by the signatory nations, the odds are that peace *can* be intelligently preserved. The establishment of UNESCO is an admission that nations, singly or in small groups, cannot by themselves keep peace in the world of today. It is also a recognition that armies and navies are insufficient guarantees of world stability. Never before has such large-scale recognition been accorded to the power of education and the free flow of knowledge among peoples for world order.

Individual teachers can do much to help in the realization of UNESCO's goals. In most cases, however, teachers will look for help to state and national recommendations for the appropriate modification of instructional content and methods.

UNESCO is frankly idealistic. But it affords a means for marshalling immense emotional, cultural, intellectual, and scientific resources in behalf of world order and human welfare. It merits the active and unflagging support of all American teachers, in company with teachers in all other lands. In UNESCO is the hope of our era for the betterment of life the world over.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. In what respects does education in England, as provided in the Education Act of 1944, resemble general practice in the United

States? In what important ways do the English and American systems differ?

2. How did England pursue a *laissez-faire* policy in education before the 1944 Act? Does the retention of Voluntary schools signify a continuance of the policy?
3. What effect do examinations for secondary-school admission have on secondary-school enrollment, judging from the experience of several European countries? Compare the merits and disadvantages of such a plan with admission based only on completion of elementary school.
4. Compare in parallel columns the preparation of elementary and secondary school teachers in four countries of your own selection.
5. List the general characteristics of schools in the United States which you think make them superior to schools of one foreign nation selected by you. Then list the points, if any, on which the foreign school system excels ours.
6. Select one foreign school system, on any continent, and prepare a 2,500-word descriptive and evaluative report on it, after intensive study. Include bibliography.
7. Write an account of the American school system for the information of a person living in another country, designated by you. Or assume that you were invited to submit an article on American schools for publication in an educational journal of a specific foreign country, with a limitation of 2,500 words.
8. How can teachers in the teaching field of most interest to you contribute to the attainment of the goals of UNESCO? Be specific, avoid generalities.
9. Write to the United States Office of Education for information on international exchange of teachers. Prepare a report on the subject for presentation in class.
10. Write a comparative analysis of apparent national goals of education in three or four selected nations.

Chapter 18

THE SCIENTIFIC IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION

1. The Early Nonscientific Dogmatic Pattern

Study of Education in the United States Uniquely Scientific.—Education in the United States is uniquely a subject of scientific inquiry, investigation, and experimentation. Educational practice in this country is influenced more by the findings of research and of nonscientific experimentation than is educational practice in any other country. There is published annually more research having to do with education than in all other countries of the world combined.

This unique characteristic of American education has not always existed. In fact, the development and utilization of such research has come about almost entirely in the last few decades. Prior to 1910, the necessary conditions for the scientific study of most of the problems of education were not present. In the first place, there were no adequate means of measuring the educational status or the progress of learners. In addition very few Americans were familiar with the techniques of educational research that had been developed, and even fewer knew anything of the statistical methods necessary for the treatment and interpretation of the fundamental data of research. With the exception of a few individuals, there was no one trained in research methods, only a few persons having done graduate work in education before 1900.

Experimentation of a nonscientific nature in the nineteenth century was not unusual. That there would be experimentation and variation in our schools was to be expected. In contrast to education in most other countries, each local school district in the United States is relatively autonomous. With very little restriction by the state and within limitations imposed by the abilities of teachers and pupils, each district is free to have taught whatever subjects it wishes in whatever manner it pleases. It is free to adopt any plan of organization it pleases and to do what it pleases relative to extracurricular activities and any other phase of its educational program.

Freedom for Local Experimentation in the United States.—In other countries conditions are quite different. Education is planned on a state-wide basis. Even where the great bulk of the funds for its support comes from fees and from funds raised locally, the state or province controls the educational program and its organization and administration. In Germany, for example, while the local community can choose between several relatively fixed patterns or types of secondary schools—the Gymnasium, Realgymnasium, or Realschule—once the decision is made, little discretion or power is left to the local people or their authorities. The subjects to be taught, the number of periods per week to be devoted to each subject, the qualifications of teachers, and the inspection of the schools, all are matters of the state or the province. In fact, even school visitation by parents or other local persons is frowned upon and is accomplished only with much difficulty.[1]

Local boards of education, teachers, and administrators in this country have not failed to exercise this autonomy and freedom. With few exceptions, no two districts have exactly the same educational program. Even in those states in which textbooks are adopted for use in all elementary schools, variations exist from school to school, even in the same district, in details of curriculum and methods and philosophy of teaching. Not only are schools and teachers free to try this and that, but they do. Even before the development and popularization of means of adequate measurement of learner growth, there was much experimentation. In most instances, to be sure, results were measured empirically and the merits of the experimental idea or procedure rested largely upon reasoned conclusions based upon fundamental general assumptions. In other words, a certain procedure was thought to be superior because it conformed to what was "known" about learning, about the fundamental principles of learning, or because it emphasized certain important objectives, such as student initiative or concreteness (as in teaching) with the use of objects or other visual aids.

Early Nonscientific Experimentation.—Experimentation in this country in the nineteenth century was universally unscientific. A great deal of it was trying out materials or procedures which were the outcome of necessity or of the imagination of some creative mind. By the middle of the century, teachers were experimenting with ideas from abroad. Pestalozzi (1746–1827), for example,

[1] In England, and to a lesser extent in other smaller countries, local autonomy is present to some degree, but nowhere to the extent that has always existed in the United States.

demonstrated in his school at Yverdun superior instruction in elementary science and home geography, then relatively unknown in American schools. In his practice and in his writing he emphasized such principles as developing self-discipline and learning by doing (the activity principle).

Others whose ideas stimulated experiment in schools in the United States were: Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841), who emphasized an orderly sequence of the thinking process, the importance of the factor of interest, the principle of apperception, and character education; and Friedrich Wilhelm Froebel (1782–1852), who, at the kindergarten and primary level, emphasized play activities, music, drawing, and pupil freedom.

This kind of experimentation can hardly be called scientific. Some one developed an idea and tried it out. Results of various sorts, real or imaginary, were observed. Sometimes it was obvious that along some lines, at least, results were better or were worse. Much more often no definite conclusion could be drawn safely. The issues remained in the realm of controversy and were subject to the forensic powers of proponents and antagonists and the prejudices of all concerned, rather than dependent upon evaluation of merit on an objective basis.

Indeed, it may be said that until the turn of the century education in the United States, although uniquely free for experimentation and open for investigations of all sorts, was the handmaiden of philosophy, receiving its new ideas not from scientific study but from the educational philosophers. Experimentation, while not restricted by the nature of the American school system, was not of the type to form the basis for a scientific approach to the improvement of education. Of such a nature was the experiment with the English curriculum of the Philadelphia Academy as recommended by Benjamin Franklin.

The Beginnings of Scientific Experimentation.—With the establishment of colleges and departments for the professional education of teachers, there came into existence training, demonstration, and laboratory schools. In such schools experimental ideas and programs were tried out and demonstrated. Typical of these were the training schools at the Oswego, New York, Normal School, where, in the sixties and seventies, certain ideas and practices of Pestalozzi and his students were adapted and demonstrated. Similar experiments were carried on in Chicago, first under the leadership of Francis Parker in the eighties and nineties at the Cook County Normal

School, and later under John Dewey at the University of Chicago in the first decade of the present century. Both men demonstrated possible implementation of ideas based upon those of Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart, such as the following:

1. The school should aim primarily at training in cooperative and mutually helpful living.
2. The basis of all educative activity is in the natural attitudes and activities of the child.
3. It is the function of the school and the teacher to direct these natural individual tendencies and activities so that they contribute to cooperative, helpful living and eventuate into activities typical of mature individuals.

Much of what is known today as progressive education traces back to these and similar laboratory schools, and through them back to Pestalozzi and other educational philosophers of modern times who in turn were indebted to considerable extent to their predecessors, even as far back in a few instances as Plato.

2. The Development of Scientific Tools and Procedures

The Obstacles to the Scientific Study of Education.—The bottleneck of progress in the scientific study of education was in the field of measurement. Until there were means of measuring the growth of learners, it was not possible except in a very limited way and in very limited areas to test objectively the educational value of ideas, materials, or procedures. The development of the more objective and more precise means of measurement which characterizes the scientific study of education in the United States today did not come until after 1900. There were, however, several forerunners contributing influences which are of interest. Among those were: (1) the influence of the laboratory method, developed first in Germany in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by such men as Wilhelm Wundt; (2) the development of statistical methods, developed first and principally by geneticists in England—Galton, Yule, Pearson, Spearman and others—beginning about 1880 and reaching major importance in the early part of this century, and (3) the development of the research and pragmatic ideas in Germany since 1875 and a little later the United States. Each of these merits brief consideration.

The Laboratory Movement.—While Herbart outlined the case for modern empirical, experimental psychology as early as the 1830's,

the first objective psychological laboratory was not established until 1878, by the German scholar Wundt in Leipzig. Several of Wundt's earliest students were Americans who came back to this country and established psychological laboratories. Prominent among those students were G. Stanley Hall, who, at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, established in 1884 a center for the study of the mental development of children, and Edward B. Titchener, whose laboratory at Cornell a little later was more concerned with noneducational problems of psychology.

Hall, almost as much a poetic philosopher as a scientist, never learned statistical methods and "pooh-poohed" the idea of mental tests of the type we use today. Nevertheless, by means of his experimental attitude, his laboratory and the students he attracted at Johns Hopkins and later at Clark University, he stimulated the establishment of many departments and laboratories of psychology and child study. Among his students were men like Lewis M. Terman (who developed the concept of the I.Q.—the Intelligence Quotient), who were to be found conducting and stimulating research in various parts of the United States throughout the first three decades of this century. Most prominent among the great leaders of the scientific movement in this period were Edward L. Thorndike of Columbia University, in the field of school achievement tests; Terman, in the field of tests of general mental ability; and Charles H. Judd, in the field of the psychology of learning.

Following the lead of the physical and biological scientists, our early psychologists began the study of human nature in the special conditions of the laboratory. Hundreds of machines of various kinds were invented for stimulating, observing, and recording the behavior of human beings. For the most part, also following the lead of scientists in other fields, they attempted to analyze behavior into its component parts, studying such basic elements as tapping, reaction time, learning nonsense syllables, memorizing meaningful passages, discrimination of various kinds including pitch, weight, heat, etc. They tended to neglect the functioning of the whole organism of a human being. That was to come later through the behaviorists and the Gestaltists.

In addition they started with the assumption that what was found to be true of one or of a small group of individuals would be true of others. Ebbinghaus, Jost, James, and others performed experiments upon themselves and inferred generalization for others. Some of these generalizations have since proven to be largely true, but many were false or at least inaccurate.

The Development of Statistical Methods.—The earlier investigators, and indeed many of the less well trained ones today, ignored the possibilities of variation in the observation of human behavior resulting from selection of the human subjects for study, the chance variability in behavior of an individual, and the chance of systematic errors in the measuring instruments themselves. It was not until investigators began to use what is spoken of today as *statistical methods* that reliable study and description of human behavior based upon the study of many individuals became available. Many of the earlier investigations, though still cited in books on psychology and education, have little significance today, except as landmarks of the progress of the science of education.

The geneticists in England—Galton, Pearson, Spearman and others—pioneered in this field. Statistical procedures were developed for describing the performances of groups of individuals—central tendency, degree of dispersion of a group, degree of correlation between various traits, such as speed and accuracy, intelligence and achievement, and other characteristics of groups. They also developed statistical techniques for estimating the reliability of statistical constants of an individual and of groups, e.g., the chances that a difference between the mean performances on a test of two groups could be attributed to chance or that the difference observed was a true and characteristic difference.

The Increased Dependence upon Research.—While there still remain vestiges of the earlier tendency to seek answers to educational problems by appeal to authority, there has grown up in education, as in most fields of modern study, a greater tendency to rely upon scientific investigations. Whereas for fifty years educational theories and practices were handed down from those in places of authority—administrators and professors—today most of the theories expounded and practices recommended are based, at least in part, upon the findings of scientific investigations. This is true not only in the field of learning but in the fields of school administration, supervision, curriculum, and guidance. And all the time research goes on and better techniques are developed.

As illustrative of the change in attitude toward research may be cited the investigations of Dr. J. M. Rice in the nineties. Rice, a physician, editor, and writer, was curious about the fact that in different schools significantly different amounts of time were given to the study of spelling. Deciding to investigate, he had given a spelling test to students in a number of schools in which the amount

of time given to spelling varied from ten to forty minutes daily. He discovered no appreciable difference. After publishing his results in *Forum*, the magazine of which he was editor, he was asked to report his findings at a national meeting of school administrators in 1897 at Indianapolis. The reactions of the administrators were well described by Leonard P. Ayres eighteen years later, as follows:

> The presentation of these data threw that assemblage into consternation, dismay, and indignant protest. But the resulting storm of vigorously voiced opposition was directed not against the methods and results of the investigation, but against the investigator who had pretended to measure the results of teaching spelling by testing the ability of children to spell.
>
> In terms of scathing denunciation the educators there present and the pedagogical experts, who reported the deliberations of the meeting in the educational press, characterized as silly, dangerous, and from every viewpoint reprehensible, the attempt to test the efficiency of the teacher by finding out what the pupils could do. With striking unanimity they voiced the conviction that any attempt to evaluate the teaching of spelling in terms of the ability of the pupils to spell was essentially impossible and based on a profound misconception of the function of education.

Ayres contrasted the change that had taken place between 1897 and 1915 as follows:

> Last month in the city of Cincinnati that same association of school superintendents, again assembled in convention, devoted fifty-seven addresses and discussions to tests and measurements of educational efficiency. The basal proposition underlying this entire mass of discussion was that the effectiveness of the school, the methods, and the teachers must be measured in terms of the results secured.
>
> This change represents no passing fad or temporary whim. It is permanent, significant, and fundamental. It means that a transformation has taken place in what we think as well as in what we do in education. It means that education is emerging from among the vocations and taking its place among the professions.
>
> This profound change in our educational practice has not come through the slow processes of philosophy, or because we were awakened by the stirring words of voice or pen of any educational prophet. Few school men can claim great credit for having hastened its advent. It was forced upon us, first, by the natural results of compulsory education, and still more definitely and directly by the exactions of the scientific age in which we live.
>
> This new attitude of educators towards education means that we have ceased exalting the machinery and have commenced to examine the product. We have awakened to a startled realization that in education, as in other forms of organized activity, applied science may avail to better even those

processes that have rested secure in the sanction of generations of acceptance.[2]

The Development of Means of Measuring Educational Achievement.—Prior to 1910, little progress had been made in two thousand years in measuring the results of study or of teaching. Loosely constructed, time consuming, subjectively evaluated written examinations of doubtful validity emphasizing the ability to recall schoolbook information or the words that seemed to represent information, characterized typical practice.

Beginning in 1907, Edward Lee Thorndike, educational psychologist at Columbia University, who had just previously mastered the field of statistical methods, stimulated a number of candidates for doctors' degrees to develop in a wide variety of fields tests, scales, and examinations which permitted of objective scoring and many of which were scored on the basis of the relative difficulty of the items. By 1920 from one to a dozen or more "standardized" achievement tests had been developed for every school subject. Also, by 1920 standardized tests had become almost a mania in the minds of many.

The scientific study of education spread apace. With the great increase in the number of graduate students in education (the master's degree being required for good administrative positions and the doctor's degree required for college positions in universities) investigations of every phase of education began to appear annually by the thousands, instead of dozens as before 1910. Many old theories, ideas, and practices based upon armchair approaches or primitive experimentation were upset and discredited, and have been superseded by theories and practices based upon more careful investigation. It seems clear that most of our educational research will have to be done again with better techniques and better means of measurement. Most of it appearing today is at best to be accepted tentatively.

With all the improvements in measurement up to 1930, only the beginnings were made. With few exceptions, the available tests and techniques measured growth on only part of the front—particularly on the acquisition of information and skills. More recently, much progress has been made in the development of techniques and devices for measuring growth of comparable if not greater importance—the development or possession of attitudes, ideals, concepts, interests, emotional stability, adjustment to various segments of environment, understandings, etc.

[2] Leonard P. Ayres, "Making Education Definite," *University of Indiana Bulletin*, XIII, II:85–86.

Since, in practically all experimental studies before 1945, the effects upon the learner were measured only in terms of growth or change in very limited areas, it is evident that much is yet to be discovered about the effects of educational methods, materials, and machinery for education. In view of the fact that what is true of learners of one age level may or may not be true of learners of other levels, it is obvious that we are yet in the earlier period of the scientific study of education.

The Measurement of Capacity.—In addition to measures of educational growth and methods of statistical analysis and interpretation of measurements, the scientific study of many educational problems involves measures of capacity for growth. Prior to 1910 no adequate means of measuring mental capacity was available. Based upon beginnings made by Alfred Binet in France and Wilhelm Stern in Germany, several psychologists in this country, including Henry Goddard and Lewis Terman, attacked the problem of developing such a means of measurement.

In 1910 Terman gave to the world a technique for determining the mental age of children. On the basis of results on a series of tests, one is able to say that any given child possesses the mental abilities of an average child of some given age. In other words, if a child performs with a score equal to the average score of a child ten years and six months, he is said to have a mental age of 10.5 years. Terman also suggested the use of the I.Q. (intelligence quotient), which is obtained by dividing his mental age by his chronological age. A child, for example, whose M.A. is 8 and whose C.A. is 10 is said to have an I.Q. of 80. If his M.A. is equal to his C.A., his I.Q. is 100. If he does not perform up to the average of his age his I.Q. is less than 100. If he does better than the average of his age, his I.Q. is more than 100.[3]

I.Q.'s are distributed after the fashion of the normal probability curve as shown in Table 53.

The Measurement of Special Aptitudes.—In addition to the development of much better means of measuring general mental ability, there are now available very useful instruments and procedures for measuring special aptitudes. Among these are tests for measuring aptitudes for music, art, mechanical ability, clerical

[3] For description and discussion of group and individual tests of general mental ability, see Mandel Sherman, *Intelligence and Its Deviations*; F. N. Freeman, *Mental Tests, Their History, Principles, and Applications*; E. B. Greene, *Measurements of Human Behavior*; E. A. Lincoln, *Testing and the Use of Test Results*; G. H. Hildreth, *A Bibliography of Mental Tests and Rating Scales.*

TABLE 53

CLASSIFICATION OF I.Q. LEVELS

I. Q.	Level of Intelligence	Theoretical Percentage of All Children Included
Above 140	"Near" genius or genius	.25
120–140	Very superior	6.75
110–120	Superior	13.00
90–110	Normal or average	60.00
80– 90	Dull, rarely feeble-minded	13.00
70– 80	Borderline, dull or feeble-minded	6.00
Below 70	Feeble-minded	1.00
		100.00%
50– 70	Moron	.75 or 1 in 133
20–25– 50	Imbecile	.19 or 1 in 525
Below 20	Idiot	.06 or 1 in 1,667

ability, social leadership and for numerous complex abilities in various fields, such as aeronautics.[4]

There have also been developed means of measurement of the capacity and ability to succeed in study in specific fields. There are, for example, tests which furnish a basis for prediction of probable success in the study of mathematics, foreign languages, and other subjects, and in such various vocational and professional curricula as medicine, engineering, business, law, pharmacy, and nursing.

These means of measurement of special aptitudes and abilities have been very useful in improving the quality of education and vocational guidance.

Measurement in Other Areas.—Also contributing to the improvement of education, as well as the scientific study of educational problems, are other devices and procedures for measuring various abilities and personality traits. Among these may be mentioned the following:

1. Means of measuring disposition and temperament, including such factors as extroversion, introversion, submissiveness, emotional balance, optimism, and pessimism.
2. Means of measuring attitudes toward moral questions, socio-economic-political questions, and, in fact, almost any type of question, topic, things, or people.

[4] For a description of aptitude tests see one of the following books: W. V. D. Bingham, *Aptitudes and Aptitude Testing*; M. E. Broadley, *Square Pegs in Square Holes*; D. Fryer, *Measurements of Interests*; A. B. Crawford, *Forecasting College Achievement.*

3. Means of measuring relative interest in all types of activities and areas of life; hobby or other leisure interests, vocational interests, reading interests, etc.
4. Devices for the improvement of ratings of individuals, procedures, teaching and teachers, buildings, projects in home economics and other shops and laboratories.

3. Types of Scientific Studies

The Controlled Experiment.—One of the most useful of all types of scientific study is that commonly referred to as the controlled experiment. It is employed very frequently in furnishing information concerning learning and the relationship of various factors in learning. Typical of the problems of the controlled experiment are:

1. Are films better than slides in teaching chemistry?
2. Which is better, a longer class period of sixty minutes, including supervised study, or a recitation period of forty-five minutes?
3. What unique contribution does the study of mathematics make to developing reasoning power?
4. Which method of teaching subtraction is better, the Austrian or the conventional method?

In the typical controlled experiment, two groups of learners are employed. They are of approximately equal capacity for learning as shown by measures of their intelligence or by previous school marks or both. They are not only of equal average ability, but they are similar in dispersion of ability. This is frequently accomplished by what is referred to as the pairing technique. A boy of a known I.Q. and C.A. is paired, for example, with one of the same I.Q. and C.A. If another measure of capacity is employed, they are paired on the basis of that measure, too. Usually they are also paired on the basis of their status with respect to what is to be learned. One boy is then assigned to one group and one to the other—the experimental and the control groups.

Before the experiment is begun, means of measuring learning or growth during the experiment are selected or devised, e.g., a subject-matter test, a test of the possession of attitudes, a test of skill, etc. These are given at the beginning of the experiment and again at the end. The difference in scores is taken as a measure of growth. The gains of the experimental group are compared with those of the control group. The difference in gains is taken as a means of the relative superiority of one method to another, or of the relative merit of whatever the experimental variable may be. Often tests are

again made months or years later to measure retention. It is not unusual to discover a considerable number of individuals who forget in a few months more than they apparently learned in a semester.

By means of statistical techniques, a competent researcher may determine what the probabilities are that the difference obtained may be attributed to chance and what the probabilities are that the difference indicates a real difference in the relative effectiveness of whatever teaching or learning methods or conditions were being investigated.

Other Types of Studies.—Not all studies are of the type described above. There may be studies of status or change, of variability and comparative attitudes of groups of individuals, or innumerable objects. Among such types of problems are the following:

1. Salaries of teachers in cities of more than 100,000 population.
2. The increase since 1910 in number of schools of various types of organization.
3. The variety in space provisions in high schools built in the period 1940–45.
4. The amount of retardation in grades 1 through 12 in the state of Nebraska.
5. The relative number of years of college education of teachers in 1920 and in 1940.
6. The growth of state leadership in the improvement of instruction.
7. The education of Negroes in Alabama.
8. A public school building program for the state of West Virginia.
9. Analysis of a sound public relations program.
10. Providing for the gifted child.

Scientific Studies in School Administration.—Three different types of studies in the field of school organization and administration may be identified and differentiated. Of these the most common is what may be called the present status study. Illustrative of this type are the following:

1. *Office Practices in Secondary Schools,* by William C. Reavis and Robert E. Woellner.
2. *The Contributions of Cumulative Personnel Records to a Teacher,* by Rebecca C. Tansil.
3. *The Administration of College and University Endowments,* by Charles R. Sattgast.
4. *Survey of the Public Schools of St. Louis, Missouri,* by George D. Strayer (Director).
5. *Survey of Public Education in the State of Washington,* by George D. Strayer (Director).

This type of study, while very valuable, is perhaps the easiest type of investigation. The data are usually easy to gather and to interpret.

A second type has to do with trends or changes in a given period. Typical of this kind of study are the following:

1. *The Centralizing Tendencies in Educational Administration in Ohio since 1900,* by James O. Engleman.
2. *The History of Local School Control in the State of New York,* by Carl H. Griffey.
3. *Changing Conceptions Relative to the Planning of Lessons,* by L. C. Mossman.
4. *Development of State School Administration in Vermont,* by John C. Huden.
5. *A History of Public Education in Kentucky,* by M. E. Ligon.

A third type of study, one involving more difficulty and requiring more care and expertness, is the investigation aimed at evaluating practices or procedures of organization or supervision. These studies usually involve comparison, asking such questions as "Is this procedure better or worse than a certain alternative one?"

Examples of this type of study are the following:

1. *The Evaluation of Higher Institutions and Administration,* by John Dale Russell and Floyd W. Reeves.
2. *An Analysis of the Supervision of Student Teaching,* by Edward S. Mooney.
3. *Centralization or Decentralization?* by François S. Cillié.
4. *Secondary Education Under Different Types of District Organization,* by Ted B. Bernard.

This type of study, involving evaluation as it does, is probably the most valuable of all because it furnishes a definite guide to improved organization and procedures.

Investigations Relative to the Curriculum.—Investigations relative to the curriculum fall in the same categories as those of administration, i.e., studies of status, studies of trends, and evaluative studies as indicated below.

Studies of status:

1. *Junior High School Curriculum Practices,* by William T. Gruhn.
2. *Diversified Occupation Programs in Southeastern States,* by Alonzo Kornegay and Harl R. Douglass.

Studies of trends:

1. *Trends in Student Personnel Work,* by Sara M. Sturtevant, Ruth Strang, and Margaret McKinn.
2. *Curriculum Development in City School Systems,* by Douglas E. Lawson.
3. *Curriculum Trends in the Junior College,* by Vernon Anderson.

Evaluative studies:

1. *An Evaluation of a Plan for Character Education,* by W. Bradford Bayliss.
2. *Rating Elementary School Courses of Study,* by Florence B. Stratemeyer and Herbert B. Bruner.
3. *Evaluation of Guidance,* by Grayson Kefauver and Harold Hand.

Studies of status usually relate to such matters as the content and organization of a number of courses of study or of textbooks, the grade placement of subjects or topics, and the time allocated to subjects or topics.

Studies of trends usually are variations of studies of status, being a comparison of status at two or more different times. Also included are statements of teachers or others as to what the trends are.

Evaluative studies in the field of the curriculum have not been so common or fruitful. Measures of educational growth have been until recently largely tests of the mastering of subject matter. Whatever curriculum materials emphasize the same things as do the tests used to measure growth will of course seem to prove most productive of growth. Now that measures of growth in broad terms are becoming available we may expect many investigations of the relative value of curriculum materials.

Among the most valuable curriculum investigations have been those which have attempted to discover the educational needs for various types of curricular items. Among these investigations have been the following types:

1. Studies of the relative frequency of need for spelling certain words, for being able to perform certain types of mathematical computation; the relative number of times certain words or concepts are used in newspapers or magazines. As a result of such studies, time is no longer wasted in teaching youngsters to spell such words as daguerreotype, or to perform such operations as dividing $3\frac{17}{31}$ and $2\frac{13}{27}$.
2. Studies aimed at the analysis of certain kinds of tasks or areas of responsibility, such as the analysis of the activities of printers,

secretaries, or pharmacists. The results of these studies have also indicated the need for curriculum revision, different emphases, etc.

Another type of study is the investigation of the relative difficulty of different items and topics of learning, e.g., spelling words, problems in mathematics, and grammatical knowledge. Typical of such studies are:

1. *Manuscript Writing and Spelling Achievement,* by J. W. Varty.
2. *The Relative Difficulty of Certain Topics in Mathematics for Slow-Moving Ninth Grade Pupils,* by Virgil S. Mallory.
3. *Spelling as a Secondary Learning,* by I. Keith Tyler.
4. *A Diagnostic Study of Students' Difficulties in General Mathematics in First Year College Work,* by Elizabeth N. Boyd.
5. *The Prevention of Failure in First Grade Reading,* by Howard T. Dunklin.
6. *Learning and Applying Spelling Rules in Grades Three to Eight,* by Luella M. King.

Studies of Factors Related to Achievement.—One of the most numerous types of studies is that including investigations intended to discover to what extent certain known factors are related to success in study or in teaching—sometimes referred to as "predictional" studies. The attempts to discover relationship between various factors and success in teaching have been disappointingly limited in fruitful results. Intelligence or grades made in college beyond the average, for example, seem to be only very slightly related to success in teaching in the elementary schools and not closely related to teaching in secondary schools. In fact, no factor or combination of factors seems closely related to the measures we have of success in teaching. It is more than merely possible that the inability to obtain more positive results may be attributed to the inability to obtain reliable, valid, and comparable measures of teaching success.

Investigations of the degree of relationship existing between marks made in high school and college have been much more successful. We are now able to make roughly accurate predictions of the probable success of most individuals in their studies in high school and college. This is done by combining previous scholastic records and test results. Best results have been obtained in predicting junior high school grades and grades made in colleges of engineering, nursing, and business in universities. Poorest results are reported for schools of law, education, and the arts and sciences. Reported coefficients of correlation for the first named group usually range between .70 and .80 and in the latter group between .55 and .65.

Studies of factors related to success in vocations have not been fruitful, probably because reliable, valid, and comparable measures of vocational success are so difficult, almost impossible, to obtain.

Results of Research in Education.—While definite answers have been found for only a part of the problems in education, a wealth of valuable knowledge is already available from scientific investigations. Typical of such findings are those listed by Professor Ward G. Reeder as follows:

1. Research has shown a large amount of pupil failure and has collected much information on the causes of same and the means of preventing and reducing it. This information is being used to the benefit of millions of pupils, and will continue to be used.

2. Research has informed us that it is better to promote the typical pupil to the next grade on trial than to fail him without giving him another chance. Research has shown that approximately three-fourths of the pupils who are promoted on trial make good, and are in consequence saved the embarrassment and the discouragement of having to repeat a grade.

3. Many studies have shown the large amount of nonattendance and the causes of same, and have suggested ways by which much of the nonattendance may be eliminated.

4. It has been found that pupils of the same chronological age vary widely in general intelligence, in special abilities, in interests, in aptitudes, and in other regards. This information is being used by thousands of school employees in attempting to meet the needs of the individual pupil.

5. Numerous studies of the curriculum have been made with the aim of ascertaining the subject matter which is most valuable for pupils to master. Among other benefits, such studies have brought to light the large amount of "dead wood" in the curriculum of the typical school and have suggested the elimination of such material.

6. Hundreds of psychological investigations have given us a large amount of useful information concerning how children learn. These studies, though, have served their chief purpose in making us aware of how little we really know about the working of that most baffling thing in the world, namely, the mind, and in suggesting to us the need for painstaking and extensive research on this complexity; compared with what we might know and should know, we still know very little about the learning processes of our pupils.

7. Numerous experiments on different teaching procedures have given us much information which we are now using in improving our teaching procedures. For example, we now know that there are better or best ways of teaching spelling, arithmetic, reading, and the other subjects.

8. Several investigations have found that small classes are only slightly more efficient than large ones—this in spite of the fact that small classes are much more expensive than large ones. Some administrators are using the

results of these experiments as an argument for increasing the size of classes; other administrators, on the other hand, say that these experiments show only what is, not what ought to be.

9. Many investigations have shown large inequalities in educational opportunities among school districts, counties, and states, and steps have been taken to eliminate or to reduce these inequalities.[5]

4. The School Survey

Origin of the School Survey.—Around 1890–1900 studies called surveys were made of such things as the wages in a given city, the living conditions in a certain area or of a certain class of people, the food eaten by certain groups, the conditions of business, and many other factors.

Objective studies which had for their purpose the gathering of facts of this type in order to portray better existing conditions came to be known as surveys. One of the earliest great surveys was the famous Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Survey (1909–11), which was concerned with such matters as indicated in the following paragraph:

> The subject matter of the Pittsburgh Survey included the study of wages, hours of work, work accidents, and other questions of industrial relations and conditions for both men and women workers; of family budgets and home conditions among steel workers; typhoid fever and other problems related to health and sanitation; housing of the working population; the local system of taxation; the public schools; city planning and civic improvement possibilities; the hospital and other institutional needs of the city; certain phases of the crime situation and the administration of justice; playgrounds and recreation; dependent children in institutions; and a number of other related questions.[6]

The Early School Survey.—The school survey was, no doubt, a part of the general survey movement, becoming popular in the early part of this century in various fields. As in other fields, rudimentary surveys had been made in school systems a hundred years before. It was, however, only when the spurt of scientific investigation became pronounced and following the development of better means of measuring educational status that the more thorough survey developed and that surveys became numerous.

The first great survey was of the New York City schools, conducted by a staff directed by Paul Hanus, professor of education at

[5] Ward G. Reeder, *A First Course in Education*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1943, p. 619.

[6] Allen Eaton and Shelby M. Harrison, *A Bibliography of Social Surveys*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930, pp. xix–xx.

Harvard University, in 1910–13. This survey report consisted of 2,761 pages, comprising four volumes. Its principal sections were as follows:

Letter of Transmittal; The Report as a Whole.

I. Plan, Purpose and Method of the Report as a Whole.
II. Standards in Education.
III. Elementary Schools.
IV. Certain Problems in the Administration of Elementary Schools.
V. Vocational Schools. What Kinds of Vocational (Industrial) Schools Are Needed.
VI. High Schools.
VII. The System of General Supervision and the Board of Examiners.
VIII. The Board of Education and the Local School Boards.

It was followed by numerous surveys of schools and school systems, building surveys, staff surveys, financial surveys, pupil progress surveys, and more comprehensive surveys involving several or all of the major areas. The data of Table 54 give an idea of the growth in the use of surveys.

TABLE 54

NUMBER OF SCHOOL SURVEYS PUBLISHED EACH YEAR FROM 1910 TO 1935[a]

Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
1910	5	1919	68	1928	182
1911	13	1920	73	1929	211
1912	34	1921	117	1930	216
1913	49	1922	133	1931	187
1914	54	1923	126	1932	224
1915	68	1924	145	1933	110
1916	111	1925	132	1934	80
1917	81	1926	131	1935	94
1918	86	1927	159		

[a] According to Henry L. Smith and Edgar A. O'Dell, *Bibliography of School Surveys and of References on School Surveys, Bulletin* of the School of Education, Indiana University, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2 (September and November, 1931), and Vol. XIV, No. 3 (June, 1938).

At first surveys were conducted by experts called in from the outside, chiefly professors of education from well known or near-by universities. Later schools began to conduct their own surveys. The fact that, beginning in the early thirties, the number of published surveys began to decrease, is not attributable alone to the need for economy in the depression, but even more to the fact that schools did

not feel it necessary to publish, except in mimeographed form, the results of their surveys, especially when conducted by members of the local staff.

Today many surveys are conducted every year by local staffs, guided and directed by one or more experts from outside the school system. Many universities have bureaus one of the principal functions of which is to conduct or to assist in conducting surveys.

While the great majority of surveys have investigated local city school systems, there have been a score or more state school surveys and a considerable number of surveys of institutions of higher education.

A Typical Comprehensive School Survey.—The scope, methods, and data of a typical, modern, comprehensive school survey are indicated by the outline below. The following topics are discussed by chapters in the survey report. The pattern followed is (1) a presentation of the status of each phase within the public schools of St. Louis, and (2) recommendations for the improvement thereof.[7]

1. The function and purposes of education.
2. The scope of the curriculum.
3. Education for citizenship.
4. Health education, safety education, physical education, and recreation.
5. Home economics education and school food service.
6. Education for aesthetic values.
7. The academic subject areas.
8. Vocational education.
9. Education in skills.
10. Aids to instruction.
11. Problems of guidance.
12. Education for leisure time and extracurricular activities.
13. Pupil-teacher-parent relationships.
14. A program for curriculum improvement.
15. The administration of the school system.
16. The administration of the several divisions of the school system.
17. The instructional personnel of St. Louis public schools.
18. The noninstructional personnel of the St. Louis public schools.
19. The pupil personnel of the St. Louis public schools.
20. The business administration of schools in St. Louis.
21. School building problems in St. Louis.
22. Operation and maintenance of school plant.
23. Financing the schools of St. Louis.

[7] From George D. Strayer, Director, *A Report of a Survey of the Public Schools of St. Louis, Missouri.*

The Use and Values of School Surveys.—There are several values of a careful school survey and the facts it reveals, but principal among these is the clear picture it gives of the conditions of various aspects of the school or school system and its staff, its pupils, its plant, its financial condition, and other such matters. By comparison with similar facts concerning other schools and school systems, it indicates the appropriate directions and areas either for improvement or for more detailed investigation, and stimulates action for improvement.

Resulting directly and indirectly from school surveys, badly needed new buildings have been built, financial and accounting methods improved, teaching loads reduced, curricula and courses of study improved, the quality of staff upgraded, better supervision provided, the public better informed and more interested, and in a few instances new administrators employed. The values of surveys are not confined to the schools surveyed. From the published data and recommendations, many other schools have been stimulated to bring about needed improvements. Among other important values is the training it furnishes the staff of the school system, as well as those who participate, in careful investigation. It also has stimulated the development of methods of study and means of measurement. In the latter category are such things as score cards for judging school buildings.

The High School Evaluation as a Type of Survey.—As the result of cooperative study of accrediting associations sponsored by the regional accrediting associations, plans, procedures, criteria, and norms for surveys and evaluations of secondary schools have been developed and have been extensively used. Booklets with places provided for making entries and recording facts are used. These deal with various aspects of the local schools as indicated below:[8]

1. Introductory Materials.
2. Philosophy and Objectives.
3. Pupil Population and School Community.
4. Curriculum and Courses of Study.
5. Pupil Activity Program.
6. Library Service.
7. Guidance Service.
8. Instruction.
9. Outcomes.
10. School Staff.

[8] See *How to Evaluate a Secondary School*, Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, American Council on Education, Washington, D. C.

11. School Plant.
12. School Administration.
13. Data for Individual Staff Members.
14. Summary Forms.

Staff members of the local schools are expected to record facts, give opinions, and make evaluations according to instructions and norms given. Later a committee of outsiders convenes for several days, often composed of school administrators from near-by cities and specialists from institutions of higher education and state departments of education. This committee, usually a dozen or more, breaks up into subcommittees which, taking a certain area of the survey, examine the school, visit classes, talk to teachers, pupils, and patrons, and receive the booklets prepared by the local staff in advance, revising the evaluations as seems indicated by what they have learned about the school from any and all sources.

5. Recent and Future Trends

The Battle Between the Scientists and the Philosophers.— Throughout the twenties, thirties, and early forties there was waged a hot and fierce battle between those who wished to make education a science and those who wished to emphasize the philosophical approach. The "scientists" were contemptuous of "armchair" approaches, of authoritative dogma, and of any conclusions not based upon objective findings from objective data. So their research not only became the only respectable approach to the problems of education, but research came to be thought of almost exclusively in terms of objective measurements and techniques.

The philosophers were equally contemptuous of "measuring worms" with a "worm's-eye view of education" who "played at research" with "superficial statistical methods." They feared that the objectives of education would be lost sight of, and the areas not readily susceptible of scientific approach would be neglected, of which, indeed, there was considerable danger. In this group there were not only a considerable number of individuals who did not understand experimental and statistical methods—philosophers and others—but some who were well trained in scientific methods and thought that the most important educational problems of the day could not be adequately approached or solved by experimental and statistical methods. They were concerned most of all with such problems as the adaptation of instructional materials and methods to the needs of the times, of society and of the individual.

The Eclectic Point of View.—There were many who believed in using and continued to use both approaches. They insisted that the scientific study of education was indispensable, and that for at least four reasons it was insufficient. In the first place there must be a frame of reference, a set of values, the ultimate goals of education and indeed of society and of all social institutions, which are matters of opinion and preference and hence by their very nature subjective rather than objective.

They also maintained that it would be decades, if ever at all, before many of the problems of education, theoretically subject to the scientific solution, would be solved by the scientific approach. In the meantime education must go on. Questions of materials and procedures could not wait. We must, therefore, bring to bear on these problems the best thinking of expert thinkers, and in the classroom the teacher must always use his judgment as developed by experience in dealing with classroom problems.

In addition, many held that education was essentially an art. Every new problem and situation was to a large extent a new and different one. Rules or principles that could be developed by scientific study would not have wide application, as is the case of laws and principles in biology, physics, and other sciences. There is no such thing as a standard or uniform learner. Any given individual is not the same from day to day. The situation is too complex. There were too many variable factors—several variations in subject matter, in age levels of learners, between individuals, in other factors conditioning learning such as out-of-school influences, motives, and the like. Expertness in the application and adaptation of general principles was as important as the principles themselves.

Furthermore, much of the scientific study and conclusions was only pseudo-scientific. In "controlled experiments" not all important factors were adequately controlled, and some were not controlled at all. Indeed, in most of them results were measured in terms of only a part, many times the lesser part, of the important outcome—usually the ability to reproduce in writing schoolbook information.

Recent Trends.—It seems fairly obvious today that the middle-of-the-roaders, those who believed in scientific research but who were cognizant of its limitations, were and are right. The "pooh-poohers" were fighting an inevitable trend. They were defending useful approaches which were threatened with abandonment as people flocked to the camp of the scientific movement. Measurement and research became to some extent with many people a fad—or a game

to be played by amateurs and superficial investigators. It seemed a guarantee of respectability, especially among university faculties. It was seized upon by professors of education as means of establishing themselves in importance alongside professors of the sciences.

Research became a sort of sacred cow—a fetish. University professors became contemptuous of those who sought only to be excellent teachers. In fact many prided themselves as being at best mediocre teachers, as if one could not be both a researcher and a superior teacher. Promotions and salary increases came to be dependent in universities much more upon published research than upon quality of teaching. In the effort to publish research early in their careers, professors planned short-term research investigations, conducted them hastily, and often published them prematurely. More careful work upon very important problems, requiring at least several years, was the exception rather than the rule.

Research investigations required of the enormous numbers of candidates for graduate degrees in education since 1910 were for similar reasons short, hurried, and superficial. This condition is true in all fields, but because of the nature of the problems and requirements for research in education and psychology as well as because the huge numbers who, in order to obtain better positions and salary increases, work for graduate degrees in those fields, the great bulk of educational research, including published research, may not be relied upon and should be carefully winnowed for the few fully sound investigations that are made.

If for no other reason, the bulk of the investigations of educational problems is not to be taken seriously because it possesses one or more of the following limitations: (1) all appropriate factors were not adequately controlled; (2) inadequate or improper statistical methods of analysis were employed; (3) not all the important results of the experiments were measured; and (4) the findings and conclusions are not applicable, except with a serious hazard, to situations differing from the experimental situation, which of course limits the utility of any investigation. The last named limitation applies particularly to laboratory experiments, to experiments with adults, and to experiments with animals as far as inference to human beings is concerned.

The very great reaction to measurement, experimentation and scientific study of education in general was not limited to those whose attitudes grew out of sound objections as described above. It included tens of thousands of teachers and administrators who sought a respectable relief from the necessity of rigorous study to

be able at least to read research reports intelligently. To practically all teachers and administrators, reports of really worth-while research are difficult and dry reading. To the great majority it is not even comprehensible. Candidates for master's degrees in education complained bitterly at being required to do research. They were, for the great part, neither competent nor interested in research. When leaders of national reputation appeared to oppose the advance of research which threatened to destroy all other sound approaches to the study of education, each was hailed by all these as "a second Daniel come to judgment." The Progressive Education Association, which did not emphasize research of the quantitative type, became the haven of refuge of many of those who preferred to "think it through" rather than to investigate. To this group must be added many administrators and older teachers who preferred to be thought of as the source of educational wisdom, and whose limitations became readily apparent to the research-reading younger teachers.

In recent years, the pendulum has swung back to the scientific study of education. In the forties the Progressive Education Association lost influence and became the target of criticism and ridicule, partly because of the excesses and misapplications of many of its superficial disciples, and partly because of the weakness of people generally for criticizing anything that seems soft, thereby putting themselves in a favorable light. The war caused people to be more favorable to ideas of rigorous and mathematical training. New means and instruments of measurement have been and are being developed. The quality of research has been slowly but surely improving, partly because of the release of graduate students from the necessity of writing theses for the master's degree. All these trends have conduced to increase respect for research in education and a return to sanity relative to its great value.

Perhaps the most valuable scientific investigations made today are those supported by grants from foundations or other organizations.

Effective Scientific Studies.—Many of the problems of education require the expenditure of considerable money and at least several years of time. Of such investigations may be mentioned:

1. Terman's genetic studies of genius, begun in 1923.
2. The study of evaluative criteria by the regional accrediting associations.
3. Thorndike's *A Teacher's Word Book of the Twenty Thousand Words Most Frequently Found and Used Widely in General Reading for Children and Young People.*

4. Stoddard, G. D., and others, *Intelligence: Its Nature and Nurture,* National Society for the Study of Education, *39th Yearbook,* 1940.
5. Aikin, W. M., *The Story of the Eight-Year Study,* Progressive Education Association, 1942.
6. Learned, W. S., and Wood, B. W., *Study of the Relations of Secondary and Higher Education in Pennsylvania: The Student and His Knowledge, Bulletin* No. 29, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1939.

Education an Art as Well as a Science.—Education has proven to be by its very nature an art based upon scientific principles. There is no basis for a hope that education can ever be reduced to laws, formulas, and standard procedures to the extent that is possible for engineering, or even for medicine, which is coming to be recognized more and more as being an art as well as a science. The best artists in education are certain to be those who acquire all the scientific knowledge they can about young people, their growth, how they learn, how to measure their growth, their educational needs, the educational needs of society, techniques of teaching, course of study construction, guidance, and all aspects of education.

The teacher who invents rationalizations for not staying abreast of research in education is foolish, unprofessional, and less effective than he could be. The teacher who is not discriminating in the research he relies upon, or who attempts to apply it literally *ad hoc* to all kinds of situations without the adaptation of the artist who knows children, will make many mistakes which will be painful to him and unfortunate for those whom he is attempting to instruct.

Among the most useful publications of educational research are:

1. *Journal of Educational Research.*
2. *Journal of Experimental Education.*
3. *Encyclopedia of Educational Research.*
4. *The School Review.*
5. *The Elementary School Journal.*
6. *Journal of Educational Psychology.*
7. *Educational Administration and Supervision.*
8. *Teachers College Contributions to Education.*
9. *University of Chicago Supplementary Educational Monographs.*

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Write out or be able to give in your own words a summary of the factors that contributed to the development of the scientific aspects of education.

2. Tell how each of the factors that contributed to the development of the scientific aspects of education actually contributed.
3. Select one of these factors and write out, or be able to tell fully and in detail, how it developed and contributed to the scientific movement in education.
4. Make a list of five problems that could be made the subject of scientific investigation, and tell briefly how you would go about the scientific study of each.
5. What are the principal weaknesses or dangers of
   a. The controlled experiment?
   b. The survey of practices?
   c. Evaluative studies?
6. What are the weaknesses of the nonscientific approach to the study of education?
7. What are the weaknesses of the scientific approach to education?
8. Write a paper with two parts, each 300 to 500 words, on (a) Education as a Science, (b) Education as an Art.
9. Look through a recent issue of *School Review, The Nation's Schools, Journal of Educational Research, Educational Leadership, Progressive Education,* and one journal for a special field, e.g., *The Mathematics Teacher,* and describe each with respect to its being a journal which publishes scientific studies.
10. Do you believe the scientific approach and nonscientific may be harmonized and combined to solve educational problems? How?

Chapter 19

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

1. Current Developments

Unique School-Community Situation in the United States.—A very important difference exists between the United States and other more advanced nations in the matter of school and community relationships. As pointed out in Chapter 7, the schools of the United States are controlled very largely by the elected authorities of the local districts, of urban communities, or of small rural communities. In Germany and France—in fact, rather generally in Europe—the schools are governed by provincial (state) and national authorities. Although in continental countries the funds for supporting the school may come largely from local taxes, the instructional program of the schools is prescribed by provincial or national ministries or bureaus, as are the training, selection, and promotion of teachers and administrators and the inspection and supervision of the schools generally. Parents and others find it not easy even to visit the schools. In England, where there has never been a well developed state or national system of schools, the situation is in an intermediate stage. In China, in Japan, and in most Latin American countries, there is relatively little local control, though in the latter much control is exercised by the Catholic Church, both on a local and on a national basis.

In the United States, while the trend is definitely toward a much larger participation of state and nation in the support of schools, there is no corresponding trend toward the transfer of control from local to state or national authorities. There is, however, a healthy trend toward the consolidation of small districts unable to provide an adequate educational program or plant into larger districts in which pupils are transported. Important implications of the close relationship between school and community inherent in local control for school-community relationship are not difficult to see.

Implications of the Trend Toward Urbanization.—In earlier days the great majority of the population of the United States lived on farms or in rural villages. There were few commercialized amuse-

ments; usually community life and its amusements centered around the church and the school. Public education and public schools were in the process of being established. Indeed, public financial support for education was for two centuries a matter of community discussion and controversy. Supervision of the schools at first was in the hands of the local minister and later vested in an elected board. These men took quite seriously, if none too effectively, their supervisory responsibilities. Parents also visited the school much more frequently than they do today. In many ways the school and the church were the outstanding places of community interest.

Developments have very materially changed that situation. Communities have become much larger. Relationships generally have become much more impersonal. Various types of commercialized and noncommercialized amusement have developed apace. There are in many communities a number of places open at every hour for the expenditure of free time. We have become a nation at work on a daily schedule which makes school visitation almost impossible.

Public education and the public school have come to be taken for granted. The interest of the public is, in general, less serious than in the earlier days. Local boards of education and parents now leave to school administrators the responsibilities for supervision. While still regarded as an important institution, the school on the whole has receded from the focus of public attention (with the exception of its athletic contests) and is no longer at the crossroads or even on one of the main highways of adult daily life and interest. In view of the need for great and ever-increasing sums of money for support, that trend is not sound and wholesome. Because of the recognition of the unsoundness of the situation, most school administrators and many teachers in recent years have become much more active in bringing the school and its program, activities, achievements, and needs to the attention of the community. The means employed for this purpose will be discussed later in this chapter.

Decreased Community Correlation.—In the earlier schools it was not thought necessary to devote much attention to relating the educational activities of the school to the community. For this there were several reasons. The secondary schools were expected only to prepare for college, in Latin and Greek in particular. Elementary schools existed primarily for developing skills in the three R's. In those days, of necessity by nature of the times, every child participated richly with adults in the activities of the home and community. In the words of John Dewey:

Back of the factory system lies the household and neighborhood system. Those of us who are here today need to go back only one, two, or at most three generations, to find a time when the household was practically the center in which were carried on all the typical forms of industrial occupation. The clothing worn was for the most part not only made in the house, but the members of the household were usually familiar with the shearing of the sheep, the carding and spinning of the wool, and the plying of the loom. Instead of pressing a button and flooding the house with electric lights, the whole process of getting illumination was followed in its toilsome length, from the killing of the animal and the trying of fat, to the making of wicks and dipping of candles. The supply of flour, of lumber, of foods, of building materials, of household furniture, even of metal ware, of nails, hinges, hammers, etc., was in the immediate neighborhood, in shops which were constantly open to inspection and often centers of neighborhood congregation. The entire industrial process stood revealed, from the production on the farm of raw materials, till the finished article was actually put to use. Not only this but practically every member of the household had his own share in the work. The children, as they gained in strength and capacity, were gradually initiated into the mysteries of the several processes. It was a matter of immediate concern, even to the point of actual participation.

We cannot overlook the factors of discipline and of character-building involved in this: training in habits of order and industry, and in the idea of responsibility, of obligation to do something, to produce something, in the world. There was always something which really needed to be done, and a real necessity that each member of the household should do his own part faithfully and in cooperation with others. Personalities which became effective in action were bred and tested in the medium of action. Again, we cannot overlook the importance for educational purposes of the close and intimate acquaintance with nature at first hand, with real things and materials, with the actual processes of their manipulation, and the knowledge of their social necessities and uses. In all this there was continual training of observation, of ingenuity, of constructive imagination, of logical thought, and of the sense of reality acquired through first-hand contact with actualities. The educative force of the domestic spinning and weaving, of the saw-mill, the grist-mill, the copper shop, and the blacksmith forge, was continuously operative.[1]

Whenever there was protest against the lack of relationship between curriculum and community life, against the increased detachment of the school and its teaching, the false theories of mental discipline were invoked, and the popular awe of strange, detached learning was exploited to prevent reform and adjustment.

[1] John Dewey, *School and Society*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1899, pp. 22–24. Quoted with the permission of the publishers, The University of Chicago Press.

Recent Reaction Against Detachment of School from Community.—Shortly after the turn of the century the situation became intolerable to an increasing number of clear thinkers in education, and various forms of adaptation of the program were advocated. Among these were: (1) the introduction of courses in shop training, in agriculture, in home economics and in business, experimentation with summer camps, the development of plans of work-experience as part of the school program during the year; (2) the use of more visual aids in the school; (3) the use of assignments involving projects outside of school; (4) the increased number and variety of types of school excursions and field trips, and in the last few years (5) the great expansion of community uses of schoolhouses for other than strictly school purposes.

Types of School-Community Relationships.—As may be seen, three very important types of community relationships have resulted. One of these includes efforts to keep the community informed concerning the school, its program, its activities and its needs. These efforts are frequently referred to as school publicity or public relations activities. The second type of school-community relationship centers around the increased correlation between the instructional program and community resources—trips, projects, excursions, etc. The third is that centering around the adaptation to community needs. To each of these areas and the principal approaches in each attention will be given in the remainder of this chapter.

2. School Public Relations in the Community

It is not going too far to state that no institution—private or public—can continue indefinitely to operate at a level of high effectiveness if it lacks the goodwill and understanding of the clientele it intends to serve. In private enterprise, many millions of dollars are spent annually by concerns which are practically monopolies, such as the telephone companies, to build and keep goodwill and understanding. Even so staid an organization as the Department of State has taken to the road to tell people about its work. It has nothing to sell, and has only remote contact with the general public, but it finds worth while the development of appreciation at the grass roots, and the give-and-take of discussion with groups of citizens.

Although a school has nothing to sell, in the commercial sense, it faces the necessity of obtaining support for its program. Its problem in public relations is to effect an understanding by the community of the school's purposes, achievements, and what it needs to

do a good job. It also must develop a sensitivity to the community's needs and desires. Thus community relations have a twofold role. Probably every reader can call to mind at least one school which was either at cross purposes with the community or aloof from it—a thing apart. The administrative authorities of such a school clearly had no awareness of community relations. Conversely, a school may be recalled which was an integral part of its community; whose rapport with the people was excellent; which possessed and prized the respect and affection of the people, and in turn was cherished by them. Consciously or otherwise, this school had developed an effective program of public relations.

Relationship Centering Around the Teacher.—School people in the United States have become increasingly aware of the key position of the teacher in establishing favorable public relations. Increasingly it is becoming recognized that the teacher must exhibit, both in school and out, not only a superior personality but also a professional level of behavior. Eccentricities of dress or manner are distinct liabilities. Relations with and treatment of pupils must be comparable to the relationship between a physician and his juvenile patients—dignified, friendly, helpful, well balanced and poised, inspiring of confidence. There seems to be no demand in the schools today for the schoolmarm or schoolmaster who, relying upon discredited theories of discipline, lectures, scolds, and punishes young people frequently and whose management is characterized by arbitrariness and lack of consideration for the individual.

While the community is relaxing its former prescription (apparently based upon the concept of teachers as abnormal individuals) against engaging in community life as do others, there is developing a demand for teachers who are skilled in managing young people; who set good examples of emotional balance, of self-control and of social cooperation; and who also are learned, cultured, and skillful in teaching.

Still further, it is becoming more and more widely recognized that the teacher who participates rather fully and judiciously in community life is an asset to the school. The teacher need not, and probably should not, assume too much leadership and responsibility. He certainly should not devote too much time to community activities, though he is expected to participate increasingly in community enterprises on the basis of being a citizen, interested in the community, who might live there indefinitely. More and more teachers have been remaining longer in each community. With the trend toward equali-

zation of salaries in small and larger communities as one result of increased state and federal aid, teachers will tend to become not only more permanent members of the profession but also more permanent members of their communities, in contrast to the "suitcase" type of teacher so prevalent in former periods.

Restrictions on the Private Life of the Teacher.—It has become traditional to believe that the teacher, because of influence it is thought he wields (greatly exaggerated in the minds of many) upon young people, must live a more or less "model" life, or at least avoid offending the sensitivities of the community relative to its standards (which many others ignore). These restrictions, never as great in recent years in most communities as many have believed them to be, have been still further relaxed in most communities, until teachers today are little if any more restricted than local physicians and others in public life.

The attitudes of board members and teachers in 1940 were reported to be as shown in Table 55.[2] In this study six types of

TABLE 55

PERCENTAGE OF BOARD MEMBERS AND TEACHERS GIVING APPROVAL AND DISAPPROVAL OF PERSONAL PRACTICES OF TEACHERS

Practices	Board Members (356)		Public School Teachers (9,122)	
	Men Teachers	Women Teachers	Men Teachers	Women Teachers
Owning an automobile	61 3	60 0	64 4	59.6
Dating a town person	31.7	28.9	49 7	46.5
Dating another teacher	19.6	19 5	35 2	40 5
Leaving community over week end	.8	.9	9 9	5 5
Dancing at public dance	-23 9	-26 4	5.7	4 2
Single teachers living in apartments	- 6.2	-11 2	24 6	24 5
Receiving pay for coaching	- 2.8	- 3.1	30 4	29 0
Smoking in private	- 9 8	-46.2	11.5	11.2
Buying clothes, etc., outside community	- 8 5	19.4	- 4.3	- 4.0
Joining teachers' union	-22.5	-23.1	9 1	8 5
Not attending church	- 9.9	-69.0	-54 8	-54.5
Smoking in public	-48.1	-80 7	-25.2	-61 9
Drinking alcoholic liquors	-80 1	-81 3	-71 8	-73 2
Dating student	-86.0	-85 7	-84 4	-86 4

answers were provided, ranging from "strong approval" to "reason for discharge." General approval, from weak to strong, is indicated

[2] Florence Greenhoe, "Community Contacts of Public School Teachers," *Elementary School Journal*, XL:497–506.

by positive scores from low to high; disapproval by negative scores, a high negative number indicating strong disapproval. It should be noted that, with respect to approval or disapproval of most personal practices, teachers and board members were not conspicuously in disagreement. As the result of the shortage of teachers since 1941, board members and communities are not in a good position to be too "choosey" or dictatorial.

Community Influences upon Selection of Teachers.—Another teacher-community relationship problem has its basis in the efforts of individuals and groups in many communities to influence the selection of teachers. In almost every community there are at least some, often board members, who at one time or another attempt either to rob the professional administrator of his prerogative and responsibility of selecting the teaching staff, or to influence him unduly in his selections. The wisest administrators resist courageously. Weaker ones yield, only to discover later that some, if not many, of the favored teachers (usually relatives of people in the community) are inferior teachers who found it difficult to get good positions. Unfortunately, these teachers tend to rely upon their local influence to resist attempts to improve them in service, and, in some instances, to use their influence to obtain light or favored assignments. Finally, they are exceedingly difficult to get rid of if they prove to be failures or unprofessional in their conduct and attitudes.

Types of Teacher Participation in Community Enterprises.—The effectiveness of a teacher and the goodwill of the community toward both the teacher and the school are dependent to some extent, especially in smaller communities, upon the amount and quality of teacher participation in and contribution to community enterprises. As reported by Reavis and Judd, the more common areas of participation are indicated in Table 56.

Nonteaching Employees.—Increasingly in recent years, the schools have been following the tendency of other community organizations and institutions to exploit the relations with the public of all staff members in order to develop interest and confidence in the schools, their programs, and their personnel. As in the case of commercial and governmental organizations, there is developing in schools and school systems the practice of utilizing all opportunities to "sell" the school to the public. It has become recognized as professionally unethical for any employee, including teachers and non-

TABLE 56

Number of Examples of Participation Reported by Teachers in Certain Community Activities [a]

Activities	Number of Cases of Participation Reported
Examples of Participation in Nonremunerative Educational Activities Reported by 1,292 Teachers in 29 Selected Secondary Schools:	
1. Interviewed parents of failing pupils	791
2. Gave special aid to backward pupils outside of school hours	481
3. Conducted educational excursions	266
4. Visited pupils in their homes when they were ill	265
5. Assisted athletes to keep up scholastic requirements	234
6. Directed stage decorations for school and community plays	104
7. Assisted in community health campaign	99
8. Gave educational talks to teachers in neighboring communities	59
Examples of Participation in Nonremunerative Religious Activities Reported by 1,015 Teachers in 29 Selected Secondary Schools:	
1. Taught class in Sunday school	157
2. Gave talks at church or Sunday school services	138
3. Served on program committee	128
4. Sang in the choir	88
5. Served on ushering committee	68
6. Directed dramatic performance for church	66
Examples of Participation in Nonremunerative Civic and Political Activities Reported by 1,111 Teachers in 29 Selected Secondary Schools:	
1. Assisted in collecting and distributing Christmas and Thanksgiving baskets to needy	472
2. Assisted in taking up collection for families or people who had suffered severe misfortune	128
3. Assisted in fire prevention and safety-first campaigns	101
4. Assisted in community chest drive	96
5. Assisted voters to get to the polls	82
6. Assisted in community clean-up campaigns	75
7. Assisted with community improvement projects	66
8. Circulated a petition to obtain signers	59
9. Served as precinct committeeman of political party	45
Examples of Participation in Nonremunerative Social and Recreational Activities Reported by 1,237 Teachers in 29 Selected Secondary Schools:	
1. Chaperoned school parties	421
2. Participated in community picnics	100
3. Refereed or umpired athletic contests	91
4. Chaperoned week-end trips of pupils	84
5. Chaperoned fraternity or sorority dances	56
6. Coached community athletics	33

[a] Selected items from tables given in William C. Reavis and Charles H. Judd, *The Teacher and Educational Administration*, New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., pp. 216–226.

TABLE 56 (Continued)

Activities	Number of Cases of Participation Reported
Community Organizations in Which Teachers in 29 Selected Secondary Schools Reported Membership:	
1. Parent-Teacher Association	530
2. American Red Cross	267
3. Miscellaneous fraternal orders	188
4. Masonic order	170
5. Federated Women's Clubs	89
6. Local sorority or fraternity	86
7. American Legion Post	80
8. Eastern Star	80
9. Y.W.C.A.	76
10. Automobile club	61
11. Dramatic club	54
Services Rendered to Community Organizations in Which 1,074 Teachers Reported Membership:	
1. Member of committee	446
2. Contributed financial aid	406
3. Contributed to programs and entertainments	371
4. Contributed use of automobile or other property	298
5. Assisted in conducting research	258
6. Served as special speaker	240
7. Prepared articles for publications	87

teaching employees, to air grievances or criticisms outside the school personnel.

As a consequence, certain other public-relations practices are coming to be employed in most schools. Among these is the adoption and employment of policies and procedures aimed at (1) keeping all employees informed about the program, unusual achievements, and needs of the school and the school system, and (2) developing and maintaining confidence and pride in the school, its program, and its personnel. Organizations have been formed in many schools that include both teaching and nonteaching personnel. In an increasing number of schools, meetings of both groups are called at which information about the school, its work, and its needs are presented and, in many cases, opportunity given to ask questions and make comments.

The public relations importance of nonteaching employees is becoming increasingly recognized. Reception clerks and those who answer telephones and meet the patrons and others today are usually trained to appreciate the importance of courteous, friendly treatment.

Visiting teachers and attendance officers today are far less bureaucratic and far more public-relations minded. The importance of building custodians has become widely recognized. They have been found to have important possibilities in pupil guidance and morale, and in influencing public attitudes toward the school—in one direction or the other. In the modern school, they have come to be regarded as an important part of the school personnel, and the teaching employees regard them much more highly than formerly.

Parent-Teacher Associations.—One of the most important elements in school community relations is the Parent-Teacher Association. Composed of both teachers and parents, association meetings are usually held once a month. Among the most useful functions of P.T.A. meetings are the following:

1. P.T.A. meetings provide an excellent opportunity for teachers to become acquainted with parents and therefore:
   a. To develop friendly relationships.
   b. To learn more about individual pupils and their home environment.
   c. To talk over problems of individual pupils.
   d. To build up confidence in teachers as a backfire.
   e. To guard against pupil misrepresentations to their parents.
2. P.T.A. meetings furnish an excellent opportunity to develop understanding in and favorable attitudes by parents toward the program and procedures of the school and its staff, particularly concerning changes and new developments, such as new-type report cards, home room and guidance programs, and physical and medical examinations.
3. P.T.A. meetings afford an excellent opportunity to develop on the part of parents a demand or a desire for new developments, causing the impetus for improvement of the school program and the school faculties to come from the parents, as well as, or instead of, the teachers and executives of the school.
4. P.T.A. meetings are being utilized increasingly for parent education. Programs may partake of the nature of child-study projects, enabling parents to study their responsibilities and to increase their effectiveness by "in-service training" on the job. The rapidly changing nature of the world in which children grow up indicates the need for continuing study by parents of life and society today and its hazards for young people.

The Parent-Teacher Associations are local chapters of a national organization. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers was organized in 1897 as the National Congress of Mothers and assumed its present name in 1924. The P.T.A. is the only formal association

in most communities specifically designed to further sound home-school relations. With nearly five million members, in more than 27,000 local groups, it possesses far greater potentialities for aiding the progress of education than have yet been realized. This is stated at least partially in recognition of its fine achievement thus far, which augurs well for its second half-century.

The stated objects of the P.T.A. are: (1) to promote the welfare of children and youth in home, school, church, and community; (2) to raise the standards of home life; (3) to assist in obtaining adequate legislation—local, state, and national—for the care and protection of children and youth; (4) to bring into closer relation the home and the school that parents and teachers may cooperate intelligently in the training of the child; (5) to develop between educators and the general public such united effort as will secure for every child the highest advantages in physical, mental, social, and spiritual education.

The national organization publishes the *National Parent-Teacher*, a journal of excellent quality, as are the numerous leaflets, guides, source booklets, etc., that are published by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. In recent years efforts, successful to some degree, have been made to increase membership and attendance on the part of fathers.

Community Relations Through the Pupils.—Parents form their impressions of a school and their attitudes toward a school largely on the basis of the reactions and reports of their children. The affection of the parent for a child often blinds him to the possibility of misrepresentation by his offspring, intentional or otherwise. Every pupil has opinions of his teacher, his subjects of study, methods of teaching, and procedures and standards of discipline and management, student activities, and school marks. He is almost certain to comment on one or more of these several times a week.

Because these facts have been recognized, schools have in recent years given more attention to keeping pupils, as well as staff, informed about and favorably disposed to the school and its program. Assemblies, home room meetings, bulletin boards, school publications, and exhibits are regularly employed by most high schools and, to a lesser extent, by many elementary schools for these purposes. Systematic efforts are expended to develop a good school spirit in fields other than the area of interscholastic contests.

In high schools, and in the upper grades of elementary schools to a greater degree than formerly, pupil participation in matters for-

merly monopolized by the staff is being encouraged. They have become, at least in a small way, responsible for policies and procedures of the school and consequently take a much more interested and favorable attitude.

In some schools the appeal to student goodwill has not been wisely formulated. A few schools are characterized by low standards of scholarship, frequent holidays—especially upon occasions of athletic contests—misleading generosity regarding school marks, special privileges to influential student leaders, reduction in the amount of home work, abandonment of final examinations, and other unwise—if not actually unethical—coddling practices.

These questionable practices should not be confused with the modern tendency toward a general attitude by teachers and principals of dignified friendliness toward pupils, a greater reliance upon interest and reason instead of upon fear and punitive measures in promoting scholarship and citizenship, admission of students to cooperation in many aspects of school life, and a clear interest in and concern for the student as an individual.

Home Visitation.—Definite formal arrangement has been developing in recent years for home visitation by members of the school staff. Formerly, teachers in a small community visited the homes of many, if not all, of their pupils, and in larger communities the attendance official visited some. More recently, to these have been added visitation by such officials as the school nurse, the visiting teacher, and counselors.

The visiting teacher not only is concerned with matters that pertain directly to pupils, but also assists the home by putting it in touch with organized social agencies which can be of assistance in the improvement of life in the home, thus contributing to the education and educational opportunities of the pupil. The visiting teacher, as a part of the guidance and counseling personnel, not only assists in the solution of problems of parents in providing better environment for the progress of children in school, but also furnishes other school counselors with useful data concerning school environment of pupils. Furthermore, the visiting teacher renders service for the school in the area of public relations.[3]

Attendance Officials.—With the passage of compulsory attendance laws in each of the forty-eight states, it became necessary to employ individuals to investigate cases of nonattendance and to

[3] Jane F. Culbert, *The Visiting Teacher at Work*, New York: Commonwealth Fund.

assist in enforcing the law. Such officials exist in all states, usually as employees of the local district, in some cases of the county. The great majority of smaller school districts do not have sufficient funds to employ an attendance official and his duties are performed to some extent by school administrators, in the small rural districts by teachers and members of the board of education.

At first the attendance officer resembled a policeman. He investigated cases of truancy and of failure of parents to send their children, if of school age, to school. Wearing an officer's badge, he employed threats and intimidation freely and haled chronic offenders into court where lectures and suspended fines were the usual punishment. In recent years the position has usually been filled by someone with the philosophy of a counselor, and frequently with the appropriate personality, experience, and training for effective counseling. In short, the attendance official has become primarily a social worker and a counselor.[4]

3. Programs of School Publicity

General Need and Nature.—Executives of schools and colleges no longer believe in the dictum of Emerson that "If a man can build a better mousetrap than his neighbors, the world will beat a path to his door." With few exceptions, that day has passed, especially for institutions that require public financial support. Many colleges, and an increasing number of schools, now have an individual or a bureau whose responsibility is publicity and public relations.

Both theory and practice have veered strongly in recent years toward a continuous year-round program of publicity, instead of occasional intensive campaigns when additional funds are needed. In fact it has become evident that intensive campaigns, when necessary, are usually relatively ineffective unless based upon a foundation of public information, respect, and goodwill built up through day to day effort.

It has also become definitely apparent that the best type of publicity is that which stresses the work of the schools, its nature and quality, the schools' needs, and the achievements of the pupils, *with little or no emphasis upon the individual staff member, except as reflected glory.*

Publicity Through the Press.—In the last quarter-century the amount of space given to schools in the press of the country has in-

[4] See Guy Marsh Hoyt, "An Attendance Department," *Phi Delta Kappan*, XXII:364–367.

creased manyfold. This should be attributed not so much to increased public interest in the schools but to increased systematic effort on the part of school officials and staff to keep the public informed. In addition to having a staff officer in the central administrative offices take over the responsibility of preparing news releases for the papers, in many schools the principal or some assistant prepares material for news releases and sends it to the central administrative office for coordination and distribution.

In many schools there is prepared and utilized a *publicity calendar* in which month by month those responsible for news releases are reminded of news possibilities. An example is shown below of a calendar for one month:

SEPTEMBER (AFTER OPENING OF SCHOOL)

Registration statistics
Organization of classes
Student organizations
Organization of various clubs, girls' league, council, etc.
Football schedule
Football turnout and practice
Selection of cheer leader
"Pep" meeting to learn cheers and songs
Work of physical education department
Parent-Teacher Association: first meeting, officers
Fire drill and protection
Punctuality of pupils in the schools: first week
First issue of school paper
Calendar for coming school events
Staff of school paper chosen
Glee club gets under way
Exhibits at state fair
School orchestra
Organization of school band
School credit for private music lessons
Reception for new teachers
Vocational guidance program
Value and progress of health inspection
Announcement of class advisers
Report of Smith-Hughes agricultural projects carried on during summer
Boys in agricultural classes visit state fair
Organization and prospects for debate
Evening school and Americanization work
Testing program

School gardens
Rotary loan fund
Assisting pupils to find work
Teachers' institute work
Saturday institute
Teachers' directory
Dinners and receptions for teachers
University extension lecture courses
County fair, any vacation, or change of session
Frances Willard Day
Constitution Week
Freshmen boys' mixer or other student social events

Exhibits.—The staff of a modern school is alert to realize the possibilities of exhibits as means of keeping the public informed, interested, and appreciative. Among the types of exhibits commonly employed are the following:

1. *Contests, Entertainments and Programs for Out-of-School Organizations.* Not only do schools in the United States encourage attendance of the public at interscholastic contests in athletics and debating and at presentations of plays and programs of music and dancing, but in most schools teachers and officials also are on the lookout for opportunities to demonstrate the achievements of pupils at meetings of local organizations—e.g., Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Soroptimists, Chamber of Commerce, Women's, and other clubs.

2. *In Downtown Show Windows.* Since most school buildings are wisely located away from main arteries of traffic and usually well back from the street, more and more the work of such departments adaptable to exhibition is being presented through displays in show windows of stores, government buildings, or of empty buildings. Included in the materials suitable for such exhibits are products of classes in sewing, manual training, history, art, agriculture, drawing, cooking, machine shop, and science. To be sure, drawings, diagrams, and charts suitable for display may be prepared by other classes, including mathematics, social studies, business subjects, foreign languages, literature, and physical education. Other types of exhibit material include trophies, awards, and letters of special commendation.

3. *Exhibits Within the School.* Especially during the period of visitation days, exhibits of the work of the schools are commonly found on bulletin boards in cases especially provided for the purpose, usually located in main corridors or in classrooms. In addition to the types of exhibits mentioned in the foregoing paragraph, such ex-

hibits are likely to include newspaper items, pictures, articles in journals written by members of the staff, and school papers.

4. *Visiting Days.* In the majority of schools today, usually during Education Week in November or in the spring, one or more days are designated as a time for parents and others to visit the schools, to inspect the building and classwork, to be entertained with assembly or home room programs, and to meet the teachers, counselors, and officials of the school.

5. *Presentations at Community Celebrations and Functions.* Schools commonly utilize the opportunity afforded at county and state fairs to exhibit work of the pupils—usually work of the character exhibited in downtown windows. The work of pupils in various school subjects is often presented to the public as a type of cooperation in such community enterprises as historical pageants, old settlers' day, conventions, public health demonstrations, parades, and the like. While at such events musical contributions are most common, other types of cooperation are increasingly provided, including student ushers, guides, and floats. In recent years student organizations and school officials have been among the community leaders in initiating or planning this type of community enterprise.

School Publications.—School publicity is also carried on through school publications. Not only are pupils and staff kept informed and their interest stimulated by periodical and annual publications, but many parent readers are similarly reached. In recent years the quality and dignity of these publications have been improved materially, giving less and less attention and space to materials likely to give unfortunately wrong impressions of school life and morale. In many schools, student publications are supported in part from general school funds.

In recent years there has been a sweeping transformation in the nature of reports of the superintendent of schools and his staff. Through the nineteen-twenties this report was generally a formidable statistical and financial publication uninteresting to and seldom read by the people. Through the thirties, as a means of economy, the publication of such reports frequently was dispensed with; those that were continued tended to be much briefer. During the forties a new type of report evolved. This new report is prepared so as to be interesting and widely read. Concerned with the program of the school and the activities of the pupils, it contains a minimum of statistical material, not a great deal of reading material, and consists largely of pictures selected so as to be attractive, interesting, and representative of the educational activities of the pupils and teachers.

Handbooks for pupils and handbooks for teachers are provided by many schools. The former contain guidance material principally relative to such matters as courses of study, extracurricular activities, and rules and conventions for attendance, assemblies, lunchrooms, and the library. The latter provide material for the information and guidance of teachers relative to such matters as reports, marking systems, responsibilities of teachers, requisitioning and use of supplies, equipment and teaching aids.

Commencements.—Increasingly, graduation exercises have come to be utilized as a source of beneficial school publicity and for developing good school-community relations. At this time parents are caused to glow with pride and to believe in public education. Not only are achievements of the members of the graduating class recognized, but also the achievements of other pupils. Opportunity is given for the principal or superintendent to commend the teaching staff. Musical numbers on the program demonstrate the learning of students in classes in music and musical organizations. Opportunity is provided to recognize the services of the members of the board of education, to recognize the cooperation of parents and express appropriate appreciation, and to review briefly the new developments in the school program.

Alumni Organizations.—Following the examples of colleges and of nonpublic schools, school officials have recently expended effort to keep former students interested in the schools. The efforts have gone far to offset the common feeling of most alumni that the "old school has gone to the dogs."

Annual or semiannual meetings of alumni are held in many high schools, often at commencement time, though occasionally during Christmas holidays when those attending college may be present. These programs consist of such items as short talks by the presidents of such classes as are present or by some of the officers of the alumni association, by the principal of the school, selected members of the staff, and members of the student body.

"Old boys" and "old girls" are kept informed of the progress and achievements of the schools, and the "alums" usually present to the students an adult point of view of the values of education. In general, school pride and loyalty are generated. Sometimes a small publication is prepared and sent to all graduates whose addresses are known.

American Education Week.—Since 1921 there has been an annual, nationwide observance of American Education Week, usually

occurring during the second week of November. It is sponsored jointly by many civic and other constructive organizations, led by the National Education Association and the American Legion. American Education Week is recognized as one of the most effective measures for interpretation of the school to the community, and for emphasizing the primacy of schools in our society. Each year a theme appropriate for the times is selected and topics are suggested for special emphasis for the seven days of the week. For 1947 the theme was "The Schools Are Yours."

Daily topics were:

Sunday:	Securing the Peace.
Monday:	Meeting the Emergency in Education.
Tuesday:	Building America's Future.
Wednesday:	Strengthening the Teaching Profession.
Thursday:	Supporting Adequate Education.
Friday:	Enriching Home and Community Life.
Saturday:	Promoting Health and Safety.

Copious inexpensive materials, prepared each year by the N.E.A. and furnished at nominal prices, include radio scripts, program suggestions, dramatizations, recordings, movie trailers, letters to parents, and other items. Most schools participate in American Education Week; they enlist the cooperation of service clubs, churches, and motion picture theaters and furnish materials and speakers for talks and short films on educational subjects.

Community School Councils.—A number of city school systems have adopted a cooperative procedure intended to improve both the public's understanding of the school and the school staff's understanding of the community. Community school councils are composed of representative citizens and representatives of the educational personnel. Naturally, only a few teachers can participate in any one year, and they are preferably selected on the basis of their ability to contribute to a council's deliberations. The opportunity to serve on such a council should be accepted with alacrity. From the standpoint of making worth-while community contacts such service may be deemed a real privilege. A teacher well qualified personally and professionally may be quite effective in assisting the lay members of the council to understand educational problems. In turn, he may also learn much about community needs and desires. For this reason it is customary to rotate council membership to broaden the base of participation.

4. The Community and the Curriculum

Community Influence upon the Curriculum.—There are two principal types of influence of the community upon the curriculum: (1) the influence of individuals or groups upon teachers, administrators, and school board relative to the curriculum, and (2) the effects upon the curriculum which have their origin in the tendency of teachers and their leaders to adapt their courses of study to community needs and community curriculum resources.

These influences tend to fall largely into two classes. The first of these includes the efforts of individuals or groups to improve the curriculum in such ways as adding instruction in health and physical education or in vocational education and giving more attention to the three R's, music or art. The second is the influence used to restrict teachers, or to stimulate them in adapting the curriculum to the religious, political, economic, and local or sectional beliefs and prejudices. The latter dangerous influence was discussed fully in Chapter 9, "Nongovernmental Influences upon American Education."

Adapting the Curriculum to the Community.—With the development of industry on a nationwide basis and the consequent tendency toward specialization of activity within individual communities, there has been in recent decades a growing tendency to adapt the objectives and content of the curriculum to the local community. This tendency has also been stimulated by the recognition that communities vary significantly in such things as cultural backgrounds in the pupils' homes, vocational opportunities, and educational needs relative to health, leisure, and home-making. On the other hand it is recognized not only that communities are similar to a great extent, but also that the broad general objectives of education are the same in all communities, and that young people tend in significantly large numbers to leave the communities in which they are educated. As a consequence, educational programs have not undergone a high degree of especial adaptation to local communities and their peculiarities.

Increased attention is being given to correlating the curriculum, not so much to a particular community because of unique characteristics, but to community life and to concrete, near-by things and institutions. This trend is in harmony with prevailing educational theory that learning is more valuable, more economical, and more permanent if it takes place in practically applied situations. There is also the growing belief that the community may be served by studies and projects undertaken by the school and its students.

The trend toward community-curriculum correlation takes generally two forms. One of these is curriculum enrichment by means of such devices as excursions, field trips, work experience, and other such ventures as "the community school" and community surveys. To the first of these the next section in this chapter will be devoted; the latter is the topic of the next few paragraphs.

Community Surveys.—One new practice of great educational value is the school survey of the local community—its economic, cultural, and social nature; its problems and needs; its vocational opportunities and other similar aspects. Such surveys may include, and frequently do, a state or a regional area, even sometimes the nation or the entire world community of nations. Among areas which are often included within the scope of a community survey and analysis, as pointed out by Olsen,[5] are the following:

1. Physical setting: Climate, size, topography, soil type and fertility, water resources, mineral deposits, forest and animal resources.
2. Human setting: Population number, age and sex composition, educational status, occupational status, health, nationality pattern, racial minority groups, class and caste structure, history, mores and attitudes, status of means of intercommunication, status of social institutions for serving human needs.

Naturally not all surveys deal with all the possible aspects. Some are directed at limited areas because of the special interests of the class or classes engaged in the survey.

Community surveys not only provide excellent opportunities for educating young people as to the nature of the society in which they are living and later must live more completely, but they also assist them in seeing where social progress is needed and can wisely be made. In addition, in many schools the means of community improvement are studied in home economics, art, science, social studies, mathematics, and other subjects. Indeed in some schools, through the community survey, sufficient interest is aroused among students, teachers, and others in the community to result in efforts to remedy the more conspicuous community weaknesses.

Among the problems most frequently coming into the focus of attention, as the result of community analysis, are the following:

1. Inefficient use of and failure to develop and conserve material resources—land, water power, timber, minerals, for example.

[5] E. G. Olsen, *School and Community,* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., Ch. 3.

2. Undemocratic perversion and exploitation of democratic processes and control of the community by a few for the interests of a minority.
3. Absence, incompleteness, or mismanagement of social institutions and equipment such as those for public health, education, leisure, and recreation.
4. Problems relating to wasteful and undemocratic division of the community into religious, economic, occupational, or social factions and to the treatment of minority ethnic groups.
5. Problems relating to unemployment, adequate income, adequate housing, health inspections and control of food, waste disposal, water and communicable diseases, juvenile delinquency.
6. Problems related to consumer exploitation, monopolistic prevention of free competitive enterprise, misleading or untruthful advertising.
7. Problems related to community care for the ill, the aged, the orphans, the crippled, the feeble-minded and insane, the blind, and hard of hearing.
8. Problems related to community beauty—community housekeeping with respect to streets, lawns, parks, playgrounds.
9. Community leisure and recreation—parks, playgrounds, art museums, musical programs, sports programs, libraries.

In a few but increasing number of high schools, the entire student-faculty personnel engage in a continuing community survey covering in a cycle of three or four years the entire gamut of community settings, resources, and problems.

As pointed out by Olsen and by others, the trend toward closer school-community correlation has very important implications for the education of teachers, both before beginning to teach and in service, both in school with books and by experience. To develop an adequate experiential basis for curriculum-community correlation, Olsen, in Chapter 20 of his book referred to above, makes the following suggestions for teachers:

1. Study the school and the community.
2. Make a wide variety of social contacts with people of different ages, races, nationalities, classes, political and religious beliefs.
3. Share common interests with a wide circle of friends, many of whom are outside the teaching profession.
4. Become acquainted with community agencies and their leaders, and demonstrate your interest in cooperating with them.
5. Know your state and regional resources.
6. Attend public meetings in the community, talk with people, introduce yourself, express your appreciation of what others do for community welfare.

7. Participate with others in studying community needs and attacking community problems, particularly those which bear upon the education of boys and girls.

8. Become well versed in techniques of scientific thinking, and apply your knowledge to the handling of controversial issues in your classroom as well as in the community outside.

9. Make careful study of the age group which you are teaching.

10. Become a legal resident of the community and vote in local, state, and national elections. Be a real citizen.

Arguments for the Community School.—As S. E. T. Lund points out in *The High School Curriculum,* by Douglass and others,[6] the following considerations suggest the expansion of school activities into community life and needs:

1. In war time, the school has demonstrated its value in community life in such enterprises as rationing, Red Cross work, civil defense activities, and conservation of paper, metal, and other materials.

2. There is evidence indicating that the artificial academic life of the school does not provide discipline for life or the generation of attitudes of responsibility.

3. There is abundant evidence of the need of improving the community facilities for conserving health and physique of young people.

4. The compartmentalization of the lives and interests of the people of the United States has encouraged the development of various socio-economic and ethnic groups of Americans, indicating a need for the early orientation in and understanding of the whole of life in the community.

5. The tendency towards individual economic competition and vocational struggle in a society steadily becoming more and more interdependent calls for developing a compensating sense of community-mindedness and co-operation.

6. The very nature of a democracy implies a great need for education of young people in the nature and operation of communities and institutions and forces within communities, as an important part of education for citizenship.

7. Teachers as well as pupils need to have more knowledge of the nature and needs of communities, and to have some definite safeguard against the natural tendency for teachers to be and become more academic and to live in ivory towers.

8. The great expanse of our country and the fact that considerable proportions of the population are either immigrants, new citizens, or are brought up in homes of immigrants from other countries of different culture, ideals, and mores, call for special attention to integrating first-hand experiences in community life in the United States.

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[6] New York: The Ronald Press Co., Ch. 8.

9. The tendency towards the disappearance of chores and responsibilities suggests the need for the addition to the environment of young people some experiences in the more real life of people.

10. American life has lost much of its good-neighbor qualities which formerly yielded very valuable training for living in an interdependent community, nation, and world.

11. The heterogeneous nature of the people of the United States—uniquely lacking in homogeneity with respect to national origins, religious belief and loyalties, economic interests, and other important cultural elements—calls for definite provision for more than ordinary education for tolerance and understanding.

12. The diversity of interests, culture, and mores of urban and rural peoples is still great enough to demand education for integration.

Examples of Community Schools in the United States.—Among the better known examples of the trend toward expanding the learning activities of the school into the community life are the following:

The Parker, S. C., District High School. In the Parker school, goals are thought of in terms of what the school can do to improve the quality of living in the community. The community's resources are appraised, and the religious, social, and economic problems identified. Emphasis is placed upon developing a correlated sense of freedom and responsibility, as much by the study of community activities as by books. Instruction in shop, home economics, science, and mathematics classes is pointed toward their applications in life in the Parker community. Lund describes the activities of the Parker high school as follows:

> The activities of the Parker High School Governing Federation, composed of students, teachers and parents are not the perfunctory variety characterizing student governments or student body associations. Its activities vitally concern the life of pupils, life in and out of the school. It creates the laws of the school, organizes and controls elections, regulates the use of school buildings and grounds, arranges the chapel programs, provides summer camp and recreational programs for Parker children, and carries on cultural and recreational activities in the district.[7]

The Holtville, Alabama, School. As illustrative of activities in community schools, though their detailed nature will of course vary from school to school, the following examples are quoted from the story of the Holtville School.[8]

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[7] S. E. T. Lund, in *The High School Curriculum*, by Douglass and others, New York: The Ronald Press Co., p. 183.

[8] S. E. T. Lund, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

Sometimes girls in the home economics classes go out into homes and perform such services as rearranging furniture in rooms, making clay paint and painting the inside walls, making curtains and rugs from inexpensive materials, refinishing furniture and floors, upholstering furniture, making slip covers from fertilizer sacks, improving sinks for kitchens, repairing screens, and making barrel chairs and dressing tables. Recently they made curtains to divide the Sunday School classes at the neighborhood church, cleaned the windows, and refinished the pulpit chair. Some of them formed a sewing club for grammar school girls and helped them learn the first steps in sewing. . . . Some of the classes have planned and planted year-round gardens for families. At different times each year nursery schools have been held by Senior III home economics girls, with an average attendance of fourteen. The children are cared for from 8:30 in the morning until 3:30 in the afternoon.

In an effort to inform the people of the community about the possibilities of canning food, they [the teacher and pupils] published a list of vegetables to be grown for this purpose, telling when to plant and how much. In the summer of 1942, approximately 8,500 cans were filled, and because of the increased need for food preservation, plans are being made to can at least 15,000 this summer. Canning now is done by school girls in home economics classes. They learn how to can meats, fruits, and vegetables. There is also a volunteer canning group composed of fourteen girls who are available to do canning at odd times when whole classes cannot stop to do it. . . .

Before this plant [a meat processing and refrigeration plant] was installed, farmers in this section lost about 25 per cent of the meat they killed because they could not handle it properly. Besides helping them save their meat, this plant will do all their work for them, from the slaughtering on, for the payment of a small fee. In the past eleven months we have handled 94,200 pounds of pork and 5,901 pounds of beef, serving 655 customers, these figures almost doubling those of any previous year.

The Guernsey, Wyoming, School. Under the leadership of Superintendent W. F. Himmelreich, the students of a very small Wyoming school, with an enrollment of approximately ninety in both elementary and secondary schools, concerned themselves with problems of community health, home decoration, community and home landscaping, community recreation, and food production and preservation.

The Sand Hill, Georgia, School. A brief description of the work of this small rural school is given by Hunt and Leonard as follows:

Sand Hill has centered its development in the vicinity of the consolidated school, which also houses a cooperative cannery and a kitchen for the preparation of school lunches. Another building houses the corn and feed mills, an auto repair shop, a blacksmith shop, a woodworking shop for building furniture, and a barber shop. The aim of the Sand Hill Coop-

erative Association, the directing body, is to have a complete community service center. The Association comprises six smaller communities which are included in the school district. Regular meetings of the community for sociability and for the discussion of community problems are held at the school in each of these centers. At Tallapoosa the school is the center, but the community carries the responsibility. A woman's clubhouse stands next door to the school, a cannery is close by, a feed mill has been built with a sign over the door indicating that the people of this community have paid for many feed mills but this one they really own. Consideration is being given to setting up a repair shop, a dehydrator, and a potato-curing house. The Smyrna School turned first to beautification of the school-grounds and to school sanitation and water supply. Some wanted a potato-curing shed, but community interest was low. Pupils in the school visited a near-by shed and reported on what was being done for that community. Adults became interested and the shed was built.[9]

Other Schools. A few other examples are briefly described below.

The school shops of Farquier County, Virginia, were opened to the community. Immediately, fifty pieces of expensive farm machinery were brought in for repairs. Junk was turned into workable equipment. New parts costing $20 made new mowers worth $115. But the school shop could not repair all the machinery; accordingly, the farmers were taught how to set up a minimum repair shop in their own barns.

In Southside, Virginia, where the word "crop" means "tobacco," the vocational-agriculture teacher became interested in promoting greater crop diversification. Through the organization of a group of farmers and the boys in the agricultural classes, production of grain, soy beans, and lespedeza was increased. Poultry and cattle production increased, and a feed mill became necessary. One was built, and this in turn increased the yield further to where a combine was needed. No one in the community could afford to buy one, so one was purchased co-operatively, the plan being worked out in the night-school class in agriculture for adults.

The people of Habersham County, Georgia, have found a way to insure a varied and nutritious diet the year around by establishing a community-owned food preservation center at the Clarksville high school. It includes a quick-freezing and locker plant, a cannery, a dehydrator, a flour mill, and a sweet-potato curing house. This center serves about one thousand families within a radius of fifteen miles. The parents are taught how to do their own processing and the teachers and pupils serve as general managers of the project. Recently a community hatchery has been added and there is community ownership of a combine, a tractor and a power mower. Those who have no ready cash can use the facilities by "toll payment" of goods. The school lunchroom has become a beneficiary of the toll system.

[9] Herold C. Hunt and J. Paul Leonard, "Participation in Community Co-ordination and Planning," *Changing Conceptions in Educational Administration, Forty-Fifth Yearbook*, Part II, National Society for Study of Education, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Ch. 5.

Fluvanna County, Virginia, needed a cannery, but the community was not sufficiently interested to persuade the Board of Supervisors to grant money to construct one. The principal of the school wrote a factual letter and the pupils delivered copies to about 1,200 families. The result was community pressure on the Board of Supervisors, the money being promptly appropriated. Purchase of a truck for hauling crops to the cannery followed later, labor was swapped, and now other plans are under way. Kents Store, Virginia, consolidated its schools and thereby abandoned one of the buildings. Instead of tearing it down, the citizens made a community center of it, adapting it to many types of activities. It serves the recreational needs of seven hundred children, and adult needs in health, recreation, and sociability. The summer program includes a workshop for teachers, a community recreation center, a health clinic on two days each week, canning and laundry demonstrations, and projects in food production and conservation. The center has sponsored a health and sanitation program for Negro homes, a home beautification program, and home-garden and poultry-production programs, all based on a careful survey of the needs of the Negroes in the area.[10]

In 1947, in Atlanta, under the courageous leadership of Superintendent Ira Jarrell and Assistant Superintendent Roy Davis, the Girls High School, the Boys High School, the Technical High School, and all other senior and junior high schools were replaced by 13 comprehensive coeducational, five-grade secondary schools, each sponsored by its community.

5. Community Curriculum Resources

A pronounced trend in education in the United States is the greater utilization of community resources for learning activities. In a great many communities there are places of historical interest. In all communities there are places and materials of value which may be used to stimulate interest in, lend reality to, and give training in the application of instructional materials in science, mathematics, shop, home economics, the social studies, business subjects and health classes.

Among trends similar in direction and in underlying philosophy is the extension of study-work programs, sometimes referred to as "cooperative" or "diversified-occupations" plans (described in Chapter 5). Another is the increased attention given to the educational values of summer camp experiences. Still another is the use of community surveys, mentioned above.

[10] Herold C. Hunt and J. Paul Leonard, "Participation in Community Coordination and Planning," in *Changing Conceptions in Educational Administration, Forty-Fifth Yearbook*, Part II, National Society for Study of Education, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Ch. 5.

Types of Field Trips and Excursions.—In the following are presented a few examples of useful and commonly used types of community resources for various school subjects.[11]

Art. Airports (for functional design); art galleries; churches and public buildings; commercial art studios; department stores; gift shops; photographers; public parks; theatres.

Biology. Wild flowers, insects and leaves for collections; trees; seeds of various types; fish; amphibians; reptiles; birds.

Commercial work. Representatives of office equipment companies; business institutions such as banks, factories, insurance offices, stores; business and professional men, on qualifications needed for secretaries and other workers; part time employment in offices and other kinds of firms; Chamber of Commerce for information on local business conditions.

English. Newspaper and printing offices; radio stations; theatres; public libraries; persons interested in poetry, reading, story telling; business offices for business letters; local industries for information on use of oral reports.

General science. Health department and health laboratory for literature, charts, diagrams, and speakers to aid in health education unit; tuberculosis clinic and hospitals; fire department, water department, sewage disposal plant for tours and information on safety and health problems; museums; parks; weather bureau; harbors, airports, and Coast Guard stations; county agricultural agent; state university film library; public utilities companies; local clubs, such as garden, camera, conservations clubs; Boy Scouts and similar organizations for talks and demonstrations applicable to safety and health.

Home economics. Frozen food lockers, meat markets, grocery stores, clothing stores, creameries, bakeries, flour mills, meat packing houses, canning factories; school lunch rooms; homes and day nurseries; Red Cross and Home Demonstration workers.

Latin. Pharmacists and physicians, for Latin terms used in their work; English teachers, for derivatives from Latin; returned service man for description of trip to Rome during the war; local architecture, in connection with study of Roman architecture; art museums; local courts for comparison of Roman procedures with present procedures; Chamber of Commerce, for state seals with Latin inscriptions; homes, for everyday products with names of Latin origin.

Mathematics. Measurement of walks, hedges, fences, buildings, and reduction to scale drawings, to make mathematics meaningful by showing its application to beautification of school and home grounds; in some rural areas, study of honeycomb can be used in application of solid geometry (volume, dihedral angles, etc.); local airports for explanation of various instruments and their principles to bring out different types of measurement

[11] From Harl R. Douglass and Hubert H. Mills, *Teaching in High School*, New York: The Ronald Press Co., Ch. 18.

and the need for accuracy in computation, especially in navigational problems; study of gambling machines, with a twofold objective: to make concrete the laws of probability and to discourage young people from tossing away money when they prove that "you can't win"; brake-light inspection stations to learn how speed affects distance in stopping, how elevation of headlights affects area of beam (also useful problems for physics and general science); talks by professional engineers, insurance men, bankers on the role of numbers in their particular work, and everyday applications of mathematics to various phases of community life; mail-order catalogs to show value of quantity, quality, size, mailing charges, money orders, checks, etc.; and many others.

Music. Folk music of nationalities represented in the community; community pageants; utilization of facilities for musical programs, e.g., band shells, churches, city auditoriums, etc.; local music stores; citizens with musical ability; library literature on music.

Physical geography. Rivers, lakes, hills, mountains; rock strata; sandstone; granite and marble tombstones (igneous and metamorphic rocks); soil; petrified wood; stars.

Physical education. City parks and playgrounds, tennis courts, golf courses, community center buildings; municipal pools; members of community skilled in golf, tennis, baseball, etc., to discuss these sports; physicians for valuable information and advice on health; Red Cross workers for first aid instruction; local lakes or streams for boating, skating, swimming; seaside schools may engage in such sports as swimming, beach volleyball, water relays.

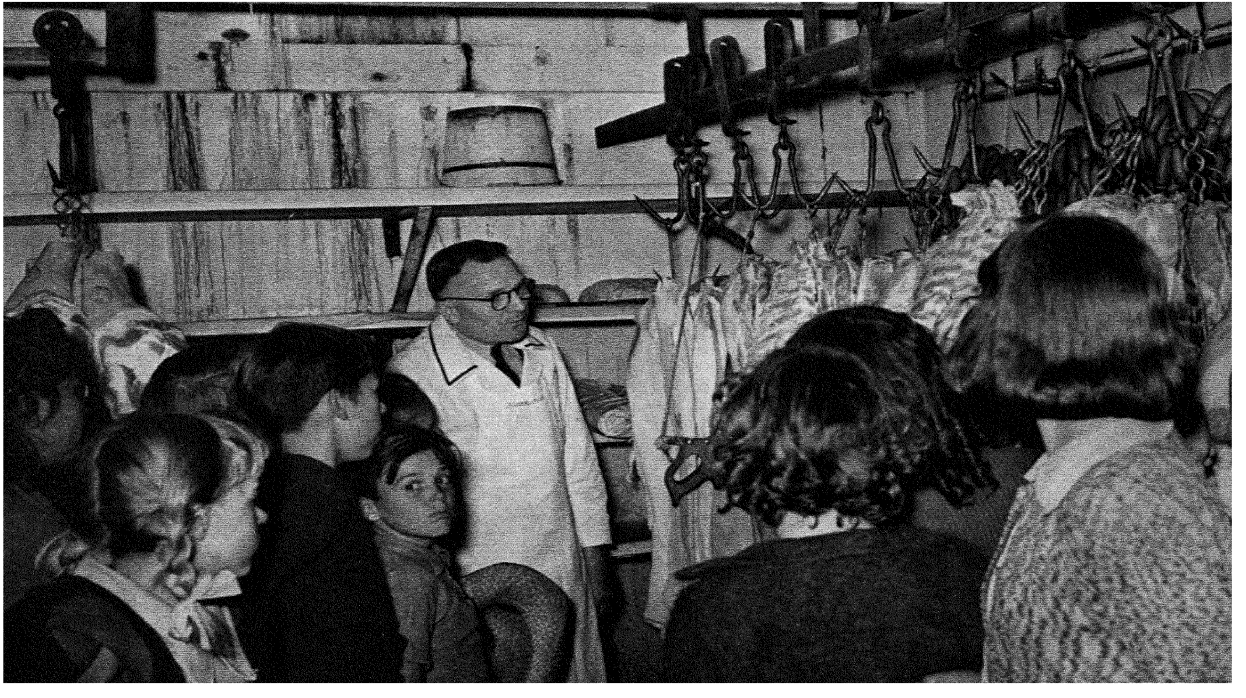
Social studies. Communication facilities: radio broadcasting, telephone exchange; art institutes, musical concerts, libraries, museums for cultural heritage; government agencies: courthouses, city hall, penal institutions; health agencies; historical sites of early homes, historical shrines; housing projects, slum areas; irrigation projects, soil erosion control projects; public welfare agencies; transportation companies (airports, docks, railway stations).

Summer Camps.—The use of summer camps as educational experience for young people has developed as the result of a number of contributing factors, including the following:

1. The decreased opportunity for summer remunerative employment and the consequently increased amount of unoccupied time on the hands of children and youth.
2. The increased recognition of the diminished opportunity for and of the value of work experience in the home and community throughout the year.
3. The greatly increased physical, moral, and spiritual hazards of leisure life for young people today as the result of the mushroom expansions of commercialized amusement and vice, the increased

Sixth Graders Visit a Meat Packing House to Learn How Food Is Processed and Handled

An illustration of community resources used to enrich and make more meaningful the work of the classroom. (Santa Barbara City Schools)



availability of automobiles, and the weakness of public and private morals.

4. The increased proportion of people living in cities and decreased opportunity for young people to learn about nature—plants, animals, streams, forests, and mountains—and of life's dependence upon nature.
5. The increasing belief in the value of having young people grow up with an orientation including rural and camp life.
6. The increasing belief in the value of training received in camp life in democratic living and cooperative service.

To finance summer camps out of public school funds would constitute too heavy a burden on school treasuries already too limited in most districts to provide enough teachers at sufficient salary to attract high-grade teachers. Summer camps are therefore for the most part organized, financed, and managed by other organizations. Among these are churches, nonpublic schools, Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, the Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, 4-H Clubs, and social welfare and philanthropic organizations which procure funds, partly through solicited contributions and partly from fees.

In their objectives, organization, and programs of activities summer camps generally emphasize:

1. Outdoor life.
2. Democratic life, cooperation, give and take.
3. Manual and physical activities.
4. Discussions of socio-civic, religious, or other human and social problems.
5. Wholesome amusement and recreation adapted to ages and interests of the campers.
6. Training in activities incident to providing for meals and comfort of campers.

In some camps, projects of social service are undertaken, e.g., clearing of grounds or the construction of tables, benches, fireplaces for picnics, playground equipment, etc.

Community Use of School Facilities.—In the last few years there has been a trend toward using school buildings and grounds increasingly for community activities. This is a logical and wholesome development which should be encouraged. The school program requires priority in the use of school facilities, but there are many hours in a week when other activities can be accommodated without inconvenience. Most schoolhouses are idle from one third to one half of the time on a basis of twelve hours a day for twelve months. The funds for school buildings and equipment come in the main from

taxes levied on the inhabitants of the community. State laws regulate the use of various public buildings in some states, but generally the uses of schoolhouses are left to boards of education to determine.

Most school boards provide for the use of buildings without payment to such groups as Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, P.T.A.'s, farmers' organizations, and other nonprofit groups of a semieducational nature, and more and more also for political meetings, worship, and nonschool entertainments. For the latter, small fees to cover actual additional expense are often charged. Fees are almost always charged if an admission fee is collected by the group using the school. Commercial enterprises are generally barred from using schoolhouses, but there are exceptions to this, especially in small towns where a school is the only meeting place besides a church and if the enterprise seems to serve some educational or other wholesome community purpose.

School grounds and gymnasiums are being more extensively used for recreation activities. City recreation departments and school boards frequently cooperate in recreation programs where schools are used as neighborhood centers. The idea is not new—for generations rural communities have used their schoolhouses for dances, socials, polling places, spelling bees, and other activities, and still so use them in many communities. The added burden on school budgets is insignificant compared with the benefits derived and the gain in community goodwill. In one recent year the schools of Denver (population 375,000), where there prevails a liberal policy of community use of school buildings, accommodated group activities participated in by 663,000 persons. The total number of meetings was 13,307, for 11,070 of which no rental fees were charged. The sum of $4,811 was collected from fee-paying groups, which defrayed about half of the total cost for all meetings, including heat, light and janitorial services. Another notable example of community use of schools occurred during World War II when, as mentioned in Chapter 8, millions of war workers were trained in public school facilities.

A modern trend in designing new schoolhouses is to include facilities for community activities. Rooms suitable for meetings of fifty to 200 or more persons are specifically planned for community use, at the same time being available for regular school use as needed. Kitchen and toilet facilities are so arranged as to be convenient for community use. Special attention is given to planning gymnasiums, auditoriums, and in some cases libraries, so that community use is encouraged and easily managed. Numerous examples

of plans including facilities for both school and general community use may be found in magazines of educational administration.[12]

Future Trends.—It is clear that in the future more rather than less interrelation between school and community will develop. There is on the horizon no indication that there will be anything to challenge the growing and spreading belief in the importance of making education more realistic, more applied, more socially minded. There is every evidence that in view of the greatly increased federal expenditures for defense, for previous wars, for servicing the national debt, and for providing a great degree of social security, it will be increasingly difficult to procure the funds necessary for increased teachers' salaries, and for the additional teachers, school buildings, and equipment necessary to provide educational facilities for a greatly increased school population certain to be enrolled in public schools at least throughout the late fifties and the sixties. The need for greatly extended and more effective public relations efforts is clearly indicated.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. Obtain data on the increased proportion of the population of the United States living in cities since 1900.
2. Be prepared to give a seven- to ten-minute talk on "The Teacher as a Public-Relations Representative of the School."
3. Be prepared to give a six- to eight-minute talk in class on "The Relative Degree of Restrictions on the Private Life of a Teacher."
4. Write a short concise paper, or prepare to give a ten-minute talk, on "The Parent-Teacher Association as a Public-Relations Agency."
5. How can pupils wisely and safely be brought to understand public-relations purposes?
6. Find out what you can about the activities of:
   a. the visiting teacher.
   b. the attendance officer.
7. From a local newspaper make a scrapbook of all items appearing for a month pertaining to schools and education, and tell how more and better materials should have been prepared.
8. For a subject or a grade you are likely to teach, list all the possible types of programs or exhibit materials you can think of which could be used for publicity purposes.
9. What do you think, pro and con, of school visiting days?

[12] See especially *The American School Board Journal*, *The Nation's Schools*, and *The School Executive*. Some issues of *The Architectural Forum* include good examples. See also *Planning the Community School*, listed among selected references for this chapter.

10. What do you think are the best features of superintendents' reports? Locate one and evaluate it as an instrument for public relations.
11. Tell how you would make a commencement most valuable for purposes of public relations.
12. What could a Community School Council do in the community you are most familiar with?
13. To what extent should people in the local community who pay the teachers' salaries determine what is taught?
14. In the community you are most familiar with what could you and your classes do in participating in a community survey?
15. For use in teaching your subject or your grade, make a complete list of community resources.
16. Prepare an evaluation of the summer camp as an educational institution.
17. Attend a meeting of a local P.T.A. and write a complete report of the meeting, with your evaluation of it.

Chapter 20

UNSOLVED PROBLEMS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Education in the United States has in the past been uniquely characterized by the degree to which all aspects of its functions, curriculum, methods, control, and support have been under scrutiny, discussion, and controversy, and the degree to which it has been undergoing change. There is no indication that this condition will change—that there will be less plasticity and mobility in American education in the future. Indeed, today very significant changes are under way, others seem clearly indicated by changed conditions in the United States, and the extent and intensity of discussions and controversy go on unabated. Because of all these influences, progress has been made to such an extent that, despite the critics and the worshipers of the status quo, education in the United States has advanced to become better suited to the needs of modern life, better adapted to the nature of growing human beings, and reaches a larger percentage of the nonadult population than in any other country in the world.

In this final chapter, the authors review briefly the more important of the problems, issues, trends, and probable future developments in American education.

1. Functions and Constituency

School Enrollments.—Immediately after the close of World War II, enrollments at secondary school and college levels began to rise. At the high school level the increase was the result of the greatly decreased tendency of adolescents, especially boys of sixteen and seventeen, to leave school to work or to join the armed forces. At the college level enrollments, never more than 1½ million, jumped from less than a million in 1944–45 to more than 2½ million in 1947–48.

Enrollments at the elementary school level, which, as the result of the declining birth rate, especially in the early thirties, had begun to decrease by 1940, began in 1947 to hold their own and, thereafter,

as the result of the great increase in birth rate in the forties, to increase. The increase of elementary school enrollments will most likely taper off in the middle fifties and sixties.

College enrollments, reaching their peak about 1950, will no doubt decline slightly through the fifties, stabilizing perhaps near the 3 million mark in the sixties.

Secondary school enrollments, having increased until they included in 1940 approximately 7 million of the 10 million young people of high school age and then dropped to less than 6 million in 1944, have been steadily rising and will very likely not stabilize until some time in the sixties. Then, in all probability, more than 9 million or more than 80 per cent of the slightly more than 11 million young people of ages fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen will be in school—five of every six.

In the United States in 1925 only half of our boys and girls finished elementary school, and only one in four graduated from high school. Attendance through high school is certain to become the rule and the minimum standard of education for all but a small per cent of young people. Already, many have begun to think of two years of post-high school education as the standard for the majority of young people. In addition to the million now in the first two years of college or university, more than 300,000 attend the 700 junior colleges now in existence.

The tendency toward attendance through the twelfth grade and greatly increased attendance beyond that has important consequences and involvements for American educators. Among them should be mentioned:

1. The cost of public education will be materially increased.
2. More teachers will be required, thus making it difficult to decrease the shortage of well qualified teachers.
3. Programs of secondary education must be planned for all walks and levels of adult life.
4. Subject matter previously allocated to the elementary school and lower grades of high school may now be postponed safely and be better taught in the upper years of high schools.
5. The selective character of secondary education is being passed on to the junior college and lower division of college and university.

Pupil Promotion.—In recent years there has been such a trend toward promoting all pupils, except in rare cases, a grade a year, that it seems certain the school not following that practice soon will

be a distinct exception. The practice, however, has created certain problems, among them the following:

1. There is an increased responsibility for adaptation of instruction to the increased range of differences in ability and intellectual interest.
2. Remedial classes and other forms of special grouping are clearly indicated by the degree of inferiority to prerequisite standing of a minority of pupils in various grades, especially in the upper years of elementary school and in the first year of high school.
3. The necessity for substituting more wholesome and educationally sound motivation for study and effort on the part of pupils in place of the fear of failure and nonpromotion.

Adults in the Schools.—As the result of pronounced and varied development in American life, adults will continue to attend school in part time in increasing numbers. The principal developments of this nature are:

1. The greatly increased demand of American life for education in the fields of public affairs, economics, international relations, labor problems, child psychology and rearing, consumer and home education.
2. The greatly increased amount of time and financial means available to the masses for continued education.
3. The growing realization that education for life cannot be stored up in childhood and adolescence, but that it must be continued and kept in touch with changes in the problems, conditions, and needs of life in the United States.
4. The increased percentage of the population who have learned to read well, to listen effectively, and otherwise to employ good study and learning techniques.
5. The reduction in degree of self-consciousness in social and intellectual situations, and the increased ease of going to instructional centers quickly.

Scope of Public School Service.—Slowly, but in very material amount over the years, the scope and variety of educational and other service has increased over the years. Established originally to teach the three R's and little else in the elementary school grades, and a narrow type of preparation for college and for restricted areas of life at the secondary school level, schools in the United States have undergone among others the following significant expansions:

1. Preparation for all the important needs of American life—vocational, domestic, recreational, civic, health, etc.

2. Education of all capacities of the growing individual—emotional and physical—as well as the intellectual interests, attitudes, ideals, and tastes and other such intellectual aspects as understandings, the higher intellectual processes, intellectual skills, as well as information.
3. Provision of transportation to and from school and on field excursions, and textbooks at public expense as well as housing, teaching staff, library equipment.
4. Provision of medical and dental service to the needy in some schools, as well as medical and dental inspection in many schools, school lunches, school nurse service, psychological service, etc.
5. Provision of counseling and guidance and supervision of student clubs and other organizations.
6. A highly organized program of interscholastic competition and commercialized amusement.

There are two principal considerations governing the wisdom of action in putting these developments into effect. In favor of expansion is the belief that school is an institution evolved by society and parents for as complete an education of young people as possible. By reason of its strategic position and resources, it should consider seriously undertaking any educational or related responsibility and activity, not too expansive, which is not adequately discharged by other social institutions. In fact there seems to be an increasing number who advocate placing under public school administration the responsibilities and resources of the public library and public recreation, and, indeed, in some places the public parks and playgrounds. A slowly growing minority also advocates medical and health service to all minors.

On the other hand, it is evident that schools should be slow to accept responsibility for services which they are not now prepared and not likely soon to be well prepared to render. Schools should be slow to take on additional responsibilities, particularly of no more than a semi-educational character, if by so doing the quality of the central educational program will suffer because of excessive loading of teachers, lack of adequate financial support, etc. Instead it is urged by many that an effort be made to place responsibilities for some of these activities where they belong, that is, upon the home for food and personality development; upon industry, business and the farm for specific vocational education; upon public health agencies for medical and other health services; upon professional organizations for athletic entertainment.

Whatever may be the relative desirability of the trend it is evident that the world is moving toward more socialization and the limitation

of free enterprise. As a natural corollary—also because of the inability of so many homes and communities to discharge responsibility necessary to healthy growth and the difficulties in achieving the realization of anything like the full potentialities of children—it is very likely that, except perhaps in such areas as the excessive development of public-spectacle athletics, the scope of services of the public school will expand rather than contract. This seems especially probable in view of the greatly increased national income.

2. The Curriculum

General Education.—The curriculum is experiencing very notable trends. At the secondary school level, one of the most pronounced is that toward greater emphasis upon general education as opposed to special education. There is a nationwide movement to give much more time and attention to education for the needs of life common to all, and less to the education of specialized groups for special purposes, particularly for specific vocations and college preparation.

As the result of the great interest in and attention to individual differences (1910–35), and the rampant development and excesses of the elective system, great numbers of young people were found to be graduating from high school with formidable gaps in their education. College-bound groups and even larger numbers who, for reasons of prestige, maintained the fiction that they would go to college, were concentrating upon English, foreign languages, mathematics, and science. Those preparing for vocations were concentrating upon English and vocational subjects. Many were choosing subjects on the basis of the relative ease with which satisfactory marks could be made. As the result, considerable numbers, perhaps a majority, of high school graduates were getting anything but a balanced education for the needs of contemporary American life.

Because it is estimated that approximately 20 per cent of high school students go to colleges and 20 per cent go into vocations for which special vocational training can be given in high school, it is estimated that for 60 per cent, general education of a comprehensive type should constitute all but a small fraction of their program. It also is becoming more generally believed that a good comprehensive program of general education is good college preparation, assuming that for engineering students it will include at least two years of mathematics.

Vocational Education and Work Experience.—There are two distinct trends toward vocational education of a more general nature.

It is believed that for most vocations the best preparation that can be given in school is that which may be given in classes in English, science, the social studies, and elementary mathematics. It is also coming to be the conviction of many that more general courses in business, shop, and home-making are more practical today than attempts to give detailed and specialized training for a few of the many thousand varieties of vocations.

Not only for its value as training for vocation and as exploration for vocational guidance, but also for its value as character and general education, work experience (paid and unpaid) is being arranged by a large and increasing number of schools for high school and college students. During times of full employment, as in the war period, it is not difficult to obtain opportunities for students to work a few hours each day while carrying almost a full program of course work in school. In periods of depression, the opposition of adult workers, especially those with dependents, makes it more difficult to place younger people even in part-time jobs.

Among problems and issues related to the organization and administration of work experience are the following:

1. Providing adequate supervision to make certain that the work situation is truly educational and that the young workers are not exploited.
2. Assuring that adequate compensation is provided and that the use of young workers does not become a source of underpriced labor.
3. Determining the nature of the school program, e.g., whether it should consist largely of instruction related to the part-time job or largely general education—education for citizenship, recreation, health, etc.
4. Whether work experience should be provided for all, including those planning to go to college, or only for those expecting to enter a vocation soon.
5. Whether work experience should be paid for and vocational in nature or contributed and of a civic nature.

Problems at the Elementary Level.—In the elementary school, among the more important problems the following are included:

1. To what extent should difficult instructional materials be reallocated to later grades, in which the pupils, because of greater abilities and increased orientation, learn more effectively and economically?
2. To what extent should learning materials and experiences grow out of the needs and the interests of the learners, rather than being selected exclusively on the basis of probable later needs?

3. To what extent and in what way should instructional materials and learning experiences be interrelated, i.e., in integrated curricula including a considerable part of the various subject fields, by means of correlation between subjects, simultaneously or otherwise?
4. To what extent, for the purposes of learning, can verbal material, i.e., books and discussions, be employed instead of direct personal experiences and activities?
5. To what extent and in what manner should learning activities be adapted to the capacities, abilities, needs, and interests of the individual learner?

These and other problems have been the subjects of discussion and experimentation for some years and will no doubt for some time continue to be.

Problems Throughout All School Levels.—From kindergarten through all the higher levels, certain problems are prominent. Among these are the following:

1. In view of the greatly increased incidence of juvenile delinquency and of the increased emphasis in recent years upon the vocational objectives of education, to what extent and in what manner should more effective provision for moral and character education be made?
2. To what extent should controversial questions and materials be studied in schools, e.g., labor-management problems, political issues, instruction about sex and sex relations, relationship of religious organizations to life and culture?
3. To what extent should school pupils participate, as part of their educational experience, in community life and study problems of the local community and its life?
4. To what extent should subject matter boundaries be destroyed and a core curriculum substituted, organized around needs and interests and not on the basis of subject divisions?

3. The Staff

In recent years many important changes have taken place in thinking and practice about teachers and the administrative staff, e.g., changes relative to adequate educational qualifications, assignment, salaries, and participation in out-of-school life. Some of these are still current and some are yet controversial. Conditions in these areas have developed which create important and unsolved problems.

The Supply of Qualified Teachers.—Beginning in the early forties, there was a pronounced reversal of the trend toward larger

numbers of well educated teachers. In the preceding quarter century, the number of years of college training of elementary school teachers had almost doubled from about two years and a half on the average to nearly four, and in the high school from less than four years to nearly four and a half years. A fifth year of training has come to be required for high school teachers in several states.

During the war a great shortage of manpower developed as the result of the need for greatly increased production. Teachers and those who might have become teachers were eagerly sought for well paid work in industry, business, government, and in the armed forces. Not only did wages and salaries increase very materially in noneducational fields, but so did prices and the cost of living. Consequently, more than half a million teachers left their profession between 1941 and 1947. In the same period the number of those preparing for teaching dropped from more than two hundred and fifty thousand to less than a hundred thousand. At one time, about one eighth of the teachers in the United States were teaching on emergency certificates, issued to individuals who could not meet the legal minimum educational qualifications.

It is estimated that even with the great increase in teachers' salaries, in many communities nearly double those paid in 1940, it will not be before 1960 that a sufficient number of qualified teachers will be available for all school positions.

The shortage of men has been particularly acute. Whereas a generation ago more than 25 per cent of teachers were men, the percentage is only about half that today. In view of the recognized necessity of having growing young people in contact with both masculine and feminine personalities, the shortage of male teachers constitutes a critical situation. Because of the small number of men in educational work and because men are employed predominantly for college teaching and almost exclusively for administrative positions, the opportunities for capable young men with qualities of superior leadership and scholarship are exceedingly inviting—quite comparable to opportunities in medicine, law, dentistry, and engineering for those of corresponding ability and experience and superior to the opportunities in pharmacy, journalism, business, and agriculture. This is particularly true in view of the relative security of position and of salary in times of depression.

Teachers' Associations and Unions.—Membership in teachers' unions, especially the American Federation of Teachers, affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, has increased very rapidly since 1944. The failure to increase teachers' salaries as the cost of

living soared, along with rises in wages and salaries in other occupations secured as the result of the activities of labor unions, caused teachers in large numbers to believe that the state and national education associations in themselves were not sufficient to bring about overdue increases. Results obtained at Denver, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and other places in 1946 gave the movement to join teachers' unions a great impetus. Not only did membership in the A.F.T. double in a few years, but the National Teachers Division, a department of the United Public Workers of America of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, although with a smaller membership of teachers, also began to receive teachers in large numbers.

Concerning membership of teachers in unions two important questions dominate consideration of the subject: (1) should a professional group become members of a union? and (2) should teachers ally themselves with either labor or employers? With respect to the first question, those who advocate membership argue that there seem to be no alternatives than low salaries, low standards of living, lower quality of people going into teaching, and a lower quality of education. They also point out that in England and in France the majority of teachers belong to teachers' unions.

There still remains the question whether teachers who are members of a union affiliated with labor can be objective and impartial in their teaching. Perhaps many members of the A.F.T., though definitely not all, would have preferred to belong to an unaffiliated union, but there was none. The Teachers' Guild died a-borning in Minnesota in the thirties. While the association developed between the National Education Association and the National Association of Manufacturers may have decreased the traditional opposition of the latter to increased costs of education, many teachers have believed that a counterassociation with labor unions was justified, particularly in view of the failure of the heads of the N.E.A. to make good on their promise to work closely also with labor unions.

Many teachers refuse to associate themselves with the laboring classes in the belief that they are socially and culturally superior. Many believe it to be better strategy to refrain from association with labor unions in order to obtain and retain the good will of the influential people in their communities—usually opposed to labor unions. An increasing number believe that this strategy has not paid off. School administrators have traditionally been opposed to membership of teachers in labor unions. Under pressure from their boards of education, school authorities in many cases have advised teachers not to join and, in some instances, threatened them with

reprisal should they join. In more recent years, a rapidly growing number of administrators have begun to follow a hands-off policy.

In December, 1946, according to a Gallup Public Opinion Poll, the people of the United States were almost equally divided on the question of whether teachers should belong to unions. It is safe to say that prior to 1930 the great majority would have opposed teacher membership in unions.

Education and Selection of Teachers.—In spite of the great teacher shortage, four years of college education has been maintained as the minimum standard for teachers and five years for superintendents and principals of high schools accredited by the regional accrediting associations. There has been a slowly growing trend toward regarding a doctor's degree as the standard equipment for superintendents of larger city school systems. The trend toward five-year curricula for high school teachers slowed down after the outbreak of the war, but it seems certain that it will be resumed as the shortage of teachers diminishes.

Since 1940, a growing number of school administrators have been selecting applicants for positions partly on the basis of scores made on written examinations prepared by the National Committee for Teacher Examinations of the American Council on Education. Because of the difficulties involved in measuring some important traits and abilities in teaching success, examination scores are likely to be employed as only one of several criteria for selecting teachers.

Before the war, emphasis was being placed upon diverting from preparation for teaching those who were deficient in certain qualities of personality—those who were antisocial, excessively introvert, emotionally unstable, personally unattractive, lacking in social judgment, uncooperative, etc. As soon as the acute shortage of teachers abates, this wise practice will without doubt be resumed.

Salaries.—In addition to the great problem of providing sufficiently large salaries to enable teachers and their dependents to live comfortably and to attract to and retain in teaching able and personable people, there are several other unsolved problems:

1. Shall all teachers of the same training in a given school system be paid the same salary regardless of grade level or of subject taught?
2. Should teachers of the same training and experience be paid the same salaries regardless of sex—"Equal pay for equal service"?
3. Shall teachers' salaries be paid partly on the basis of the responsibilities for dependents?

4. Shall teachers be paid bonuses for extra duties, e.g., as counselors, as coaches or supervisors of athletics, or other extracurricular activities?
5. Shall teachers be given increases in salary on the basis of years of experience according to a fixed salary schedule or according to appointment?
6. What can be done to assure that teachers will not be compelled to leave rural areas and smaller cities to obtain increases in salary?

What answers may be made to some of these questions hinge on the importance attached to different criteria, such as (a) the principle of fairness, (b) the objective of obtaining a sufficient number and quality of male teachers, (c) the degree to which salaries should be associated with effectiveness regardless of position and training, (d) the necessity for protecting teachers from discrimination, prejudice, political pressure, and (e) the importance attached to the differences, difficulty, and importance associated with different positions.

Other Problems of Personnel.—Certain other important problems relative to the personnel of schools are still in the area of discussion and controversy:

1. To what extent and under what conditions shall teachers be assured of tenure of position? Should tenure be permanent and strongly entrenched? Should only a presumption of tenure exist? Shall the system of annual contracts continue?
2. Should married women be employed or be permitted to teach? To what extent do married women, particularly parents, (a) possess a superior orientation on life, children, and out-of-school activities? (b) have home responsibilities and interests interfering with school duties and interests and professional growth?
3. To what extent and in what manner should teachers be required to live differently from others, that is, to refrain from smoking, dancing, etc., to belong to a church, to be peculiarly subject to calls for community service, to refrain from political activity of the ordinary citizen?
4. How can teachers, so many of whom are unmarried and without homes suitable for entertaining, come to have the social life characteristic of others of comparable status in the community?
5. To what extent and in what manner should teachers be assured of freedom to explore and discuss all aspects, problems, and questions—controversial or otherwise—in their fields of teaching and special expertness?

6. What shall be qualifications, educational and otherwise, and the relationship to the instructional staff of the various classifications of noneducational employees—janitors, repairmen, clerical help, bus drivers, etc?
7. To what extent is the teaching profession especially in need of in-service education and improvement? Are teachers only partly trained before beginning teaching? Does their work call peculiarly for continued growth? What should be the nature of continued training—in summer schools or on the job? Along what lines is continued training particularly necessary?
8. How may class size be kept small enough to permit good teaching, to assist in the individual understanding of children, and to avoid overwork of teachers?
9. How may the total teaching load be kept from being excessive in view of increased responsibilities today for guidance, community relations, individualization of instruction, sponsorship of extracurricular activities, curriculum revision, planning for vitalizing teaching, etc., and in view of the decreased work week of other callings in recent years?

4. Organization and Control

Vertical Organization.—After a long period of 8–4 and 7–4 plans of organization of schools, and a short period of 8–4, 6–3–3, and 6–6, in the twenties we entered a period of variety of plans of school organization. The development of the junior college gave us 8–4–2, 7–4–2, 6–3–3–2, and 6–4–4. The decrease in elementary school enrollments precipitated variations of many sorts, including 7–2–3, 7–5, and 8–2–2. There is no serious problem. What grades are housed together is not a fundamental problem. Were it not for the problem of staff, curricula could be implemented in almost any of the plans now in use.

We can be sure that the problem will be further complicated by the establishment of many more junior colleges. It is also possible that more schools will be organized on the 6–4–4 plan. That will depend upon how effective will be the resistance of junior college administrators who wish to be thought of as college presidents, teachers who wish to think of themselves as professors, and athletic fans who will not be consoled for the loss of their high school athletic teams by a combination high school and junior college team.

District Organization.—Of greater importance is the solution of the problem of obtaining larger districts for the control and support of education. In the days of distributed wealth, of slow and poor

means of transportation, of narrow concepts of the function of schools and of meager curricula, there developed the small school district, usually several to each reasonably well populated township or comparable area of six by six miles. But time and the United States have moved on.

With the passage of years, wealth has gathered increasingly and disproportionately in the cities and in certain small areas, especially in the Middle Atlantic states and in California. Tens of thousands of communities and some whole states are financially incapable of supporting the kind of educational program considered appropriate for these times in our nation. Moreover, the wealth congested in large cities and certain areas was wealth built upon the land, from the crops and minerals of the entire nation. Still further, the education of each coming generation is of great importance not only to the state but to the entire nation, and increasingly so as the population has become more mobile and as the welfare of all sections has become increasingly economically interdependent.

Small, uneconomical districts with inferior educational programs, staff, and other facilities developed in large numbers (as illustrated in Chapter 7). However, the development of good all-year and all-weather roads in every section of the country has made it possible to transport pupils quickly and safely to superior central schools. It seems evident that, in spite of the opposition of selfish, small-district board members and of ignorant rural parents, the trend toward larger units with larger and better schools will continue until the one-room school will exist only in very sparsely settled areas. There is a danger that generous state support to local districts may encourage the maintenance of small districts rather than consolidation, unless larger units of support are also provided for.

Rural Schools.—For the past fifty years, rural school districts here and there have been consolidated into larger districts capable of maintaining school facilities somewhat comparable to those in villages and small cities.

In the larger centralized schools it is possible to have better teachers, better housing, equipment and playgrounds, a richer curriculum including art, music, physical education, household arts and shop work, and better methods of teaching. There are other advantages in schools in which a considerable number of children are brought together. Extracurricular activities of great educational value are possible. The participation in group activities—teams, clubs, plays, and parties—are of unusual value to children coming from farm

homes where shyness, class consciousness, lack of social graces and of social cooperation are typical, rather than social ease and grace, extroversion, and widened social horizons.

In the new larger schools, leadership by a well trained superintendent and principal and mutual inter-leadership and inter-stimulation constitute a very desirable influence in improving the educational program. Not only because of better salaries, but also because of superior opportunities for doing good work and because of the opportunities for social life and professional contacts teachers prefer teaching in consolidated schools to teaching in the isolated one-room school, and hence better teachers can be obtained.

In spite of the progress being made in replacing uneconomic and inferior small schools with better schools, the problems involved invite continued attention. There must be no slackening in the effort to obtain federal aid for poorer states, state aid for poorer districts, and, above all, to bring about large units of control and support.

State Control of Schools.—As state support of local schools increases there will always be a problem as to what degree and in what areas the state shall participate in control. On the one hand, there is the danger of state political control or interference and the consequent reduction of local control over local schools. On the other, it is clear that, especially when funds come from outside the state rather than from local taxes, local vigilance over school expenditures is almost certain to relax; consequently increased state supervision may be needed to prevent waste, diversion, or other mismanagement, a condition which is already greater in many areas than is popularly realized.

The real problem lies in keeping the state from exercising anything but leadership and suggestion in the matter of the educational program of the school while it is insuring the proper use of school funds. The day has passed when it is necessary for the state, through its official agencies, to assume any real responsibility for the educational program of the school. Even inspection and accrediting by state agencies have become nominal, except in matters of fundamental principles—honest administration, safe buildings, etc.—and leadership has been substituted for authoritative control.

Federal Control.—While the fear of federal control has been employed as a red herring or as a bogeyman by those who wished to keep federal expenditures down, and by those who have wished to keep the masses of southern and other captive states in relative ignorance, it must not be assumed that there is no danger of unwise

federal interference. It is logically sound, and certain to be advanced more aggressively in the future, that the nation is vitally interested (for patriotic and economic reasons at least) in seeing to it that its citizens be as healthy and patriotic as possible, that they be so educated as to constitute intelligent voters, and that they be competent vocationally and as parents.

In the past, we have had a clear example of federal influence upon the curriculum of the schools through subsidies voted by Congress for vocational education, with the support of those who wished to increase the number and competence of skilled workmen. There is a growing feeling that the federal government should not select for especial favoritism any one field of the curriculum to the disadvantage of others. It is probable and wise that in the future federal control, even by means of funds, will be less concerned with any particular phases of the curriculum and more definitely concerned with assisting in greater equalization of educational opportunity and facilities for all children of all areas, colors, and economic status.

National Educational Agencies.—Unless the public schools attack more vigorously and effectively the problems of providing educational facilities better adapted to the needs of all children, including those of lesser abilities, of more practical interests, and of families in the lowest economic status and the poorest school districts, it is quite possible that separate agencies by the state or federal government will be established. Such was the case when the Civilian Conservation Corps for older unemployed youths and the National Youth Administration for younger adolescents were established to meet the needs which theretofore had been neglected by school administrators.

Perhaps even less wise from an educational point of view is compulsory physical, vocational, and health education in military camps, with their inescapable fringe of diseased harlots and other undesirable influences. It should be clear to all thinking people that health education should begin in early childhood and continue through adulthood. Health cannot be relatively neglected until the age of eighteen, then restored and stored up to last for years to come. It is becoming increasingly clear that the best education for military preparedness is one which can be conducted through the public schools—a continuous program of education for health, general intelligence, vocational efficiency, and for scientific and technological expertness.

Pressure Groups.—One of the important problems of education in these years is the protection of schools and teachers from organized pressure groups. The importance of education is being increas-

ingly recognized by political, religious, and commercial organizations. With the growing importance of educating future citizens to deal with controversial economic and political problems, it is becoming increasingly obvious that teachers must not be discouraged or unduly influenced from discharging this most important duty. In the next few years, teachers must be given at least the protection provided by continuing contracts if not indefinite tenure, and teacher organizations—unions and otherwise—must stand firmly against all who would deprive them of their rights as teachers. Courage and appreciation of the importance of professional independence must be developed among teachers.

5. Finance and Support

Support from State and Nation.—Much has been said in the previous section concerning the problems of financial support. It now is clear, not only that financial aid to poorer local districts from the state and to poorer states from the nation is necessary if we are to have adequate educational facilities for the 25 to 35 per cent of the children still denied them, but also that it is on its way, and more rapidly in recent years.

No one can say with any degree of finality what should be the relative proportion of expense born by the nation, state, and local districts. It should be such as will insure a minimum educational program, one that is reasonably adequate for the times in which we live, for all young people everywhere regardless of economic status. The federal share of support must, therefore, be greater in some states than in others, and the proportion of state aid greater to some districts than to others. In general it would seem that federal aid to the extent of 15 to 20 per cent of our total expenditure will be necessary to do the job—that would be at least one billion of a national total of at least six billions which should be spent on education in a nation with our annual income of more than 200 billion dollars.

Aid for Nonpublic Schools.—In a number of other important countries, public funds are distributed to religious and other nonpublic schools as well as to public schools—though to be sure on a definitely lesser scale. In spite of the traditional separation and independence of church and state in the United States, and in spite of the opinion prevailing in the great majority of our population that it is to the national interest that all normal children should attend the public school, the question of state and federal aid for nonpublic schools is frequently raised, especially by Catholics in whose paro-

ıial schools enrollments continue to increase. It is argued that taxaon for public schools to which they do not send their children is ot fair and constitutes "double taxation." To this it is usually eplied that (1) the public schools are provided for all and if any fail) utilize them it should be at their own expense, and (2) the welfare f the country is dependent upon the common public school where ll children of all races (except in some states) and of all religions ıay attend together and acquire together American and democratic leals and ideas and mutual respect and understanding.

It is clear that in some states with considerable Catholic populaon an effort will be made, as anti-Catholic fear and prejudice tend to iminish, to obtain at least transportation, or state aid for transportaon, to parochial schools. Already bills have been introduced in Conress providing for distribution of federal aid to parochial schools. fany bills have been introduced making it impossible to use federal unds for other than public schools, and several bills have been introuced leaving the matter to the states. In 1947 the Supreme Court eld that it is not unconstitutional for school districts to transport upils of parochial schools. It is most probable that no bill will be assed which expressly provides for the use of federal funds for ther than public schools, though the acquisition of federal funds ill make it easier for such few states as do contribute to nonpublic chools to assist them more materially.

Entirely Free Schools?—By 1900, the principle of free public eduation had become almost universal practice in the United States. n most states, almost entirely free college and university education as available. Such incidental fees as were charged were very small —usually not amounting to more than fifty dollars a year, except in ıedical schools. Since that time several questionable trends in pracce have developed.

At the college level, things have worsened. "Free" state colleges nd universities charge several times as much as a generation ago— ıe typical total bill in a few universities, even for residents of the tate, running higher than 150 dollars a year. In nonpublic schools ıition has in the past quarter century increased from 25 to 75 per ent, being for the great middle group of institutions from 300 dolırs to 600 dollars a year. Many "public" junior colleges are suported almost entirely by tuition fees, though they are being inreasingly supported by public funds. In addition, costs for meals nd rooms had more than doubled, even before the great price rises hat followed the war. In some institutions, modest meals and rooms

are provided at cost. In others, only better meals are provided and at expense not substantially cheaper than that charged by boarding houses.

Perhaps the greatest increase in the cost of attending school and college has occurred in another area. In many elementary schools and in most high schools fees are charged for lockers, student activities and towel and laundry service. In addition there are expenses for workbooks, materials used in shops and laboratories, for special costumes and for contributions to various drives. In colleges, fraternity and other social life have added materially to the expense of attending college, as have the trends toward much greater expenses for clothing and other items of personal appearance, and for operation of automobiles.

Offsetting the increased expenditures in other areas has been the provision in many schools of free textbooks and lunches at cost. Because of these newer developments, and as the result of added services in the form of free medical and dental inspection (and, in some schools, free dental service) to those unable to pay, the costs of public education have been materially increased.

6. School and Community

Public Relations.—In the last quarter century the increasing costs of state and federal governments have resulted in taxes in dimensions almost inconceivable in previous generations. Prior to 1930 the federal budget had involved no more than a few billion dollars and the national debt was less than the annual federal expenditure today. With a national debt of about 250 billion dollars and annual expenditures of more than 30 billions, more than two thirds of which go for military purposes and for previous wars, federal income taxes have reached such proportions as to excite vigorous resistance to increased taxes for any purpose.

As the result of greatly increased expenditures for highways, social security, and other needs, state expenditures and taxes have also increased very materially. Not only has resistance to taxation increased, but various powerful pressure groups also are operative to maintain and expand expenditures for such purposes as defense, social security, highways, and veteran welfare. If public education is not to be neglected, it must become more effective than ever before in presenting its case to the public and to appropriating bodies.

It is evident that the schools and their employees must emerge much further from their position of aloofness encouraged by the

unique degree of isolation in which their very nature places them. It is not only necessary that state and national educational organizations enroll more nearly all the teachers, but they must and no doubt will become more aggressive the year round in making contacts and behaving as other pressure groups do, probably increasing annual dues materially.

Equally important, if not more so, each local school and its teachers will be giving much more attention to avenues and means of keeping the work of the schools and their needs before the general public. Being off the main courses of adult daily life, it is especially incumbent upon them to meet the public. Exhibits, P.T.A. meetings, and the press and radio are coming to be and doubtless will continue to become much more effectively employed for the purpose of creating appreciation and goodwill.

The Community as Curriculum.—Another question to be solved is to what extent and in what manner the educational activities of the school will continue to expand into the community and the pupils be introduced, while yet in school, into community life and responsibilities. With the bankruptcy of the theory of formal discipline, with the trend toward universal attendance through high school, and with the increasing recognition of the necessity for and effectiveness of more vitalized and applied teaching and learning, one may be sure that the trend in this direction has not spent itself. Because of the time involved in that type of learning, the overcrowded condition of the curriculum, the excessive demands upon the time of teachers, and the complicated and delicate task of entering into community life and problems, it is clear that much thought and experimentation in this area are ahead. Few schools are in the position, as yet at least, to be "community" schools such as those at Holtville, Alabama, and Norris, Tennessee.

The school was once thought of as an artificial, extra-community institution—an ivory tower where schoolmasters, schoolmarms, and children dwelt with books and blackboards. It was taken for granted that the school would train for the existing order and status. More recently this assumption has been challenged, rejected by many in favor of one which initiates training for the improvement of civilization and preparation not only for acceptance of apparently sound projects for its improvement, but also for leadership in sound progress.

Other Youth-Serving Agencies and Out-of-School Youth.—Closely related to these trends is the increased recognition in recent

years that it is wise for the school to be acquainted with and to cooperate with other educational and youth-serving agencies (actual and potential) in the community. By cooperation and coordination and by mutual inter-orientation unwise duplication and interference may be reduced or eliminated, and new and more effective service to young people be rendered. The traditional attitude of lack of responsibility for any but young people officially enrolled in the school has begun to give way to a new concept of broader educational service. This whole new area of the utilization of the public school personnel, housing, and equipment for employed youth will have to be explored and new paths laid out. Without doubt, guidance and advising service, recreational and related education, health services, and services related to child rearing and home management will become the most fruitful areas. Vocational and civic education "on the job," in short terms and evening classes, will also come in for serious attention. It hardly needs to be pointed out that continuing to be of service to our "exes" as well as our "alums" is one of the best forms of public relations.

7. The Co-curricular Program

Guidance and Counseling.—Guidance and pupil counseling are yet in their infancy. They have just recently emerged from the stage of being considered only in terms of helping young people select their vocations and their courses in school, and of something carried out largely on the basis of intelligence test scores. Just as instruction has come to be planned with a view to educating the whole child, so guidance is coming to be thought of as related to all phases of life—health, emotional, domestic, social, civic, and personal, as well as vocational and educational.

Along with the realization that sound guidance must be based upon a wealth of data concerning counselees—marks, ratings, conferences, home visits, school histories, and measures of aptitude, interests, educational status, and other traits—is developing the recognition that worth-while guidance service calls for special training in the interpretation of pupil data as well as skill in working with human beings in an advisory relationship.

Clubs and Other Activities.—As in the field of guidance, thinking and practice in connection with student organizations and activities is just emerging from the superficial "catch-as-catch-can" stage. Having decided that participation in such things can be very valuable educationally, we are now attempting to solve the problem of

how the maximum of the potential educational values can be attained. Educators everywhere are beginning, or have begun, to attempt to identify the objectives in educational potentialities of each of the various types of participation, and to evaluate the results of various kinds of organization and participation with a view to adapting organization, management, and participation to the achievement of optimum educational results and to the elimination of negative or worthless elements.

One of the most critical problems lies in the field of interscholastic and intercollegiate contests. It is clear that participation has come to involve time and attention both of participants and student followers out of all proportion to the contribution to educational objectives. Competition appeals to interests so primitive and deep-seated that reason is like a speck on the froth. The school has hold by the tail of a bear grown huge from the days of its infancy, and knows not how to let go; it is deep in the business of furnishing excitement and amusement to the community. Once of public relations value to the schools, the situation in many schools has changed to one in which athletic competition overshadows in the public mind the important purposes and activities of the school.

Statewide Contests.—Another problem laid on the doorstep of the schools by recent developments in extracurricular activities is that of what to do about statewide contests and tournaments. Promoted largely by institutions of higher education professing to aid in promoting interest and improvement in debating, drama, scholarship and other fields, these contests have grown into projects in which winning has overshadowed educational considerations. As in athletics, the greatest and most intensive training is given those few possessing the greatest abilities. This despite the apparent belief that what is good for some might be good for many. Too often the contest is more one between coaches than one between students. Those not making the team drop out. The defeated team often drops out. Interest within the institution is thereby killed instead of increased, and participation limited instead of expanded. At the same time, the few upon whom attention is showered are likely to neglect their other less engaging but perhaps more important educational opportunities.

Social Life in the School.—Founded primarily as a means of promoting the success of democracy, the school of today has developed some alarming social and class-distinguishing trends which invite attention in the years ahead. Stimulated by fraternities, sororities,

and the exaggerated emphasis upon appearances, and by social prestige and sophisticated social life now usual at coeducational colleges and universities, high school students have developed social "clubs" —often contrary to school regulations, "proms," and a "night life" that operate against the development of democratic ideals and practices, that create much unhappiness and unfortunate attitudes, and that contribute to juvenile delinquency.

It is made a problem of unusual difficulty by the encouragement of some parents in every school whose craving for special prestige for self and family causes them to lose perspective in the area of child guidance. To many of them "democracy" and "education" are things to which lip service is paid, but are not in themselves the reality. When chickens come home to roost in terms of difficulties in scholastic fields, attitudes of selfishness, conflict with the courts or other authorities, it is too late and the parents too unwilling to admit their responsibilities—so the process goes on. The spoiled children who survive and become employers find it hard to account for the "anti-social" attitudes of the employees and their labor leaders who did not move in the top social circles in school and college.

8. The Public School of the Future

Trends may attenuate, disappear, or be reversed, and new ones are certain to develop, but it is not too difficult to envisage in a general way the type of school we shall eventually have—maybe not ideal but with fewer imperfections than today.

The school of tomorrow will provide educational opportunities for all, from nursery school age to death, with full time attendance for the great majority to grade 12, 13, or 14.

Its educational objectives will include the provision of learning contributions to greater happiness and effectiveness in all walks of life—as individuals and as members of all types and levels of groups from the home group to the world group.

Opportunities for education will be relatively equal throughout the nation and its dependencies—regardless of race, religion, color, or economic status of family or community. The teaching staff will all be well educated and specifically trained men and women, selected on the basis of suitability for teaching; it will be given a practical and carefully directed internship. Total training will involve four to five years for the elementary school level, five to six years for the secondary school level, five to seven years for the junior college or lower division level, and six to eight years for the upper division and graduate level.

Teachers, along with parents and all other youth-serving agencies, will be concerned with all the problems of young people and many of those of adults—rendering to all an integrated counseling and educational service aimed at developing self-direction.

The teachers in the school of the future will be assigned lighter class loads and will assume greater responsibility for the now neglected tasks of planning, guidance, course of study development, community life and relations—perhaps in the high school not more than four classes for those with greater amounts of other activities and not more than five for those with lesser amounts.

Extracurricular activities will be much more closely correlated with other educational activities and will be planned and carried on in harmony with their educational potentialities.

Most schools will be sufficiently large to make possible a rich curriculum, a diversified and not too heavily loaded teaching staff, and well adapted housing and equipment. Playgrounds will constitute an important feature of the school home.

Curricular offerings and curricular administration and guidance will be such as to insure a well rounded education—well rounded in terms of all the more important needs and interests of modern life—chiefly a common core supplemented by electives for special interests.

Adaptations to individual interests, needs, status, and aptitudes will characterize courses of study, methods of teaching, the co-curricular activities, and all human relations in the school.

The school will reach far into the community, with its activities bringing the community closer to the school and its work and the pupils and their activities much more into the work and problems of the community.

School control will be dispersed among federal, state, and local agencies and officials (in reverse of the order just named as regards influence and detail) with major control exercised by professional leaders—the school staff—collaborated with by pupils, parents and community informally.

Constantly pupil growth will be measured along all sectors for the purposes of diagnosis in teaching and for guidance, and less for motivation and reporting.

Scientific study of child nature and all school problems will be conducted by well trained research workers assisted by classroom teachers and will result in far more reliable and useful studies than heretofore.

For those so minded and with a vision of the possibilities, it can well be a satisfying adventure to join heartily and hopefully with a

million other educators to shape and to accelerate the current trends. Surely upon no other group in this day of highly complex, interdependent civilization does more depend.

Topics for Study and Discussion

1. What proportion of pupils should complete the eighth grade? Tenth grade? Twelfth grade? Give reasons for your answer.
2. If all pupils go through high school, what difference will it make to curriculum and methods in the 11th and 12th grades?
3. Do you believe that in a decade or so practically all adults will be continuing their education? The majority? Give reasons for your answer.
4. What do you think will be the five most important trends in the high school curriculum in the next twenty years? In the elementary school curriculum?
5. Do you believe teachers should belong to unions? Be prepared to give a five-minute talk on this question.
6. How do you believe prospective teachers should be selected?
7. Do you believe that all teachers should have the same salary for the same number of years of experience and for the same number of years of education? In all schools?
8. What are your answers to the six questions mentioned in this chapter relative to teachers' salaries?
9. What are your answers to the nine questions raised in this chapter relative to the teaching staff?
10. Do you believe that the one-room school will soon disappear except in very sparsely settled areas? Explain.
11. What do you believe will be the eventual distribution of control of schools among local, state, and federal authorities? What do you think it should be?
12. Do you believe that public funds should be distributed to nonpublic schools? Give your reasons.
13. Do you believe schools should be entirely free, including textbooks, etc.? Do you believe colleges should be free?
14. How far do you believe the trend to use the community as curriculum will go?
15. To what extent do you believe the curriculum will absorb extracurricular activities?
16. Do you believe the schools everywhere should have the same plan of organization, e.g., 6–3–3 or 6–6? Give reasons.
17. Write a paper about 1,000 to 1,500 words on the school of the future.

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