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Readings
in
Educational Sociology

Readings in Educational Sociology

Edited by

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VOLUME II

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Preface

VOLUME I of *Readings in Educational Sociology* appeared in 1932 and, judged from the response of those working in the field, it has met a definite need. In Volume I we presented sociological material basic to educational procedure, with slight emphasis upon educational practices.

In Volume II we have reversed the procedure and have dealt with the application of sociology to educational practices. Furthermore, the publication of the material in two parts makes it possible to use one volume as basic material for each semester in a full year course, while the instructor may select the volume appropriate to his needs in a shorter course. We are therefore sending this second volume forth with the hope that it will be as favorably received as its predecessor.

The author wishes to express his appreciation to numerous persons and organizations for aid and materials in this volume. In the first place, he is indebted to all members of the Department of Educational Sociology of New York University for generous use and criticism of the outline out of which the readings have grown, and for their contributions to *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, many of which are used in the readings; to Mr. Charles G. Swanson, an instructor in the department; to Mr. Simon Doniger and Mr. Claude C. Cornwall, students in the department, for bringing together a large part of the material; and to Mrs. Virginia K. Barns, who has read both the galley and page proofs. Acknowledgments are due the following for permission to use copyrighted material: The American Book

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We are also indebted to the following authors for use of their articles and other material: Meta L. Anderson, Louis Bader, J. D. Blackwell, Rhea K. Boardman, Franklin Bobbitt, Emory S. Bogardus, F. C. Borgeson, A. O. Bowden, Augusta F. Bronner, Francis J. Brown, Kenyon L. Butterfield, Marian W. Campbell, Jessie A. Charters, W. W. Charters, Glen U. Cleeton, George S. Counts, Philip A. Cowen, Philip W. L. Cox, John O. Creager, Edgar Dale, John Dewey, Isaac Doughton, Edgar M. Draper, Seba Eldridge, William J. Ellis, Charles A. Ellwood, Ross L. Finney, Frank N. Freeman, Elbert K. Fretwell, K. C. Friedman, Joseph R. Geiger, Iago Galdston, James Glass, Henry H. Goddard, J. Stanley Gray, H. M. Hamlin, Harold C. Hand, Hugh Hartshorne, Winifred Hathaway, William Healy, Philomena Hynes, Marguerite L. Ingram, Charles H. Judd, Grayson N. Kefauver, William H. Kilpatrick, Edwin A. Lee, Eduard C. Lindeman, Frank W. Lorimer,

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E. G. P.

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READINGS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

I have argued with such vigor as I can command for a consolidation of the school program and for the introduction of a new core into the curriculums of all schools. What I have advocated cannot be accomplished by any single school system or by any loosely integrated organization. This Department meets year after year, bringing together agencies which have great potential influence. After our meeting we scatter, and as single administrators we are comparatively ineffective in reconstructing the curriculum or improving the attitude of the public toward schools.

Representatives of the natural sciences were able during the War to organize a foundation which has been powerful in promoting the cultivation of all the studies that have to do with material things. The schools of this country need an educational foundation which shall be the center of coöperative studies and of coöperative action. This foundation, if it is to be effective, will require resources at least as large as those now devoted to the promotion of the natural sciences. Should not this Department, together with other educational organizations, be energetic in bringing into being an educational foundation the functions of which will be the study of the internal problems of the schools and the development of a clear understanding of the relation of the schools to industry, business, and politics? What the educational system of this country needs is organized and informed leadership.

It is futile to wait for the government to move if the representatives of educational administration exhibit no power of concerted action. It is futile to duplicate efforts at scattered points. The wisdom of educational leaders must be focused, and their influence must be strengthened through coöperation.

V. OUR 396 MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND ISSUES AND THE SCHOOLS[6]

A. O. Bowden

There can be no question that most of the social problems which are enumerated below will require for their solution the close coöperation of all school agencies: the home, the school, the church, the trades and professions, the law-making bodies, etc.

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[6] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 7, March, 1929, pp. 397–411.

Perhaps the schools can act best as the coördinating factor in all nonschool agencies in this great undertaking.

Since the schools should and do represent in a brief way the extent of all phases of our culture and civilization, they can and do influence indirectly everything. The schools through their teachers are the only institution or force that touches the whole of society. This is the reason that organized schools are basic to our civilization and are so important. They influence every phase of life, the professions, trades, business, industry, and act as a leaven in society itself. Through the children, and this is the direct influence the schools can exercise, the schools help to shape and solve problems, both local and national. They touch the miner, the factory worker, the farmer, the professional man, the business executive, the wheels of industry, etc. The schools help to create and to solve all our social problems, and while they probably cannot immediately and directly solve many, if any of them, few, if any, of the difficulties can be worked out without the coöperation of the schools.

Merely to mention these problems just by enumerating and stating them would require all the space that should be given to a magazine article. By actual count there are 396 major social problems and issues confronting us in America and Western Europe. These are increased more than a thousandfold over those of our forefathers. These fall under four major headings.[7]

I. Problems arising in the modification of forms and functions of government. These total 144 problems.

II. Problems growing out of business and industry. There are 109 here.

III. Problems that are outgrowths of social interaction and maladjustment. These number 88.

IV. Problems of international affairs. There are 55 here.

A few under each heading just mentioned are stated below to illustrate their nature and to give a basis for indicating what the schools can and cannot do in solving them.

We cannot solve a problem of any kind until we can state it and define its limits. That is our first step. Each problem must

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[7] The author is indebted to Dr. John A. Hockett for the statement of the problems listed in this paper. These are taken from his monograph, "A Determination of the Major Social Problems of American Life."

be analyzed, the causes determined, and the factors in the solution indicated, before we can confidently enter upon a proper solution.

I. *Problems Arising in the Modification of Forms and Functions of Government*

1. The problem of devising means of making government more flexible in meeting the changing needs of a dynamic society.

2. The problem of making public service a permanent, adequately paid, expert profession with requirements and safeguards that will attract and utilize in the public interest the best wisdom, experience, and leadership of the country—securing the appointment and election of the best men, with qualifications for their work the determining factor.

These two can be solved by conscious effort on the part of the schools through social-science instruction and proper methods of motivation which create attitudes of willingness in students to follow expert guidance.

3. The problem of devising effective means of preventing, exposing, and punishing dishonesty, bribery, and misuses of office by public officials. Schools educate the officials. The school and the home form the attitudes of its students and children.

4. The problem of safeguarding government officials from malicious attacks and persecution by dissatisfied groups because of political considerations—prevention of political intimidation and blackmail.

Innuendo, whispering campaigns, and character assassination can be shown to be one of the greatest sins of individual relationships. The schools can develop an antitoxin attitude against attacking an innocent public administrator, attacks which have no other basis than gossip and an attempt to gain political advantage.

5. The problem of overcoming the apathy of voters and of getting them to vote. The problem of securing more intelligent, critical action, and independence in voting with less blind approval of party nominations.

Good citizenship does not consist even to any great extent in voting. This function has been and is now considered by some the chief basis of the so-called teaching of citizenship in the schools. Voting is a necessary prerogative and privilege of a good citizen, though probably one of the least of the functions

of a citizen. The schools have not yet done anything flattering to their activity in this field, if we are to judge by results. There has not yet appeared a satisfactory textbook on the teaching of citizenship in the schools. The field for the textbook writer is wide open and the children are sadly in need of such a book and method. Most books are mere skeletal outlines of parliamentary law and the technical matter of casting one's vote, the forms of government, etc. This is all very well as information but probably has little to do with citizenship. A knowledge of such facts is highly desirable but a method that will give each citizen an informed self-starter attitude is a paramount need.

6. The problem of determining how soon and under what conditions the franchise should be given to immigrants.

Immigration is our oldest social problem, and is basic, for many of our fundamental difficulties issue from this source. The problem of Americanization, the melting pot theories are centered here. The schools have a major part to play in this process of making Americans out of those who come to us with social backgrounds different from our native *mores*.

7. The problem of developing an enlightened, progressive, public opinion, based upon knowledge of facts, and representing in so far as possible an integration of the various interests of all groups.

Team work is the watchword of the day, coöperation is on the point of the pen of every writer on social and governmental problems today. America does now and will need for the next hundred years schooling in team work more than in individualization. Cold coöperations, the willingness to follow more than the desire to lead, will be the theme of our discussion and the core of our efforts. In this the schools can do much in developing attitudes and habits of team work.

8. The problem of determining the limits of the subjects to which public opinion can apply, and limiting the questions which are referred to public opinion to those on which intelligent popular action can be expected.

To develop the attitude of relying on experts rather than trying to develop the fallacious notion that every American citizen can vote intelligently on all public questions is a worthy service that the schools can render. Such questions as the tariff and all problems that involve highly technical knowledge before they can be understood are not proper subjects for the common man to decide.

9. The problem of increasing the facilities for open forum discussion of and exchange of opinion about social, political, economic, and international matters.

Pupils in school from the time they enter the junior-high school level can learn much about many public questions of great concern to the whole population. These pupils can be taught to seek information, analyze it, and discuss it intelligently. Certain common, nontechnical problems should be studied in the lower grades of our high-school organization.

10. The problem of improving the type of man in State legislatures and the legislation enacted. Preventing the enactment of trivial, contradictory, unwise, ephemeral, and corrupt laws. Laws make or define crimes and some develop criminals. Those pupils who show superior ability should not only be encouraged to work on such problems but should be urged to do so. It is not at all impossible that there will result an extermination of the high I. Q.'s if they are not urged to busy themselves in the welfare of the common people. If they do not work a little more closely into our political system they will be the submerged group and not the dominant. They can be outvoted any time and probably will unless they make themselves felt in political life more than is their tendency at the present time. The president of the University of Illinois recently said in an address at Chicago that college men are losing their leadership because they are too indifferent or afraid to assert themselves and speak out on matters of policy of government and social problems.

Legislation is the function of experts. There should be some special training in sociology and all branches of social science to prepare men to legislate with some constructive vision.

11. The problem of promoting a widespread understanding of and interest in political principles, institutions, and problems. Education of the people to a true sense of the proper functions and administration of government.

Man is not necessarily a political animal, contrary to the old Greek Philosopher's notion, but he should be educated to be such. He is more a partisan animal. We have assumed too much and are easily blinded by shibboleths of faulty generalizers of the past.

12. The problem of promoting systematic, organized research in political matters, and of developing a science of public administration and statesmanship. We should pay for our government and expect service.

13. The problem of safeguarding individual rights and civil liberties from subversion in times of peace and of war. Maintaining jury trial, freedom of speech, of press, and of assemblage, etc., against subversive legislation, such as espionage and sedition laws, censorship and unlawful acts of the Department of Justice. Securing legitimate civil rights and justice to liberals, radicals, conscientious objectors, and war-time political prisoners.

Conscience is a matter of social environment and is capable of being developed or changed by the home and school environment.

II. *Problems Growing out of Business and Industry*

1. The problem of developing a public conscience that will not merely condemn corporations as such, but will blight with social disgrace the individual members of a corporation which do dishonorable deeds and reward with honor the individual members of those whose deeds are honorable.

Our legislatures or National Congress may enact all the laws they please, but unless there is a public sentiment behind the laws with at least a fairly unanimous supporting public opinion the laws are a mockery. This sentiment and public support can be greatly influenced by the work in the public schools. Probably they can do little at present with the present knowledge of emotivation and the teaching forces that they have. But there can be no doubt that within the realm of the activity in the organized area of educational forces rests much of this sentiment and attitude building.

2. The problem of improving the quality and character of consumption. Abolition of conspicuous display, ostentation, and competition in consumption. The promotion of research and education in the matter of efficient, intelligent use of material goods.

America is the most wasteful nation on earth today. No such lavish display and expenditure has ever existed on earth before. Conservation can be effectively taught in the schools and other nonschool agencies. The activities of the schools during the World War demonstrates in a small way what can be done.

III. *Problems That Are Outgrowths of Social Interaction and Maladjustment*

1. The problem of overcoming the inertness and indifference and counteracting the blind optimism of people who believe that

social progress is inevitable. Arousing people to grip their problems and make effective their aspirations.

Optimism unbounded is as dangerous and blinding as pessimism and probably more insidious. The cultivation of the habit of critically analyzing situations and estimating the values of the present status of social organizations and functions can certainly be fostered in the schools.

2. The problem of securing application of the spirit and methods of natural science to the social science. Educating people to attack fundamental causes of evil rather than symptoms and particular persons; to rectify general wrongs rather than mollify individual cases; to substitute positive modes of action for negative restrictions and purgings.

It is probably true that not more than twenty per cent of the people are capable of acquiring the scientific attitude. Even if we had that large a per cent of adult minds that could view in an unbiased way large social problems it would be more than nineteen per cent more than we now have and the twenty per cent, if we had it, would serve as a mighty stabilizing factor in our crowd-minded tendencies at present.

3. The problem of securing and using for the nation's advantage the highest type of expert, responsible leadership, in politics, in industry, in the pulpit, in the schools and colleges.

4. The problem of developing a free, vigorous, intellectual life. Getting men to think scientifically in terms of realities, with tolerance and critical open-mindedness. Combating prejudice, superstition, casuistry, worship of shibboleths and slogans, and irrelevant analogies, fear of facing facts, credulity, gullibility, and mental laziness.

Ideas of a novel nature, catchy notions that grip the imagination of the young and unlearned, often are dangerous. Companionate marriage is an example. This is no new idea but a very primitive one. It is at least ten or twenty thousand years old and has been quite generally practiced by most primitive tribes the world over, Judge Ben Lindsay and his followers to the contrary notwithstanding.

5. The problem of developing, stimulating, freeing, and conserving creative ability, initiative, and originality, and relating them to worthy purposes in the life of the community. Promoting art, literature, invention, and discovery through

direct encouragement and the removal of censorship, restriction, repression, hostility, and fear.

Such problems as these will lend themselves to modification by the school but different methods of emotivation will have to be found out and tested for their reliability.

6. The problem of purifying our social atmosphere by widespread disapproval of extravagances, greed, exclusiveness, frivolity, place hunting, and vulgar envy; an effective and simpler life, especially among the rich. Abolishing the average man's emulation of the servility towards the wealthy.

7. The problem of providing adequate, free education from kindergarten to university for all persons willing and able to partake, and ensuring such a universal minimum of education as will enable all persons to fulfill their place in society.

8. The problem of securing in education a true understanding of the actual condition and functioning of the social order. Elimination of teaching of the false history, chauvinism, etc., and the production of textbooks to accomplish these ends.

9. The problem of developing through education broad social views and motives, and eliminating individualistic egoism.

10. The problem of securing in education free, vigorous thought, intellectual initiative, honesty, and discipline.

11. The problem of securing and maintaining academic freedom for all teachers; freedom to tell the truth in all fields.

12. The problem of increasing the efficiency of our education through greater knowledge of the art and science of education by securing the best minds of the community for teachers, and by better training for teachers.

This problem in the educational field, particularly in institutions of higher learning, is one of our greatest social problems. The cost of higher education is a pressing problem because we are not yet able to say just what part of the education of the individual should be borne by the individual educated, on the one hand, and on the other, what part should be borne by the society which is to profit by his education. But public education itself should be like the human body if it is an organism. It should have sufficient power for growth and repair to correct its own errors and diseases.

We have thought like the Children of Israel who believed that if they put their jewels into the fiery furnace there would come out refined a golden calf. We have believed that if we put our

boys and girls with plenty of money into the colleges or the university they would come out educated, but instead many have come out a golden calf or a white elephant, probably stuffed with information and no well-trained and directed motives.

13. The problem of securing more rapid and widespread adoption of advances and improvements in educational methods. Overcoming the obscurantism, closed-mindedness, and conservatism of school boards.

14. The problem of eliminating professionalism and debasement of college athletics and the dominance of athletics in college.

15. The problem of elevating the tone, ideals, and ethical standards of the press, and securing an honest, impartial, and adequate supply of news, reducing the sensationalism, excesses of publicity, and glorification of crime and criminals.

16. The problem of elevating the tastes and demands of newspaper readers. The schools can elevate the tastes and standards of the reading public.

17. The problem of securing reformation and education of criminals, delinquents, and incapables through the use of the best scientific, psychological, and humane treatment restoring them to usefulness whenever possible; at the same time protecting society and posterity from the effects of social disease. Elimination of retaliation, brutalization, and degradation.

18. The problem of elevating our standards of good manners. Protecting true courtesy, grace, and mutual consideration. Preventing the degradation of manners by our apotheosis of profit making.

IV. *Problems of International Affairs*

1. The problem of abolishing war and ensuring world peace. Harmonizing conflicting national interests; mobilizing the world's peace sentiment.

2. The problem of promoting international morality, coöperation, and good will. Making nationalism a constructive, spiritual, educational, and cultural force; and eliminating its narrow, insolent, selfish aspects, its jingoism, and chauvinism.

In addition to a sufficient police force to support international law, there must also be an adequate public sentiment that will put force back of the mandates of all nations. With the moral force which the schools can foster behind any adequate system

of police force the awful aspect of war can be eliminated. The schools can help to develop an antitoxin for war.

We have had in past ages three "human scourges, famine, pestilence, and war." We have eliminated the first two from ravaging civilization, only the last one, war, remains. It would be idle to assume that with the brains and ingenuity of the human mind this third and last one could not be eliminated. Science cannot destroy civilization any more than any other force or body of knowledge in our life can vanquish us. Until now we have used the products of science at times wholly to destroy human beings. But it can be used with equal assurance to better our condition.

At my age I can remember the coming of the telephone, electric lights, the automobile, the wireless, the radio, the victrola, the movie, the airplane. We cannot find any other period of less than a half century in the whole history of man in which so many splendid inventions and discoveries could be listed. And yet within this period there has been more bloodshed than any other period of history. There is evidently something else needed to make men happy and successful than mere knowledge and economic freedom. We have in recent decades adopted the Faustian theory of knowledge, have sold our souls to the devil for knowledge, have accordingly enslaved ourselves and almost blighted our future hopes for harmonious development. Seventy-five per cent of all our national revenues goes to support instruments of war and destruction. The schools and all civil, peaceful pursuits must be maintained by the remaining twenty-five per cent of the total revenue collected.

Conclusions

A few concluding statements need now to be made. It may be that you have followed me thus far and feel a sense of bewilderment and confusion. Perhaps you are in a muddle. If so, you are conditioned properly in the way I have intended. I have tried to lead you to this point to impress upon you the awful importance of a vigorous attack upon the ills that beset us, the social problems that are increasing at an appalling rate.

Progress in its broadest sense leads in two directions: one towards disintegration and death, the other towards an increasing control over ourselves and our environment. The one points

to destruction, the other to constructive endeavor. Neither direction is inevitable. And in this lies our hope.

Constructive human progress is brought about by an increase in our problems, provided our ability to solve and the actual solutions of these problems keep apace or ahead of the rapidity of their multiplication. There is no doubt that our problems have multiplied a thousand per cent over those that faced our forefathers. The problems, though on the increase, would be a healthy sign of growth provided we were busy in a controlled manner in solving them. If we can busy ourselves in increasing our hereditary ability by wholesome eugenics and education to produce more capable thinkers with sturdy moral stamina, we will be fortunate if we do so. Otherwise we may in a modified way repeat the tragedy of Greece and Rome.

The solution of all these social problems, so far as the schools are concerned, rests upon two activities of the schools. One is enlightenment and the other is emotivation. We have busied ourselves in the past almost exclusively with enlightenment and have let the scientific method of emotivation remain practically untouched. We know how to determine and measure educational skills but have not definitely learned anything about other educational values, such as sentiment, feeling, motives, attitudes, springs of conduct, and appreciations. We cannot measure yet anything but the skill side of our educational activity. But appreciations may be yet the most important part of education, since certain of the tools of education are becoming less and less important for the individual, such as arithmetic, spelling, penmanship, oral reading, and the like.

I propose, as sound, two hypotheses. One, that appreciations can be taught and must not be left to accident. Can we teach these appreciations indirectly by punishment? I would not say never. Can they be taught by love? I would not say always. But specifically as to how they may be taught no one knows.

Another hypothesis equally as sound as the one above, and, if true, infinitely more important, is that it is within the province and function of the schools to create attitudes, motivate and control conduct. We are well supplied with methods of instruction, in ways of spreading factual information but very poor in proper effective methods of developing appreciations and attitudes.

Most of the ways suggested in which the schools can help in the solution of the problems enumerated is by creating habits of mind in straight thinking, habits of feeling, setting up inhibitions and taboos against certain practices, etc., establishing dynamic urges towards coöperative endeavor and team work. The schools can do two things, give information and condition behavior.

If we could be successful in inducing an individual merely to acquire all the information possible we have no assurance at all that we could by that alone modify or produce the desired conduct in the individual.

We have become too soft in our educational methods. We have forgotten to instill in those under our charge a desire for work. We have pulled the teeth of much of our educational effort. We forget that man is the only animal that works, that animals hunt food for immediate consumption, that work, effort, striving is civilizing. In a word, patience is moral and loafing out of proportion is immoral because it does not develop patience. Morality began when man set about consciously to chip stone for a purpose. This is true because it requires patience, endurance, and a purpose. The quality of man which keeps him sticking to an unpleasant piece of work is highly humanizing and moral.

There is no need for pessimism in the theme of this paper nor is there any reason for one-hundred-per-cent optimism. There is a challenge and a basis for hope. The schools are always pointed towards the future. Their product is to be valuable tomorrow.

There is evidence that the schools are coming into their own and are assuming the full responsibility of their share of the burden in the continuous effort at a workable solution of many of our rapidly increasing and complex social problems.

VI. EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM[8]

JAMES W. WOODARD

Education, which in the last half of the nineteenth century seemed so patently the solution for all problems, has itself become a problem.

[8] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 5, January 1933, pp. 290–304.

Even primitive peoples have some institutionalized educational devices. For priestly apprenticeships, secret societies, mandatory uncle-nephew responsibilities, and initiation ceremonies show that the primitive was not willing for what he conceived to be the most important things to go hit or miss, but set up mechanisms for teaching the coming generation in regard to them. Primitive initiation ceremonies were at once a test of the thoroughness of preparation for adult participation, a further instruction in certain esoteric secrets, a diploma of acceptance into the adult group, and a final and painfully intense impressment of the tribal requirements of the individual. Initiation as well as preparation differed with the sexes and both were pointed towards the satisfactory carrying on of adult responsibilities in the rôle of man or woman as that rôle was defined in the particular culture.

The first group need out of which formalized education emerged was thus largely group preservative. Certain folkways and mores, certain supernatural lores, sanctions, and taboos were regarded as too important for the group well-being not to be made sure of in their transmission to the new generations. And the first aim of this education was conformity.

The second group need, out of which arose formalized education, was in the elaboration of too complicated a social heritage for complete transmission without a subdivision of labor. This growing cultural complexity under the cumulative aspects of cultural evolution involves that, sooner or later, the cultural heritage becomes too vast for each member of the group to share its entirety. This had been possible among the very primitive. This cultural vastness involves division of labor, expertness, and the erection of mechanisms of transmission for the more difficult or obscure or esoteric items. This was accomplished in part by a growing and extending system of apprenticeship and caste, and presently by the inclusion of these items in formalized systems of education.

The aim of education as emerging from this second need may be called, roughly, efficiency—efficiency in carrying on crafts, techniques, and professions; adequacy in the absorption of factual and theoretical backgrounds; and, if we include here the fine arts, pure values, and "spiritual" appreciations, efficiency in living, breadth of appreciations, and the fuller life. This second aim is more indirectly social, at once individual and social.

And the later trend of educational thought has been towards a combination of individual and social aims.

From these aspects, a part of the aims of education must be, as Inglis has pointed out, first, the preparation of the individual as a prospective citizen and member of society; second, the preparation of the individual as a worker and producer; and lastly, the utilization of leisure and the development of personality. Our educational program has produced the fit individual, the self-reliant, skillful man or woman. But it has neglected the coöperative and social elements; and it is often condemned for neglecting the philosophic interpretation of scientific data in terms of those "spiritual" values which are the basis of ultimate human satisfaction.

A third group need and a third aim for education emerge, admittedly, relatively late in the development of education as an institution. The need here is ambivalent; it is something which the group and its subgroups at once desire and flee from. I refer to the new, the innovation, the discovery, the displacement of the old and false by the new, by that relatively closer to reality. This is desired because reality is the final touchstone of adjustment. But it is fled from because the old is often so firmly entrenched in the mores and so endowed with supernatural sanctions; because the subgroups it has favored become vested interests and champion it; and because it is regarded autistically and therefore departure from it is feared. Innovations, new contributions to the sum of knowledge, and the analyzing away of old orientation points and of false shibboleths require a background and a method. Background, method, incentive, and equipment for this task come eventually to be preëminently the possession of the educated, more specifically of the educators. And this third aim of education may be called that of research.

. . . . .

Because of the subjectivity of educators themselves, and because of their fear of established moralities and belief systems and of interests and institutions which would have to be critically scrutinized, education has failed to carry out courageously, in the realm of the social and the personal, her third major function, that of replacing old falsity with new truth. She has put a curiously overprotested emphasis on research and exact methods, but with the tongue in the cheek as to phenomena the study of which would lead one across tabooed lines and as to implications

which are too much out of conformity with established mores and institutions. And the total picture is that of an education, especially in its social and psychological sciences, which is muddling through to but vaguely apprehended ends.

These, then, are the social aims of education: (1) the socialization of the individual, earliest defined in terms of conformity to prescriptions, *ultimately in terms of ethical judgments;* but unless he be socialized in one way or another, the final product of education can only be a more efficient selfishness; (2) the training of the individual—at its lower levels in terms of crafts, professions, funds of knowledge, and techniques of living; at its higher levels involving the potentialities for an *art of living*, for a richly meaningful existence; the third aim (3) has as one of its aspects the continual negation and rectifying of the specific content of the first two. It is the replacement (by research into new truth) of the old and false, but clung to, by the new and proved, though fled from.

There are many social benefits of education not explicitly stated in its social "aims," many of which derive secondarily therefrom.

Thus research is the ultimate wherewithal of all progress, short of the wasteful, slow, and humanly costly methods of sheer trial and error. Research is thus the ultimate means to solution of myriad insignificant details at one extreme and to the problem of perfect integration of the personality of man and perfect harmony of world social functioning at the other. And when it courageously attacks really important problems and unrestrictedly follows to the conclusions which reality dictates, then it is impossible to overemphasize the importance of research.

The background of factual knowledge and theoretical principles, together with the analytical and critical habits of mind which, in its best forms, education inculcates, are, as Ross has pointed out, the best antidotes for mob-mindedness, for group prejudice, for demagogery, cultism, provincialism, sectarianism, and many other items which threaten the harmonious and socialized functioning of persons and groups.

Eventually, indeed, education will probably do more than the religious prescriptions to brotherly love in bringing about a universal understanding. The common background of knowledge, the common bases for scales of value, and the common rationale for behavior which it must eventually supply on an

earth-wide scale (since science is one and not multifarious as are the mores) will give a universal community of attitudes and values and of stimulus-response potentialities which will be the basis for a spontaneous and free-flowing "consciousness of kind," a firmer basis for, and a more pervasive influence towards the oneness of man than any authoritative command to regard as brother him who, because of ethnocentrism and the clash of reified divinities, cannot be so regarded. Stripped of their rationalized cloakings—customs, creed, and breed—the real motivations of individual and of group conflict must eventually emerge in their stark economic reality and be dealt with for what they are, which presupposes some slightly greater chance for coping with them. In thus destroying the subjectivated reality of the mores, in casting from the pagan Olympuses the Many, and in now and again disturbing upon Sinia the security of the ethnocentric One, Education and her colleague, Science, lay the bases for new spiritual values, new brotherhoods, and a new ethic, all of them less cloyed with superstition, rationalization, and fear; and universal because arrived at inductively, susceptible of proof, inescapable!

But one would not imply that a general appreciation of these aims on the part of educators is in any way tantamount to their realization. Ignorance is a social problem and no social problem is simple, but ramifies out into all the others. Thoroughly to settle ignorance and education, one must also settle inequality of opportunity, must settle poverty, health, political organization, industrial order, eugenics, and so on *ad infinitum*. And reverse phrasings are equally true, so much in the solution of other social problems depending, in turn, upon education. Take education and eugenics. How can education attain complete realization of its aims, especially the third aim, in one of its aspects that of making the individual the arbiter of his own beliefs and actions, when there are populous "levels" of innate ability in the group to whom seventh-grade content is an unattainable achievement? More or less, all must go forward together; and the complete realization of the aims of education is Utopian in the sense that the solution of any major social problem is Utopian; that is, in that the complete solution of any one waits upon the complete solution of all.

And with more limited application, education also entails antisocial results, the snobbish alienations between the pseudo-

intelligentsia and *hoi polloi*, the exploitation and control of the ignorant and manipulable many by the trained and adroit few, etc. There are thus items other than the nature of the process itself upon which depend the manner of the carrying out of the functions of any institution. "Education," says Todd, "is both static and dynamic; in one age conservative, in another radical and progressive." That which determines whether it is merely the handmaiden of a prevailing system of production or religious thinking, or whether it is the destroyer of superstition and special privilege is largely a matter, "first, of content and method of instruction; second, of incidence, *i.e.*, whether it is universal or the privilege of certain classes; third, of control, *i.e.*, by whom administered."

If the content of the curricula be archaic crystallizations of traditional beliefs and values, and if the method be deductive or that of rote learning, then education becomes a stumbling block to progress. Babington traces 2,000 years of Chinese stagnation to the rule of her scholar governors, and the thousand-year Dark Ages in our own cultural continuity are quite as much to the point. We have parochial schools and denominational colleges perpetuating the first fallacy. And the second, rote learning, permeates our entire educational system. The mass methods made necessary by a universally compulsory education have made rote methods inevitable and defeated a primary aim of education, to make the student think for himself.

For quantity education is almost necessarily passive, rote-memory education. With a few salutary exceptions, it is only the student in graduate seminars at universities who is really encouraged to think for himself. For the rest, it is a case of handing back at examination time, quite unsullied by any mulling over in their minds, the predigested pap currently spoon-fed over the semester period. Of course, a certain absorption of background is necessary before the individual can be trusted to think for himself. But it is questionable whether, even there, sheer rote memory should be the method; and it is certain that the individual should be encouraged to handle his materials dynamically, creatively, and critically at the earliest possible moment. This should become the ingrained habit.

But real individuation, the production of individuals cut loose from preconceptions, reifications, and arbitrary prescriptions and left free to think for themselves in all realms, is expensive

in time and in caliber and numbers of teaching personnel, more expensive than the taxpayer in an only mildly enlightened democracy will stand for. As a result, the kind of mind developed in our schools cannot be depended upon to deal intelligently with local and world tasks. Everett Dean Martin is reputed to have said that when the late Mr. Bryan threatened to print all his college degrees on his card in answer to the repeated statement that he was an ignoramus, the joke really was on the colleges! That is, leaders that are badly needed are not being produced, because the necessity for conformity coupled with a predominantly rote method has obliterated the dynamic mind that, unfettered by archaisms, might deal intelligently with problems of living. The rapidity of change in our modern world heaps upon us problems that are acute, vital, personal, and highly controversial; and many of their solutions must be in opposition to the established and the sanctioned. But we neither permit the research nor produce the leadership to yield us the solutions. There is not enough transfer from the problems of an artificial, bookish school, still too largely controlled by other and vested institutions and classes and still tied to a stultifying method, to the problems of a live, pulsating, and ever so rapidly changing world.

But, taking Todd's second point of the incidence of education, knowledge *must* be universally distributed if we are to retain our progress towards democracy or achieve our democratic ideals, if we are to solve our other problems of adjustment. "The distribution of knowledge underlies all social reform." Anything less than the universalization of education means (1) "that the social machine must be geared to the capacity of the less intelligent"; means (2) "wastage of energy through the cleavages between class and class"; and (3) anything approaching a monopoly of education by a particular class "means a régime of status, autocracy, and exploitation."

It is not always noted, however, that universalization of education may involve, to paraphrase, a gearing of the *educational* machine to the capacity of the less intelligent with concomitant wastage of human material, mass methods, and meaningless mechanization and mobilization. The fact that our educational system today must care for the rank and file of our society presents problems that have never before existed for educational writers and theorists. Under the stress of that

universalization, even our universities are retrograding to the rote method, to the formalized and diluted level of high-class (in the thoroughly American connotation of big and peppy) normal and trade (or professional) schools. With our narrow identification of education as the open sesame to success, school attendance at all levels has increased by leaps and bounds. This has made it impossible to establish rigid standards for a highly selected and trained group of teachers in America as is done in Europe, because teachers have increased in numbers too rapidly.

Then there has come the great danger of mediocrity which comes from teaching a heterogeneous group all by the same method. Almost no provision has been made for the diverse needs of students coming from quite dissimilar social backgrounds. This lack has been particularly felt in exclusively industrial communities where the traditional English, Latin, algebra, and similar courses have been the basis of high-school instruction, and where the students leaving high school have been totally unfit, if not unfitted, for any constructive work in the community. The overformalized teaching is forgotten as soon as the school building is left; while definitely bad mental habits and escape attitudes remain. The mechanized school cannot but develop wasteful attitudes and habits of passivity, with all the damage of repressed, suppressed, and balked personalities, with their harmful compensatory habits and antisocial orientations, which are thus generated.

The most promising present step towards meeting the problem of the heterogeneity of the educational group, that of separating into different classes the superior, mediocre, and backward students, must evolve a technique for avoiding its threatened result in snobbery and rebellion in the playground and other social relations of these groups. And the objection of labor organizations to this sorting, arising from fear of caste distinction in educational content, must be met in some way that will definitely ensure the groundlessness of that fear. The advantage of realizing the potential contribution of the wasted genius in our population, and the sanity of fitting the mediocre and the dullard for rôles they will really fit are too valuable to be foregone.

Again, universalization of education has brought about regimentation. From the kindergarten up through the high school, one is impressed by the breathlessness of this process we call education. With clocklike precision the kindergarten

children draw with crayons for fifteen minutes, build with blocks for another fifteen minutes, sing their songs, drink their milk, and rest; all to the accurate timing of a watch. With the same monotonous haste, a sixth-grade class of forty boys and girls races through a meaningless program of, successively, drill spelling, an English lesson (sentence analysis on a particular day of "Her the gods loved and blest, with the flower of youth and beauty"), a history lesson of rote memory sentences about the Gallic Wars, and then are trotted off to calisthenics. The pupils are hurried because the teacher constantly prompts them to be quicker in their responses; the teacher prompts because she is told to finish a given amount of text in a limited amount of time; and she is so instructed because it is necessary that all classes keep abreast of each other or confusion in the administration of so large a group ensues. And so the mechanizing chain goes on. Institutionalism, even the supposed institutionalism of individuation, wants conformity! And the end result is wholesale methods, quantity production, and an "educated" product as different from what it could have been as modern stamped-out furniture is different from the lovingly wrought masterpieces of the medieval craftsman-artist.

In all of which we are interested to find a social genesis for a rather critical educational problem. To meet social need, education must be universal. But with the institutionalization of its universalization are precipitated tendencies that threaten seriously to interfere with the satisfactory achievement of the very function for which it was thrown up. Now that the universities also have gone in for stamped-out, quantity production; now that our industrial system has reduced products to monotonous uniformity and administration and discipline alike to red-tape direction, following on the part of the multitudinous cogs in the machine and has reserved active thinking for the very few; now that newspapers, magazines, radios, movies, fashions, and political parties stamp whole levels of the population with an identical mediocrity of beliefs, attitudes, and values; and even that various institutionalizations of coercive conformity (Legion, Klan, and blue law) have arisen; we have, despite the heterogeneity of class and creed and race and language, despite the preponderance of secondary-group contacts, and despite the multifariousness of potential contact, movement, and communication within our culture, a drab monotony of mediocrity

in our general picture in some ways not rivaled since the coercive conformity of the ancient near-Orient. Or rather, we have a coexistence of extreme individuation and extreme standardization probably unparalleled in the previous history of the world—an individuation which often appears strangely immature and uncognizant of what it is all about really; a conformed mediocrity which, however much it gives the superficial appearance of its opposite in nonessentials, is always basically there. Certainly, one must say of our population at large, that its individuation has not set it loose to philosophical analysis of the orientation points of belief and value and action; that it has neither intellectual curiosity nor aesthetic appreciation nor ethical (as opposed to moral) motivation; that, such as is its individuation, it has been achieved as much in spite of our educational system (as such) as because of it.

Finally, taking Todd's third point, it is important who controls education. "If education be committed to priests or ministers of religion, it will be chiefly concerned with dogma, tradition, and a social system that will support them. If it be governed by a class, say the prosperous upper section of the middle class, it will reflect the mores of prosperity; if by an aristocracy, the prejudices and conservatisms of the leisure class." In point are the English "public" schools, accused by Galsworthy of being caste factories, the German schools presumed to turn out (in the old Germany) obedient servitors of a militaristic state, the schools of the Chinese scholar-philosophers, the schools of Soviet Russia.

Education is too important a mechanism of control perhaps ever to escape constant renewal of the attempt to use it in their own interests on the part of one subgroup or another. The state, religion, classes, and individuals have a vital interest in how youth is being shaped up during the so plastic years spent in school. Industrialists, labor groups, international idealists, the government, its military department, the church, free-thinking societies, the Klan, the Legion, reform organizations, radicals, reactionaries, liberals—all these would like to see specific additions to, and deletions from, the content of courses in economics, civics, sociology, political science, history, biology, psychology, anthropology, ethics, and religion. Education is too important a means of group control for us to *expect* it to escape efforts to manipulate it.

And the uninterfered-with carrying out of its so vital functions is much too important for education not to resist those efforts to control it, to produce a professional ethics on the matter, and to guard the ethic with organization.

Even where conscious attempts to control the group through controlling education are obviated, the thing is bound to happen to a greater or less extent unconsciously. Education is expensive and requires funds; and colleges and universities require enrollments. Inevitably, automorphic choices in the school to which one sends his son or daughter get a cumulative result. Inevitably, the prospect of heavy endowment, or the more forceful pressure of withholding it for reason, gets reflected in the picture which the school must present as a pleasing prospect for endowment. And this all the way from the content of its courses in religion or economics to the extent to which the football tail is allowed to wag the university dog to the delectation of the rejuvenated, but prosperous, alumni!

Even more subtly is education a mechanism of group control—in this aspect control *of* the group *by* the group rather than by some subgroup. Endowers, trustees, elected or politically appointed boards of governors, village school boards, teachers, pupils, and parents alike are human. Alike, more or less, the traditional belief systems and taboos have been subjectivated into apparent intrinsic reality for them. Here, as in any of the other activities of life, the temper of the times, the mores of the group, the *Weltanschauung* of the society gets an unsolicited if indeed not an unrecognized expression. Hence it will probably be long before education can thoroughly achieve its third aim of negation and replacement of the old, even within the mental universes of its own instructional staffs. The best thing for the freshly graduated alumnus of the average university to do would be to set to it at once really to educate himself, to do it all over again, especially in the field of the social and the personal.

Education, in sum, is a quite human institution, and no more worthy than religion or the family or current morality are found to be of the uncritical superlatives, omnipotences, and omnisciences attributed to them in the general paean singing. It is functioning only fairly well with regard to its first two aims; it will be long before it encompasses its third aim as negator of the old and false, as proponent of the entirety of the new and true. The complete achievement of its task hinges upon the

carrying forward of the solution of many other interrelated social problems; and the approach to Utopia seems to wait upon the arrival there. But her influence is in that general direction. And perhaps some day she and her colleague Science, will acquit themselves right valiantly in their task to replace belief with knowledge, faith with critique and logic, shibboleth and prescription with reason tempered to all the relativity of the individual case, to replace our meaningless muddle with a fine art of living, to replace authority with experiment and independent judgment, division among men with oneness and the bases for mutual understanding, and ethnocentric moralities with an ethic cogent and universal because inescapable!

VII. EDUCATION FOR A CHANGING SOCIAL WORLD[9]

David Snedden

For purposes of this discussion, it is important to note that one very important social change of our times, especially characteristic of Americans, is that of regarding our educational systems themselves as agencies which can and should move and readjust with the times.

In order to avoid triteness and repeating what are platitudes, it is my intention to select for discussion here what seem to me certain very relevant findings of my sociological studies as to which widely varying opinions are properly to be held because of our insufficient scientific knowledge. It is hoped that some of the topics will incite to further thinking, as presented under five heads:

(a) The need of very discriminating thinking about social changes; (b) recognition of the enormous potentialities of America's greatly expanded educational facilities; (c) certain rapid shiftings of our educational purposes and objectives; (d) certain needed shiftings of our educational means and methods; (e) certain probable shiftings of our emphasis on school personnel. It is proposed in the following paragraphs to give fairly dogmatic expression to the writer's present convictions on these points.

Need for discriminative thinking about social changes. Economic depressions and wars, the headlines of our newspapers,

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[9] *National Education Association, Addresses and Proceedings*, Vol. LXX, 1932, pp. 641–648.

the urgent messages of our magazine contributors, some few of the new mechanisms of communication and of power distribution, are all undoubtedly intensifying a variety of crowd-minded, heavily emotionalized reactions among modern peoples which greatly disturb both their sense of perspective and their appreciation of fundamental human values.

Young persons and ardent persons and disillusioned persons are especially prone greatly to exaggerate both the substance and the probable consequences of what may well turn out to be minor fluctuations in the collective life of peoples.

. . . .

Perhaps we need frequently to remind ourselves in these days of intense dynamic enthusiasms among educators that in most of the vital areas of social change it is always difficult, and often impossible, for schools and colleges, as such, as well as for the professional personnel conducting the instructional and other educative functions, to *originate* findings of importance. Schools and colleges, like newspapers, libraries, and other sources of endless possible learning, are primarily agencies of *diffusion* of findings.

One man can make an invention, write a splendid new book, or discover a novel means of social control through research. *Then* thousands of teachers in schools can make the new discovery available to millions.

Even in the crucial matter of deciding which among new inventions, interpretations, valuations, explorations, and foundations of creeds, every day being made, should be incorporated into the curricula of offerings of our schools, few educators can afford to rely upon their own judgments alone. Here, too, they must often defer to centrally placed specialists, even in the new increasingly critical areas of social or endemic valuation.

America's splendidly expanded material and personnel foundations for education. Educators, social scientists, political policy makers, and others strongly convinced of the possibilities of our collective obligations of making education serve the changing needs of our time far more effectively than it yet does, should not fail to appreciate how splendidly our people have in recent years expanded the material and personnel facilities for effective education.

Unfortunately, we possess as yet but few reliable measures of the final social efficiencies resulting from our gigantic achievements in material and personnel. We can clearly evaluate literacy as one of the precious end-products of school educations. And educators can hold that in general America is now nearly completely a literate people.

But other end-values—superior moral character, better health, high vocational competencies, fine personal cultures, approvable civic behaviors in conforming to law and order, the civic initiatives of our abler men and women—all these are as yet nearly impossible of appraisal.

We know, indeed, that the physical health of the American people is steadily improving in certain decisive respects; and there are good reasons for holding that our elementary schools have had an important share in bringing such results to pass.

But in regard to criminality and vagrancy, political incompetency, crudeness of culture, moral greed, fickleness of taste, civic rectitude, family morality, and popular regard for scientific interpretation, it is obvious that we still fall far below our aspired-after and our education-promised goals. One must wonder that the faiths of Americans in the virtue-producing powers of their schools and colleges still hold as firm as they do. Upon this note we can take up what the present writer believes to be by far the most important specific topic of the present discussion.

Shifting our educational objectives with the changing social world . . . The concrete objectives of our school and college educations—that is, the actual goals of learning, not only qualitatively defined but also quantitatively delimited—must be more and more related to socially valuable purposes; otherwise the chances of miscarriage of effort, of missing the mark, are far too great.

. . . .

Especially are we under obligations to discover and delimit the purposes of our school educations in terms of proven concrete social utilities if we wish such educations to serve and better to serve the changing, the evolving, needs of our dynamic world . . .

It is the present writer's conviction that America's systems of public schools and colleges are weakest in just this division of social needs and values. In part, this weakness is due to the absence—perhaps a necessary absence—of a single, simple focus-

ing center for civic education, such centers as are clearly in evidence, for example, in France, Japan, Italy, Russia, and some other patriotically well-oriented peoples. Because of the traditional devotions of our people to the flexibilities and individualisms of democracy; because of America's divisions of sovereignty between state and nation; because of the meager and halting political experience of our teachers; and because, above all, our educational policy has never yet been able to agree upon definitive philosophical foundations for programs of effective education for wholesome political membership—because of these things most of our innovations and current practises in the field of civic education have been and still are indeterminate, feeble, and, probably, of nearly zero measures of actual functioning, if we except our achievements in education for literacy. Where in the United States have we even yet set out seriously to train specialist teachers for this supremely important division of educational values?

The shifting of educational means. If we contemplate the reconstructing of educational objectives as necessarily entailed by the new demands of a changing social world, we become, of course, prepared to accept corresponding changes in the means and methods of our educative processes.

But a changing social world calls for even more than that. Efficient systems of education will constantly search for improved methods of achieving long-established values no less than will medicine, engineering, or transport.

. . . .

Letting small children grow naturally. There are widespread beliefs, some supported by men of superior scientific insight, that not a few of the changing social conditions of the world tend steadily to impose increasing, or at any rate novel, burdens upon the nature-given human machine—that is, the human body, the human nervous system, the human brain. The highly specialized works of the modern world, the large proportions of indoor work, the widely needed subjections of certain types of primitive emotional expression, the increasing solicitudes of men for their futures, the complexities of social adjustments required, at least from those holding responsibilities of leadership—all these, it is contended by many authorities, are steadily increasing the nervous strains under which adults must be and

are leading in extraordinary numbers to cases of premature breakdown.

If these surmises are correct—and they probably are to some degree—one inference of great importance is that children in their early, physically plastic years, should have conserved to them in every practicable way the conditions of optimum nutritional, nervous, emotional, and other basic growths.

Civilized societies now generally forbid specialized or routine vocational employment for children even as mature as fourteen. It is here contended that civilized societies must learn to withhold their children from the artificialities of school environments and persisting immediate control, especially during the tender years under nine years of age.

We speak often of a "good start in life" for our children. One of the most precious of all kinds of "good starts" is that of a sound, slowly matured, normally grown physical body, and especially those parts or components of the body which we somewhat differentiate as the nervous system affecting and affected by our more emotionalized and intellectualized experiences.

In some degree, doubtless, all our urban or suburban reared, automobile-driven, radio-entertained, household-guarded, much cleaned babies and young children are today the victims of our stimulation, premature ripening, excessive socialization. If to such artificializations there be added those of the hothouse nursery school, or the socially exciting and experience-congesting kindergarten, or the inevitably regimented primary school, then, in all probability, we are still further handicapping the affective natures especially of gifted people for the long strains of successive civic, vocational, cultural, and other adjustments needed by our changing civilization.

Chapter II

The Expanding Function of Education

I. INTRODUCTION

The General Character of Expansion

This chapter is designed to serve as an introduction to the several chapters following which illustrate in detail, on the one hand the expanding function of the school and the increased clientele which it serves, and on the other, the sociological interpretation of educational activities. The expansion of educational activity has a direct parallel in the social changes discussed in Chapter V of Volume I. In fact the educational expansion and the corresponding growth of the educational institution, the school, not only have accompanied the social changes and the growing complexity of the social life but are direct outcomes of social growth and readjustment.

The expansion of educational activity has proceeded along several lines, namely, in increased enrollments, in the number of students taking courses at universities, colleges, teachers colleges and normal schools, in the number of high-school and college graduates, in the expansion of the curriculum, in the extension of administration and supervision, and so forth. In fact, the educational activities discussed in the succeeding chapters are developments and additions resulting from educational growth in the past half-century and represent the response of the school to educational needs and the growing demand of the public for a more diversified educational program.

The enormous expansion and readjustment of education have necessitated changes in educational theory and have been, to some extent, responsible for increased scientific study of education; but educational theory and scientific research have hardly kept pace with educational needs or even educational readjustments. The main emphasis in theory and research has been in the development of a social philosophy of education and in the application of the psychological science to curriculum, method, supervision and administration. The newly developing science of sociology has had little influence in determining curriculum, method or administration.

II. LIMITATIONS IN THE PROGRAM OF EXPANSION

Nowhere in the social process is sociology more applicable than in the administration and supervision of schools, and yet nowhere in the whole field of educational theory or practice have educators been less influenced by sociological considerations. An analysis of the contents of one of the foremost college texts outlining the problems of school administration indicates this fact.[1] To illustrate the lack of sociological emphasis, the material included in this text may be summarized as follows:

1. Historical statement, indicating the origin and development of schools.
2. Organization and control, including a consideration of the State, county, town, township, and district and finally the city.
3. The city school district and its problems, including such topics as the organization, the development, and the functions of school boards or boards of control, supervisors, teachers. The teaching corps, the courses of instruction, the special departments, school properties, including buildings, libraries, costs, cost accounting, records and reports.

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[1] *See* Cubberley, Ellwood P., "Public School Administration," Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston, Mass., 1922.

4. City administrative experience applied, including the application of city experience to county and state educational units.

This summarization hardly gives an adequate presentation of the limitation of this treatise as viewed from the standpoint of the sociologist. It is not our intention here to minimize the importance of a discussion of this kind, or to criticize the effectiveness of presentation so far as it goes. Our object is merely to indicate the failure of the author to emphasize the sociological aspect of administration, as typical of most writers on school administration. Other writers have given greater emphasis to such topics as pupil accounting, school buildings, the administrative use of texts and measurements, and the curriculum, but in all of these treatises the same weaknesses appear to the student of group behavior and the problems of the administrator in relation to group behavior.

One of the most recent and most elaborate treatises[2] shows the same lack of sociological perspective. The topics discussed are the following:

National and State Responsibility for Education.
Local Administration of Schools.
Financing the Schools.
Business Administration of Schools.
School Publicity.
Statistical Methods Applied to Administrative Problems.
Buildings and Equipment.
Physical Education and Health Service.
Census and Attendance.
Classification and Progress of School Children.
The Organization of Local School Systems.
Supervision of Instruction.
Curricula and Courses of Study.

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[2] *See* Strayer, George D., Engelhardt, N. L., *et al.*, "Problems in Educational Administration," Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1925.

Records and Reports.
Extra-Curricular Activities.
Personnel Management.

This sort of treatment is indispensable for the training of the administrator, but is no more important than other data and scientific treatment now wholly excluded from textbooks on school administration.

A criticism of the writers on school administration demands first an explanation or analysis of the character of this one-sided treatment of the problems of school administration. We may note certain weaknesses as viewed by the educational sociologist:

1. The whole treatment is non-social, that is, the writers approach the problem from philosophical theories and psychological researches, and not from researches into group life and its functions. They assume that certain work is to be done, and seek to discover the most economical and effective way of accomplishing the tasks undertaken. The problem of whether the emphasis comprises the whole task of education or the most essential task is not raised. Whether the administrator is concerned with the school board and its work, the functions of the superintendent, the training of teachers, or the curriculum, the main emphasis is upon mechanical relationships, and the groups in society in which the ideals, attitudes, and points of view of the community are born, are overlooked.

2. The emphasis, moreover, is placed upon the mastery of a conventional body of subject matter and the techniques by which this matter may be mastered and the results measured, rather than upon the extent to which the pupils are being effectively incorporated into the group life of the community, acquiring the essential social patterns and assuming an increasingly effective social rôle. The limitation in emphasis results undoubtedly from the concern with efficiency in accomplishment rather than with a

critical examination of what should be accomplished and the problems arising therefrom.

3. The third limitation in the treatment of school administration has already been suggested in the philosophical approach. We may make this clear by raising the problem: Who is responsible for the control of education? If the administrator answers that question by saying that the people give their mandate to the board, the board passes it on to the superintendent, and the superintendent arranges a hierarchy of control by which he delegates his authority to assistants all the way down to the teacher, the whole discussion of the program of school administration is determined in advance, and it must follow the lines determined upon. This is essentially the point of view of writers upon school administration. The whole procedure is fore-determined by a philosophy which seeks efficiency through method and technique.

4. The approach of the writers on school administration has been primarily that of the psychologist concerned with the techniques and methods of learning and not with the development of social personality. There is no objection to this emphasis unless it be an exclusive emphasis. It is not strange that this one-sided emphasis and development has taken place. The psychologist began a scientific approach to education in the nineteenth century and has worked assiduously since that time. He began by studying the nature of the child and his responses, the way in which he learns and the methods of learning and teaching. The early psychological development brought excellent results and eventuated in the measuring movement which sought to measure objectively the results of learning. Whether these results were the most important ones for the community, or whether the whole child was considered in the measurement of learning was not of primary concern to the psychologist. He measured the rate and compre-

hension of reading but neglected to investigate the type of literature read or the effect of reading upon personality. He tested the rate and legibility of handwriting and not the child's achievement in writing in a social situation. He tested the speed and accuracy in computation and problem solving in the schoolroom and not the effectiveness with which the child used his skills in group behavior, nor for that matter whether he used them at all. The administrator, taking his cue from the psychologist, placed emphasis upon the type of learning for which the psychologist had provided instruments for measuring. It is not surprising, then, that enthusiastic school superintendents, following the lead of experts in school administration, have come to disaster, having found themselves in conflict with the community, unable to construct its own educational policy but perfectly aware that emphases were misplaced.

In the presentation of the limitations of existing treatises on school administration, there has been no attempt to include them all, but rather to cite examples illustrating the need for a sociological approach and to indicate that educational sociology has a word to say in the administration of schools. Moreover, this chapter is not intended to be a treatise on school administration. It is rather designed to show that the administrator and supervisor must make use of scientific research and experiment in the field of educational sociology if he wishes to avoid the pitfalls of a one-sided school administration, and if he wishes to make his schools serve the community. The details of the sociology of administration must be presented after further research and experiment have been conducted. It can be presented now, to some extent, but it is not the task of this chapter to do so.

Our task is rather that of indicating the type of problems, as viewed sociologically, with which the administrator is

concerned and to outline the need for social emphasis in supervision. Consideration of the social processes in the community which condition the school system, the character of its work and the direction of its development, has been singularly absent from treatises on school administration. The administrator is concerned fundamentally with these types of problems; namely, first, the relation of the various groups of the community, with their prejudices and social characteristics, to the whole program of education and educational practices; and second, the emphasis upon the change of social practices in conformity with community changes and needs and with the development of scientific knowledge of effective living. These problems will be outlined in the order named.

What are then the problems of the administrator with reference to the community backgrounds of experience, prejudice, and points of view? No two communities in America are identical in the social composition of their populations, and they therefore cannot be approached in the same way. Moreover, the social structure is not the same in all parts of the same city. This is notably true in the larger cities of the country. For example, the infant mortality rate of the Italians in New York City is one hundred and sixty per thousand, for the Harlem district of the city it is approximately two hundred per thousand, while the rate for the city as a whole is approximately sixty per thousand. Obviously, to construct an educational program without regard to these differences would be to neglect the vital factors in school administration.

The same thing may be said with reference to juvenile crime and delinquency in New York, Chicago, or, for that matter, in any other city. Juvenile delinquency is greatest in lower Manhattan in New York City and in the Loop district of Chicago, where the delinquency rate is double that of the immediate outlying districts. The rate,

moreover, progressively declines as the city limits and the suburban areas are approached.

This difference is not merely true of the larger cities of the country; smaller cities of the same size vary greatly in the amount and character of juvenile delinquency, in the conditions affecting the health of the people, the character of the recreations and amusements, and in general in the influence of the environmental situations upon the personality of individuals and upon the social patterns of the community. Obviously, the general information about the teaching staff, the administrative use of tests and measurements, and a variety of other administrative techniques applicable to communities generally, will not help the superintendent to organize his school program, nor help the principal of any particular school in the work of adjusting the educative process in his community to the needs of the people. The administrative technique involved is that of discovering the method of ascertaining the specific needs of the city or district, and organizing a program of education to meet these needs.

We cannot do more here than to suggest the type of problem in which the administrator should interest himself, and await a book on administration that will deal adequately with the techniques and methods of this approach. Some of the more important problems of internal administration are:

1. The character and growth of the population of the community. This involves a knowledge of racial, religious, and political history—the prejudices, the intelligence, and social status of the various groups. Suppose, for example, a superintendent proposes to introduce some of the reforms consistent with the best educational procedure, let us say the establishment of the junior high-school organization or the platoon system. His effort may be unsuccessful because of the misunderstandings arising from unfamiliarity

or prejudice of the population. This is a rock upon which many a superintendent has been wrecked. The effort to introduce the platoon system into the New York City schools failed at first because it carried the name of Gary and was identified with the United States Steel Corporation, thereby affording a basis of appeal to the prejudices of a large per cent of the electorate. The platoon and junior high-school systems met with opposition for an entirely different reason, when an attempt was made to introduce them into the Chicago schools. They became identified with the Cooley plan of vocational education, a plan not acceptable to educators generally and bitterly opposed by labor.[3] Educational reform, therefore, in line with the best educational thought, was defeated, as we have seen, because of misunderstanding. Many other examples might be cited, but these are sufficient to illustrate how a plan of administration, however perfect, may fail when it is proposed to any community bound by its prejudices, hatreds, and suspicions.

2. The administrator must take into account the social forces operating in the community. It is sufficient here to mention merely a few of these forces and processes. Among the more important are the relation of the state to the community; the history and position of the board of education; the character and points of view of previous administrators; the position and history of the community; the training and prejudices of the teaching staff; the conflicts of labor and capital; the antagonisms of religious sects; the influence of politics; the character of social organizations and their relation to the schools; the press; the pupils, the parents, the taxpayers and so on, depending upon the community with its historical setting. All these

[3] For an interesting account of this controversy *see*, Counts, George S., "School and Society in Chicago," Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York, 1928, Chapter IX.

factors, varying with the social background and social composition of the population, have their influence. The point of emphasis we wish to make here is that the administrator must learn the technique of understanding these forces that are operative in the administration of schools. This is the function of educational sociology as applied to school administration.

The second of the general problems of the administrator, as indicated, are the changed social practices which are required in order to cope effectively with social changes. The social changes have already been indicated in Chapter V of Volume I; our aim here is to point out the fact that they are not adequately treated in our texts and courses in administration. The emphasis has been placed upon the acquisition of knowledges and schoolroom practices and not upon personalities in social situations. The child has been regarded as a learner, but has not been considered in relation to the social groups in which he must function, and even our most recent treatises, designed to aid the administrator, commit this fallacy. Let us take a treatise dealing with the subject matter of the curriculum as an example.[4]

The procedure followed in this treatise, determined primarily by psychological technique, was to collect a large number of courses of study and textbooks. The investigator then counted the number of statements and arranged them in order of frequency of mention. The importance of the topic was judged by its frequency of mention, and its inclusion in the subject matter to be taught was thus based upon this criterion of importance. After the subject matter in health education had been thus determined, the writer proposed a health knowledge test to determine the familiarity of any particular group of

[4] Strang, Ruth, "Subject Matter in Health Education," Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City, 1926.

children with the subject matter thus selected. The test, therefore, was designed to discover the knowledge possessed by the group of children and thus indicate not only their knowledge, but what subject matter was unfamiliar to them. The result of the test would therefore provide the teacher with a cue as to what should be taught. After an instructional period in which the unfamiliar subject matter formed the basis of instruction, a reëxamination was to take place for the purpose of indicating the success with which the teacher had attained her objective.

Note that there are two problems dealt with here, namely, first, the problem of the character of the subject matter to be included in the course of study and second, the method of dealing with the subject matter when it was once determined. The sociologist would proceed differently. He would demand a selection of subject matter on the basis of scientific research as to the practices involved in health, and the character of habits, knowledges and attitudes necessary for healthful living, rather than an examination of an indiscriminate selection of texts and courses of study which may or may not include the material essential to healthful living. This procedure would have determined the subject matter to be included in a course on health for children. For the second topic, the determination of the method of procedure, we cannot do better than to cite an experiment.[5]

Steps Preliminary to the Teaching Program

I. The first step in the procedure was to give intelligence tests to the whole school. The purpose of these tests was to provide together with class ratings and the teachers' judgment a basis for comparison of the experimental group with the controlled

[5] Payne, E. George and Gebhart John C., "Method and Measurement of Health Education," New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York, 1926, p. 13.

group. These data provided a basis for determining the explanation of any change that might later be observed in the children's health practices and also a basis for comparison of the progress of children outside of the group.

II. The second step in the procedure was to give each child a complete physical examination for physical defects, for malnutrition, and for general physical condition. A card was used for recording the examination and indicated the character of the data sought. The physical examination was made partly by Dr. Louis C. Schroeder at the Mulberry Social Center and others were made at the school by the regular medical inspectors. The purpose of the examination was to determine the health needs of the children so that the teachers could follow up the examination and insure that the physical and medical needs were attended to.

The purpose was to repeat the physical examination at the end of the year to determine the changes that had occurred. The examination was designed also to provide data for comparison of the experimental group with the controlled group to determine whether favorable results had been obtained in the experiment. The amount of change shown would be a partial measure of the effectiveness of the program. The examination was not made because of the sudden discontinuance of the experiment. However, it may be noted that more marked improvement was made by the children in the experiment than among those not included. In the fifth grade group every child who needed them, had secured glasses, all teeth were cared for and all defects removed.

III. The third step was to undertake a complete survey of the homes in the community of the children in the experimental group. This survey was made by two trained nutrition workers, under the direction of Miss Lucy Gillett of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor. The object of this survey was to determine the conditions actually prevailing in the district and to ascertain the possibility of changes or improvements. A second survey was projected at the beginning and by a later check-up after one year improvements were noted.

IV. The fourth step provided for a check-up on the children's practices.

These two methods of approach indicate the necessity of familiarity on the part of the administrator with the

research technique of the sociologist in dealing with problems of the curriculum in administration.

The second feature with which this discussion is concerned is that of supervision. The general outlines of supervision are determined by the administrator and, therefore, the supervisor should be familiar with the sociological approach to administration. Moreover, he is concerned with specific techniques of teaching and methods of determining the emphasis and outcomes of instruction. So far the whole discussion of supervision has placed emphasis upon methods of mastery of a conventional body of subject matter, the acquisition of the fundamental processes of reading, writing and arithmetic and the methods of instruction in the social sciences, language and the like. The sociologist is, of course, interested in the mastery of these techniques. He is, however, primarily interested in the personality of the child in relation to his environmental situation. Therefore, he would place emphasis upon supervision in relation to the child's behavior not in the schoolroom but in the social groups with which he comes into contact in his social life. He would place emphasis upon his health practices, his home activities and relationships, his civic practices, his character traits and the like, and seek to develop a technique whereby this, rather than the mastery of the conventional subjects, would be the focal point.

There is no need here to discuss the details of supervision; we shall merely indicate the sociological methods and the contrast with those methods generally characteristic of school practice. The point of emphasis in most school supervision may be demonstrated by an examination of the program of civic education, or specifically, the supervisory practices in the development of civic behavior through the schools. Supervisors are vaguely conscious of the civic needs of the community, but the emphasis has

been placed upon a mere adequate mastery of the group of social studies, with the assumption that correct civic behavior will result from such mastery. The emphasis has, therefore, been placed upon the subject matter and not upon the individual as a socially-functioning unit. The study generally begins and ends with the subject matter and its mastery and not with the individual in his relations to the community and group life.

Sociology demands that the ordinary process of supervision, therefore, be reversed. The first problem of the supervisor is to aid the teacher in discovering the group contacts, the group interests, and the group relationships of the pupils. Are the pupils members of gangs, and if so, what types of gangs and what are the kinds of experiences acquired in the gang life? What sort of contacts do the pupils have with the organized civic life of the community, the police, the traffic, the courts, and other community agencies? With an understanding of the child and his personality as it relates to the community agencies, the instructor, as well as the classroom organization and methods, should then direct themselves toward the modification of these relationships and the personality of children. The subject matter of the social studies, and in fact the subject matter of the whole curriculum, could be directed toward the purpose it should serve, namely, the creating of adequate civic practices, and an understanding of one's relationship to the community, state and nation. The object of supervision then becomes civic behavior and appreciation and not knowledge of texts acquired for purposes of passing a term examination.

What has been said concerning supervision of the teaching process with reference to civic mindedness and behavior, may be applied with equal pertinence to the whole process of school education, whether we are interested in health, home membership, morals, or other desirable outcomes of

education. The point of emphasis here is merely that the sociological aspect of supervision requires that the educator shift the purpose from the mastery of subject matter as an end in itself to the emphasis upon the development of social personality; that is, behavior, appreciation, and understanding in relation to the social life. The supervisor should lead the teachers in their work of developing in children social adaptation of the broadest kind.

III. THE EXPANSION OF EDUCATION

The discussion thus far has been concerned with the one-sided and inadequate emphasis in educational theory and scientific research in connection with educational expansion in the United States. In the remainder of this introductory chapter, we wish to present the general aspects of educational expansion, the direction it has taken and the extent to which it has taken place. The selected readings give us a fair picture and are therefore presented without further comment.

A. The Expansion of Education in the United States[6]

The *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States*, 1928–1930, published by the United States Office of Education, contains data which reveal the striking expansion of American education since the opening of the present century. The expansion of education in this country during the past three decades has been unparalleled in the history of the world. Marking, as it does, a new attitude toward childhood and the development of a new social policy, this remarkable expansion in education is one of the most significant social changes of our time. Table I reveals something of this expansion.

It will be noted that enrolment in the elementary school has increased each decade at a practically constant rate of 13 to 14

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[6] *The Elementary School Journal*, (Editorial News and Editorial Comment), Volume XXXIII, No. 3, November, 1932, pp. 167–169.

per cent. The number of secondary-school pupils increased about 60 per cent from 1900 to 1910. Since 1910 secondary-school enrolment has approximately doubled itself in each decade. College enrolment increased about 50 per cent from 1900 to 1910, 68 per cent from 1910 to 1920, and 82 per cent in the last decade.

TABLE I

KINDERGARTEN, ELEMENTARY, COMMERCIAL, SECONDARY, NORMAL-SCHOOL AND COLLEGE ENROLMENTS, 1900–1930

Schools	*1900*	*1910*	*1920*	*1930*
Kindergartens (public and private)	225,394	346,189[a]	510,949	777,899
Public elementary schools and kindergartens	14,983,859	16,898,791	19,378,927	21,278,593
Private elementary schools and kindergartens (largely estimated)	1,240,925	1,558,437	1,485,561	2,309,886
Total elementary and kindergarten	16,224,784	18,457,228	20,864,488	23,588,479
Public high schools	519,251	915,061	2,199,389[b]	4,399,422
Private high schools	110,797	117,400	213,920[b]	341,158[c]
Preparatory schools (in colleges and universities)	56,285	66,042	59,309	47,309
Secondary students in normal schools	9,570	12,890	22,058	11,978
Total secondary students	695,903	1,111,393	2,494,676	4,799,867
Normal schools and teachers colleges (excluding secondary students)	69,593	88,561	135,412	161,524
Colleges, universities, and professional schools (excluding preparatory students)	167,999	266,654	462,445	924,265
Total college and normal students	237,592	355,215	597,857	1,085,709
Private commercial and business schools	91,549	155,244	335,161	179,756[d]

[a] 1912.
[b] From state reports. [c] 1928. [d] 1929.

Table II presents data on the number of students taking some form of college work.

Critics of the American educational system not infrequently assert that there are in our high schools and colleges many students who are mentally incapable of doing the work there. In view of such criticism, the facts with respect to high-school and college graduation are very significant. Despite the rapid expansion of high-school enrolment, the percentage of high-school graduates for the decade 1920–1930 increased more rapidly than the percentage of high-school enrolment. Of even greater significance is the fact that, whereas the number of college students increased 82 per cent from 1920 to 1930, the number of college graduates increased 159 per cent.

TABLE II

NUMBER OF STUDENTS TAKING SOME FORM OF COLLEGE WORK, 1900–1930

Year	Universities and Colleges			Teachers Colleges			Collegiate Students in Normal Schools		
	Regular Year	*Summer Session*	*Extension, Correspondence, and Short Courses*	*Regular Year*	*Summer Session*	*Extension, Correspondence, and Short Courses*	*Regular Year*	*Summer Session*	*Extension, Correspondence, and Short Courses*
1930	924,275	249,150	294,150	118,411	119,111	52,290	43,113	19,745	7,790
1928	868,793	239,570	292,074	114,618	120,019	61,090	46,627	23,187	7,082
1926	767,263	209,454	273,235	85,207	92,588	40,076	49,609	38,419	11,508
1924	664,266	189,943	144,858	58,896	74,619	32,362	11,240	13,563	16,927
1922	550,906	148,063	119,708	56,432	72,248	24,665	.....	.....	10,790
1920	462,445	94,838	83,100	54,721	38,011	13,360	.....	.....	5,202
1918	330,689	78,059	50,314	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1916	354,325	89,438	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1910	266,654	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1905	199,045	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1900	167,999	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

The increasing number of high-school and college graduates is shown in Table III.

According to the estimates of the Office of Education, there were in 1930 approximately 1,694,000 living college graduates and 7,437,000 living high-school graduates who had not taken a college degree. These figures mean that in every 1,000 of the

TABLE III

NUMBER OF HIGH-SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES

Year	*High School*	*College*
1890	43,731	14,306
1900	94,884	25,324
1910	156,429	34,178
1920	311,266	47,326
1930	643,166	122,484

adult population there were 23 persons with a college degree and 102 persons who had graduated from high school but not from college. About one-eighth of the adult population had continued their education through high school or beyond.

B. Sociological Influences Manifested in Secondary Education[7]

WILLIAM C. REAVIS

The treatment of the problem assigned to this paper must of necessity be very inadequate. Nothing short of a comprehensive survey[8] of the whole field of secondary education would yield adequate data for purposes of generalization. The scope of the paper is therefore restricted to a consideration of a mere sampling of published and unpublished materials in 1929, which appear to reflect influences of a sociological character in the field of secondary education. No attempt is made to determine how the influences have operated. The problem considered is chiefly one of identifying sociological influences of importance in secondary education.

Growth in Secondary Schools

Data available in 1929 for secondary schools showed continued increase towards the saturation point of enrollment. For continental United States, the number of young people 5 to 17 years of age in public, private, and parochial schools was approximately 85 per cent. Of the population group 15 to 18 years of age, approximately 60 per cent were in secondary schools. In California the percentage for the 15 to 18 years of age group was 74.8.

The cause of this great enrollment of young people in American secondary schools cannot be explained solely in terms of natural educational change. Comparative education reveals no similar development in other parts of the world. Morrison[9] in an illuminating discussion of the problem claims that the great increase can be traced in part to the release of young people of adolescent years from gainful labor in a changing social order which has found it more profitable to keep its youth in school than to compete with them in industry; and Counts[10] maintains that the

[7] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 8, April, 1930, pp. 456–463.

[8] A national survey of secondary education was authorized by Congress in 1929 to be made by the United States Commissioner of Education over a period of three years.

[9] Morrison, H. C., "The Secondary Period and the University," *School Review*, XXXVII, January 1929, pp. 16–28.

[10] Counts, G. S., "Secondary Education and Industrialism" (Inglis lecture). Harvard University Press, 1929, p. 70.

remarkable growth in secondary school enrollment is a resultant of social forces and conditions operating in an industrial civilization.

It should be apparent to every one that the phenomenal demands for admittance to secondary schools have necessitated institutional readjustments which involve important departures in organization and administration new to the traditions and customs of secondary schools. The change in the composition of the pupil personnel makes differentiation in work essential and creates problems in counseling and guidance. To make the readjustments which the changing conditions require, involves knowledge and techniques unheard of in traditional schools.

That sociology and sociological training can contribute materially to the understanding and solution of the problems presented in modern secondary education by the changing pupil population, few will question. The fact is that educational change of any sort involves sociological analysis; hence the importance of knowing and understanding the sociological influences involved.

The Social Organization of Secondary Schools

During the last decade an unusual interest in the development of extraclass activities in secondary schools has taken place. Elaborate programs and organizations of such activities have found their way into secondary schools of all types and sizes. A voluminous literature on the subject, dealing largely with descriptive and expository accounts of local programs and their administration, has developed. However, the year 1929 witnessed the first comprehensive analysis of these activities and attempt to evaluate them in terms of ultimate and immediate objectives for secondary schools in general.[11]

A critical examination of the undertaking mentioned reveals conditions in our secondary schools which are teeming with social problems requiring, on the part of those who would intelligently direct and administer the schools, sociological knowledge and techniques. For example, the education of a

[11] Report of Sub-Committee on Extracurricular Activities of the Committee on Standards for Use in the Reorganization of Secondary-School Curricula, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, *North Central Association Quarterly*, IV, March, 1929, pp. 542–88.

community of young people enrolled in a modern secondary school can no longer be restricted to classroom work. Education of a social sort takes place in the corridors, on the grounds, in the free associations in going to and from school, in the after-school gathering places in the community, and in those activities in which individuals form groups for the realization of common ends. The school cannot neglect the opportunities to direct these social experiences of its young people and expect to educate more than a mere segment of each pupil.

By analyzing the opportunities for directing systematically the informal education of its pupils through the formulation of a comprehensive program of extracurricular activities, such as that proposed in the report referred to, the sociological influences in secondary education become apparent. Out-of-class activities assume social significance when thought of in the light of social experiences, such as those secured in promoting school opinion, organizing drives and campaigns, coöperating with groups in supporting school and community enterprises, helping to uphold the prestige of the school, and seeking consciously to maintain the social standards of the school community.

The secondary school thus shows clear evidence of becoming what educators with social perspective have long contended it should be; namely, a laboratory in which the fine art of social living is acquired through living. To the furtherance of this end, sociology can contribute much both in knowledge and technique, if those responsible for the organization and administration of secondary schools will avail themselves of the training provided through sociology. Research studies[12] dealing with certain types of social experiences in high schools, such as those by Bates, Castrell, Dumas, Evans, Hanna, Lohr, Miller, and Nickle will also throw much light on problems in the social organization of secondary schools.

Curriculum Improvement

Data available in 1929 for the three-year period 1927–1929 indicate considerable interest and activity in curriculum revision

[12] Reported by W. C. Reavis and R. L. C. Butsch in Bulletin No. 24, Department of Secondary-School Principals of the National Education Association, "Abstracts of Unpublished Masters' Theses in the Field of Secondary-School Administration," 1929, 145 pp.

in secondary schools. The United States Bureau of Education in a report on secondary education in 1929[13] found from a sampling of schools which reported to the bureau that 63 per cent of the schools had either completed revisions of the high-school curriculum or were engaged in the process of making revisions. The activities were distributed as follows: cities of more than 100,000 population, 86 per cent; cities under 10,000 population, 54 per cent. Twenty-nine States also reported the revision of 64 different curriculums by State departments of education.

During the period, several notable reports on the secondary curriculum also appeared as publications of national and regional associations. The Department of Superintendence devoted its Yearbook[14] in 1928 to the reorganization of the secondary-school curriculum; the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools issued reports[15] in 1927, 1928, and 1929 by its Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary-School Curricula for 20 different subjects; and the Virginia Committee on Research in Secondary Education issued a bulletin[16] dealing with principles, trends, and techniques of curriculum reconstruction in mathematics and the social studies.

Examination of the revised editions of secondary-school curricula and the reports of different associations reveals the important influence of sociological analysis and objectives in curriculum revision. The reports in particular reveal evidences of the use of both sociological information and sociological techniques. Vague disciplinary objectives are put aside for the more practical objectives of health, worthy use of leisure time, vocational preparation, and general social improvement. The realization of these ultimate objectives through secondary-school curricula is made dependent on the specific immediate objectives of acquiring fruitful knowledge, desirable attitudes, interests, ideals, motives, efficient mental techniques, and useful habits and skills.[17]

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[13] Bulletin, No. 22, p. 9, 1929.

[14] Sixth *Yearbook*, 1928. 486 pp.

[15] *North Central Association Quarterly*, I (March, 1927), pp. 428–559; II (March, 1928), 389–522; III (March, 1929), pp. 589–614.

[16] University of Virginia Record Extension Series, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1928.

[17] Views of the Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary-School Curricula of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools expressed by J. E. Stout in *North Central Association Quarterly*, IV, September, 1929, p. 259.

In a bulletin which undertakes to trace the development of the secondary-school curriculum since the report of the Committee of Ten in 1893 to 1928, Monroe and Herriott[18] have pointed out the recent trends in curriculum making to be (1) the use of controlling objectives; (2) the elimination of useless material in different curricula; (3) the grouping of subjects into constant or core curricula; (4) the introduction of much new material into curricula, especially at the seventh- to ninth-grade levels; and (5) the adaptation of curriculum materials to meet the present and future needs of pupils. All of these trends reflect the influences of sociological thought.

Administrative Practices

Information available in 1929 indicated a tendency on the part of administrative officers in secondary schools to modify practices as a means of improving the service of the school to the pupil personnel. Several trends in practice were apparent, which revealed a wholesome tendency to depart from traditional practices when the needs of the pupils warranted changes.

The Yearbook[19] of the Department of Superintendence in 1929 was given over to a comprehensive study of the problem of articulation between educational units. Part III of the Yearbook treats the problems of articulation at the secondary-school level. Such problems as bases of homogeneous grouping, bases of promotion, bridging the gap from one unit to the next, reducing overlapping requirements, providing adequate records, and the orientation of pupils to the new situations presented in transfer from unit to unit are considered. While all of the problems belong strictly in the field of educational adjustments, the administrative officer who solves them scientifically will find that familiarity with educational sociology will enable him to make the adjustments which the problems require with facility and confidence.

Perhaps the greatest changes in administration have been precipitated by the need for adjustment of the individual pupils within the secondary schools. The demand for definite assist-

[18] Bulletin No. 41, "Reconstruction of the Secondary-School Curriculum: Its Meaning and Trends." Bureau of Educational Research, University of Illinois, 1928, 120 pp.

[19] Seventh *Yearbook*, 1929, p. 512.

ance in providing educational, personal, and vocational guidance was evidenced by the appearance of numerous bulletins[20] in 1928 and 1929 setting forth the principles and the technique of guidance.

As a result of the challenging necessity of providing various types of guidance for the varying secondary-school personnel, new types of officers have found their way into many secondary schools under various titles, such as, assistant principals, deans of girls, counselors of boys, visiting teachers, consulting psychologists, psychiatrists, personnel directors, and directors of extracurricular activities. Time has been set aside in the program of many schools for such officers to perform specialized administrative duties.[21] Analysis of the duties performed by personnel officers[22] in secondary schools shows the need for thorough training in sociology. The problems of adjustment require case knowledge and the technique of the case method.

As a means of meeting the new responsibilities of guidance, principals of secondary schools have been compelled to reorganize many of their office practices.[23] Improvements have had to be made in record systems, in office equipment and organization, and in the procedures of office administration. Underlying the changes is a social conception of administration which depends in no small degree on a knowledge of sociology and an understanding of sociological techniques.

Research Investigations

The last few years have witnessed a remarkable development of interest in research on the part of students and workers in the field of secondary education. Data collected by Dr. Walter

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[20] Bulletin 13, Department of Public Instruction, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, 127 pp. Bulletin 19, Department of Secondary School Principals, 1928.

Bulletin VII, The National Council on Religion in Higher Education, 1928, 64 pp.

Bulletin No. 6, Education Series, University of Oregon Publication, 1928, 21 pp.

Educational Research Circular No. 54, University of Illinois, 1929, 30 pp.

[21] *See* discussion by W. C. Reavis and R. C. Woellner in "Office Practices in Secondary Schools, Laidlaw Brothers, 1930, pp. 22–46.

[22] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 183–197.

[23] *Loc. cit.*, pp. 183–195.

Monroe[24] from colleges and universities in the United States which require a research investigation as part of the requirements for an advanced degree in education show that during the two-year period, 1925–1927, 188 per cent more research investigations in secondary education were completed than during the preceding two-year period, 1923–1925. In 1923–1925, 13 research investigations were accepted for the degree of doctor of philosophy in secondary education and 100 for the master's degree; in 1925–1927, 22 doctors' dissertations and 313 masters' theses were accepted; a total of 335 research investigations. Partial data for the year 1928 show that 560 masters' theses in secondary education were accepted, a number greater by 114 than the total of doctors' and masters' investigations for the four-year period, 1923–1927. Incomplete data for the year 1929 show that secondary education is an inviting field for research and that many problems await research investigation before solutions can be even approximated.

Abstracts[25] of 57 unpublished masters' theses in the field of secondary-school administration in 1929 showed that approximately half of the investigations involved to some extent a knowledge of social factors and processes. It is probably extravagant to claim that the investigations were influenced directly by sociology and sociological training. However, in the graduate course work of the students making the investigations, from one to five courses each were taken under professors of education who had either minored in sociology in their graduate work or whose points of view were influenced by sociology.

Conclusion

The sampling data presented in this article show a very intimate relation between current problems in secondary education and sociology. Since sociological demands will be made on those engaged in secondary education by many of the problems encountered, it may be reasonably inferred that certain aspects of sociology can contribute definitely to the training of persons who choose to enter the field of secondary education.

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[24] Monroe, W. S., "Titles of Masters' and Doctors' Theses in Education Accepted by Colleges and Universities in the United States Between November 1, 1923 and October 15, 1925; Between November 1, 1925 and October 15, 1927." College of Education, University of Illinois, 1928.

[25] Bulletin No. 24, Department of Secondary-School Principals, 1929.

C. Expansion in American Education[26]

JESSE H. NEWLON

The last half century has witnessed the extension of compulsory education laws into all parts of the Union. This half century has seen also the astounding expansion of secondary education to the point where more than one-half of the boys and girls of high-school age in America are attending secondary schools. Education has expanded in numerous other ways. College and university enrolment has grown by leaps and bounds. Vocational schools and many other special types of schools have multiplied in number. The consolidation movement is gaining headway in rural districts. The kindergarten is an accepted part of American education.

Will the educational problem be merely one of consolidation of gains in the next generation, or will the process of growth and expansion go merrily on? There is every evidence that the force of the expansion movement has not spent itself.

One of the most important developments of recent years has been the rapidly enlarging concept of the scope of education. The momentum which the adult education movement has gained indicates clearly that educational philosophers are revising in important respects their concept of education. As a result of studies made by Thorndike and others, opinions in regard to the ability of the adult to learn are being revised. William James said that people are inclined to become old fogies after the age of twenty-five. The Thorndike studies hold out more encouragement to those who have long since passed the twenty-fifth milestone. He found very little diminution, if any, in the ability to learn up to the age of forty-five and considerable evidence that the adult is more capable of making use of accumulated experience than is youth.

It would be difficult to estimate the possible social significance of the adult education movement. The forms of adult education are numerous and extremely varied in character. Every large city system, through its evening schools and in other ways, is providing certain opportunities for adult education. Corporations are maintaining schools. Religious associations such as the Young Men's Christian Association and the Knights of

[26] *School Executives Magazine*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 11, July, 1929, pp. 507–508.

Columbus, Chautauquas, numerous voluntary associations, little theatres, art guilds, discussion groups, great universities through extra-mural courses, and correspondence schools are opening the way to millions of adults to acquire education. Indeed, there is an innumerable array of movements, public and private, to stimulate universal interest in education. An increasing number of Americans no longer think of education as something that is finished when one is graduated from school. In the whirligig of twentieth century industrial civilization, in a country tremendously wealthy in which the leisure time of all classes is increasing, adult education must be considered of crucial importance.

The country is afflicted by many social ills, but it is more and more evident that dominant influences are at work to counteract these ills. One of those influences is the adult education movement, and public school authorities must give not only consideration but practical support to that movement in the interest of public welfare. Directors of education have not yet learned how to make every school the effective community center that it ought to be. The use of school buildings by the neighborhood, of course, can be routinized and conventionalized. It is evident that more than night schools should be held in the buildings, but the conventional type of school activity, while important, by no means constitutes an adequate program of adult activities. It is recalled that the debates which were held in the little country school in boyhood days were social and educational events of the utmost importance to the community. In one school during the past year more than one hundred parents assembled, one evening a week, to do many of the interesting things which the pupils were doing in that school in the daytime. They enjoyed the swimming pool and the gymnasium. Some groups were formed to study music, production of plays, drawing, painting, and modeling. Additional groups did work in industrial arts, or were engaged in other activities. The cultural and recreational value of a movement of this kind cannot be overestimated.

D. Encouraging Signs of Kindergarten Expansion[27]

FRANK M. PHILLIPS

The expansion of the kindergarten idea can be studied with considerable advantage from data collected in the same identical

[27] *Childhood Education*, Vol. VI, No. 3, November, 1929, pp. 122–123.

fashion over a period of years from cities having a population of 10,000 and over. No complete statistical studies including private kindergartens and public kindergartens in smaller places have been made since 1924. Of these larger population centers, 370 reported kindergartens in 1922 and 415 reported kindergartens in 1928. During this six-year period, the average daily attendance in kindergartens in cities having a population of 10,000 and over increased from 257,835 to 336,746, an increase of 30.6 per cent. Part of this increase is due perhaps to replacing a one-year kindergarten program with two years of kindergarten work.

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The rate of increase during this six-year period in average daily attendance in kindergartens is 26.7 per cent in cities having a population of 100,000 and over, 31.6 per cent in cities having a population between 30,000 and 100,000, and 51.5 per cent in cities having a population between 10,000 and 30,000. The rate of growth, therefore, has been twice as rapid in the group of smaller cities as it has in cities having a population above 10,000.

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In 1922, 8,953 kindergarten teachers were employed in the cities under consideration in 6,289 kindergartens, while in 1928, 10,096 teachers were employed in 7,007 kindergartens. In 1922, the average number of kindergarten pupils enrolled per teacher was 50.2, while in 1928, it was 55.0. This increase is no doubt due partly to a change in policy on the part of boards of education, some of which had a teacher employed in 1922 for a forenoon session, and a different teacher employed for an afternoon session with a different group of children. Since that time many boards of education, as a matter of economy, have required a single teacher to instruct one group of children in the forenoon session, and an entirely different group in the afternoon session. During this period the kindergarten teacher's salary was increased from an average of $1,524 annually to $1,818. This increase in salary just a little more than compensates for the increase in the number of pupils instructed by the teacher.

Since 1922 the average number of pupils enrolled for each elementary school teacher has decreased from 37.6 to 37.0; for the junior high-school teacher, from 28.9 to 28.7; and for the regular high-school teacher the number has increased from 25.7

to 25.9. These changes for the elementary, the junior high-school, and the high-school teacher are rather immaterial as compared with the 10 per cent increase in the average number of pupils for each kindergarten teacher during this six-year period.

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Since no regular census has been taken since 1920 for the United States as a whole, it is not possible to tell exactly what percentage of the four and five-year old children are now attending kindergartens. In 1924 it was estimated that, for the country as a whole, about 13 per cent of those of kindergarten age were actually enrolled either in a public or a private kindergarten. In 1926, cities with a population of 2,500 and over had about 27 per cent of their four and five-year old children in kindergartens.

Kindergartens have developed farther in cities than in rural territory, and farther in large cities than in smaller cities. In 1928, cities having a population of 100,000 and over had 7.02 per cent of their regular day elementary and secondary school enrollment in kindergartens, cities having a population between 100,000 and 30,000 had 5.28 per cent, and cities between 10,000 and 30,000 in population had 3.43 per cent. There is great promise of further growth in kindergarten development in the smaller cities and in non-urban centers.

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E. Retrospect and Prospect[28]

EDWIN A. LEE

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There is another significant trend which seems to be emerging. It is pictured vividly by the enrollment figures in our elementary schools in the San Francisco Bay area. For the past five years there has been a steadily decreasing enrollment in the first five grades of the schools of Berkeley and Oakland, despite the fact that during that period the total population of each city has increased. Those in a position to know tell us the condition is

[28] *Occupations*, The Vocational Guidance Magazine, Vol. XII, No. 1, June, 1933, pp. 25–28.

true of all large cities in the country. For the nation at large, the 1930 census records for the first time fewer children five years of age or younger than for the preceding census. The actual figures may be of interest:

	1920	*1930*	*Per Cent Increase*
Total Population of the United States	105,710,620	122,775,046	16.1
Under 5 years	11,573,230	11,444,390	−1.1
Under 1 year	2,257,255	2,190,791	−0.3

To state the situation in still another way, "in 1917 there were enrolled in grade 1 in all schools in the United States approximately 4,000,000 pupils. If the trend now apparent continues until 1936 the figure will be 3,000,000, a decrease of 25 per cent in twenty years." The effect of this trend is, of course, not immediate, but it seems clear that during the next twenty-five years a profoundly significant phenomenon will have influenced the number of boys and girls with whom we shall have to deal. Restricted immigration and a growing knowledge and technique in birth control make a combination the inevitable result of which will be a radically lowered birth rate. Already in California the median-sized family contains only 2.77 persons. Eighty-five per cent of the families are of four persons or less. The picture in 1958 will be fewer children of school age, but those in school for a longer school life.

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F. Junior Colleges Forging Ahead[29]

The junior college has given splendid account of itself during four hard years. In fact, the harder the years, the more insistent has been the demand for this institution and the larger its registrations.

In the last few years, while four-year colleges and universities were losing, the junior college enrollment in the country as a whole has gone steadily ahead. In the last six years the number of students has more than doubled and the number of such colleges is now nearly 23 per cent greater than in 1929. Professor

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[29] *Journal of Education*, Vol. CXVI, No. 13, September 4, 1933, pp. 347–348.

W. C. Eells, editor of The Junior College Journal, is authority for the following statistics:—

Year	*Number*	*Enrollment*
1928	408	50,529
1929	405	54,438
1930	429	67,627
1931	436	74,088
1932	473	99,476
1933	497	106,016

Of the colleges which report enrollments for the last year, 333 had less than 200 students, 99 had between 200 and 500, and 38 had more than 500, with the largest showing an enrollment of more than 4,000.

Chapter III

The Expanding Function of Education—Health Education

I. INTRODUCTION

One of the most significant and dramatic chapters in the history of civilization is that relating to the improvement in public health in the past half century. The following table shows what this improvement has been:

	1600 (*Geneva*)	1880	1900	1910	1920	1930
Expectation of Life at Birth.....	30	35	49	51	58	60
Expectation of Life at 52.....	..	20	21	20	21	19

From these data we see that from 1880 to 1930, a period of fifty years, twenty-five years has been added to the average length of life, or one-half year has been added for each year of the period. When this improvement is compared with the slight change in three centuries previous to 1880 we get some notion of the remarkable transformation in the public health status.

The improvement in the health status, therefore, calls for an explanation. This improvement has been achieved through the contributions of Pasteur, Lister, Koch, Trudeau, Reed and others who devoted their lives to bacteriology, bio-chemistry and experimental medicine and thus determined the nature of bacteria and their relation to communicable disease. The application of this knowledge by communities has led to the control of communicable diseases and to the declining death rate.

The story of this improvement from 1900–1926 is told in the accompanying table.

CAUSES OF DEATH
(RATE PER 100,000)

	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926
Typhoid	30	27	26.5	25	23.5	22	21	20	18	22	23 5	18	16 5	12	10 8	8	8 2	8	7 8	7.7	7.8	5	2	2	4.4	2	6.5
Measles	25	23.7	24.6	25.2	30	18	16 4	17 6	15	13 6	12 3	11 5	12	11	9 8	10	9.8	9	10.2	9	8 8	10 2	5	4.5	7.2	5	8 2
Scarlet Fever .	15	14.9	15.4	16	12	13 5	17.6	14.8	15	12.9	11 6	8 6	9	9.8	7.7	7 9	7.5	8 9	7 5	6	4.6	4.6	4.8	5	4 4	6.4	2 5
Whooping Cough	54	49 6	32	50	62	50	504	39	36 7	29	21 4	25	20	22	17 3	25	14 6	12	11 6	13 7	9	6	7 9	8 8	7 4	8	7 5
Diphtheria .	39	56	42	57	47	40	39 6	30	31 6	27	24 4	19	21	16	14 2	15.9	16	30	35	37	15.3	19	10.4	9 8	12 8	13 2	7.5
Influenza	6	5.2	7.8	6.5	9	10	15	12 3	4 6	9.8	14.4	13.6	13	15	27	25	21	60	72	75	71	6	25	44 5	18 8	16	40 7
Tuberculosis.....	195 2	189 8	174.1	177.1	189 5	180.9	177.8	175.6	189 4	163 3	139 7	164 7	149 8	146 7	143.8	147 4	153 8	147.1	151	124 9	100.8	112	102 6	105 4	111 5	104 5	87 1
Cancer	100	98.9	90.5	86.2	75.8	84	78.6	52 3	57	64	76 2	72	75 1	87	63 7	118 4	163 4	98.6	87	85 2	83 4	31	65 9	70	66 6	70 4	94.9
Diabetes Mellitus	3.2	7.5	8.6	6.4	9.8	6.5	7.7	10.3	15	13.2	14.9	12.1	10 9	11.1	10.6	7.6	5.5	11.1	12.2	15	16.1	17	14.1	16.1	16 3	14.9	18
Cerebral Hemorrhage.....	15.2	17.2	18.6	17.2	14.9	15 8	17 8	19.3	20 1	27.6	25 1	30 2	17 8	16.2	32 1	47.6	32 6	33.5	46.1	38 6	25.1	19 6	49 6	56 6	66 2	60 2	76
Org. Dis. of Heart	112	114 2		125	133	131	128	138	128	130	141 5	141	142	139	142	148	150	155	154.5	131	141 9	141	150.3	157	160	175 7	199.1
Pneumonia . .	125	142	176	198	137	186	174	140 9	176	150	147 7	145	146	132.5	121 7	132 6	149 9	176.3	175	180	137 3	102	94.7	130	103.8	88.8	102.5
Other Resp. Dis.	25	24.6	23.7	25	27	29.1	26	25 2	23.1	20	19.8	17.6	15 3	17	17 9	16.5	19.7	13.5	17.9	16.5	15.4	12 3	15.6	14.2	16.8	17	13.9
Diarrhea & Enterities.	153	145	130	121	139	141	141	141 5	140	130	140.8	118	113	113.5	98	95	96	83	80	65	44	25	19	17 5	20.7	32.2	33.6
Bright's Disease.	66	68 9	70 1	72.1	71.6	73 2	74.1	70 1	69 8	72.1	78 4	76 8	75 1	69 8	67 8	69 8	64 8	72.8	78 2	80.6	98.2	78 9	75	66 7	76 1	68.4	65.5
Puerperal State..	25	23 2	24.6	20	19.8	19.7	20.1	17 9	18 5	17	16 6	15	16 6	15 8	16	17	17 5	17	23	17	19	16.5	15.4	18 9	17.6	16	16.8
Suicides.....	18	←																			→	18	. . .	5 3	7.2	8 2	7.2
Homicides	7.2	7.6	4.5	7.7	6.7	1.9	4 5	6.7	9	10.1	10 2	9 8	7 6	5 4	3.2	7 6	8 4	29	27.8	26.5	27	20	192	6.7	7 7	5.4	7.1
Other Ext. Causes																								55.6	57 3	54.3	62.7
Traumatism	9										23.1										17.7	14	14.1	13.6	11 5	15.7	78.6
All other causes..																								195.1	215.2	215.2	187
Smallpox.....	23	←									.4										.6	→					.4
All causes per 1000																					9 4	8.2	8.5	9	8.5	8.5	9

United States Tabulation Survey of Death Rates per 100,000—Volumes 1900-1926.
Department of Commerce—Bureau of Census, Division of Vital Statistics, Washington, D. C.

From the foregoing table we get a picture other than the declining death rate in the case of communicable disease; namely, the rapidly rising death rate due to other diseases such as cerebral hemorrhage, organic diseases of the heart, and so forth. These diseases, resulting from physical deterioration and therefore from improper living, give us the cue to the needed health emphasis in a program of health education at the present time. The emphasis must be placed upon individual living, and improvement in this direction is possible only through education.

The central problem of health education today, therefore, is that of individual or personal health. Thus the material in this chapter is assembled to give emphasis to this aspect of health and to emphasize particularly:

1. The expanding function of the curriculum.
2. The individual emphasis and view in health education.
3. The scope of health education as a social problem.

Space makes the inclusion of important aspects of the problem of public health, with which educational sociology is also concerned, impossible.

II. EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION OF HEALTH EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS[1]

James Frederick Rogers

Health is that condition in which we have the greatest freedom for the exercise of all our faculties for the enjoyment and for the work of life; it affords us the opportunity to do what we wish to do, and to go whither we desire to go within the limits imposed by heredity and our past experiences.

This definition answers also for education, and it is but logical that the educator has taken it upon himself to see that the child has the maximum of health. In fact, mind and body are so closely related that the schoolman can not consistently do otherwise, even if he thinks only of developing the child's mental possibilities, for he must be aware that the child can not do what his teacher wishes him to do without full use of the physical machinery back of his mental faculties.

New Attitude Toward Physical Conditions

We all have the conception of mental training as the preparation for the highest enjoyment and best work in life, but this

[1] *School Life*, Vol. XIV, No. 6, February, 1929, pp. 115–117.

attitude toward physical conditions is really new. A great many enthusiastic teachers remonstrate against taking a child out of class for 10 minutes once a year for the purpose of his physical examination. It seems to them time wasted, although it may result in finding that this child is making no progress in his schooling because he is badly fed, or exhausted from lack of sleep, or because he can not see or hear normally. Even principals and sometimes superintendents take this attitude, especially if, as is often the case, they have seldom known sickness or been hampered by physical defects.

Those who supply the funds for school work often appreciate the value of health only after it is lost and not as something to be maintained and improved. No matter what kind of a program we have, it is going to be effective only when its purpose is fully appreciated by the public and it is backed by public funds. A good railroad man does not wait until the wheels come off his engines or his rails spread before doing anything in the way of upkeep, but he realizes that his trains will get where they are supposed to go most promptly and with least cost when the rolling stock and roadbed are in best condition. And the school child when well fueled and regulated physically will be more likely to profit by his schooling and to be of service to society in later life. The owner of a fleet of motor cars knows that a machine which misses fire or which has a leaking radiator is not quite fit for the service expected of it. In time his eyes may be opened to the fact that a child who has serious defects of eyes or ears is not likely to travel the pedagogical highway at the speed we might expect of him, nor to accomplish what we should like him to accomplish in after life. Moreover, both he and other heavy taxpayers will, perhaps, also in time come to see that a child who has as good a bodily mechanism as heredity permits, and who has learned in school some idea and some ideals as to the care of that machine, is not so likely to find his way to the human junk pile to be patched and to be cared for at public expense.

Difficult to Show Definite Results

We live in a commercial age in which teachers and health workers are not the most influential, and in which they are especially requested to present exact figures of profit for anything they wish to do. Our hospitals can exhibit these. Their reports show so many cases of diphtheria, dysentery, or delirium tremens

admitted and so many discharged, so many operations for gallstones and appendicitis, and other striking evidences of restoration to health. In our school-health work we can not and probably never can make any such exhibits of results as evidenced in statistics of school progress. It is true that we have occasionally a striking instance of the relation of improved health to mental efficiency, but such instances occur only in extreme cases. Moreover, school work for health, as for anything else, should have its effects in after-school life where we have no opportunity for measuring them.

To produce an effective school-health program we need more than anything else an appreciation by the public of this new attitude toward health. We need it in order to obtain funds so that we may secure an adequate number of well-trained special workers. But the public is also made up of parents of the school children, and a school-health program is not going to be very effective unless we have the full coöperation of the home. We can teach reading, writing, arithmetic, and many other things without any reference to the parents whatsoever, but when it comes to health work it is altogether a different matter. Although we may teach health practices in the school, they must be carried out in the home; we may examine the child in the school, but we must get the consent of the parents before anything is done about his defects.

Parents are more interested in the health of the child than anyone else and if they do not seem so, it is partly because we have left them very much out of account. No matter what our personnel or the organization of health activities, our endeavors will be effective in proportion to the coöperation of the parents. We must take them into our confidence and explain what we are trying to do. Parent-teacher associations have proved powerful helps in this direction. Literature should be distributed; the Bureau of Education has prepared a booklet which seems to fill the bill.

Close Relation to Home Conditions

Aside from sanitary conditions in the school, all active health work begins and centers in the physical examination of the child, and we miss our opportunity if at this time we do not hitch up the home with the school for the period of the child's school life. The examination should include more than physical defects;

it should include the child's habits, and incidentally the family customs which have to do with health, and I see no way to come at these except through contact with the parents.

But will the parents come to the examination? If they do not, we have not gone at the matter as we should. In at least one of our cities, Kalamazoo, Mich., last year 100 per cent of the children were attended by a parent during examination. Parents elsewhere are just as much interested in their children as are those in Kalamazoo. We miss a fine opportunity for parental education (of which there is much talk these days) along with betterment of the child in not having them present.

It will be objected that it takes more time if we have the parent present at the examination. If health is the first objective in education, I do not see why we should begrudge 10 minutes or even an hour out of the 1,000 school hours a year, to be devoted to a study of the child's physical machinery and habits with a view to their possible improvement. After the first examination, it is perhaps not so essential to have the parent present, unless for some special reason.

The health examination leads to health education and serves, for pupil and parent, as the peg on which to hang those health lessons. It is now the teacher's turn to understand what is meant by health in its larger sense and, unfortunately, she as a rule does not fully comprehend. If she did, we would not have the yearly exhibition of children who can not see the blackboard from the back of the room, and others with defective hearing labelled dull because they do not respond to questions. Judged from statistics indicating avoidance of sickness, teachers seem to be much more appreciative of health than the average run of men and women in occupation, but they have still far to go toward the ideal of health as fitness for best work.

Teacher Should Recognize Physical Defects

Even though special medical examiners are employed, the teacher ought to be able to know whether her children are free from hampering physical defects. Some children are absent at the time of examinations by the medical inspector and some come in during the year; some are sick and return to school with newly acquired handicaps. Every child should be examined at least once a year; and even so the medical examiner is not, at present, likely to see the child for more than a few minutes a year, while

the teacher sees him daily, and health is a daily condition, not a yearly one. Moreover, the teacher, with comparatively little training, makes as good an examiner as the average medical inspector, and she is in a far better position than the doctor or nurse to study the child.

The teacher should be able to recognize signs or symptoms of eyestrain; she can note whether the child sees well and at the proper distance; she can even use a test card, but this is of minor importance in such examinations; she can test the child's hearing with the voice, or a watch, or an audiometer; she can tell whether he can breathe through his nose, whether he has frequent colds or sore throats; and whether he has bad teeth; she can observe whether or not he gets out of breath easily; whether he droops, and whether he does not care to play; she can learn of his feeding habits, his sleep, etc. She ought to know concerning his school work. The teacher is usually a woman, and woman's keenness of observation is proverbial. It only requires to interest her in physical beauty and ability as well as in fashions in beautiful and presumably useful bodily coverings, which all too often serve to disguise or compensate for imperfection and ill health.

The Bureau of Education has prepared a guide for the teacher and for the training of the teacher which has proved a decided help in this direction. It is in use in many of our training schools and has been one of the best sellers among our publications.

It goes without saying that teachers in training should have inspiration and instruction in the guidance of children into healthful practices, and especially in the appreciation that they are working along lines which require the coöperation of the home. Teachers who have not been so schooled will, of course, need direction by principals and supervisors who know their business.

Continue Health Work in High Schools

Our health activities of all kinds too often halt at the period when they ought to prove most effective—at the high-school age. This is the time of idealism, of ambition to be something and do something, and the mating instinct which foreshadows parenthood is evident. If health examinations are made or hygiene and sanitation are taught at all, they usually fail of their purpose because the purpose is not clear.

In connection with athletic competitions we often hear of the fine experience of sitting at a training table, of regular hours of rest, and of restriction of narcotics and stimulants. After the game the participants usually consider it unnecessary to follow such a régime; but to bolster up the cause of interscholastic games, it is declared to have been a great thing for them. Has anyone ever impressed on these physically ambitious young people and those ambitious in other ways that their achievements in business, in art, in music, in medicine, in law, in teaching, and in their enjoyment of leisure hours will depend just as much on regularity and temperance—on good feeding and ample sleep, and on freedom from nerve leakage by bad eyes, bad ears, or even by bunions?

I wonder how many of those who are interested in music know that of the two greatest musicians of modern times, one was a man of magnificent physique, a fine swimmer, and tireless mountain climber, who slept at will even in the midst of music; and of the other it was said that he seemed to have "the concentrated power of 20 battalions" within his frame, and "should live to the age of Methuselah." It is significant that this latter giant would not have been known to us had the deafness of his later years been a defect of his early school days. Even Chopin was a vigorous young man until tuberculosis, which is no respecter of persons, developed.

Does the lover of poetry suspect that Browning was a monument of sturdy health and that he railed bitterly against those who were careless of their bodies? Does the reader of Keats know that this poet was a pugilist before consumption claimed him, and that he tramped 30 miles a day in all weathers in a mistaken effort to rid himself of the disease, which made him envy a healthy garbage man?

Many Great Thinkers of Powerful Physique

Does he know that one of the greatest thinkers the world has known was at the same time one of the most delicate, but that he kept himself for nearly fourscore years in the nicest of health, as he said, "like a gymnast, balancing himself on the slack rope of life, without swerving to the right or the left."

Fortunately, few high-school pupils will attempt to become great musicians or poets or philosophers, but the law of the fittest

holds sway just as surely among plumbers, electricians, stenographers, or aviators.

Our boys are worshippers of health, for they bow daily before the images of their idols on the sporting page; and our young women are acutely cognizant of the signs of health, but they extract them in too large measure from their vanity boxes. They make use of the artificial when they have not the natural glow of health.

Hardly more than 25 per cent of the high-school pupils are taught anything about their bodies—which does not speak very well for an education in which health is placed first. Every pupil should be thoroughly instructed in physiology by one who knows his subject in a living way and not as so many pages in a book. It should be a laboratory course in that every pupil should be made to feel that he is carrying on in his own body the most momentous (for him) experiment ever conducted and that on his knowledge of his own machinery and how to manage it the success or failure of this experiment will depend.

The teaching of hygiene, of course, falls in as part and parcel with physiology. Effective teachers of physiology are not common, largely because they are not in demand, but the subject can be made a fascinating one.

Physical education should serve to promote health, and it misses its full mission if it does not. It allows the means to the healthful overflow of energy along instructive lines. In competitive athletics, however, it takes health and exploits it not always with physical benefit. Physical education does not fit well into the classroom schedule and the time so devoted to it is often pitifully short.

The physical education period is made up to a large degree of dressing, undressing, bathing, and calling the roll. Physical activities belong more to special after-school hours and to Saturdays, and this is recognized in athletics. There should be ample time, and ample room, and ample supervision for suitable physical activities for every pupil. The school playground should be part and parcel with all playgrounds and open at all seasons under suitable direction.

School buildings and their sanitation are, of course, the foundation of effective school work. We can not expect a program for health to be most effective if put forward under conditions which are not healthful. Our school buildings should be well ventilated

and lighted, and the washing and toilet facilities should be not only adequate, but models of sanitation. Every school should be an open-air school in the sense that the climate in it is such as children thrive upon. The clothing of children, which is closely connected with ventilation, should be taken into account, for the child who is clad in a shirt waist and one who wears a sweater are in different classes as concern loss of body heat.

Every class should be a nutrition class, in that every effort should be made to see that all children are properly fed and rested at home. Where lunches are supplied in school, these should be planned and served in accord with the theories we profess.

Special Classes for Physical Defectives

Of course special classes are needed for those obviously crippled in limb or in speech, and for those less obviously handicapped—namely, the hard of hearing and those with very defective sight. Cincinnati has surpassed most cities in thoughtfulness for these latter.

Organization and administration do not matter much for effectiveness provided we have trained, sensible workers who are allowed plenty of time and opportunity. Health work can be just as effective whether the medical inspection is under the supervision of the department of health or under that of education. In newly organized systems this, like every other phase of health direction, is usually assumed by the department of education. Were it not for the management of communicable disease, there would be little or no reason for its direction in cities by the department of health.

There should be a general director of all health activities with the rank and salary of an assistant superintendent. He should be in direct charge of medical inspection or of health teaching, or with an assistant in charge of the other branch and one in charge of physical education. It is not easy to find a person thoroughly prepared for such a position. There has been little demand for them, so they have not qualified.

The chief medical inspector should be on full time and well paid, but it is not so obvious that full-time assistant medical inspectors are so desirable; certainly not unless they are paid adequate salaries, say at least $3,000. You will get better men for the money, I believe, if they are on part time. There should

be specialists among these examiners for eye and ear and for orthopedics. The number of physicians needed can be greatly reduced if the teachers are properly educated or if the nurses are trained to make examinations. The physician need not waste his time in doing things which anybody with a little training can do. Nurses are helpful in many ways, but the expensive business of home visitation can be much reduced by securing the presence of the parents at examinations.

Preventive Measures Necessary to Effective Work

The dental examinations should be conducted entirely by dentists and their trained assistants, and these should be on full time. Except for emergency cases, preventive measures should be adopted if we expect to do really effective work. The fact is that hitherto we have been scratching hopelessly on the surface of the dental problem. It was an overwhelming one. We have been looking into the mouths of children and finding some five or seven cavities in the teeth of 90 per cent of them. To fill or extract these too familiar signs of bad hygiene and bad health would require a small army of dentists. By the method which anticipates decay recently worked out, and applied both in this country and abroad, a comparatively few dentists and dental hygienists should be able to send the children forth from school with practically sound teeth.

For all defective children it is of the utmost importance that means be available for the correction of their defects, otherwise the efforts of medical inspectors are largely wasted. The treatment of only 40 or 50 per cent of defects is not enough.

When it comes to the health-teaching program in elementary and junior high schools, there is need of direction and guidance by some one who can make a constant study of how to handle the child and the home healthwise, and guide the teacher accordingly. We should give our special workers opportunity to visit other cities which offer something new and possibly better in methods or management.

Health work in the grades and junior high schools is simply a part of the routine program of those schools and is likely, other things being equal, to proceed well or ill according to the attitude and interest of the principal. As yet the teaching processes along this line are comparatively new and the teacher, if not well

prepared, is likely to shirk anything out of the ordinary. But if health comes first with the principal, it will come first with his teachers.

Defects Acquired Before School Age

School-health work is intimately bound up with all health work. The child arrives in school at a comparatively advanced stage of his life and instead of trailing in clouds of glory, brings with him a host of defects and faulty habits due to heredity, to disease, and to plain ignorance of parents and of all of us. Better health work in preschool days and in infancy will make the burden of the school lighter. The high-school child trained to appreciate home and community sanitation often brings about decided improvements in home conditions, and he will later be an aid in supporting public-health work and in furthering investigations which will lead to the reduction of disease and defects. Thus we form by effective school-health work a virtuous circle of training which should hasten the day when such curses as diphtheria, tuberculosis, decayed teeth, and the like will be mentioned in schools along with the black death, yellow fever, and smallpox as horrors of the past.

I have already hinted that health work is not readily measurable. We can compare school conditions as to the lighting, ventilating, etc.; we can compare schools as to percentage of children examined, and what is of more importance, the percentage of defects corrected. We can find out how many children seem to be rightly fed; how many are clean, and how many brush their teeth; and what methods of teaching brought this about. But on the whole, we shall find it difficult to know just what we have accomplished for the health of the children; for health is at bottom an intangible thing; factors may enter that defy measurement; we do not know what might have been under other circumstances.

It is difficult to evaluate anything we attempt in education, and we know that we constantly fall short of what we think we should accomplish. The test of health is in accomplishment of life's tasks and we know it does matter very greatly about health, and that by almost universal acceptance health is held to be the most valuable asset an individual can possess. It must therefore be worth working for with intelligence and perseverance.

III. SUGAR IN DIET

A. An Educational Problem[2]

IRVING V. SOLLINS

Social Origin and Nature of the Problem

Health has been looked upon as purely a personal problem that each individual must solve for himself, and according to his own means. But today this point of view, together with a great many more that have proved socially anachronistic, is changing. Leaders in health work recognize that health is not only an individual but a social concern. The schools of today agree that health is a social and economic asset. Hence, health becomes a cardinal objective, and perhaps the most important function, of all formal education.

The problem. There are many factors involved in attaining and maintaining health, that stage of most efficient and complete adaptation of the individual to his social and physical environment. Of all the factors concerned, nutrition is undoubtedly the most important. Food is an economic requisite of the first degree to man; and correct food habits are just as essential to the physical well-being of man. One of the serious nutritional or dietary problems affecting particularly urban civilization is that of the over-consumption of carbohydrate foods, and the consequences thereof. This problem then, narrowed to that of the over-consumption of candies and sugar, has been chosen for further analysis in this article.

Effect of advertising and modern economics. The food as well as other habits of adults and children are determined, in a society such as ours, not so much by reasoning or even physiologic necessities as by suggestion and imitation. Modern economic life is highly complex. The reactions of the individual are tempered by this complexity in our social environment.

Capitalistic economy is characterized by competition. Indeed, economic rivalry is so great that annually millions of dollars are spent for advertising purposes. Advertising hastens mass consumption of certain commodities, creates demands for others.

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[2] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 6, February, 1930, pp. 341–348.

The ubiquitous application of the psychological principles fundamental to advertising are instrumental in building up certain mass habits, certain common reactions to foods, wearing apparel, drugs, books; in short, to every conceivable form of human activity. Thus are created many problems that educators must consider in the curriculum.

A mass of conflicting suggestion is constantly urging a confused public to "avoid sweets" or to "eat more sugar for health." Advertisements exemplary of this, and other types of suggestion, may be found in the newspapers, subways, or public places of any large city. Although conscious attempts at misrepresentation through advertising have decreased sharply within this last decade, it is by no means possible to accept the suggestions of advertisers as being scientific or even founded on fact.

In the light of all this conflicting advice, what seem to be the general practices of the public with regard to the consumption of sugar, and with special regard to the consumption of candy?

Sugar and candy sources. Sugar comes under the food classification "carbohydrates." Commercial sugar consists of saccharose, which is derived from sugar cane and sugar beet. It contains no fats or proteins, no minerals or vitamins. Being a pure carbohydrate, or energy-yielding food, it is universally used as a source of body energy. It is estimated that a fifth of the nation's bodily energy is derived thus. Sugar comes in a convenient form, has a good appearance, and little waste or residue. It is well liked by all, and if it were not so plentiful might become a highly prized delicacy. In ordinary years, it is a cheap food.

Sugar is unaffected by the agents of digestion in the mouth and stomach. In the intestine it is converted by the fermentive action of invertase into glucose and levulose. As such it is absorbed into the blood stream; and converted into glycogen, or animal starch, through the action of insulin, a secretion of the "islands of Langerhans" in the pancreas. This animal starch is stored in the tissues until required, when it is liberated once more into the blood stream. Here, in combination with oxygen, glycogen gives off carbon dioxide and water, thus furnishing bodily heat or energy.

The word "candy" is used to indicate any of the hundreds of ways of preparing sugar for consumption as a delicacy alone. People eat candy not because of any conscious idea of its food

value, but merely because of fascination for its taste. Nevertheless, candy has well-defined food values.

Table sugar and candy are not our only source. Other foods contain sugar in varying amounts. Molasses, a by-product of table-sugar manufacture, is widely used. All fruits contain some sugar, in this case called "fruit sugar." When much fruit is consumed this becomes a not unimportant source of supply. The diet is still further enriched by the addition of sugar to jams and jellies, drinks, puddings, pastries, cakes, desserts of all kinds, cereals, vegetables, and so on. The use of extra meal-time sugars in the form of confections further increases this already enormous consumption.

Statistics of sugar consumption. These habits, in part, account for the fact that our country's per capita sugar consumption reached the very high figure of 90 pounds per year in the two or three years preceding the World War, as compared with a prewar average of 26 pounds per year for the European countries. With higher prices, until 1918, sugar consumption in the United States declined to 80 pounds per year. This figure rose to 100 pounds in 1920–1922, and 113 pounds in 1925–1927. But by no means all of this increase has been in clearly visible form. More and more sugar is being consumed in bread, cake, ice cream, and confections. Cane and beet sugar appear to furnish well over 500 calories per capita per day to the average diet in 1927 as compared to about 400 calories per capita per day in the last prewar days. In a well-balanced diet of about 3000 calories per day, it is approximated that 1800 calories would be derived from carbohydrates. If 500 calories of sugar are added to carbohydrate consumption in this well-balanced diet, the carbohydrate content is raised to 2300 calories. Thus, carbohydrates are emphasized at the expense of proteins and fats; while vitamin and mineral content of the diet is correspondingly lowered. Such an increase in sugar intake is all the more striking in view of the declining physiological need for energy-yielding foods occasioned by the growing sedentary life of the nation.

Higher levels of income contribute to the economic reasons for this increased per capita consumption of sugar. Another factor in the postwar increase has been the relatively low price of sugar since 1920, in consequence of the revival of the beet-sugar industry abroad. This has enabled consumers to indulge their tastes at relatively low cost.

It is imperative that children be taught, and adults too, for that matter, not to eat too much candy. In the ordinary diet there is usually sufficient sugar; the dangerous oversupply comes from an indulgence in supplementary candies, cakes, and sweet stuffs.

There are other problems connected with candy than the amount of it eaten. These problems will be taken up in turn.

Substitutes for candy. Sugarless sweets, at first glance, seems to be a phrase without meaning, so customary is it to identify sweet things with high sugar content. There are, nevertheless, certain foods which satisfy the same craving as candy does, without the accompanying evil of too much sugar. It is simple to suggest nuts, figs, dates, prunes, raisins, other fruits, and so on, as substitutes for candy. It is not far removed from reality to believe that these may effectively substitute for candy. An illustration in point is *nuts*. Nuts are sold in all stores, indeed wherever candy itself is sold. Nuts and candy enjoy equally prominent places in the showcases of all confectioners. Since, in the popular mind, nuts are associated with confections, it is relatively simple to effect a substitution as suggested. To further illustrate: it would be difficult, for instance, to persuade children to eat *spinach* instead of *candy*, since these two are not closely allied. The advantages of these suggested substitutes over candy are apparent. First, they obviate excessive sugar consumption because their own sugar content is relatively low. Second, they contain other valuable dietary requisites—vitamins, minerals, and proteins.

Pure and impure candy. If pure candy is bad, impure candy is even worse. Food adulteration since the passage of the Pure Food Laws has become a forgotten topic in the minds of most people. It is assumed that these laws protect the public, who, as a result, pay no attention to the subject. However, the laws are not quite complete, and in some cases adulteration or mixture with harmful substances still is practised.

In candy the harm comes from the use of aniline dyes to color the product. Brightly colored goods are always attractive to the prospective purchasers, especially children. Unscrupulous manufacturers make their candies attractive with cheap and harmful dyes. If vegetable dyes are used there is no objection to multicolored candy. A sampling of the candy purchases of 50 children on two usual occasions indicated, however, that every piece of

colored candy so purchased contained aniline dyes. Aniline dyes are a mineral product made from coal tar; and if not injurious, certainly are not utilizable to the system when taken in large quantities. Green candy may be made from a dye extract derived from spinach, but obviously this method is the more expensive.

Every schoolgirl knows that the chocolate which she makes at home is apt to be very soft and sticky. She wonders why commercially made chocolate keeps so firm and hard, and why they have so even a texture. The explanation is simply that other substances are added merely for the purpose of keeping chocolate hard in warm weather. Chocolate often, even though it is expensive, is adulterated with paraffin. For exactly the same reasons, ice cream is treated with gelatine, which keeps it from melting and makes it "smooth."

Correct candy consumption. In summary of this entire discussion, the following suggestions concerning candy consumption may be set up:

1. Overconsumption of sugar is dangerous to the health of the individual. This soon becomes a habit, detracting the appetite for other more valuable foods, overfeeds the body with carbohydrates, and opens the way for serious organic disturbances and even disease.
2. Sweets should be eaten after meals, so that the appetite for other foods is not disturbed, and only in amounts not incompatible with good health. The active, energetic person may consume more than the sedentary one.
3. Wherever possible sugarless sweets, or candy substitutes, should take the place of candy.
4. Impure and adulterated candy should be avoided by purchasing candy which is not too cheap or too plentiful for the price paid.

If these suggestions become a substantial part of the behavior practices of the individual, the candy element in the diet may be regarded as sufficiently regulated.

This discussion may be resolved into one statement which follows:

It is the business of the public schools (1) to build up in children correct dietary practices, intelligent attitudes, and scientific knowledges concerning the consumption of candies and sugars; (2) to establish in parents, through the medium of their children, these same practices, attitudes, and knowledges.

B. An Experiment in Instruction in Candy Consumption[3]

Irving V. Sollins

The social problem growing out of the overconsumption of sugar was indicated in a previous article. What the schools can do, and must do, in this matter of health education also has been referred to. A new problem arises. *How* are the schools to go about this business of breaking down old habits, attitudes, and knowledges that have proved to be incorrect and detrimental to health, and substituting new ones that more adequately meet the demands of a changed social situation?

It is necessary, first of all, to organize a related body of subject matter, around the core of the objectives desired, that will be closely associated with the psychological and sociological situations in which the group of children to be considered find themselves. Secondly, it is necessary to teach this material in such a manner that it will affect not only the school activities but also the more important out-of-school practices of the children. In the third place, it is necessary to measure the results of teaching in terms of actual changed behavior.

In the following pages there will be presented the description of a number of experiments in the teaching procedures of the problem under discussion. This mode of teaching described is by no means presented as a best possible procedure, or even as a method to be employed by others. It is presented merely to illustrate *one* method of attack that was employed in a classroom where the overconsumption of sweets was markedly present.

Purpose of Teaching Experiments

The general purpose of these experiments was to set up in the group those desirable behavior practices, as well as those attitudes and knowledges, that were essential to attaining and maintaining health. More specifically, the purpose was to change the behavior of the group with regard to the eating of candy. And again, one purpose of the experiments was to determine, if possible, whether the free and informal method of teaching employed, with its emphasis upon practices rather than knowledges, would

[3] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 9, May, 1930, pp. 546–555.

result in more efficient learning than the older method of formal physiology and hygiene.

Personnel

Forty-eight children, in the fifth grade of a public school in a large city system, participated in the work of these experiments. In chronological ages, this group ranged from 9 to 12 years. These children were members of a "Z" group in intelligence, according to the system of intelligence testing then in vogue in that public-school system.[4]

Several of the children were repeating fifth-grade work for the second time. On the whole, this group was regarded by all those not intimately associated with it as being seriously retarded in its intellectual standing. Several members of the class suffered from noticeable physical defects, such as deafness, poor eyesight, and hyperanaemia.

The neighborhood from which these children were drawn was distinctly a working-class one, although it lay on the outskirts of the city. The parents of 42 children were persons who came from a low occupational class—the unskilled and personal-service workers. The parents of two children were professionals in occupation. The remaining four children were orphans living in an asylum nearby.

Classroom Situations

It is interesting to note the social situations present in this classroom before the initiation of this work in health education.

Cleanliness. With a few exceptions, these children were unkempt and slovenly in appearance. Personal cleanliness was not a marked habit among this group. Home training in hygiene was handicapped by large families and economic conditions making it necessary for both parents to be employed.

Nutrition. About sixty per cent of the class was undernourished. All of them were devout candy eaters. Not infrequently did the candy-store keeper fill his till with lunch monies. Examination of the diets of the children proved many harmful food idiosyncrasies to be present. A not exaggerated lunch consisted of candy, sour pickles, and "hot dogs"!

[4] "X," "Y," and "Z" classifications were made by school authorities on the basis of certain national intelligence scales—"X" being high and "Z" low in intelligence.

General Health. As has already been indicated, this group of children was not topnotch in general health practices. Common ailments, such as colds, headaches, and poor eyesight, were prevalent. So much for the physical conditions of the class.

Socialness. During school hours, these children were happy. Happiness is a rare intruder in a large public school; but here there was no formal discipline, no hateful pedagogical tyranny. Each child was engaged in an activity which he himself had initiated, and in which he was vitally interested. Mornings were devoted to discussion, study, and work on several projects common to the whole group. Afternoons were free, so that each child might engage in any activity he chose. These 48 children organized themselves into a self-governing body in which the teacher participated only as an advisory and somewhat honorary member. This organization, it must be noted, was not at the instance of the teacher, nor did he attempt to use the organization as a means for disciplinary control. Children and teachers enjoyed a confidence in each other. Despite the fact that these children were considered low in intelligence, they wrote, edited, and published a weekly class newspaper, in which often appeared stories and poetry that marked the possibilities of artistry of a rare and subtle sort. In short, then, a complete lack of formalist policy created in this classroom a social situation that was characterized by a high degree of coöperation and good will. This situation was by no means utopian; all of the work later described was carried on under the above conditions.

Introduction to work

The introduction to the actual experiments was conducted in the following fashion:

1. A certain group of children had been in charge of a pair of rabbits. These children weighed, and observed changes in the animals very frequently. They were in charge of feeding and taking complete care of animals. One rabbit had been kept on a diet of carbohydrate foods, while the other had been fed a balanced diet of proteins, starches, fats, and the incidental vitamins, etc. The first rabbit had received no vitamins except those that might have been contained in the carbohydrate diet. These children made careful notes, elementary graphs, and drawings; finally, in the rôle of diagnosticians, they presented their complete report to the class. Caring for these rabbits

(and incidentally, English, arithmetic, geography, etc., naturally arising from this situation) was the project of this group of children for about one month prior to the inception of experiments.

2. On the day of presentation of this group report, the teacher conducted a survey of the food habits of the class. Each child was asked to describe, as in the page of a diary, exactly what foods were consumed during one day. These were tabulated and listed under headings of vegetables, meats, grains, fruits, dairy products, etc., and then rearranged under headings of proteins, fats, and carbohydrates. These terms were explained.

3. Each child was asked to empty his pockets and desk of any candy he may have purchased that day. All candy was then tabulated and listed under various headings, such as chocolate, green candies, red candies, jelly candies, licorice candies, etc. Children donated samples of each kind of candy for experimental purposes. (It must be noted that no restrictions of any sort had been placed upon the eating of candy.)

Following these three steps, the teacher announced that he would conduct a series of experiments with candy and sugar—all those interested might attend.

Classroom Experiments

Each day thereafter one of the following experiments was conducted. The first and second experiments held an audience of half the class; on the third, the entire class remained to observe the third experiment. At the request of those who had missed the first two lessons, they were once more presented. These following experiments, though very simple in nature, seemed to capture the curiosity of all.[5]

Experiment No. 1. *Title:* What Kind of Food Is Sugar?

Object: To show the children that sugar is entirely an energy-giving food.

Materials Needed: A metal plate on which paper can be burned without injuring the furniture; a box or package of paper confetti; matches.

Procedure: The paper confetti is used because a pile of it resembles a pile of sugar. It must be put in a heap on the plate,

[5] Description of experiments are from classroom notes made during teaching.

and labeled "Sugar." After suitable introduction, it should be ignited with matches and burned to an ash.

Introduction: Carbohydrates are energy-giving foods. Sugar is a pure carbohydrate. When the energy is used up nothing is left just as when paper is burned up, practically nothing is left. The paper represents the sugar.

Outcome: The children should know that there is one kind of food taken into the body for energy supply alone, not to build up the body in a structural way. When this energy is used up in play or activity (equivalent to burning) there is then nothing left.

Experiment No. 2. *Title:* Too Much Fuel

> *Object:* To show children that the body, like a candle, can get too much fuel when too much candy is eaten.

Materials Needed: A metal plate to protect the furniture; two thick candles; powdered paraffin in small quantity; matches.

Procedure: One of the candles has been previously burned down until it is almost all consumed. The wick must be large and easily observable. Light the other candle and let it burn throughout the whole experiment. Light the first candle, letting it burn down to the end until the wick is finally extinguished in its own melted wax. As it is going out, pour more powdered paraffin on it, drawing the children's attention to the fact that, despite the presence of ample fuel, the candle is going out nevertheless.

Introduction: The body needs structure foods, as well as energy foods. Too much of either is bad. We cannot subsist on energy alone. This candle was supplied with a superfluity of fuel, not only its own melted wax but the added paraffin, but it was extinguished nevertheless because its *structure* (wick) was insufficient. The other candle, at the conclusion of the experiment, is still burning perfectly, illustrating the value of a proper balance between structure and fuel.

Outcome: This should illustrate to the children the difference between structure-building foods and energy-giving foods, and the necessity of a proper balance between the two. Emphasis can be placed upon the overeating of candy being equivalent to the supplying of the candle with too much wax and not enough wick.

Experiment No. 3. *Title:* Is Your Mouth an Acid Factory?

Object: To teach the children that the condition of the saliva, acid or alkaline, is related to the kind of diet.

Materials Needed: Litmus paper to supply the class.

Procedure: Each child is supplied with a strip of litmus paper. The color is noted, say *blue.* Each child then puts it in his mouth for three minutes, the class chairman tabulating the changes. Same repeated with pink litmus paper.

Introduction: Litmus paper is peculiar in that its color is a weather vane. It shows good weather and bad weather conditions in the mouth. What kind of weather is there in your mouth? The saliva in the mouth should be alkaline, normally. What, then, makes it acid?

Experiment No. 4. Continuation of the above.

Materials Needed: Litmus paper, drinking water, candy.

Procedure: One child is selected who shows an acid reaction on the previous test. Standing up before the class, he washes his mouth thoroughly with water, and then inserts the litmus. This time the reaction should be neutral or alkaline. Then a child is selected whose previous reaction was alkaline. He is given candy to chew on, after which litmus is again used. The reaction should then be acid. Finally, another child is selected whose reaction was previously acid; he is given water to wash his mouth thoroughly, and the test is again applied and results noted. Then he is given candy to chew, and the test is applied again. The mouth should have returned to its previous condition.

Introduction: Experiment No. 3 serves as an introduction.

Outcome: The children should know that sugar put into the mouth turns into an acid. The constant eating of candy keeps the mouth constantly acid, whereas it should be normally alkaline. Candy, then, should not be eaten continuously.

Experiment No. 5. *Title:* Is Your Candy Pure?

Object: To show how candy is adulterated with cheap and harmful dyes.

Materials Needed: A stove with three burners; three pans; three or more samples of cheap candy bought near the school. Wool; water; matches.

Procedure: Boil the candy until it is dissolved. Then immerse in the solution a piece of wool, so that half of it is submerged and half remains out in the air. Repeat for each sample of candy. Allow it to remain three minutes, then remove. If there is aniline dye present in the candy, the wool will have a deep color. Wash the wool in water before the class to show that the dye is fast. Continue the experiment with different samples of candy, until you obtain some that do contain aniline dye and some that do not.

Introduction: What makes your candy bright red and green? What makes your clothes their color? Dyes, certainly. But the candy dye goes into our stomachs, while the clothing dye does not. Isn't it important that the candy dye be harmless? Some dyes are made from mineral substances, some from vegetable substances. The former are called aniline dyes, the latter vegetable dyes. The latter are more expensive, so are not used in making cheap candy. The candies which dyed the wool are adulterated with aniline dyes, carrying into your stomach objectionable mineral matter.

Outcome: The children should be adequately warned against buying cheap candy, which is sufficient outcome to justify much more labor than this experiment requires.

Experiment No. 6. Repeat No. 5 with ice cream, testing for aniline dyes. The procedure will be somewhat different, but the principles the same.

Experiment No. 7. An experiment devised to show the paraffin content of ice cream and chocolate.

Experiment No. 8. The repetition of No. 5 with different brands of catsup instead of candy, still testing for aniline dyes.

Experiment No. 9. Repeat with jams or jellies instead of catsup. Compare jellies brought from home (home-made) with the jellies bought from the store.

The Outcomes, or Measurement of Teaching Results

Certain outcomes were expected from the presentation of these experiments. They represent the value of the work to the class.

Those outcomes, in the form of knowledges and attitudes, that did develop from this work may be stated briefly.

1. The children became conscious of the bad habit of overeating with candy.
2. Of the difference between pure and impure candy.
3. Of the necessity for balanced diets.
4. Of the elements of personal hygiene, especially oral hygiene.

Other outcomes, in the form of actual practices, resulted. Parents came to visit the teacher to ask for dietary advice. Those children suffering from anaemic conditions were prescribed for by school physician or nurse. School lunches, bought by the children, were noticeably improved. Lunches provided by mothers also showed marked improvements. Definitely undernourished children gained in weight at the end of one month from the close of the experiments. Milk purchases of the class (purchased in school) doubled. Promiscuous eating of candy slowly decreased. An epidemic of "homemade" candies followed. Children vied with each other in making of sweets that contained other dietary requisites in addition to carbohydrates. Many excellent recipes were evolved. Checking up ot sales of a candy store in the neighborhood revealed that the candy purchases of this group had fallen considerably. As an instance of community opposition, it may be mentioned that the sole candy storekeeper of the neighborhood violently opposed this work of the teacher. A conference between storekeeper and teacher resulted in the decision of the former to discontinue the sale of several notoriously poor brands of candy. A survey of the food habits of the children, through means of the same diary method, showed the beginnings of new practices. Certain marked food prejudices, or idiosyncrasies, of several of the children were totally destroyed.

Although a test of the subject matter, or knowledges involved, was administered to the group, the actual measurement of the results of teaching was carried on through a recognition of changed behavior practices. High grades on the subject-matter test did not necessarily mean completely changed habits. It was not attempted to correlate the two.

Conclusion

A definite social situation, making for poor health practices, existed in this classroom. In recognition of this, a body of subject matter and a method for its presentation was organized.

The teaching results, in the form of definite knowledges, attitudes, and practices, justified the attempt to cope with the problem.

IV. HEALTH AND THE FAMILY INCOME[6]

LOUIS BADER

Recently two significant statements appeared in print which may very well be accepted as the reason for making this study. Raymond Essen, writing in the January issue of *Harper's Magazine*, says, "The chief requirement for a real standard of living is neither food nor rent nor clothing: it is life; and the prime essentials of life are health, freedom, and leisure."[7] Health comes first if we are to live as we should, and this is to be secured and maintained through the proper choice of work and the wise selection of living conditions. In this situation one remains presumably in such good health that other expenditures for health maintenance need hardly be provided for in the family budget. But few people are in this happy position and so are faced with the need for making varying yearly expenditures for health maintenance. The extent of this need will be shown later. Meanwhile we can note the second statement, which is by Dr. Olin West, secretary of the American Medical Association: "The one great outstanding problem before the medical profession today is that involved in the delivery of adequate, scientific, medical service to all the people, rich and poor, at a cost which can be reasonably met by them in their respective stations in life."[8] If the joyous life based on good health that is implicit in Mr. Essen's philosophy is to be attained, then for many people the attainment is to be found in the solution to the problem stated by Dr. West.

It is not the purpose of this study to find the solution to Dr. West's query. This is a problem for the medical profession to solve since there is vitally tied up in it the question of the incomes of the members of that profession. This study may help. All we can hope to do, however, is to show that at present large masses of consumers are now spending out of their incomes

[6] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 2, October, 1929, pp. 102–114.

[7] Essen, Raymond, "Less Money and More Life," *Harper's Magazine*, January, 1924, p. 160.

[8] "Five Year Program of the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care," p. 6.

certain percentages for health maintenance, and that these expenditures, although not adequate in amount for its proper maintenance, can hardly be increased. It may also be possible to set up a standard budget for health maintenance, the desirability of which can be proved beyond question, but which can only be met in one of two ways: (1) by an increase in income making the standard expenditure possible; or (2) by finding the solution to the problem posed by Dr. West to which the Committee on the Cost of Medical Care has just addressed itself.

Let us now consider some facts which have already become somewhat in the nature of common knowledge. Dr. Eugene Lyman Fisk, writing in 1923, said that the annual economic loss from preventable disease and death in this country is $3,000,000,000. From the tuberculosis death rate the loss alone is $500,000,000 annually, and for the present generation the loss will probably aggregate $26,000,000,000 because of diminished longevity due to this disease. Five hundred thousand people die annually, and one half of this loss is postponable by proper medical supervision, periodic medical examination, health education, and community hygiene. Further Dr. Fisk points out that:[9]

25,000,000 of the working classes have defective vision requiring correction
25,000,000 of the working classes have defective teeth and mouth infection
6,000,000 of the working classes have organic diseases
8,000,000 of the working classes have flat feet
1,500,000 have venereal diseases
1,000,000 have some form of tuberculosis

More recently in an address before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dr. Fisk suggested that even now we have enough knowledge to make possible the prolonging of the life span to more than the Biblical threescore and ten.[10] Today the life span is 55-56 years, a gain of fifteen years since 1880. Much of this gain has resulted from a reduction of infant mortality, which has amounted to 70 per cent in the last twenty-five years. Then, 25 per cent of infants born died in their first year and now, only 7 per cent. In addition to this improvement there has been some improvement all along the line. In 1875 the death rate in New York City was 28.3 per

[9] Fisk, Eugene Lyman, "Health Building and Life Extension," The Macmillan Co., New York, 1923.

[10] Reported in *The New York Times*, December 31, 1928.

thousand and in 1925 it was 11.5. In 1900 the death rate for the whole United States registration area was 17.6 and now it is about 12 per thousand. In 1900 the typhoid fever death rate was 36; the tuberculosis death rate was 195; and diphtheria took 43.3 per hundred thousand. The corresponding figures in 1925 were for typhoid, almost extinct, tuberculosis about 100, and diphtheria 7.5.[11] This is an indication of what science has been able to do and what Dr. Fisk has in mind when he makes his predictions.

With all this improvement in various directions there has been no improvement for more than 20 years in the number of women dying in childbirth. More than 23,000 mothers die annually during childbirth and competent authorities believe most of these happen because expectant mothers do not receive the instruction and supervision they need during the prenatal period.[12]

Like Dr. Fisk, Dr. Dublin makes some interesting economic calculations of some of the costs we still face from preventable sickness and postponable death. He has calculated that sickness still costs in lost wages, reduced production, and necessary care $2,250,000,000; that the capital loss from preventable infant mortality is $750,000,000, and from preventable deaths of young men and women between 25 and 35 years of age it is also $750,000,000 annually. Dr. Dublin also estimates that having due regard for the value of life at each age period the total capital value of the lives which can be saved annually through the application of preventive medicine and public-health measures is over $6,000,000,000.[13]

The most valuable thing in this country—human life[14]—receives least attention. We are niggardly with our expenditures to conserve life and health, when, as Essen suggests, this ought to come first in all our economic and moral calculations, because in the last analysis the kind of life we may live depends altogether on health.

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[11] Dublin, Louis, "Health and Wealth," Harper and Brothers, New York, 1928.

[12] Interview with Mrs. John Sloane, president of The Maternity Center Association, reported in *The New York Evening Post*, January 24, 1929.

[13] *Op. Cit.*

[14] Dr. Solomon Huebner, University of Pennsylvania, recently estimated the value of all the human beings in the United States at $2,700,000,000,000, basing this figure on a capitalization of earning power.

We may at this point ask several questions: (1) What are the actual facts as to expenditure for health maintenance? (2) Why is this expenditure what it is? and, (3) What should it be? The attempt here made to answer these questions is based altogether on the economic rather than the ethical or moral aspects of the question.

A number of studies have been made of family budgets and these are taken as the basis for the figures of expenditure for health maintenance presented below. Since these studies cover several important groups of income receivers, and if they can be accepted as good samples, the data may then be accepted as representing the expenditures for health maintenance of about 90 per cent of our population. The studies drawn upon are the following:

Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics No. 357, "Cost of Living in the United States," covering the expenditures of 12,096 workingmen's families (white) in 92 cities or localities in 42 States for the year 1918–1919.

United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 1466, "The Farmer's Standard of Living," a study covering the expenditures of 2,886 white farm families of selected localities in eleven States for the years 1922–1924.

United States Department of Agriculture Bulletin No. 1382, a study of 861 white farm families of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Texas for the year 1919.

"Getting and Spending," by Jessica B. Peixotto (New York: Macmillan and Company, 1927), a study of 96 professional families in the University of California, for the year 1922.

And a number of miscellaneous items.

We shall list these in a table of averages shown on p. 99 for the different studies.

For our purpose these averages can be used, but a caution should be sounded. Like all averages they have the defect of meaning very little for any individual family. If you set out to find the family spending the average amount you might, like the English professor, find only one family in 5,000 conforming to the standard. And particularly is this true in the matter of health expenditure. Perhaps to arrive at an average that would be effective we ought to have an average based on the family expenditure for five years. Referring to the two single family studies the writer knows in both these cases that the $350 expenditure is close to the five-year average for that family and in the case of the $75 expenditure it is not for the other. The

$75 expenditure represents an ordinary year with no catastrophic occurrence such as is to be expected in every family over a five-year period. And he also knows that neither expenditure is based upon an ideal, but rather both expenditures were for day-to-day needs of health maintenance and very little provision made for the care of the health on a preventive basis as is now so frequently recommended.

AVERAGE DOLLAR AND PER CENT EXPENDITURES FOR HEALTH MAINTENANCE

Studies	*Average Total Expenditures*	*Average Health Expenditures*	*Percentage of Total Expenditures*
12,096 Working Families...	$1,454 93	$52 32	3.6
2,886 Farm Families	1,597 50	61 60	3 8
861 Farm Families.....	1,436 00	67 00	4 7
402 Farm Families in New York	2,012 00	80 68	4 1
96 Professional Families	5,511.77	316.33	5 7
Life-Insurance Company study of Clerical Personnel.....		80 00	3 to 5
One Family.....	3,000.00	75 00	2 5*
One Family..... .	4,000 00	350.00	8 7*

* The situation in two families of which the writer had intimate knowledge.

So we might analyze the averages of all these studies, but this would mean the impossible. After all the averages cancel out sharp differences and so may be accepted as having some degree of reliability. And, furthermore, these average figures do indicate something. As incomes increase a larger amount is spent for health maintenance and the percentage expenditure increases with some rapidity in the upper incomes. In the study of 2,886 farm families the per cent of expenditure ranged from 2.1 for the group averaging under $600 incomes, to 4.8 for the group averaging over $3000, and the following for each $300 additional total expenditure in between these two figures: 3.0, 3.5, 3.4, 3.9, 4.6, and 3.8. In this same study the average per cent expenditures varied for various sections of the country and for size of families. In the New England States for 317 families the average was 3.6, for 1,130 families in the South 3.1, and for 1,439 families in the North Central States the per cent expenditure was 4.5. The variation due to size of family was not so pronounced, rather the variation seemed to come because

of the composition of the family. For families with no children the average was 3 per cent, with one child 3.9, with two 3.9, with three 3.6, with four 3.5, with five 2.8 and six or more children 3.3. When we turn to the age composition of the family we find an expenditure ranging between 4 and 5 per cent when children are under eleven years of age and between 2 and 3 per cent when over twelve years.

In the study of 861 farm families the per cent expenditure for health maintenance varied still more, ranging from 2.9 for the group with total expenditures below $300, to 8.0 for the group with expenditures over $3000, with between expenditures for each $200 additional expenditure as follows: 3.3, 3.7, 4.3, 4.3, 3.2, 5.3, 7.4, and 3.7. The average size of the family increases for these increasing income groups so that we may say there is a relation here also between the size of the family and the per cent of income expenditure for health maintenance.

When we come to the Bureau of Labor Statistics study of 12,096 families, we find the following:

EXPENDITURES OF 12,096 FAMILIES FOR HEALTH MAINTENANCE

Incomes	*United States Average Expense per Family*		*North Atlantic States*	*South Atlantic States*	*North Central States*	*South Central States*	*Western States*
Under $900.	$34 10	3 8 %	$31 04	$37 26	$30 79	$39 15	$44 40
$900 to 1199.	43 34	4 1	39 15	46 28	39 28	53 25	54 98
1200 to 1499.	55 56	4 1	47 66	66 78	49 80	65 03	70 07
1500 to 1799.	67.85	4 1	57 39	87 54	61 05	71 58	79 22
1800 to 2099	73 75	3 7	59 37	91 81	66 93	86 37	81.61
2100 to 2499	81 77	3.5	78 11	79 10	84.91	95 71	77 54
2500 and over	95 56	3 8	93 70	95 86	69.52*	154 04	101 22

* Insufficient sample.

This study would seem to indicate that for expenditures up to a total of $2500 the per cent expenditure for health does not vary materially either as to size of income or family. For the South Central and Western groups of States the result is somewhat different than for the others. But in the South Central States health conditions are not generally as good as in the other regions. It is common knowledge that some people go to the Western States to improve their health and some older retired people go there to die happily. This would account for these differences.

Taking all of these studies we have by and large a fair sample of what is spent by 80 to 90 per cent of our income receivers for health maintenance. This expenditure ranges generally between

3 and 5 per cent of total expenditures and averages in the neighborhood of sixty dollars a family annually. As suggested before, averages need to be received with caution, but a sampling as comprehensive as those submitted above may be accepted for the white working population of the United States as depicting actual conditions. While a five-year period for the individual family might be a better average, here we have so many families each with a different expenditure that we can with some degree of safety take the average as typical for any family in the income groups under $2500.

We come now to the second question, Why is the expenditure what it is? It is very largely what it is because it cannot be otherwise. The family incomes ranging below $2500 are not large enough to permit spending any more than is absolutely necessary for health maintenance. There are so many other demands on the family purse for other things, all at the moment apparently more important than health maintenance, that expenditures for health are not made until a situation arises making such expenditure mandatory. Then a heavy drain because of severe illness becomes catastrophic and may cause a temporary fall below the present plane of living. As incomes rise, as we shall see, a larger expenditure both absolutely and relatively is made to provide, not only for necessitous expenditure, but also expenditure for the prevention of illness.

For example, in the study of 12,096 families with incomes of under $900 to $2500 expenditures for food, clothing, rent, fuel, light, and house furnishings ranged from 82.2 to 75.7 per cent of total expenditures. The balance of 17.8 to 24.3 per cent was available for miscellaneous items, such as education, recreation, amusement, personal service, insurance, health maintenance, and many other items. The per cent of expenditures for health maintenance is one of the largest of this group. As incomes increase we have a different story. Beginning with $3600, the per cent of expenditure for miscellaneous items jumps to between 40 and 50 per cent with a consequent jump in expenditures for health maintenance, the per cent ranging between 5 and 10 per cent, with a very notable increase in expenditure for dentist and oculist.

This brings us to the last question, What should the expenditure be for health maintenance? There is probably some difference of opinion as to what the expenditure should be. If it is

proposed that a certain procedure should be followed and it is discovered that this adds to the cost of living and therefore calls for a larger income, those who pay the weekly wages might object. And if we ask the consumer to curtail expenditures in other fields so that he might spend more in this field, he too may object, and perhaps rightly, that he cannot afford to curtail his other expenditure. Such curtailment might result in more ill health. That some such *impasse* seems to be the case is suggested when one reviews the budgets proposed by impartial (?) students of the subject. For example, the Bureau of Applied Economics, Washington, D. C., proposed for 1919 an expenditure of $60 for health maintenance out of a total family expenditure of $1760. Dorothy Douglas in "The Worker in Modern Economic Society" (1923) suggests $35 for health maintenance in a budget of $1135, and in a budget of $2010.72 an expenditure for this purpose of $82.08. The Phoenix Mutual Life Insurance Company proposes the following:

Incomes	*Health Expenditures*
$1,800.00	$48.00
2,400 00	60.00
3,600 00	144 00
4,800.00	180 00

The Labor Bureau, Incorporated, proposed expenditures for health amounting to $80 in a budget of $2385.27 in 1921, while the Chicago Council of Social Agencies proposed in 1925 an expenditure of $74 in a budget of $1548.84, exclusive of rent.

These are sufficient to indicate that in the usual proposed budget there is not an adequate consideration of what should be spent for health maintenance, but rather an acceptance of what has been found to be the expenditure and accepting that as all that can possibly be spent. In view of the fact that there is hardly another item in the miscellaneous group as important as this one of health, it ought to be a *sine qua non* that the least expenditure to be provided for is that one which will keep the consumer in good health and a high state of efficiency. Such an expenditure involves two factors: expenditures from day to day of a necessitous nature, and expenditures for services designed to prevent sickness, as for example periodic examination of the body, mouth, and eyes by physician, dentist, and oculist. Detailed study of the collected budgets discloses the fact that

the expenditures of the low-income groups go almost wholly for necessitous situations and almost nothing is spent for illness prevention and the correction of curable defects which at any particular moment are not too troublesome. And even in the case of necessity where the illness is catastrophic, as childbirth or a major operation requiring hospitalization, the low income groups are forced into debt, or to accept charity, or to forget to pay the doctor.

Because of the great part health plays in the fortunes of man (because from a social point of view it is desirable that we pay our way as we go), this situation among low-income groups could with profit be corrected. How much additional this would add to the cost of living is open to question, since for different incomes in different sections of the country the cost varies. Some notion of the cost may be gleaned from Dr. Peixotto's study of the faculty of the University of California which disclosed the average expenditure for health maintenance to be 5.7 per cent of total incomes. This expenditure generally was made (1) to meet the necessitous situations as they arose, and, (2) to provide for examination and correction of curable defects making possible periodic visits to dentists, oculists, and physicians for proper examination.

If we accept this figure then of 5 to 6 per cent as approximately the one that will on the average provide for the type of health maintenance which will give results that might wipe out some of the great economic losses calculated by Drs. Fisk and Dublin, we then have the answer to our last question. We would also get the following table:

Budget Studies	*Average Total Expenditure*	*Average Health Expenditure*	*Per Cent of Total Expenditure*
12,096 Families.....	$1,454.93	$82 94	5.7
2,886 Families.....	1,595 50	91 08	5.7
861 Families.....	1,436.00	81.85	5.7
402 Families.....	2,012.00	114.68	5.7

It is obvious that this increase would seriously curtail expenditures in other directions, which at the moment may be deemed more important. The consumer could probably afford such an increased expenditure by curtailing some of the others, but an expensive and time-consuming educational campaign would have to be undertaken and be carried on for a long period of time.

Incomes might also be increased by an amount necessary to take care of this necessary expenditure, but this would involve a 2 to 3 per cent general increase in wages, a tremendous sum in the aggregate, and then we would have no assurance that the increase would be properly allotted to health maintenance.

This situation might, however, be met by the development of a new type of insurance. The writer remembers as a boy the old "Krankenvereins" which existed in his section of New York. For a nominal yearly due, doctor and medicine were provided, and death benefits, to care partially for the funeral expenses, were paid. It was a coöperative effort to meet what was even then a pressing situation. So today through coöperative effort and under the direction of strong insurance companies for a premium no larger than the present average expenditures for health maintenance, insurance might be written, and given proper medical administration with requisite public regulation. This premium might be made to provide for (1) day-to-day sickness treatment as it arises, and (2) to provide what is now regarded as necessary health supervision to prevent illness and point out curable defects, which as Dr. Fisk suggests, afflict nearly all working people. Then, perhaps, we shall have the answer to Dr. Olin West's question quoted earlier in this paper.

It is said that many of the diseases which now handicap and limit our stay here on earth could be stamped out if we cared enough.[15] Might not this insurance idea be a step in the direction of caring enough? If we all paid premiums into insurance companies to provide for health maintenance, one thing would be provided for that would carry us in that direction, the periodic health examination. But another development might also be undertaken and that would be more extensive research to combat some of the diseases causing ill health. Under the insurance plan we would have a combining of money resources for health maintenance beyond anything we have heretofore witnessed, a primary aim of which would be to prevent sickness: (1) that the smallest possible payments on that account are made, and (2) leading out of this, a reduction in the premium, or greater service, so that the consumer finds it possible to live less expensively than heretofore. There is, therefore, a possibility in this that merits careful consideration.

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[15] Thompson, J. Arthur, *The New York Times Magazine*, January 27, 1929.

Even if we were to suggest that industry and commerce might take care of this increase in expenditure for health maintenance by paying the insurance premium, no apology would be necessary. We might defend it on humanitarian grounds. But there is another reason which is better understood. The careful calculations of Drs. Fisk and Dublin suggest that business could make the payment for economic reasons—it would result in a dollar-and-cents saving. This might be fortified by pointing out that the larger the consumption of products is, the better business becomes. Consumers who are not in the best of health are usually poor consumers. Also since consumption cannot in the long run be greater than production, inefficient working people producing less than they should also curtails consumption by the amount that production is less than it might be.

An analysis of consumer expenditures like this one might be made for all the things and services consumed and give us the same amazing revelation of how far short are our expenditures for many necessary consumption goods. The solution would seem to lie altogether with business, since every study made indicates that this results from low incomes. May we suggest that a new day is dawning and business is awakening to the fact that if it is to be done on an increasingly larger scale, it can only be done when it has buyers, and buyers only come into the market when they have the wherewithal to purchase. Then we may see average wages of 43.4 cents per hour for common labor in a group of important industries, and $16 and $18 per week for full-time employment of large numbers in the cotton industries wiped out.[16]

The possibility of improvement in living conditions from both the individual and social point of view would seem to be sufficiently important to warrant close attention to the matter on the part of the educational sociologist. The probability is that much education would be necessary to develop, not only a consciousness of the need, but an acceptance of the method here proposed to effect a change in budget appropriations and to accomplish the improvement in health. Might not this then become a worth-while educational objective?

[16] Business has, of course, been doing this, and these averages are better now than fifteen years ago. But much still remains to be done in this direction, if the possibilities for business in increased consumption are to materialize.

V. HEALTH EDUCATION AND THE PUBLIC HEALTH OF THE FUTURE[17]

IAGO GALDSTON

In his admirable essay of the "Evolution of the Modern Health Campaign," Professor Winslow divides the history of the movement into three periods. The first period dating from 1840 to 1890 was characterized by the application of environmental sanitation, especially affecting water, sewage disposal, quarantine, and the like. The second period dating from 1890 to 1910 witnessed the phenomenal advance in the control of the communicable diseases resultant on the application of the newer knowledge of bacteriology. The third, or present period dating from about 1910, is characterized by its dominant motive, the education of the individual in the principles and practices of good personal hygiene.

Concerned as we are, at present, with health education and the public health of the future, our prime interest must of necessity center upon the third of these three outlined periods. It will profit us, however, to review the preceding periods, and to see what causative relationship there exists between them.

Within that space of seventy years from 1840 to 1910 is encompassed the greater part of the achievements of modern medicine and public health. How great these achievements are—few of us are competent to appreciate, save in a rather remote and impersonal manner. For most of us have been born into the advantages of modern medicine. The horrors of the plagues that beset and made dismal the lives of our ancestors are known to us only by hearsay. What know we of bubonic plague? What of smallpox, typhus, yellow fever, or typhoid? But rarely now do these diseases appear, and then only in sporadic form—the flaring up, as it were, of the dying embers of a fire that throughout the ages has consumed more human lives than all the wars of the world.

In contrast, however, these plagues cast constant and sinister shadows over the lives of our forefathers. Read if you will Pepys' description of the 1665 plague of London, or Defoe's narrative but faithful portrayal of the ravages of this fearful

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[17] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 6, February, 1929, pp. 341–348.

epidemic—an epidemic that killed one in every four of London's inhabitants, that soured the milk of human kindness and blotted charity from out of the hearts of men, loosed the bonds of friendship and of filial love, and converted men into haunted beasts, fearful of all about them, seeking only to escape the invisible, impalpable enemy that stalked through the countryside.

Or, coming nearer home, read Dr. Benjamin Rush's description of the 1793 yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, an epidemic that killed one out of every ten inhabitants, and that through the fear and panic it engendered, made men belie the boast of their fair city—Philadelphia, the City of Brotheriy Love.

The literature and the recorded history of mankind contains many a vivid portrayal of the ravages of the plagues that were rampant in the days previous to the development of modern medicine. Reading these, and contrasting the experiences of our forefathers with our own, we can secure some idea of how far we have progressed.

Smallpox, typhoid, cholera, yellow fever, malaria, bubonic plague, typhus—these were once major causes of disease and death. Today, at least in civilized communities, they are of secondary importance, if not merely clinical curiosities. Add to these the diseases which, if not eradicated, have at least been substantially reduced, diseases like tuberculosis, diphtheria, the diarrheal diseases of children, and the like, and we begin to approximate the measure of greatness in health achievement witnessed in the period previous to 1910.

But having contrasted the old with the new, having reviewed the roll of the diseases conquered—seeing further how life has been prolonged from an expectancy at birth of forty years, in the time of our great-grandfathers, to a life expectancy of fifty-nine years for our children, having considered all this, it is but proper that we should ask how did this come about? What were the forces that made for this progress?

Progress of any kind is usually the resultant of many forces and, among these, some must be outstanding. The outstanding forces responsible for our great health progress may be named under three divisions—individual genius, enlightened government, and advancing economic conditions.

How can one account for the conquest of smallpox without taking into consideration the contributions of individual genius? Smallpox is a disease as old as mankind itself and for centuries

continued its ravages unabated and unchecked. Then, but a while ago, an English country-town practitioner, somewhat bored by the duties of his everyday practice, literally stumbled across an observation which brought to the surface the genius within him and, gave us the first great immunilogic instrument: the weapon with which to conquer smallpox. How great an achievement this was may be judged by the enthusiasm with which the world received vaccinia.

No less a rôle did individual genius play in the conquest of yellow fever. Less widespread, but more destructive than smallpox, yellow fever slaughtered thousands upon thousands of victims. I have already mentioned the great Philadelphia epidemic of 1793 in which one out of every ten inhabitants died. Between 1702 and 1800 yellow fever raised its destructive hydra head in the United States no less than thirty-five times. And from 1800 to 1873 yellow fever appeared somewhere in the United States every year. You know how the Panama Canal construction attempted by the French was rendered fruitless by yellow fever. And you know how this same disease hampered the work of the United States engineers, until Reed and Gorgas solved the riddle of yellow fever. Here, again, it was individual genius, involving now not one but several individuals, that won for mankind victory over one of its great enemies.

Numerous were the contributions which individual genius made to our great health progress, but individual genius alone would hardly have sufficed to bring us so far on the path of public-health progress had not enlightened government applied, for the welfare of the community, the scientific facts discovered by the genius of individuals. One pointed, though negative illustration of this, is the story of Semmelweis, the great Hungarian physician, who even before our poet scientist, Holmes, discovered the infectious character of the cause of childbed fever. It was Semmelweis who observed that childbed fever, "all too often" terminating in the death of the delivered mother, was most common where the physician was "most unwashed." He urged common cleanliness and sanitation on the part of the physician attending the woman in labor. But in spite of the fact that his observations were correct and that his advice was fundamentally sound, he was too far ahead of his time, and neither the government nor his colleagues were enlightened enough to benefit by his observations. Poor Semmelweis was jeered at

for his trouble, until the bitter injustice he suffered upset his mind.

After Jenner's great discovery was demonstrated beyond all shadow of doubt, practically every civilized country in the world made vaccination compulsory. The results were phenomenal. Smallpox was robbed of its terror. Individual genius and enlightened government combined to make living safer. Now there remains for consideration the third great force, that of advancing economic conditions. In discussing this item, I am usually tempted to draw my illustrations from certain phases of the history of New York City.

New York City can now boast of an excellent water supply and a fairly good sewage system. Coming to New York you may drink water with a sense of safety, having no fear of typhoid. But this wasn't always so. In the days of the backyard outhouse and the backyard well, typhoid was common in the City. Its elimination was promoted by the laterday developed sewer system and our great water systems. But these were brought into being more in response to the economic needs of our community than because of the demands of public health. Whatever the motives may have been the ever advancing economic conditions have made their substantial contribution to the furthering of public health. And thus we see, how the operation of the three main forces, individual genius, enlightened government, and advancing economic conditions have brought us to that stage of high public-health development prevailing today.

So much for our progress in the past, and now, what of tomorrow and what of the day after? Are we to continue making the same progress as we have made in the past and will this program be due to the operation of the older forces, or must we develop new ones?

In the realm of economic science, there is a law known as the law of diminishing returns. This law seems to operate as well in the realm of public-health endeavor as in that of economics. For we see how in many a field our investment in effort, with the passing of time, brings ever smaller and smaller returns. Consider, for example, our tuberculosis movement and note how our rate of progress has declined of late, and almost in inverse ratio to the efforts we invest in the movement.

The law of diminishing returns certainly seems to affect the operation of the three forces we have enumerated before. Great

as has been the progress made in the past, we may not hope for as much in the future unless new forces be brought into operation. And this must be readily evident. Not all of the outstanding diseases are amenable to control by the genius of individuals, by enlightened government, or by advancing economic conditions. There is available a vaccine that will immunize against smallpox, but because of this may we also hope for a vaccine that will immunize against bad mental hygiene? There are laws operating to compel the pasteurization of milk, but may we ever hope to spread among the people the good sense needed to drink milk by placing laws upon our statute books?

Even where individual genius and enlightened government have made their contributions, because there is oft lacking a something else, certain diseases remain unconquered. Allow me to illustrate my meaning by a consideration of diphtheria. You know that we have both a positive cure and a positive safeguard against this disease and, yet, every year in my community and I believe in yours, too, there are scores and scores of children needless victims of diphtheria. Why? Individual genius has done its part in discovering the cure, antitoxin, and the preventive, toxin-antitoxin. Enlightened government has contributed its share towards the war against diphtheria. And yet, the final battle has not been won. Why? The answer in part is as follows:

The great public-health progress of the past has been made without the active coöperation, ofttimes without the sympathy, without the understanding, and even against the opposition of the average man and woman in the community. Our citizens have been the passive recipients of the benefits of public health, in the promotion of which they have had no share and played no rôle. What had the average man in the street to do with the elimination of typhoid or with the control of malaria? Far too often, the average man's appreciation of public health is confined to the begrudging conformity with laws that are to him little more than a nuisance and the significance of which he does not understand. But, if we are to continue making progress in public health, this condition must be altered. Our citizens must be made to join the army of public health, they must serve as soldiers in the war against disease and not be, as so many are, slackers in ignorant league with death and disease.

But to enlist our citizens in the army of public health they first need health education. It is to health education then that we must look to for new momentum in our public-health progress. It is health education that will be the driving force of the public-health movement of the future. And that this is no vain prophecy may be seen from the following: Consider, if you will, certain of the present-day health problems. Consider, for example, the problem of mental hygiene or the problem of social hygiene or the problem of the so-called degenerative diseases. Is there any hope that these problems may ever be solved save through the education of the individual? Certain it is that we can hope for no serum, vaccine, pill, or powder that will endow a man with good mental habits and safeguard him against bad mental hygiene. All the laws of all the statute books since time immemorial have as yet failed to eliminate or solve the social-hygiene problem. And I know of no medicament that has proved effective in keeping the go-getting American from wearing himself out prematurely. On the other hand, health education seems to hold out some promise in the solution of these problems.

Consider further this phase in the matter. The public-health movement of the past concerned itself primarily with the conquest of disease and the prolongation of life. The modern public-health movement has learned to appreciate that life has more than one dimension, that a long life is desirable, but a healthy as well as a long life is preferable. The modern public-health movement has set itself the task not only of eliminating disease and of prolonging life, but also of improving the qualities of existence, and here health education plays its prŏminent rôle. For much of good health depends upon the intelligent utilization of our body resources—an intelligence which each individual must possess and which he can acquire only through health education.

In the past public health has done things for the individual; now, to frame it tersely, the individual must be taught to do things for himself. He must be health educated.

And now there is but one more point that I would like to consider, and that is the part the practising physician is to play in the promotion of health education. It is a regrettable but historically correct fact that the public-health movement in the United States, and for that matter throughout the world, came into being, developed, and flourished without the aid and often despite the opposition of organized medicine.

At first blush this is a shocking realization and yet one easily explained. The profession of medicine is an individualist profession, and its practitioners by heritage, training and tradition look with suspicion if not hostility on all mass movements. Time there was when this attitude was justifiable, but as relates to the public-health movement, that time is long past. Organized medicine and the private practitioner now have it incumbent upon them to join the public-health movement and to do their proper share of the work. This they must do—or they will be left behind.

And to my mind there is no phase of the public-health movement where the physician can function as well as in promoting health education. He has the necessary technical knowledge and exceptional opportunities. All he needs is a little training in pedagogy, and the willingness to pitch in.

VI. ACCIDENTS AND SAFETY EDUCATION[18]

Earl E. Muntz

No account of urban health could be complete without a consideration of the growing list of disablements and casualties resulting from accidents of various sorts and from occupational diseases. In 1930, accidents took the lives of approximately 99,000 persons in the United States, much the larger proportion occurring in urban communities. The death rate from all accidents decreased from 85.5 per 100,000 population in 1913 to 68.7 in 1921, but since 1921 has shown a fairly steady increase. Motor vehicle accidents account almost entirely for the increase in casualties, other accidents showing a downward tendency in almost every instance as may be seen in the compilation as shown on p. 113, arranged from the United States Census Bureau data.[19]

Accidents cause about 6 per cent of all the deaths occurring in the United States, ranking as the seventh most important cause of death. Among young children, from one to four years of age, accidents are the second most important cause of death, but in the next age groups, from five to nine and from ten to fourteen, accidents assume first place. In the age group from fifteen to

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[18] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 4, December, 1931, pp. 215–224.

[19] Accident Facts, 1930. *Ibid.*, 1931, The National Safety Council, pp. 15–17.

nineteen, accidents as a cause of death are exceeded only by tuberculosis which has a death rate some 30 per cent higher. It is, however, encouraging to note that accidents to children are actually declining in recent years, but unfortunately the same period has witnessed an increase in the rate of accidents to adults.

Year	*Incidence of All Accidents per 100,000 Population*	*Automobile Accidents*	*Other Accidents*
1913	85 5	3 9	81 6
1915	76 6	5 9	70 7
1917	88 2	9 0	79 2
1919	72 0	9 4	62 6
1921	68 4	11 4	57 0
1923	75 8	14 7	61 1
1925	78 5	17 1	61 4
1927	78 6	19 6	59.0
1928	79 4	20 8	58 6
1929	80 9	23 3	57 6
1930*	80 4	24 8	55 6

* Estimated.

The automobile accounts in large measure for the great increase in fatal and nonfatal accidents during the last fifteen years. In 1928, there were 24,932 deaths in motor vehicle accidents; in 1929, 29,531; while in 1930, the figure had increased to 31,273. Although the accident death rate from this cause has been steadily increasing relative to the population, the rate per 100,000 cars showed a considerable decline from 1924 to 1928. Since the latter date the rate has been rapidly rising. Thus an increase of .08 of 1 per cent in motor vehicles for 1930 as against 1929 was accompanied by an increase of 3.3 per cent in automobile fatalities for the same period.[20] A complete record of nonfatal automobile accident injuries is not available, but the National Safety Council estimates from such data as is available that there are about 1,000,000 such injuries annually. The National Conference on Street and Highway Safety in 1924 placed the cost of motor vehicle accidents at $600,000,000, and allowing for a 50 per cent increase in motor vehicle fatalities since that time $850,000,000 may be taken as a very conservative estimate for 1929. The death rates from automobile accidents in rural districts have shown a more rapid increase during the last twelve years than those in the large cities, and since 1925 the ratio of

[20] *The New York Herald-Tribune*, August 23, 1931. Quoting report of American Motorists' Association.

increase has been less for the larger cities having a population of 100,000 or more than for the smaller cities and for the country at large. This is no doubt a result of more stringent traffic control in the larger urban centers.

The relative importance of the various types of automobile accidents may be seen at a glance from the following table of nonfatal motor vehicle injuries, which, although not complete, may be taken as fairly representative.

NONFATAL MOTOR VEHICLE INJURIES BY AGE OF VICTIM AND TYPE OF ACCIDENT, 1929[21]

(From Reports to National Safety Council by Certain Police Departments and Motor Vehicle Bureaus)

Type of Accident	*All Ages*	0–4	5–14	15–54	55 *and Over*
Motor vehicle with pedestrian	102,726	7,441	33,410	47,980	13,895
Motor vehicle with motor vehicle	106,350	3,224	8,200	87,577	7,349
Motor vehicle with railroad train	1,465	24	161	1,188	92
Motor vehicle with electric car	6,073	108	387	5,199	379
Motor vehicle with bicycle	4,710	37	2,364	2,212	97
Motor vehicle with horse-drawn vehicle	2,117	17	129	1,658	313
Motor vehicle with animal	80	0	11	65	4
Motor vehicle with fixed object	11,028	174	605	9,607	642
Noncollision operating accident	8,743	221	638	7,259	625
Nonoperating accident	210	3	11	188	8
Total	243,502	11,249	45,916	162,933	23,404

It is a surprising fact that reported fatal home accidents for the past two years have just about matched the total of industrial fatalities. For the year 1929, the National Safety Council estimates not less than 23,000 home accidents which resulted in death.[22] The importance of home accidents varies considerably from place to place and at different seasons of the year. Thus in Providence, Rhode Island, home accidents have caused almost one half of all accidental deaths over a considerable period of time, and in Birmingham, Alabama, home accidents accounted

[21] Accident Facts, 1930, The National Safety Council, p. 34.

[22] Subsequent data have caused the National Safety Council to increase the above estimate to about 30,000, which figure has likewise been accepted for 1930, thus representing a slight decline relative to the population for 1930 compared with 1929. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 47.

for 368 deaths as against 286 from motor vehicle accidents over a six-year period. The greatest frequency of home accidents occurs during the winter months because the exposure is greater—people stay at home more and remain indoors, thus increasing the danger from burns and asphyxiation.

There are four principal types of home accidents—falls; burns, scalds, and explosions; asphyxiation and suffocation; and poisons. Of these, falls account for about 40 per cent of all accidental deaths, and do not show any marked seasonal trend. Next in importance come burns, scalds, and explosions, which show a decided seasonal trend, the greatest frequency being in the cold winter months. More than 25 per cent of all accidental deaths of children under five years of age are caused by burns. Asphyxiation and suffocation rank as the third most important cause of accidental home deaths, also showing a strong seasonal incidence in favor of winter months. Poisons constitute the fourth leading cause of home deaths. Medicines, insecticides, cleaning fluids, and other poisonous materials left within reach of children play a leading rôle in child deaths by poison. About 40 per cent of all deaths by poisoning are of children under 15 years of age. It is estimated that there are about 150 to 200 nonfatal accidents in the home to every fatality. On this basis, home disability accidents probably range from 3,500,000 to 4,000,000 per year.[23]

In the category of public accidents we may include all accidents not resulting from motor vehicle mishaps, industrial occupation, or occurring at home. Approximately 20,000 persons are killed annually in accidents that occur in public places and do not involve a motor vehicle, while injuries number about 2,500,000. The most important types of public accidents are drowning, railroad, and street-car or interurban accidents, which together embrace about 54 per cent of the fatalities in this group. Drownings, as might be expected, show their greatest frequency in the summer. Over one third of the deaths by drowning occurred in the age group from 10 to 24 and 56.3 per cent were of persons under 25 years of age. Firearm accidents also show a preponderance in the early age groups and are most frequent in the winter months. During the last decade fatalities in railroad accidents have ranged between 6,000 and 7,000 annually. Grade-crossing

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[23] Accident Facts, 1930, pp. 52–55.
Public Safety, IV, 1 (January, 1930), pp. 10–11.

fatalities lead all others, followed by those of trespassers, employees, and passengers. Aviation accidents have naturally shown an increase during the last ten years as a result of the great interest in flying, but the number of miles flown per accident shows a considerable increase.[24]

As generally happens when society first becomes conscious of a serious problem, legislation is resorted to as a cure-all. Such is the case with reference to many of the causes of modern accidents. True enough, legislation is a necessary and a valuable ally in prevention work, but there are serious limitations arising from the fact that we cannot legislate knowledge into the human mind and eliminate ignorance by simple fiat. That must be the work of education in accident prevention, the importance of which we shall note subsequently.

Traffic accidents have long held a prominent place, even in the days of the horse-drawn vehicle. It is, therefore, surprising to note that such an important police function as traffic regulation should so recently have been developed in American municipalities. It was not until 1903, when the automobile had become fairly common, that New York City drafted its first police regulations for the control of street traffic, and this was possible only after years of educational campaigning for systematic traffic control. So successful were these early "rules for driving" that they were widely copied with modifications here and there by municipalities all over the United States and in Europe. The modifications, however, soon resulted in a most heterogeneous mass of traffic regulations, peculiarly local in scope and application, and so diverse at times that diametrically opposite traffic regulations existed in neighboring communities. Thus legislation, which aimed largely at the mitigation of traffic accidents, frequently became a causative rather than a preventive factor, for the motorist, accustomed to the regulations of one community, could not help but transgress the law in others, and in so doing frequently became the unwitting cause of serious accidents. As we all know, this bewildering state of affairs with reference to traffic regulations is still common. Fortunately, however, there is a growing tendency in recent years to establish uniform traffic ordinances. This has been occasioned by greater coöperation between communities, the educational work of

[24] Accident Facts, 1930, pp. 42–51; *Ibid.*, 1931, pp. 39–46.

various governmental and private agencies in proposing uniform traffic acts, and, finally, by the passage in a number of States of uniform traffic laws, the application of which embraces the entire State.

It would be well at this point to consider certain additional factors necessary for the prevention of motor vehicle accidents. Traffic rules and regulations do not control the conduct of the driver, nor determine his fitness to drive. For that reason it is essential that every qualified driver be licensed by the State. To show his fitness the prospective operator is required to furnish proof of his physical qualifications, his mental capacity, knowledge of the automobile, and to demonstrate his ability to operate it. Many States give the owner of a car, *ipso facto*, the right to operate it, but the growing tendency is to require proof of fitness to drive in every case. Examinations of this sort do not, however, reveal the licensee's character, his tendency towards recklessness, his failing for intoxicants, and disregard for the rights of others. Such predispositions can only be curbed by the State reserving the right—and exercising the right—to revoke permanently or temporarily the licenses of those who demonstrate that they are unsafe drivers. Compulsory periodic inspections of all licensed automobiles offer much in the way of reducing accidents caused by defective brakes, steering apparatus, headlights, and other equipment. It is the consensus of opinion that no licenses should be granted for old cars which no longer can be kept in a mechanically safe condition.[25] To weed out the reckless and the financially irresponsible driver a movement has been set on foot in many jurisdictions to compel every owner or operator of a motor vehicle to post a bond or carry automobile casualty insurance to assure the public of his financial responsibility. Sometimes such insurance is only required after the motorist has been involved in an accident. Intelligent highway engineering is another important and necessary factor in accident prevention. Similarly, protected railway grade crossings, or better still the elimination of grade crossings, will reduce a large percentage of accidents and fatalities.

Legislation as a means of curbing home accidents offers at best but little promise. The activities of people in their own

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[25] Ways and Means to Traffic Safety, Recommendations of the National Conference on Street and Highway Safety, May, 1930.

homes are less controlled than under almost any other circumstances, consequently legal checks will scarcely prove of much value. Nevertheless, there are many laws which indirectly help to reduce home accidents. Such, for instance, are regulations embraced in housing laws, which provide for fire escapes, fireproof construction, safeguarding open stairways, and other hazards particularly common to the tenement house type. Indirectly any legislation prohibiting the ownership or use of firearms affords potential home protection, for it is in the home that accidental shootings are most apt to occur, especially when the weapon falls into the ever curious hands of children. Similarly, the modern trend towards a safe and sane Fourth of July, as exemplified in the increasing number of municipal ordinances prohibiting the sale of fireworks, is bearing fruit in a very considerable reduction of accidents from this cause. From the above examples it is clear that the sphere of legislation is necessarily confined to providing safe conditions, as far as is practicable. Accidental falls, burns, scalds, and other home accidents too numerous to mention cannot be reduced by legislative fiat.

Public accidents, like home accidents, can be controlled by law only to the extent that it is possible to provide safety devices, safety rules, and safe conditions in public places, on street cars, railroad trains, elevators, and the like. Legal restrictions regarding bathing at public beaches, the setting off of safety zones, and the provision of life guards have reduced the number of drownings—but only at public resorts where local ordinances are applicable.

Bearing in mind, then, the inadequacies of law as a means of preventing accidents, let us inquire into the part which education plays, or may be expected to play, in the near future. The adult population cannot readily be reached by such direct agencies as the public schools. The school child is the involuntary recipient of safety education where it appears as part of the curriculum, but the adult may or may not interest himself in such matters where legal compulsion is lacking. Thus it is necessary that the public interest be aroused in devious ways as to methods of accident prevention. Many examples might be cited. For example, with reference to traffic accidents, numerous communities are finding it profitable to place posters with terse comments, or practical advice, along the highways or city streets. A custom, which has found favor in some communities, is to erect wooden

crosses, one for each fatality, at the roadside wherever a fatal accident has occurred, or, in the cities, to mark the spot by painting white crosses on the roadway. It is possible that these mute warnings have more effect on the would-be reckless driver than all other forms of caution. Various public transportation companies have long waged campaigns against careless pedestrians or automobile drivers through the liberal use of posters and signs in their passenger cars, trolleys, and busses. Newspapers and such special agencies as the National Safety Council, the American Motorists' Association, life and casualty insurance companies, through giving much space and attention to safety information and accident prevention in general, must not be overlooked as primary educational agents in this work. In many places, public authorities, such as municipal departments of public welfare, are doing much to spread information relative to the causes and the prevention of accidents of various kinds. The radio and moving pictures are likewise utilized to good advantage. Radio talks as generally presented, however, are apt to prove boresome to the listening public, but short dramatic sketches do hold the attention. Since every accident is a matter of human interest, it would seem that one of the most forceful means of presenting safety education to the public would be to dramatize accidents of various types over the radio or in the movies.

In many schools formal instruction in safety work and accident prevention is now offered to the pupils. A number of excellent handbooks are available for the use of school children. As might be expected, considerable stress is placed on traffic hazards from the pedestrian's standpoint, thus helping to make the child conscious of the dangers which beset him while on the public highways. A valuable suggestion is to reinforce such instruction with one or two addresses in the school by a member of the local police force selected for his knowledge of traffic conditions and safety measures, and his ability to explain such matters to children. It would seem that the proper time to give such instruction is at the earliest possible age, for the sooner a child is acquainted with traffic hazards, the more effective such instruction will be. General rules and advice about crossing streets, playing in the public highways, "hitching rides," and other dangerous practices can be explained quite easily in an elementary fashion to the child when he first enters school, and can be repeated at frequent intervals. Traffic regulations and safety

measures may well be treated in greater detail in the following school years.

Inasmuch as every normal child must be regarded as a potential driver of motor vehicles within a few years after leaving school, it seems reasonable to assert that safety education should not stop with the rights and duties of the pedestrian, but by the seventh or eighth school year the child should be acquainted with the "rules of the road," and the rights, duties, and responsibilities of the automobilist. Without doubt, such preliminary instruction afforded to the future automobile driver would bear fruit in better understanding, a deeper consideration of the rights of others, more caution, and greater care in the handling of motor vehicles by boys and girls when they arrive at the minimum age at which they are permitted to drive a car.

Safety education in the public schools is not, however, to be confined to traffic hazards alone, but if carefully planned would embrace cautions about the use of matches, the danger of gas leaks, the avoidance of poisonous substances and of firearms, which are occasionally left within reach of children. First-aid instruction is of primary importance, especially for the children in the higher age groups. In this connection, perhaps, it would not be amiss to give demonstrations in the prone system of resuscitation. This could well be done as part of the work in physical education, for the knowledge so acquired would be visual and not merely a matter of memory retention. In technical or vocational schools the elements of industrial safety and accident prevention merit a definite place.

It may be objected here and there that safety education in the public schools is but another of the so-called fads or frills which occasion so much popular antipathy. A moment's reflection, however, is sufficient to convince one that this is not so. Urbanization is increasing at a more rapid pace than ever before. It is an incontrovertible fact that accident hazards in the modern city are mounting with rapid strides, partially as a result of increasing density of population and partially as a result of the mechanization of life and industry. The latter fact holds true for the rural population as well. Safety education, then, must be regarded from the very necessity of the case as an essential of the present-day curriculum. It is intensely practical; it is education in self-maintenance—a product of the exigencies of modern life.

VII. NARCOTIC ADDICTION AS AN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM[26]

E. George Payne

The control of the use of drugs is essentially a problem of social control, and social control, in the complex civilization of the twentieth century, is primarily a matter of education. We do not wish to minimize the importance of police powers in the social organization or to underrate the legal aspects of the problem; but laws that do not have their basis in social practices, attitudes, and ideals have no chance of enforcement. The United States has had some recent experiences demonstrating this fact so effectively that it hesitates to attempt legislation to effect social control among people who in large measure are opposed to the legislation passed. There is no wish here to imply that the prohibition against the manufacture and use of alcoholic beverages has been essentially a failure in the United States, but rather to indicate that in those sections of the country where the people were overwhelmingly against the prohibition law they have, in large measure, disregarded it and no police powers have been effective in enforcing the law. A wisely conceived plan of education would probably have accomplished more in the same period of time.

The essential point is that laws must follow public opinion and not create public opinion. The creation of public opinion is the function of education, and this is true whether public opinion relates to the manufacture, distribution, or use of an article of commerce. We are therefore convinced that any effort at control of drug addiction must fall back upon education as the most fundamental weapon with which to fight the improper use of drugs and to confine them to their legitimate and humane purposes. In relying upon education, we are reverting to the most fundamental factor in social control without which all other factors will prove futile. So much for the theory of the place of education in the control of the proper use of narcotic drugs.

So far as the United States is concerned, the legal status of education has already been determined in that the States which are responsible for the schools have required that instruction in

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[26] "The Menace of Narcotic Drugs," Prentice-Hall, 1931, pp. 233–243.

the nature and effects of narcotic drugs be included in the curricula of the schools.

By virtue of the Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, providing free public education is the concern of the individual States or the people thereof. The matter of providing free public education is not a delegated power to the Federal Government, but is a reserved power of the States. The States for a long time neglected to exercise this power and looked to their citizens to direct the education of their children. It is, however, not beyond the power of the States to provide compulsory education for the children residing therein. Compulsory education laws have been enacted in every state in the Union and they have been sustained as constitutional. At first it was thought that these laws were an infringement of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution in that they deprived the persons of the respective States of their liberty without due process of law. They were upheld, however, as constitutional in that they were within the proper exercise of the police power of the individual States; this was based on the theory that the children, the State's future citizens, must not be left uneducated.[27]

The police power is a principle of American law that the State governments possess the right to regulate persons and property in the interest of the general welfare. It is a vague phrase, but, by judicial interpretation, it has allowed a wide range of legislation, such as factory legislation, the regulation of the hours of labor, and health laws, in addition to educational laws. One could hardly urge that compulsory narcotic drug education in the States is in violation of the exercise of the police power of the States and therefore is unconstitutional.

Every one of the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the United States provide for instruction in the evil effects of narcotics, except that Arkansas merely provides for instruction in human physiology and hygiene which might logically include narcotic drug addiction; other State legislation makes specific reference to instruction in the evils of alcohol, tobacco, narcotics, stimulants, or other drugs. It is interesting to note, however, that there is sometimes a confusion in the terminology employed by State laws, indicating that the exact

[27] State v. Bailey, 157 Ind. 324.

meaning of the term "narcotics" was not always understood by those responsible for framing these laws. Nevertheless, the purpose of these laws is usually clear whether directly or indirectly expressed, and in most cases could be readily interpreted to include narcotics as they have been defined in this book.

Thirty-eight jurisdictions provide for compulsory "habit-forming drug" education in all of the schools maintained in part or wholly by State funds; 11 make specific provision for such education in public elementary schools, 1 in the public high schools, 6 in the public normal schools, and 3 in the public military and naval academies or public colleges and universities. Of course it must be remembered that the term "public school," which is used in 32 State laws, would by interpretation include the public elementary, junior high, senior high, and normal schools, also public colleges and universities, if any.

An analysis of the above-mentioned legislation reveals the following deficiency: Only 6 States provide specifically for narcotic education in their normal schools. Again, however, it might be argued that the term "public school" includes the "public normal school," but in common parlance this is not so. To avoid the issue, the State statutes should be altered to provide specifically such education in their public teacher-training institutions. Such a provision would be designed not only to protect the adolescent youths attending these teacher-training institutions, but also to equip these prospective teachers with the knowledge of narcotic drugs necessary properly to instruct their future pupils in the elementary and secondary schools. The school teacher is the crux of the success of the entire program of compulsory narcotic drug education. This program can be no more successful than the work of the classroom teacher in presenting to his pupils the evil effects of narcotics.

Several of the existing educational statutes relating to narcotics provide punishment for officials who refuse, fail, or neglect to enforce them. Colorado, the District of Columbia, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, West Virginia, have visited the severe punishment of removal from office upon the proper authority for guilt in the matter. Other States are more lenient for this transgression of the law. The guilty school officer in Illinois is fined $5 to $25 for each offense, in New Hampshire $200, and in Washington $100. There are still other States that insure the enforcement of the narcotic education laws by with-

holding State appropriations for the maintenance of the culpable schools. This is the situation in the States of Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, South Dakota, and Washington.[28]

It will be readily seen from the foregoing analysis of State laws that the problem of education is not primarily one of legal requirements, although there is a recognized deficiency with regard to specific provision for narcotic instruction in State normal schools. The principal weakness of the educational program lies in the extent to which these well conceived laws have been carried out. Following the general American custom, legislators, under the pressure and influence of philanthropic organizations interested in the promotion of public welfare, pass laws adequately designed, but often do not take into account elements involved in carrying out the provisions of these laws. The legislators have steamed ahead without taking into account the status and point of view of the institution upon which they place the burden of making the spirit and intent of the law effective. The legislatures of the various States, in a word, placed upon the schools the task of instructing the youth in the nature and effects of narcotic drugs when the educators upon whom the solution of the problem is placed had themselves little understanding of or acquaintance with the problem with which they were supposed to deal. The law makers seem to imagine that the passage of the laws guarantees their effective operation, and in the case of narcotic drugs there was little penetration into the complicated machinery involved in the operation of the laws when once placed upon the statute books. The weakness of the program lies here.

The World Conference on Narcotic Education, having discovered the legal status of education, sought to discover what the actual status was by inquiring of the school superintendents of the country, state, county, and city the extent to which they were carrying out the provisions of the laws. This result was not so encouraging. From 5000 questionnaires sent to as many superintendents, college officials, and normal schools, replies were received as indicated in the following summary:

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[28] The author is indebted to Dr. J. H. Landman, instructor in the College of the City of New York, for this analysis of State laws. The research into the legal status of narcotic education was made by Dr. Landman for the World Conference on Narcotic Education.

THE NUMBER REPLYING

County superintendents	485
City superintendents	126
State superintendents	26
Colleges	5
Teachers colleges	48
Unclassified	14
Total	704

1. Do you include instruction in the nature and effect of habit-forming drugs (other than alcohol and tobacco) in your curriculum?

Yes	451
No	205
No report	48

2. Check the divisions in which instruction is included.

	Number of Mentions
a. Senior high school	251
b. Junior high school	310
c. Grades	433

3. In what subject or subjects is the instruction included?

	Number of Mentions
Hygiene	272
Physiology	247
Health	165
Biology	66
General science	60
Civics	19
Physical education	18
Citizenship	13
Sociology	11
Chemistry	9
Economics	8
Social science	6
Psychology	4
Character training	3
Athletics	2
Lectures	2
English	1
Nature study	1
General exercise	1
Dietetics	1
First aid	1
Industry and business	1
Problems of democracy	1

4. Has there been a discovery of the use of habit-forming drugs (other than alcohol and tobacco) among the school children in your city (school)?

Yes	7
No	658
Probably none	8
No report	31

The returns represent about 14 per cent of the inquiries sent out and later returns which do not invalidate the result have increased this to about 20 per cent. Of these 20 per cent, about 70 per cent indicated that they had definite instruction in the nature and effect of narcotic drugs included as a definite part of the program of instruction.

The results of this questionnaire are on the surface discouraging, and the conclusion appears to be that little is actually being done. The hopeful thing about these data is the fact that a number of those responsible for instruction in the schools are striving to deal with a very complicated situation, and that what is greatly needed is a program adequate to realize their purposes. The data also indicate that the legislation was premature and should not have been passed without taking the educator into account. If the educators had been called into conference and had been given time to formulate a program and if they had been allowed to participate in the formulation of the legislation, different outcomes would no doubt have been experienced. As a matter of fact, the laws were passed, the legislatures adjourned, no penalties were actually imposed for nonenforcement (even though the laws provided for such penalties), and the educator, knowing little of the problem and having his hands full of other matters, for the most part ignored the legislation. It is a wonder that anything at all should have been done under the circumstances. There is encouragement in the fact that a considerable percentage of those responsible for our educational programs and policies are striving to meet the social situation without reference to the legal status.

Chapter IV

The Expanding Function of Education—Civic Education

I. INTRODUCTION

Interest in civic education has been a marked characteristic of educational writings and programs since the establishment of the New England common schools, in which people had such great faith, considering them a necessity as a basis for adequate citizenship and a powerful instrument in the training of the people for correct behavior in a democracy. This unbounded faith in the common schools did not, however, imply a need for special emphasis upon civic behavior in the curriculum but rather a belief in the validity of the fundamentals, the three "R's," and their adequacy to educate the youth in the essentials of a democracy. This faith persisted throughout the 19th century.

However, along with the development in the 19th century, fundamental changes were taking place in our social structure which led to a growing skepticism as to the validity of the existing program of the public school to accomplish the task of civic education.

The scientific movement revolutionized our thought as to the nature and function of life. Inventions and the resultant development of industries and commerce revolutionized the social order. The development of transportation and communication precipitated a reconstruction of our social relations, readjustments in industry and in commerce, a reconstruction of family life and the appearance of completely new factors in human association.

These fundamental changes here outlined created numerous social problems, such as the incompetency of public officials to meet the complex demands for adequate government in urban communities, actual graft in public life, which transcended incompetency, together with the growth of crime and the marked increase in juvenile delinquency. All of these conditions forced a reconstruction of the problem of civic education. We were completely disillusioned as to the validity of the fundamentals as conceived by a 19th century educator to equip a person for the civic life.

As a result, there developed widespread interest in the problem of civic education, and in no field have writers and organizations been more active in emphasizing upon education the need for more effective citizenship.

The following selections indicate certain aspects of that interest and represent the sociological influences operating to modify the curriculum and educational programs with reference to civic education. Naturally, the amount of material available makes the selection difficult and inadequate for complete understanding of the problem of civic education. However, they do illustrate the main topic under consideration, the expanding function of education as a result of the changes in the social order, a problem with which educational sociology is primarily concerned.

II. A NEGLECTED FACTOR IN EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP[1]

JOSEPH R. GEIGER

We pride ourselves in America on our public schools and on our compulsory education laws—and thus fortify our faith in democracy. We can also point with pride (and with a measure of hope) to an increasing emphasis, in our educational systems,

[1] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 7, March, 1933, pp. 417–426.

on what is called "training for citizenship." But the training thus afforded prospective citizens would seem to be largely inspired by the romantic tradition—the equality of all men by reason of their native endowment—and thus to be predicated on the assumption that the average voter some day will (and ought to) be a ruler, or at least will be called upon to vote on intricate and technical questions which only the expert should presume to decide.

That education for civic duties should be so conceived and administered is largely due, we take it, to two circumstances growing out of the political realities with which we are faced. One of these is that we are not as yet consciously committed to the true or proper conception of representative government; and the other is the fact that we must somehow make provision in our educational schemes for the stimulation and development of political leadership among those who attend our schools. This latter necessity must, of course, be provided for. Needless to say, it is only partially met by the citizenship courses now being offered in high schools and colleges. In the meantime, there is another sort of training for citizenship which the rank and file of prospective voters sorely need but are not likely to realize from curricular procedures now available to them; namely, an intelligent appreciation of the ideal of government by the best, and an intelligent, persuasive respect for the authority of those best qualified to govern. It is with the latter phase of such an educational desideratum that this paper is primarily concerned.

Fortunately, the sort of training for citizenship thus contemplated will not require the inculcation of ideas and the building up of attitudes which are entirely foreign to the popular mind as it is now constituted. On the contrary, a great deal may be taken for granted in the way of respect for specialized knowledge and skill. No one now presumes to be his own doctor or lawyer; or undertakes to teach his own children, to make his own clothes, or to repair his own car. In numerous ways, and with reference to an almost endless variety of needs, all of us are already committed to a recognition of the authority of the expert. What, then, is required if this indispensable condition of the freedom of the individual is so to operate as to produce its maximum fruits in our American life? Or, more specifically, what educational procedures may be employed to extend this prevalent

reliance on specialized knowledge and skill in their more obviously urgent applications to their less palpable, but equally urgent uses in the realm of good government?

Now there is a larger aspect of this problem with which this paper will not presume to concern itself. We refer to the question as to what might be accomplished in this connection by producing an appropriate impact upon the popular mind through a judicious control of various agencies and institutions other than the school. The suggestions occurring to the writer have rather to do with the content of a possible orientation course, suitable, perhaps, for lower division students in colleges. These suggestions, needless to say, are not considered as being in any sense final or exhaustive as to the educational implications of our problem. On the contrary, they are offered as being only more or less indicative, to the writer, of the sort of curricular influences the rank and file of college youth most need to encounter if they are to qualify for good citizenship.

There is one type of influence which would seem to make for respect for expert knowledge and skill through producing the negative effect of building up an immunity to mass suggestion and to other forms of irrational stimulation within the social environment. Reference here is, in general, to the sort of things emphasized many years ago by Professor Ross in his "Social Psychology" in connection with the discussion of the "prophylactics against the mob mind." Since the appearance of "Social Psychology," the need of Professor Ross's "prophylactics"—and as many others as are available—has been greatly intensified by the operation of new and more subtle means of irrational stimulation. What these are, and the nature of the technique through which they operate, need not detain us. Modern advertising in its various forms, tabloid and other sensational newspapers, news reels, "educational" films, photoplays, best seller novels, and the various and sundry assaults made on the mind through the radio—these are too notorious as to the logic of their appeal to require comment. But what is to be done about them? In a very large measure their effect is to destroy sanity of outlook and soundness of judgment. They set in motion trends of thought and feeling which run counter to the influences emanating from dependable sources of insight and opinion. How are these effects on the immature mind to be offset?

The only suggestion the writer has to make in this connection, other than to call attention once more to Professor Ross's famous prescriptions, is that we must "fight fire with fire." The import of this cryptic advice will become obvious once it is recognized that the "mob mind" is built up through the simple device of exploiting human nature, and that a comparative immunity to its manifestations may be built up by means of the same device. Anomalous and pathological phenomena in our social behavior are conditioned by the operation of certain laws of behavior, so that whoever understands these laws, and is sufficiently interested, can produce the phenomena in question. But human nature is a complex affair, and there are other laws than these which may be understood and manipulated. One of them is that a knowledge of how we tend to behave under certain conditions complicates the situation when these conditions are present, and so modifies their effect as stimuli.

The first emphasis in our orientation course, then, would be psychological; and our aim would be to create on the part of the student what, for want of a better term, we may call the "psychological point of view." By the "psychological point of view" we wish to be understood as meaning such a grasp of the facts and principles of psychology as will enable and dispose one to stand on the outside of one's own experience and on the inside of the experience of others. The importance of the ability and disposition so to relate oneself to one's own experience and to the experience of others lies in the fact that one is thereby enabled, in a measure, to play the rôle of spectator, as well as that of participant in the affairs of life. To play such a rôle with respect to the issues of social intercourse is to realize for oneself something of what Arnold meant by "seeing life steadily and seeing it whole." Such an attitude, to be sure, is not all of what wisdom means, but certainly it comprises one of its beginnings—not only in the promise it gives of more wisdom for oneself, but also in the possibility it bespeaks of being more readily controlled by the wisdom of others.

Having, then, rendered the matriculant in our course more or less immune to irrational forms of control within his social environment, we should next be concerned with having him acquire a positive set for responding to that form of control which makes the maximum use of the best available resources. To this end we should endeavor to orient him to a proper concep-

tion of representative government. And here we should levy on the social sciences as well as on biology and psychology for relevant materials. We should look to political history for proper perspectives and, more especially, to comparative government for confirmation of the dictum that the earliest attempts at government were in the hands of those best fitted to govern. We should rely on sociology and on economics and economic history for illustrations of the complexity of life and of the inevitable trends towards division of labor, specialization of effort, and exchange of economic goods and services. Social psychology would be called in to testify to the necessity, under these conditions, of mutual confidence and respect. In this connection, too, analysis would have to be made of the concept of authority, and distinctions would need to be drawn between authority which is structural and absolute and that which is functional and relative. Considerations could be invoked from the point of view of ethics to show that a reliance on authority of the latter type, so far from compromising the freedom of the individual, is, in reality, an indispensable condition of personal freedom. Jurisprudence could be depended on to say in what sense the dogma of equality is true; and biology could be trusted to show that there is a sense in which it isn't true. Finally, it would doubtless be to the point to demonstrate, on psychological grounds, the superior character of thinking when carried on under the conditions obtaining in well-organized and self-respecting deliberative bodies. And so the foundations would be laid for a conception of government in connection with which the status and function of the expert would be taken as a matter of course.

Now the abilities of the expert in matters of government would seem to be of two kinds; namely, those which he owes to personal characteristics, and those which depend on his specialized knowledge and skill. Our appreciations of the former, and our readiness to be controlled by them probably rest, in the last analysis, on attitudes acquired very early in life. At any rate, their effectiveness would not seem to involve any particular problem in a program of education for citizenship except, as we have seen, that of rendering the prospective voter more or less immune to being unduly influenced by them when functioning apart from rational insight and skill. Our susceptibility to control by the latter type of abilities, however, is doubtless conditioned in some measure, not only by our recognition of

specialized knowledge and skill as being indispensable to representative government when properly conceived and administrated, but also by our understanding of its nature and its grounds. Our next problem, therefore, would be that of familiarizing the student with the more obvious features of scientific method as the best example of the sort of conditions our thinking and knowing must meet if they are to provide a dependable basis for efficient action.

It is to be presumed, in this connection, that our student will have already had some contact with the laboratory sciences, and so will have gained some insight into the meaning of science and into the nature of its method. What we should have in mind at this point, then, would be to ensure that the insight he has thus gained be rendered so self-conscious and discerning as to enable him to recognize in the genuine expert the embodiment of the technique of science and the incarnation of its authority.

Are suitable materials available for the carrying out of such a purpose? Without a doubt. In general, we should depend on the processes involved in actual scientific achievements, together with whatever light has been thrown on the nature of these processes by classical and contemporary logicians. Thus, it will be seen that our program at this point would be identical, in many respects, with an elementary course in logic. But the emphasis would be preëminently practical and constructive in the sense that it would concern itself in the simplest and most straightforward manner possible with scientific method as the indispensable form of valid and effective thinking. Excellent samples of the sort of approach we have in mind are certain texts now being used in elementary courses in logic, typified most worthily, perhaps, by the "Introduction to Reflective Thinking" by the Columbia Associates in Philosophy, and by the "Principles and Problems of Right Thinking" by Professor E. A. Burtt.

The usefulness of the governmental expert will be conditioned, however, not only by whatever abilities he may possess, but also by the use to which he puts these abilities; and this, on the whole, will be determined by his sense of values. But how sound and dependable the expert's sense of values is may be quite independent of the competency he owes to his specialized knowledge and skill. To be sure, his scientific habits of mind may carry over into the field of values and may thus enable him to reach conclusions as to the relative worth of competing ends which are

as objective and as authoritative as the conclusions he arrives at in his choice and execution of necessary techniques. It is by no means certain, however, that this transfer will take place. Independent variables conditioned by patterns of temperament and training may operate to prevent it. Furthermore, the application of scientific habits of mind to the determination of values presupposes a standard of judgment which, although for the time being is itself not open to question, may nevertheless be challenged and must thereupon submit to evaluation in the light of some more ultimate point of view. Sooner or later, therefore, the moralizing of the expert is likely to reach a point where his own competency can no longer assert itself in the face of dissenting opinion as to what is most worth while. For both these reasons, then, the average voter is responsible for a certain independence of judgment in relation to moral issues in public life that is in striking contrast with what is required of him in relation to the more technical phases of the political economy.

To some this has seemed a *reductio ad absurdum* of popular government. It does mean, of course, that in the long run the kind of government that is possible in a democratic society depends on the sense of values of which the rank and file of the people are capable. It is this that constitutes the most compelling reason for popular education within a democratic state. And yet, whatever may be the nature of the relation between the intellectual and moral capacities of individuals, it would seem that we are confronted here with a certain paradox. On the one hand, the moral sentiments appear to be so intimately bound up with the improvement of the intellect that popular education is likely to accomplish more in the way of increasing the moral competency of a people in relation to good government than in that of qualifying them for efficient participation in the mechanics of government. On the other hand, however, can we avoid the conclusion that the kind of education that is possible among a people is itself a function of the moral competency of that people? To state the matter briefly, the articulation of educational objectives involves a dialectic which sooner or later works itself back to divergent points of view concerning value norms which cannot be adjudicated by any further appeal to facts but must rather be settled by persuasion and compromise, and, in the last analysis, by majority rule. The deeper

insight here would seem to be that one's faith in popular government cannot finally rest on what one may hope for from education. On the contrary, one seems to have no alternative to falling back upon a faith that the voice of the people, if not the voice of God, is, at least, the most dependable means we have of determining, in broad outline, the proper objectives of political action.

Now one may or may not share this faith; but at any rate, as a citizen of a democratic state, one is committed to it as the *de facto* sanction for governmental procedure. And it is this circumstance, together with the disproportionate fallibility of the technical expert in his judgment of values, as we have pointed out, that places upon the voter within a democratic state, a unique responsibility in relation to moral issues in public life. What, then, more specifically, is the nature of this responsibility, and how may our prospective voter qualify for discharging it?

Two or three suggestions must suffice to answer these questions and to bring our discussion to a close. In general, our final emphasis in the training of our citizen-to-be would be ethical. And first of all, we should endeavor to orient him to the notion of value as a standard of judgment. We should spare no pains to make it clear, however, that what is immediately required in this connection is not some abstract ideal of the *summum bonum* of life, but rather such concrete conceptions of value as are capable of furnishing illumination and control within actual situations where the appraisal of conflicting ends must be made. In the next place, we should seek to familiarize the student with the details of this process of applying the methods of reflective thought to the evaluation of practical ends. Attention would be called to the fact that competing ends must be appraised in terms of the consequences they may be expected to yield; that these consequences are themselves to be judged as better or worse in the light of some standard whose value is taken for granted, and that, unless the standard thus presupposed be accepted by all concerned as unquestionable, more ultimate points of view must be invoked until some conception of value is reached concerning which disputants either agree, or recognize that agreement is impossible because of a difference of taste or moral sense that is so fundamental as to be irreconcilable.

But what effects would such an orientation to the technique of moral evaluation be likely to produce on the student? It seems to the writer that the effects likely to be produced would

be at least three. In the first place, the student would doubtless be impressed by the enormous difficulty of applying this technique in just those situations with which the political expert is most apt to be confronted, and would therefore sense the importance of relying on the judgment of those who, because they are in public office, are presumably the best qualified and the most favorably situated for obtaining and utilizing the necessary data. In the second place, he would find, when he begins to exercise the functions of citizenship, that he need not be entirely at the mercy of those to whom he might thus entrust the task of passing judgment upon questions of value. For with his insight into the nature of the reflective process, he would have at hand the means of requiring an accounting of them and of checking the validity of their findings. Finally, he would sense the need, in this connection, of having worked out and embraced a very general point of view concerning values, to be employed as a sort of court of last resort for adjudicating the merits of less inclusive standards of reference as these are called in question by dissenting opinion. It would be our purpose (the final objective of our course) to anticipate this last named need through helping the student to formulate for himself an adequate philosophy of values.

III. ARE THE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES MAKING ADEQUATE PROVISION FOR LIBERAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN THEIR PROGRAMS FOR THE TRAINING OF SECONDARY TEACHERS?[2]

J. O. Creager

How do we account for the ever-reiterant emphasis upon citizenship training in all of our educational meetings and deliberations? Our ablest writers in current books and magazines evince a restlessness and impatience with the product of the schools and the program of education when it comes to this, its major function, the education of the future citizen. From all sides we hear the statement that we live in a world that could be made far better and happier if only the knowledge which we already possess could be made to function in government and in the regulation of the lives of our people.

[2] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 2, October, 1929, pp. 94–101.

Everywhere we are beset with problems, social, political and educational, the solution to which constantly evades us not because no one knows the solution, for many do; but because the public at large does not accept the proposals of those who know, and in the last analysis it is public opinion that determines the outcome. Experts may see the solution to the school taxation problem, for example, but State legislatures determine the kind of tax laws that we get and State legislatures are obviously not made up of experts. Our great faith in democracy has reached a crisis, where, paradoxical though it be, we are exhorted to redouble our efforts in behalf of popular education precisely because popular education seems to have failed.

Despite our great efforts to educate our citizenry, the average voter is deplorably ignorant of the problems of government. The fact is that being a citizen—an honest-to-goodness citizen of the United States—is a full-sized man's job. It calls for a scope of practical knowledge and an insight into certain fields of thought, far beyond anything that programs of education have ever squarely faced in any land or clime. No mere "general intelligence," whatever that term means, will serve. Any one of philosophic temper having witnessed the great human spectacle of a State legislature in operation comes away a sadder, if not a wiser man. He reflects that whereas in nearly all other lines of human endeavor, in science, in business, and in education human beings improve by practice, in the field of democracy, each biennium stages a new experiment in trial and error. Democracy has not yet learned, in the field of government, to make use of the services of the expert. In fact, it sometimes seems that in this field, his services are not only ignored, but the expert himself is not wanted. Lincoln's phrase about God's love for the common man applies well to the God of Democracy. For democracy undoubtedly loves the common man, the commoner the better.

And yet there seems to be no other way out of the woods than to keep on trying to educate this common man in the knowledge and art of government, however long and tedious be the way. Our only hope under our American form of political control is in popular enlightenment and we come back once more to the fact that our salvation rests in the hands of the curriculum maker.

The present-day national epidemic of curriculum revision in the schools means that we are at last realizing that America has some problems of her own and that their solution depends upon

the younger generation who are now in school; that the traditional curriculum, taking its problems largely from the distant past and from every other land than our own is not contributing as it should to the understanding of the chief problems of our American life here and now. Graduates of our schools and colleges in which foreign languages, formal rhetoric, mathematics, and formalized science constitute the almost exclusive pabulum enjoy a brief and gratifying complacency in the thought that they are educated persons. Sooner or later, however, comes the disillusionment that, in terms of modern life and its issues, they have been to the theater but missed the show. So far as the demands of citizenship are concerned, there is such a monstrosity in perfectly good collegiate circles as a highly educated ignoramus.

Curricula of Arts Colleges

In the field of training secondary teachers, we must remember that the numerous small arts colleges are furnishing us the largest percentage of our teachers. The conventional curriculum of most of these colleges, as well as that of similar colleges in our universities, places the emphasis upon the ancient and disciplinary to the neglect of present-day civilization and its needs. As social and political soporifics, designedly contrived for putting the future citizens of a democracy soundly to sleep, Latin, formal rhetoric, mathematics, and foreign languages, as ordinarily taught, furnish us the most effective anaesthetic that could possibly be devised. No one would be so foolish as to deny these subjects a place in a college curriculum. They doubtless achieve certain desirable educational objectives. But as citizenship studies they can all procure perfectly splendid alibis in any educational court. Our objection here is a matter of emphasis and proportion. That these subjects as required studies should usurp the program in the first two college years to the virtual exclusion of all others is wholly indefensible. The hopeful aspect of the situation resides in the fact that among college students the suspicion is at last emerging that they have been made the victims of Carthaginian faith and that the high priests of an exclusive culture have been caught coming into camp leading a wooden horse.

A recent study (1924) of the required subjects in 153 liberal-arts colleges shows but 4 per cent of the entire offering given to the social studies, whereas 10 per cent goes to modern languages, and

14 per cent to science and mathematics. Our educational committees in this association have repeatedly reported in favor of a greater emphasis upon social science. The 1917 Report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching recommended more than three times the present percentage for these subjects. A study of the actual amount of increase, however, from 1907 to 1923 shows that this advice has been largely unheeded and that evolution here, as elsewhere, is a slow process.

Four per cent of a four-year college course given to studies dealing with the urgent problems of American life! This amounts to about five semester hours or specifically to one three-hour course usually in ancient history and a two-hour course in something else, if not more ancient history. Obviously there is no possible defense that can be made for this situation. It is, I believe, a well-known tenet of the proponents of so-called liberal education that the knowledge of subject matter is paramount. Every teacher, whether she teaches social studies or not, teaches the child who becomes the future citizen. How, then, can she lead the way to a better understanding of these problems on the part of high-school youth, when she is herself innocent of knowledge of the simplest problems of American political and economic life?

How many of us brought up upon the old program of the so-called humanities feel at all comfortable when the conversation shifts from Shakespeare and the opera to the tariff and farm relief? If the problems that really concern the welfare of society were as much discussed among the intelligentsia and illuminati as antique furniture or the "Private Life of Helen of Troy" there would be some evidence that popular education for self-government is functioning.

Fortunately, when we turn from the studies required by the faculty to the real interests of college students as shown by their electives and choice of majors we witness a more hopeful tendency. Kelly's study[3] of this matter shows that, next to English, the most frequently chosen majors were in sociology, economics, philosophy, and ethics, and among alumni the subjects reported as having been most worth while were, after English, these same studies.

[3] *See* Kelly, Frederick James, "The American Arts College," The Macmillan Co., New York, 1925.

Curricula in Schools and Colleges of Education

When we come to the offering of schools and colleges of education in State universities, we find an improved situation, though there is still much to be desired. Whenever such schools have been free to determine their own curricular policies, a significant departure from the old stereotyped curriculum is found. A study of my own made in 1925 and dealing with the problem of administrative control in schools of education in 32 State universities reveals the fact that two out of every five of these institutions are not at liberty to determine the subjects required in the first two years. When the proposed offerings of the school of education must be approved either by the university faculty at large or by chosen representatives therefrom, the inertia of tradition is bound to slow up progress. This is a fact not well understood by superintendents and principals of schools who employ teachers.

With respect to the emphasis placed upon social studies as required work in the first two years these schools of education show 5.6 per cent as against 4 per cent in the arts college. This is scarcely significant. There are improvements, however, in other directions. Some of these schools offer elective courses in citizenship education. Practically all emphasize training for citizenship as one of the major objectives of education and encourage their students to equip themselves for this work. Most courses dealing with secondary education emphasize student activities as affording valuable practice in citizenship training. There is no question but that these professional schools are fully aware of the importance of this matter, but in many instances they are not free to act. Specifically what is it that needs to be done to remedy the whole situation?

Recommendations

(1) First of all, it is a fair assumption, I think, that every teacher is a potential leader of young citizens-in-the-making and as such should be given a substantial basis for her work in knowledge of the leading problems of American life. We cannot expect the prospective teacher to grasp the significance of these problems unless he has grappled with them intellectually and understands the chief issues involved in their solution; nay, more, unless he shall have caught a keen desire to assist in their solution.

This would seem to me to mean, in college parlance, courses in history, political science, economics, and sociology, organized from the teaching viewpoint, and amounting not to five or six paltry hours but something near a major, say 20 or 25 hours.

(2) Mere knowledge, however, is not enough. The training of the child in the ways of citizenship as well as in the knowledge thereof introduces a technique not yet well understood by the average teacher. The question of how to teach ideals and habits is heavily involved. Those schools which are so organized as to give boys and girls the opportunity to practise good citizenship in the school have grasped a most significant feature. Student government all the way from junior high school to the college campus has possibilities largely unrealized by hundreds of educators of the old type in both school and college. Boy-scout education has set the schoolmaster a noteworthy example in character and citizenship training.

(3) Last of all, let us examine the major premise. Should we *train* for citizenship at all? Of what sort of training are we thinking when we use this term? Do we have in mind the child and his free development or a program of indoctrination designed to perpetuate the *status quo?* Are we thinking of using education as a political weapon to teach a narrow patriotism or are we thinking of a democracy to be improved through the courageous thought of its citizens? The spirit of freedom is probably more deeply written into our constitution and our fundamental law than is any other principle or philosophy. When the American Constitution decreed that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech and of the press or the freedom of the people peaceably to assemble," civilization took a long leap forward. Let vested interests in politics, economics, and religion, who bring their propaganda to our public schools, go worship at this shrine if they seek to be genuine patriots. We rest under a deep obligation to keep the schools free from exploitation by those who have a particular brand of so-called patriotism which they wish to have taught—always the brand that best suits their vested securities and privileged powers.

The problem of education for freedom lies at the very fountain head of our American form of government and it is admittedly one of the most difficult of all our problems. The teaching profession has always fought valiantly for the prerogative of

freedom of teaching and rightly so. But the freedom of the learner is equally, if not more, fundamental and here we have to admit with shame that we have had altogether too much authoritative and dogmatic teaching upon subjects that are of a controversial nature—as most civic and social problems are. If we are to be real leaders of youth in this most difficult field we shall have to leave off quoting Aristotle and imitate the spirit of Socrates. Social and political problems are not solved as are problems in science or in mathematics. The solution is usually a continuing affair, involving discussion, fair-mindedness and tolerance—matters in themselves more important as principles of life and teaching than the solution of the problem itself. As teachers we cannot too well master this most difficult art of handling the discussion of controversial problems in the classroom with skill, tolerance, and fair play.

Conclusion

What then is the answer to the question proposed at the outset? Are the universities making adequate provision for liberal citizenship education in their programs for the training of secondary teachers? The answer in all humility and charity is "No." "Adequate" is a strong word to use and the term "liberal" also covers much ground. The millennium always lies just over the ranges. Much hope, however, resides in the fact that the educational world is thoroughly aroused to the fact that this problem presses for solution and that our curricula are overdue for a thorough overhauling in terms of present-day demands.

If in the meantime any impatient classroom teacher should ask for a sign, in a wicked day and generation, I should be inclined to reply: Follow the example of Socrates of Athens and Jesus of Nazareth. Centuries ago these men blazed a clear but adventurous trail for our guidance as citizens and as teachers of citizens. The former sought not a static but an improved Athens and called himself a "citizen of the world." The latter sought a new social order for the people of his day and generation and gave to all humanity its greatest vision of universal brotherhood. Both alike gave their lives in martyrdom to the established order of things. Both evinced in their lives supreme courage and at the same time supreme tolerance—the two great virtues of all

citizens and teachers. Neither, so far as I can find, ever hesitated to teach the truth or violated by dogmatic teaching the freedom of the learner. In a day of confused doctrines and complicated theories they stand out clearly as our great exemplars.

IV. HOW TO TRANSLATE A LIST OF DETAILED OBJECTIVES INTO A PRACTICAL PROGRAM OF CIVIC EDUCATION[4]

CHARLES C. PETERS

For some six or eight years there has been active propaganda for the idea of building school curricula around specific objectives. Of course at first this proposal provoked considerable mirth, and in those early days I heard prominent students of education sneer at the fact that Bobbitt's Los Angeles list contained upwards of a thousand items. Most people by now have accepted the principle that the school must set for itself, not a few large aims like development of character and resourcefulness, but many hundreds of quite specific aims couched in terms of the particular abilities needed out in society. But the present difficulty is how to turn these specific objectives into practical working programs. One finds the general idea very inspiring but when one reads through the list—long and detailed as they are—the effect is likely just to make his head swim, so that he holds up his hands in despair and goes on teaching about as he did before. The purpose of this article is to illustrate how we can go about working lists of detailed objectives into practical school programs.

The curriculum procedure here in question involves, as indicated above, breaking up citizenship, personal culture, domestic efficiency, or whatever else we are working for, into the specific elements that make it up; then pursuing each of these elements as a clearly conscious objective. There are available several exhaustive analyses of civic efficiency. In a Supplementary Monograph to the *School Review* Professor Bobbitt reports a study by John A. Nietz based on interviews with various types of citizens in Chicago which yielded a very detailed list of the activities of good citizens. During the past nine years the

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[4] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1927. pp. 49–56.

present writer has worked up a similarly detailed "composite picture" of the efficient citizen by telescoping over a thousand separate analyses supplied mostly by mature schoolmen. Each schoolman was asked (1) to make a job analysis of citizenship as he himself had experienced it, (2) to get in mind some particular good citizen and write down some of the things he did which seemed to be responsible for his goodness as a citizen, and (3) to describe some particular bad citizen. When these lists had been translated into comparable terms and compiled into a single composite list they gave what the writer believes to be a practically complete picture of the kind of citizen we wish to make, though, of course, each of the two hundred and fifty-odd items could be further subdivided at considerable length.

We shall use here only one item from that list to illustrate how we can pursue the items of such analysis as definite objectives. Each of the others needs to be similarly treated.

"The civically efficient individual must be above sectionalism and all other forms of partisanship; he must be ready to take the impartial spectator's attitude in respect to the rights of his own group compared with those of other groups."

At present our citizenry as a whole is undoubtedly deficient in this trait. Local patriotism outweighs large scope loyalties. Not only have our people in the main been ready to accept the slogan, "America first," but they have in practice placed even ahead of that their respective states and communities. Citizens of a community are expected to support their local candidate when he is pitted against a candidate from outside; assessments are often so manipulated that as little as possible of the state's tax shall fall upon the local unit; congressmen are encouraged and expected to work for new postoffices or other improvements for their constituencies; and political questions are scrutinized more largely from the standpoint of how they will affect the local section than how they will benefit the world at large. Indeed so persistent is the human nature pull toward sectionalism that Professor Bobbitt has pointed to the cultivation of large-group consciousness as the central problem of civic education. Proposals:

1. Any sound education for cosmopolitanism must, of course, start with the pupil's own experience. He must, within the realm that is real to him, have got into the way of looking at conduct from the standpoint of the larger whole. He must

have come to see that it is base for him and his chums to give each other illegitimate help or otherwise to pit their interests against the welfare of the class; he must have come to willingness to have his team lose in the athletic contests rather than have them resort to unsportsmanlike methods of winning; he must have come to feel that true loyalty compels him to oppose his own class when it proposes conduct injurious to the school as a whole; he must have become ready voluntarily to withdraw his team from the ball ground when another school or club is morally but not legally entitled to it. These are little daily practices over which parents, bystanders, and teachers have supervision or influence, and they must be constantly so handled that to be decently considerate of the rights of groups other than his own will have become "second nature" for the growing lad and lass. The school's athletics, and other extra-curricular activities, afford excellent opportunities for the application of this viewpoint but many opportunities are to be found also in class-room procedures and in all phases of the pupils in-school and out-of-school life. By the experiences resulting from the utilization of these opportunities the pupil will have cumulatively developed a "subconscious," intuitional philosophy of life impelling him to look at proposed conduct always from the standpoint of how fair and decent it is from the other fellow's point of view as well as how convenient it is for himself and for his gang.

2. The example of teachers and parents and of esteemed people in the community is a further factor in training the child into cosmopolitanism in his point of view. In the Economics class, in the History class, in Literature, in Geography, the true teacher will so constantly survey all problems from the point of view of one who stands aside from all interested parties and maintains the poise of the impartial spectator that pupils will come almost inevitably to catch that same point of view. Whenever pupils argue a question from the standpoint of the interests of a particular group, they will be confronted with the fact that the true criterion is not whether the matter was valuable to this particular set but whether from the standpoint of one looking upon the world from the outside it would seem to be the right thing. Such constantly maintained atmosphere of cosmopolitanism should weigh heavily in the pull by which pupils are to be raised above sectionalism in their outlook upon life.

3. In the third place, and central in the scheme, there must be developed in the pupil deep and strong *conviction* that a citizen should act from the point of view of the whole rather than from that of the welfare of a single section or group. To this end the matter may be brought up for explicit discussion in class. Such discussion is likely to be interesting and convincing if it is precipitated around some concrete problem, as: "Is it right that the East should insist upon a tariff on manufactured goods when no compensating tariff on agricultural products could be successfully laid for the benefit of the West?" "Is Senator Sorgun a true Republican when he uses his great personal influence to get the appointment of Mr. Blank from his own state on the Supreme Court bench?" "Ought Americans to encourage the improvement of the St. Lawrence River transportation when such improvement would divert freight from our railroads and from our own Erie Canal?" Also to debate the merits of such theories of government and industry as "pluralism" and "syndicalism" in comparison with our present form of organization, should constitute an excellent opportunity for clarifying ideas and establishing convictions regarding the propriety of having each group clamor for its own.

4. Again, impartiality in regard to other groups in comparison with one's own must be made an *ideal.* Narrowness and class selfishness must have become emotionally taboo. Conversely, even-handed justice as between diverse groups and sections must have come to be regarded as so enticingly beautiful and noble that when the youth contemplates conduct of his own or of others that is in harmony with it, he is thrilled with admiration and approval. A number of devices can be made to contribute toward such idealization of intersectional justice. Constant reiteration will help by its cumulative effects; the teacher's shudder at concrete cases of narrowness, and his evident pleasure at breadth of sympathy, will be further factors; doubtless poetry and song could be made to add something. But probably the most effective device for emotionalizing this attitude is to be found in the judicious use of heroes and slackers. Concrete cases of men and women who have beautifully exemplified the attitude of impartial justice to all sections on a par with their own can be related for the admiration of the class; conversely, slackers who were contemptibly narrow in their loyalties and unfair to groups or sections other than their own can be so

presented as to arouse the disgust of the pupils. These stories of heroes or slackers can be brought up incidentally in history, geography, literature and other studies and more systematically in the course of civics.

5. By these convictions, taboos, and ideals pupils will have been *disposed* to be fair to outside groups, sections or nations. But one thing more they need—*a knowledge of those groups.* There must be an understanding of the needs and problems of the several sections. This is to be attained partly through problem-solving. *Why* is it that New England wants a protective tariff? Why does Japan want room for the emigration of her people? If our pupils can be led to think such problems through thoroughly in geography and elsewhere, so that they leave school with a vivid realization of the social needs of different sections, they will be in better position to pass intelligent judgment as to what proposals or requests from these sections they ought to support. Although to find solutions for such problems as class projects would probably be the most effective way in which to have pupils get a clear insight into the needs and characteristics of the nations, direct explanation by the teacher, or expository teaching in textbooks, might also prove satisfactory. Indeed, any information would be pertinent to our purpose here that gave promise of ever affording any basis for passing judgment on the legitimacy of a group's wishes—what the people do, what are their natural advantages and handicaps in doing these things, what are their resources, what are the characteristics of the people, etc.

6. Not only do our future citizens need an intellectual grasp of the problems of the various sections and nations but also a warm *feeling of intimacy* with the peoples of other communities and other lands. One reason why we are ready to support the wishes of our own section rather than of New England is because we can scarcely realize that New Englanders feel their wants quite as keenly as we feel ours. They seem to us so distant and so cold that they do not strike our imagination as quite human. Even more largely is this true of peoples of foreign nations. The peoples of these lands are likely to seem mere shadowy figures, diabolical machines of some sort, scheming savages ready to pounce upon us in war and to destroy our fine civilization. We need to come to see that they are human just as we are, that they are characterized by the same tenderness and kindness and

sympathy and sensibility as the people about us whom we know so well and love so much. A highly realistic geography can be made to give pupils this feeling of intimacy for distant peoples. Such realistic geography will use stereoscopic pictures, movie scenes of life in the land under study, human interest stories, realistic reports by students as to what the people do in their daily round of duties, anecdotes to bring out the human-nature side of their lives, such realistic material for collateral reading as that of the MacDonald series, "Little People Everywhere," dramatization of the play and work and other phases of the life in the country in question, pageants in which representatives of the nations studied meet our representatives in friendly greeting and intercourse, exchange of letters between children in the foreign country and children in our own schools, and many other devices so to *introduce* our children to the children and adults of the distant land that they will come to feel akin. Such feeling of intimacy, and such alone, can make possible a genuine sympathy and, consequently, an easy and natural justice.

Reverting now to general terms after our single concrete illustration, our steps in setting up a purposive curriculum for school education in citizenship will be the following:

1. Get before us a detailed blueprint of the individual we wish to make as the end-result of the educational process. Such blueprints are now available as far as the larger headings are concerned, though there still remains the task of breaking each item into further aspects or stages.

2. Check through the blueprint, raising the question which of the items need for their sufficient realization the aid of the school in the particular type-group of pupils with whom we are dealing, and which will be sufficiently taken care of by such non-school agencies as ordinary association, the press, the church and the movies. From this point on we need work only upon those which require the aid of the school.

3. Break up into its psychological constituents each objective that remains on our agenda. The objective itself will be stated in terms of the ability to do a certain thing as a citizen. But the ability to do each thing will rest upon ideals, taboos, interests, habits, knowledges, and techniques of procedure. We must spot these psychological elements on which our social objective depends because it is these psychological objectives that will suggest to us directly methods of procedure in our teaching.

4. Allocate to optimum grade levels the efforts to attain the objectives we have set for ourselves. Some of them can be accomplished chiefly at a single grade level while others will require follow-up efforts distributed purposively through a number of grade levels.

5. Consider what are the most effective methods of teaching for any particular desired element—exposition? problem solving? inductive lesson? story? practice? suggestion? or what? Ultimately this question must be answered on the basis of a very long series of scientifically controlled experiments in which the results from alternative methods are measured in order to determine which methods yield best results.

6. At each grade level allot to the several studies and to the other activities the objectives to be worked for at that stage.

a. Some of our objectives can be sought through extra-curricular activities—parties, clubs, conversation, music. But it is easy to deceive ourselves as to how much we are getting from this source. If parties and clubs are to make much contribution we must consciously set them up with reference to the civic outcomes we expect from them. In the lower grades the counterpart of these clubs and parties are various monitorial duties through which pupils serve and through which practice they develop civic virtues and abilities.

b. Some objectives should be realized through the administration of our school system—the type of discipline maintained, pupil participation in school government, socialized classroom procedures, the example of the teacher, and the atmosphere of the classroom. But these are likely to count for most only when the teacher sets up these policies with an eye to their bearing upon the civic ends he wishes to achieve through them.

c. Many objectives can be realized through incidental instruction in the various school studies. The teacher of English, of History, of Mathematics, of Science, has many opportunities, if he will use them, for making little thrusts here and there toward ideals and biases and perspectives and techniques known to be needed by good citizens. To his pupils he may seem at these times to have wandered off his subject for the moment, but in reality he is doing precisely what he had planned to do. The great danger in this incidental instruction is that it may be neglected; teachers of history and other subjects will claim that they have many possibilities for such teaching of citizenship

but as a matter of fact do little or nothing in practice about these possibilities. To prevent this I advise teachers to sit down in the fall, with their textbooks and their courses of study before them, go through these and write in the margins of the text each point at which it would be possible for them to inject a drive toward one of the items in the list of elements in civic efficiency, and then as the year goes by put into the daily lesson plans at the indicated places provisions for actually making the drives for which they had contracted. Without such systematic means of reminding oneself of one's obligations, opportunities for incidental teaching are likely to be passed by unused.

d. After as much as possible of civic instruction has been provided for through these unsystematic means many objectives will be left inadequately provided for. These should be assigned to courses for systematic instruction—courses in civics, in hygiene, in ethics, in economics, in sociology, in psychology. The syllabi for these systematic courses should be made up from the topics still standing in our civic and other analyses after those have been checked off that can be fully taken care of incidentally or that pupils may be expected to fall into without the aid of the school. In other words, the function of the course in civics, and in the other social sciences, is a residual one; civics should complete whatever has been left undone by all the other agencies combined.

To this procedure I think we may appropriately apply the name, *Educational Engineering*. Our procedure is very much like that of the architectural or mechanical engineer. We do not forge ahead at random in the dark. Instead we set up for ourselves a blueprint of what we want; then we began a systematic drive to bring into reality everyone of the elements of our blueprint. We do not teach subjects for their own sake but merely use them as tools for bringing about the right sort of changes in pupils. We do not permit parties and clubs and conversation merely as a means of amusement but employ them as opportunities for building definitely conceived types of civic character. And all through the day we are continually on tiptoe to adjust means to definite ends. About each incident in discipline, about each policy affecting the social life of the school, about each step in teaching, about each act that may be imitated by pupils, we raise the question; how can it be so managed as to make it drive on maximally toward this or that specific civic ability that we as

schoolmen have contracted to develop in our pupils before we turn them out into the state.

V. CONDITIONS OF COMPETENT CITIZENSHIP: AN EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAM[5]

SEBA ELDRIDGE

We are beginning to realize that the community at large educates its members mainly for the perpetuation of things as they are, and that accredited educational agencies operate, for the most part, to strengthen this process.

These truths are strikingly illustrated by the development of the citizen. His social environment from infancy to old age is overwhelmingly noncivic in character—the dominant, the conspicuous interests and activities of the community center, the family, the vocation, the play group, the "social" clique, set, or circle, the lodge, the club, the church, and, for a brief period of time, the school. The chief concerns of these groups, expressed in functional terms, are making a livelihood, spending family income, bringing up children, "having a good time," saving souls, enforcing conventional moral standards, and preparing prospective participants for engaging in these things.

As a rule, the civic implications of these interests are either not realized or else taken for granted. The young are gradually inducted in the activities of this category, acquire the attitudes (blessed word!) thus generated, and learn, through practice, to cope with the incidental problems. They do not thereby become interested, active, and intelligent in dealing with the protective tariff, the conservation of natural resources, the relationships between capital and labor, the prevention of disease, the selection of public officials, and the many other matters that, together, define the functions of citizenship.

The dominant activities enumerated are not balanced, in the American community, by activities of a truly civic character. A little "civics" instruction in the schools, usually of a harmless sort; an occasional sermon on some public question, in most instances intended for purposes of edification; the service programs of men's and women's clubs, often taken much too seriously; the activities of a few obscure social workers, generally

[5] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 6, February, 1930, pp. 359–367.

not taken seriously enough; press dispatches on public affairs deemed, by exception, to have news value; and quite a hullaballoo at election times, especially those falling in leap year; of these and others like them the civic portion of the environment is constituted. Even so they touch the life of our common man occasionally, often not at all; and when they do it usually means no more than a passing interruption, a brief interlude, a feeble intervention in his home, work, play, and other noncivic activities.

Any amount of evidence in support of these assertions may be had by observing what goes on in the average American community and the average American life. The interest, the activity, the intelligence of the common man are shaped accordingly. To put the matter somewhat oddly, the common man does not now become an interested, active, and intelligent citizen because there is no interesting, active, and intelligent citizenship in which he can become interested, active, and intelligent. More succinctly stated, the existing social order automatically generates civic incompetency in the masses of people, and it could not, without ceasing to be what it is, do otherwise.

All this does not apply, without qualification, to the uncommon man or woman. A goodly number of people—though a small percentage of the total—are not altogether absorbed by the dominant, the conspicuous, activities of their environment. They realize the deficiencies of these activities, for themselves at least, and often for others. They develop a genuine interest in art, in science, and—some of them—in citizenship. Mention is made of these abnormal persons—"sports" one might almost term them—because they necessitate qualifications of any analysis applying to citizens generally; and because if the lump which is the latter shall be leavened, much of the yeast—or is it the salt?—must be supplied by queer people of that sort. But let us return to the common people, those whom God loves so much.

If our premises are correct, they can never be made into competent citizens unless a civic environment is created, or a civic portion added to the noncivic environment, capable of doing the making. To be that, it must include a variety of civic activities as palpable, as interesting, as urgent, and even as commonplace as are home, work, play, and church activities. These latter will of course remain vigorous in any case, but they must be balanced and, as it were, lighted up by activities of the

other sort if the environment is to create any approximation to competent citizenship.

Let us work out specifications for the requisite activities of this category. We may then consider whether and how these specifications can be carried out.

The contemplated activities will be activities of citizens, not of politicians, or journalists, or clergymen, or social workers, or school teachers. All these doubtless have their contributions to make; but activities of the prescribed sort—palpable, interesting, urgent, commonplace, conspicuous, dominant—must clearly be manned by citizens of the rank and file. Activities by members of leadership vocations alone, like those specified, could not meet the requirements. It is more than likely, however, that the initiative and leadership in the undertaking must at first rest with the "sports" from these and other walks of life who sense its significance. And we may assume that, in the beginning if not throughout, such activities will appeal only to the more responsible and reflective members of the electorate.

These activities, according to the specifications here offered, will be those involved in a citizenship adapted to contemporary social conditions. Their aim will be the control of social relationships in the interest of the community at large. To have these characteristics they must include (1) a methodical study of public questions, local, regional, and national in scope, together with the grounding in social science and other intellectual disciplines on which a comprehension of such questions is dependent; (2) engagement in "practical" civic undertakings, such as formulation of policies on public questions, service on committees, attendance at legislative hearings, and inspection of local conditions demanding attention; (3) active participation in the selection of candidates for public office, in order that the execution of the citizen's policies may be promoted; and (4) coöperation in the control of social relationships outside the jurisdiction of the state, particularly those involved in class and vocational interests. These are the activities connoted by competent citizenship today, and the types of activity that must be set going if the environment is to foster citizenship of this kind.[6]

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[6] Although activities of the fourth class are included in citizenship broadly conceived, they are organized, in the main, apart from civic activities of the other three classes.

In view of the number, complexity, and changeability of public questions, and also of the powerful special interests affecting many of them, these activities, to accomplish their object, will be very exacting ones. They must be continuous, intensive, methodical, coöperative in character. Only activities of this sort could prove a match for the activities of professional politicians and of aggressive special interests organized for political purposes, for the latter have taken on the same traits, because their participants seek a livelihood or a fortune by this route.

We may elaborate somewhat on these features of the programmatic activities connoted by competent citizenship. The necessity for the coöperative feature is no doubt obvious. The study of public questions included in the program must have this character no less than the other activities. Our common man will never engage in the intensive study required unless it is made sufficiently interesting to him. For that, group discussion will be indispensable. And it must utilize all known devices for stimulating interest, as they will all be needed, and doubtless more besides. Perhaps by this means the reading necessary to supply background and ballast for the group discussion itself can be motivated.

Continuous, coöperative, methodical activities of the kind prescribed will entail the development of essentially new institutions. One phase of these is suggested by the reference to group discussion. Obviously, face-to-face groups are here implied. Many other activities in the program will necessitate groups of the same type. The basic units of the requisite citizenship institutions will, in fact, be *primary groups of citizens*, something we lack at the present time, except here and there in rudimentary or vestigial forms.

As these groups multiply, their local, State, and national federation for the assumption of functions beyond the scope of isolated group effort will become feasible. Clearly, some sort of representative government for such federations will be essential, though that can be combined with exercise of the initiative, referendum, and recall by the membership.

As the movement develops, an information service, suitable material for study purposes, perhaps a periodical press, and special facilities for radio communication could be provided.

Obviously, specialization in activities so diversified will be necessary, as no citizen could participate in them all. This will,

of course, be influenced by local and regional conditions as well as by the tastes and interests of individual members. However, all such specialization, if it is to accomplish its object, must be grounded in social science and other intellectual disciplines without which comprehension of any vital social problem is impossible.

Allowing for the necessary specialization, how much *time* will the continuous, intensive activities contemplated by our specifications require of the citizen? No answer to this question will satisfy everybody, and, of course, a final answer cannot now be given. The tentative answer offered presently will perhaps damn the whole scheme for social scientists of the "tough-minded" variety, and expose it to ruthless slaughter at their hands, without hope of quarter. But, accepting that risk, the opinion may be ventured that competent citizenship in contemporary society will probably demand as much as one to two hours' effort per day, on the average, or six to twelve hours a week, if Sundays be exempted as a concession to the religiously or restfully inclined. A substantial share of this time will be devoted to group study and discussion, a considerable part of it to reading, and the remainder to various practical activities such as have been specified.

The time specifications here offered have, of course, no great importance in themselves, but nothing could be more important than the principle illustrated. For the implication is that our common man must work at his citizenship as diligently and as intelligently as he works at his job if the social relationships upon which his welfare is dependent are to be controlled in his interest.

But is such a thing humanly possible, particularly under the conditions that would affect the undertaking in the United States? The answer to this question is not known, as strong grounds can be adduced for answering it either in the affirmative or in the negative. It can be argued that at least a considerable portion of citizens could be educated, or educate themselves, to the type of activity prescribed. The necessary study of public questions could perhaps be made sufficiently interesting to elicit the participation of the more reflective citizens, and eventually of many others as well. Group discussion under skilled leadership can be as interesting and even as exciting, within limits, as any other sort of activity. The case method, the pictorial illustration, the dramatic interpretation, and, in general, the

translation of social problems into terms of the citizen's own experiences, needs, and aspirations might prove, on a thorough test, quite effective as a means of motivating his study of those problems.

Moreover, such study will be organically related to the citizen's "practical" efforts, thereby gaining added interest and significance and, in turn, charging those efforts with meaning and value. Then, too, this civic work can be linked up, in practice, with purely recreational activities, perhaps also with serious scientific and aesthetic interests, that, together, would enhance the appeal of the general program and relieve the possible tedium of the purely civic efforts.

It should be remembered that this program of activities will be designed, especially in the beginning, for the more "public-spirited" members of the community, those to whom, presumably, it will make a genuine appeal. If feasible at all, these activities will tend to stimulate civic interests among the masses of people and thereby continually enlarge the circle of potential participants.

These suggestions may indicate that the scheme as a whole has a fighting chance of success. Historic experience is not without indications of similar import. The Greek city-state, coöperative Denmark, and the Communist Party of Russia are very significant in this connection. So also are various developments of community organization in the United States. No less significant perhaps is the experience of the church, for it has won the loyalty and coöperation of the masses by offering them benefits or "goods" far less tangible and direct than those to be achieved through the organization of citizenship.

But quite as weighty arguments on the other side can be built up. These need not be set forth here. The truth is, the question at issue cannot be settled on the basis of available evidence. But it can be settled through appropriate experimental tests.

Experiment for this purpose is hereby proposed. The scheme as a whole will stand or fall with its most crucial feature, that contemplating the organization of citizens in primary groups. To test this feature, development of such groups in a number of representative communities, and under experimentally controlled conditions, must be undertaken. In order to explore significant possibilities, some of the experiments should be in communities where the ground has been prepared by vigorous community centers and perhaps other developments of community organiza-

tion, while others should be staged where the conditions are not so favorable. A number of years, perhaps five to ten, will be required for fairly decisive results. The experimental centers and their directors must needs be chosen with the greatest care, in order to secure results valid from the experimental point of view. Considerable funds will, of course, be required to finance decisive experiments of this nature.

Unfortunately, limitations of space will not permit discussion of numerous topics bearing on the experimental program here offered. Various movements in the direction of the contemplated citizenship régime merit consideration. Among them are the development of social work, the movement for adult education, and numerous experiments in democratic forms of community organization, the latter including the social-unit organization successfully demonstrated in Cincinnati, various types of community councils, clubs, and associations, and—probably most significant of all—the community center. These offer invaluable contributions to the development of citizenship institutions such as have been proposed. Any one in touch with these movements, however, will at once recognize that the program here presented, whether practical or impractical, represents a radical departure therefrom.

Also, did space permit, the potential contributions of the school, church, press, radio, political party, and other accredited institutions should be assayed. These contributions need not be minimized, but all will concede that, by themselves, they can scarcely lead to the citizenship activities and institutions without which competent citizenship is impossible.

Finally, many troublesome problems will beset the development of the new institutions, should these be shown, by experiment, to be feasible. There will be perennial problems of finance. The recruiting and training of competent leadership will occasion no little difficulty. The self-seeking politician will be a perpetual menace. But these problems, if we ever have to bother about them, must be solved in terms of their own conditions, not by way of anticipation. They are of distinct secondary significance compared with the problem whether responsible citizenship, and hence some approximation to self-government, is possible in the modern world.

This problem can be solved, with some approach to finality, by undertaking the necessary experimental investigations. The

problem is of transcendant importance, both in a practical and in a scientific sense; wherefore much would be gained, and but little lost, except perhaps some illusions, by finding the answer to it.[7]

VI. PROGRESS TOWARDS SOCIOLOGICALLY BASED CIVIC EDUCATION[8]

DAVID SNEDDEN

I. *The Problems*

Civic education, it will be agreed, designs primarily to prepare youth for effective participation in their future political opportunities and responsibilities. Hence no other field of educational planning should be more helped by current sociological advances towards clarification and evaluation of purposes—which should, certainly, be the first and greatest service of sociology to all forms of education.

Well-informed observers of the trend of events in American public education during the last decade will probably agree that much progress has been made during that period in developing and refining certain means of civic education. This has been especially conspicuous in the textbooks provided for third-, and, more commonly, fourth-year high-school students. The present writer has had occasion recently to examine comparatively over a score of these. No longer do such texts emphasize chiefly the structures, the mechanisms, of our political and other large-scale societies. They are evolving towards functional treatments—even though as yet they give very little sharply realistic consideration to the functional potentialities of citizens of types A, B, or C, coöperators of different levels of ability—in self-governing societies.

But in any attempt at appraisal of recent advances in civic education we must realize the unpleasant fact that as yet there exists in America—and nowhere else—a body of teachers primarily concerned with civic education. The well-trained and professionally self-conscious teachers of Latin now constitute a mighty phalanx. Junior and senior high schools have brought into relief specialized armies of English teachers, history teachers, science

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[7] For a systematic treatment of this problem, *see* Eldridge, Seba, "The New Citizenship," Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1929.

[8] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 8, April, 1930, pp. 481–496.

teachers, music teachers, industrial-arts teachers, French teachers, home-economics teachers, "physical-education" coaches and teachers, and teachers of stenography.

Where now can we find national or local organizations of educators specializing in the great department of civic education? Where can we find a teacher-training department devoted as primarily to providing competent teachers of the civic sciences and arts as we find departments devoted to the preparation of teachers of modern languages or the natural sciences?

In default of any such specialization of preparation or of professional functioning on a departmental basis, the practice has prevailed of assigning courses in civics—or allied topics—to history teachers, probably on the vague and ill-tested assumption that the history studies are a trifle closer to real civic studies than are French, English grammar, physics, or hygiene.

This failure of American and other school systems (except in one sense, the French and Japanese, and, in a very different sense, the Russian and Italian) to focalize objectives, means and methods and personnel for civic education, renders it still widely possible for aspirational educators and laymen to say "all education is civic education," an expression in the last analysis as fatuous and misleading as those other confessions of educational incompetencies "all good education is vocational," "all good vocational education is cultural," and "moral education must be taught through all the subjects."

That scholars in, and teachers of, history cannot be expected to help administrators develop more functional means and methods of civic education is, in the opinion of the present writer, fairly conclusively established by this fact: So far as he can now recall, no history specialist has yet produced any considerable article or other study entering realistically into the problem of how history studies can be so organized for school purposes as to contribute important results towards such good civism as will probably be needed by the present school generation in the coming years of coöperative responsibility for Federal, State, and local governments (and allied federate group coöperations) for the period 1930 to 1980.

II. *Towards Sociological Foundations*

But just as improvements in the soils and drainage of a field may have taken place some time before their effects on more

abundant crops are realized, so it is possible for advances and other changes in thought to take place in the sociological and psychological foundations of a department of education some time before the effects of these will become manifest in courses and classroom procedures. That, the present writer believes, is conspicuously the case with civic education. The social sciences themselves are undergoing rapid changes which are certain presently to open to us new and greatly enriched possibilities of defining valid objectives for civic education, after which the discovery of methods and the promotion of special teacher-training agencies should not prove difficult.

Approaches to problems of educational values (or to curriculum and course making for several levels of schools) are increasingly forcing educational thinkers to give realistic, in place of aspirational, consideration to questions like these: Are the "foundations" of civic education the same as the foundations of cultural education? Of moral education? Of religious education? Of hygienic education? Of vocational education? Of educations in the uses of foreign languages?

Only educational mystics or obscurantists or, shall we say, "fools," will answer any of the above questions in the affirmative. But even negative answers to such questions do not get us very far. Policy makers for educations in schools need to know what are the distinctive foundations required for good civic education if they are to be expected to assist in building courses and other means on such foundations.

There are to be found, of course, distinctive psychological foundations of civic education, as of each other individual species of education—foundations in the fairly general motivations of children and of adults, and in the methods by which desired behaviors can best be evoked respectively through instruction in knowledge, stimulation of ideals, formation of habits and infixing of attitudes such as represent the concrete practicable achievements of schools. But we are here concerned with things which lie back of, perhaps underneath, the means and methods of civic education. We want to know: What is civic education—or, better, what are the one hundred most tangible possible civic educations? What are they for—what good will they probably do? Back of that, what are American needs for them? What are Michigan or Detroit needs for them?

The foregoing fairly random questions lead us towards more concrete problems of sociological foundations. There are, in fact, many scores of types of problems which are essentially of the sociological foundation of any and all types of school or college educations:

1. What are the social utilities, the "good things" of collective civilized life, the social values, which can probably be produced, enhanced, or conserved by some species of education purposed to that end?

2. What due allowance should be made for the educations and other valuable growths towards the values in question to be normally and perhaps inexpensively achieved during preschool, paraschool and postschool periods, through such nonschool agencies as household, street, church, shop, press, stage, police power, library, and the like?

3. What remain as needed valuable functions of education which, if profitably to be achieved at all, must be so achieved through the specialized agencies called schools?

4. Towards meeting special needs for educations which only schools can effectively give, what can we determine to be a series of objectives for such school educations sufficiently concrete to admit of comparative evaluation and of construction of suitable means and probably functional methods?

5. What discriminations and organizations of educable personnel (educands) must be made in order that the objectives specified can be effectively realized—discriminations of case-types or classes according to age, potential abilities, social needs for specialized contributions from educands, extraschool conditions, sex, and other relevant significant factors?

6. Towards organizing means and methods of producing optimum results at optimum outlay, what can be advantageously developed in the way of types of coöperative or solitary (self-guided) learning, social harmonies between teacher and taught, and other serviceable procedures resting essentially on foundations of social psychology or psychological sociology?

It is submitted that all recent progress of the social sciences, and especially of anthropological cultural analysis gives increasing support to answers like the following to the foregoing problems:

1. Every distinguishable species of education and, of each species, each distinguishable degree is or should be designed "to meet a need." That is an incontestable postulate deriving

from the only definition of education which is serviceable to psychologists, sociologists, and practical men; namely, that "education" embraces only those growths, and especially growths recognizable as learnings, out of millions of possible growths, which by conscious personal design or well-established custom are purposed growths or purposed learnings.

2. The "needs to be met" through any species of education may be consciously felt or perceived by a mature, experienced person controlling towards foreseen ends the growths, and especially such growths as are learnings of immature or inexperienced individuals; or the educative processes may have become so established in custom that no one now can easily understand what may have been once the controlling conscious purposes, or what have by slow accretions grown to be such, of these educative processes. And, of course, a man can just as well purpose and work for particularized growths in himself as in his child. All strong men, and not a few self-reliant adolescents, practice self-educations no less than educations of followers.

3. In trying to discover what kinds of education (out of thousands of possible kinds) and of each kind what degrees, schools (of all grades from nursery to collegiate) should most seek to effect, legislators, educators, influential laymen and other really functional educational policy makers should be guided primarily towards procuring those forms of well-being which can either be so widely distributed (e. g., various forms of good health) or are to be realized chiefly through educated collective action (e. g., various forms of large-scale coöperation) as to deserve to be called the larger social values.

4. That the actual serviceableness, usefulness, functional worths, or valuable outcomes (*social values* again) of nearly all known or customary forms of school educations are much more specific and capable of sharper differentiation than the loose and aspirational thinking of nearly all laymen and the large majority of reflective educators during recent decades have assumed.

In other words, the educations which will produce particular masteries of arithmetic will probably not in the least contribute to any moral qualities, will not automatically make for health conservations, or extend tastes for good reading; and so on indefinitely.

No one can prove, of course, that there is no "spread" or transfer of one type of educational achievement to other related

or dependent fields; and of course any particular educational achievement—even in spelling or hygiene—may in turn be made a means to other and seemingly quite unrelated achievements. But sound and economical educational policy making will not leave these things to chance. It will take the time and energy of learners towards achieving only results of fairly assured value in themselves as ends (e. g., health, culture, vocational competency) or as means to ends, of probable value (reading, pre-engineering mathematics, intelligent voting).

5. Obviously, then, the first task of educators, or of their consulting experts, who wish to produce civic qualities is to give some degree of definition to these qualities. They must give some attention to social diagnosis because, as in the case of the doctor, it is of fundamental importance to medication or disease prevention that it be known whether typhoid infection or bilious indigestion is the source of the patient's present sickness.

Granting that this social diagnosis be competently made, there remains a further complicating problem for educators. The large majority of the qualities of good civism resemble a large majority of the qualities of good speech, good morals, and good health practices in this: In all their more basic aspects they are and always have been learned outside of schools—partly before children came to schools at all, partly while attending schools, and largely after schools have been left behind. Now it is a sound principle of educational administration that schools shall not be set to do those things which extraschool agencies can do equally well at less social expense. Hence it becomes the business of educators, after defining the qualities which make, let us say, for the good political citizenship of potential Toms, Dicks, and Harrys, to ascertain what kinds and what degrees of such qualities it is of importance that schools should seek to produce.

6. A sensible start on our task can be made by our refusing to dally further with the no longer serviceable term "citizenship." Our idealistic and aspirational writers have made that term mean all things to all men. As used by educators it is now synonymous with "good man" or "good woman"—if, forsooth, it does not also mean the same also as "good child."

But we who believe that clearly defined boundaries for meanings attached to terms are no less essential to effective thinking than conservation of the social order is the boundary to ownership of real and personal property can still get useful service from the

term "political citizenship." Any man has many kinds of social relationships, of which only a few are properly "political." Only rarely do a man's familial and political relationships overlap. Only occasionally do a man's economic relationships and obligations clasp hands with his political relationships and responsibilities. Only once in a thousand times do a man's religious and political interdependencies blend.

To the student who observes social groups or concrete societies realistically, it soon becomes evident that a man's truly political relationships and responsibilities to his fellows in his state—that is, in his nation, his province, his county, his incorporated town or city—are of two kinds or phases.

Under the first kind we can place all conformist relationships—such as submission to laws, yielding to taxation requirements, and giving military service in time of defensive need. Because the state—or any state-authorized collectivity within it—is much more extensive, longer lived, and powerful than any of its members considered as individuals, it inevitably possesses, as the composite expression of most other members, certain powers over Tom, who is one citizen. It requires him to obey the laws, to pay necessary taxes, to give loyal service in time of general need—all, of course, in very purposeful, even if not always lucid recognition of the principle of "greatest good to the greatest number."

The second class of civic or truly political relationships of men cannot well be denoted by a single term. They are in effect the dynamic, the constructive, the initiating, the inceptive, the contributing relationships of a man to his state and to its component subpolitical societies. In oligarchies, obviously, few men are formally dowered with these responsibilities. But in republics and other states under suffrage-determined government much is expected of at least the ablest of voting citizens in determining state policies and in choosing the officials, legislative, judicial, and administrative, who shall give such policies concrete application.

In all states, obviously, the numbers of those held to conformist relationships far exceeds those empowered, or privileged, as we sometimes say, to exercise any but the most simple of dynamic or constructively coöperative of responsibilities. All youths, all aliens, all defectives are subject to the laws of the state and to its requirements for support through taxation. But only adults

may vote and, commonly, not all of these. Even young adults are not encouraged to hold honorary office, to share in political opinion making, or to take part in reforming movements.

III. *Towards Programs of Functional Civic Educations*

Judged by functional outcomes it seems, then, highly probable that most of the varieties of ostensible or supposedly civic educations heretofore offered in American public schools and liberal colleges have been no more productive of valuable civic results than were the medicines provided by physicians two centuries ago productive of valuable health-restoring or disease-preventing results.

American political citizenship is, and long has been, of course, fairly good—otherwise our varied and complicated political societies could not have functioned at the fairly high levels of political competency which has usually been the case—thanks largely to the extraschool educative agencies. But the health competencies of large majorities of the men and women of two centuries ago were also fairly good in spite of the low state of prevailing medical knowledge and skill—due to instincts, good customs, and common sense.

When schools and colleges are asked to add to the productiveness of nonschool agencies in making good political citizenship—or good health maintenance or good culture or good moralities or good vocational competency or good family life or any other type of good social functioning—we may rest assured in advance that they are undertaking responsibilities so intricate and difficult that there is much probability that in their aspirational eagerness they will pursue wrong paths nine times out of ten.

But only so, as yet, can progress come. We are all agreed that, because there are many types of civism so imperfectly developed in large proportions of the youths and adults now coöperating in America to sustain and develop coöperative government, if schools can help give us better political citizenship we are all under heavy obligation to use them for that purpose. Especially does that appear to be necessary when we consider how increasingly complex, pervasive, and diversely important are becoming the functions of local and central governments. But the great majority of our educational thinkers and policy makers have so long concerned themselves primarily with means and

methods that even yet they detest the task of being forced to consider ends critically.

Through nearly all past centuries the societies which maintained schools—the families, the guilds, the religious organizations, the political classes or parties, the states—said in effect through their leaders to educators: "We will decide what is important for schools to teach, and why. You find the means, and apply the methods, of teaching what we require." "Yours not to reason why."

In our day for the first time (except for a few former philosophical or reforming efforts which hardly rippled the seas of traditional practice) a corporal's guard of educational policy makers are electing, and large proportions are being forced by slowly heaving public sentiment, to try to solve problems of educational purposes, values, aims, or ends, as well as means and methods—and how distasteful the majority of them find the new task!

Of course our schools are now doing some valuable things for political citizenship. But was it not lay rather than professional policy making which, a century or more ago decided that general literacy, school-produced, would prove a valuable additional means to effective participations in coöperative governments? And was it not lay rather than professional drives which forced our schools to teach "patriotism making"—and therefore a somewhat emotionalized and even jingoistic American history? Perhaps lay and professional leadership were about equally influential in getting into our schools courses in civil government, community civics, or other similar "civism-producing" means. Unfortunately, educators have presently set up mechanical formulations of these studies, and have as a rule taken their outcomes entirely on faith.

If, now, master educators themselves are going to assume substantial responsibilities for determining the purposes, as well as the means and methods of particular educations, and if, no less important, they strive towards validation through testing outcomes of their means and methods, what will probably be some of their necessary procedures in the field of civic education? Surely their starting point will be with civic functionings. Towards these all the knowledge which schools can impart, all the attitudes which they can rectify, deepen or otherwise affect, all the habits or skills they can help form, and the ideals they can inculcate are

but means—functional or not, according as experience shows whether or no they result, work out, into desired outcomes.

Now it is going to prove exceedingly difficult to make useful working analyses of the concrete functional behaviors entering into what a political scientist would evaluate as "good" or "very good" coöperative political citizenship. Certainly that kind of "job analysis" of civism has never yet been more than superficially attempted. (Such purely aspirational and fatuous pious pronouncements as "the good citizen should obey the laws," "should vote intelligently," should practise self-control," and others *ad nauseam* are, of course, all worthless from this point of view.)

But suppose we asked a political scientist who was also something of a psychologist to give us the beginnings of such a provisional "functional analysis" of good or very good civism. Might not his offerings run something like the following:

1. A man has many kinds of behaviors towards his material and social environments (including under the latter his several selves)—vocational behaviors, health-conserving behaviors, parental behaviors, morality behaviors, religious behaviors, aesthetic behaviors, and others—which are not properly civic or political, although they may slightly condition or react on these, as these political behaviors may in turn to a degree condition or react on the others.

2. Those relationships of a man which should properly be called political, and which give rise to his truly civic behaviors pertain primarily to those of his "large-group" societies through which large-scale functions of defense, justice-dispensing, order-maintaining, and public-works execution are carried—the nation, the State, the county, the city, etc., and those other large groups which we call political parties.

3. The political relationship or civic traits including responsibilities of all sane adults from ten years of age on can fully be divided into two classes—the "conformist" and the "dynamic."

4. Under the conformist civic relationship and behaviors of the individual are to be included all yieldings, obediences, assentings, and other conformities to the will of the group—as expressed by its majorities, its constitutions, its laws, its ordinances, its rules, its party decisions, its widely approved customs—whether that group or society be the nation, the confederation of nations, the province or state, the city, the county, the incorporated

village, the political party or a voluntary association within or alongside the political party.

5. Under the dynamic civic relationships and behaviors of an individual (including his generally recognized actual or potential responsibilities) will be included those of initiating political action, generating political opinion or sentiment, resisting unwarranted political coercion, holding political office (salaried and professional, nonsalaried and honorific), reforming and even in extreme cases rebelling.

6. A second classification of civic traits or individual political behaviors, if not wholly of kind, at any rate extensively of degree should be made (and it must as yet be based on provisional estimates only) along lines of potential abilities to express in optimum measures particular civic activities. For example, it may prove to be true that men from 40 to 60 years of age of intelligence quotients less than 90 can exhibit originality in the dynamic traits called for above in only rare and uninfluential cases; whereas the adults of these ages of the highest fifteen per cent of civic native intelligence (or potentiality) will prove the usual sources of all original initiative and inceptive action.

7. Hence, provisionally, civic coöperators (all from whom conformist or dynamic virtues are to be expected) will be here divided into three classes as measured by potential capacities to develop or exercise the trait noted—the M division (highest twenty-five per cent), the N division, (middle or modal fifty per cent), and O division (lowest quarter).

8. Also it will prove expedient to divide all the foregoing into three divisions according to age—juvenile (j) under twenty-one, young adult (Ay) twenty-one to thirty, and mature adult (Am), over thirty. (In the course of time other classifications may prove important for purposes of guidance of policies of civic education, such as: urban, small town, and rural; black and white; manual worker and commercial worker; men and women; home settled and migratory; and others.)

Upon the basis of the foregoing provisional analyses of the human behaviors which may properly be called civic, and classifications of the personnel among whom we should expect these behaviors to appear in somewhat varying degrees if not kinds, our political scientist might then propose a series of hypothetical analyses of more specific functional behaviors as related to differentiated types of personnel.

1. He might, for example, divide the conformist functionings of individuals in their political classes, as follows:

a. Alpha type of conformist behaviors, to include all those obediences to laws as to the wisdom and necessity of which there is substantially no disagreement, at least among persons of good repute in the community, and which are violated only rarely and in what seem to be very abnormal circumstances (examples: laws against arson, burglary, rape, murder, bigamy, defalcation, etc.).

b. Beta type of conformist behaviors, including all those obediences to laws approved by the large majority, but nevertheless permitting a great variety of unreprobated minor violations or exceptions (e. g., laws regarding perjury, fruit stealing, game killing, vehicle speeding, vote buying, obscenity publication, school nonattendance, etc.).

c. Gamma type of conformist behaviors, including obediences to laws and ordinances which substantial numbers of persons of fairly good repute disapprove. For the present, laws prohibiting the manufacture and transport for sale of alcoholic liquors are the most familiar examples of this type. But at other times laws affecting dueling, vaccination, deer killing, fishing in streams on private lands, cigarette selling, card playing for money, betting on horse races, selling goods on street, feeding sparrows, muzzling dogs, shooting at fruit stealers, attending school, reporting certain diseases, killing infected live stock, erecting bill boards on private lands, and the like, have all run gantlets of strong disapproval from strong and often influential minorities.

2. On the basis also of the foregoing classifications, our political scientist might derive the following social conclusions from his experience or research:

a. Acceptable behaviors of the alpha type are the rule in America among some ninety-eight per cent of our young and old citizens. Violations of these laws, that is, felonious noncivic behaviors of the alpha type, are confined to fewer than two per cent of our people.

b. Discrimination of the personnel likely to compose this two per cent is as yet not practicable before the commission of at least some serious misdemeanors, usually on or after fifteen years of age. Notwithstanding extensive researches, criminology knows as yet very little regarding causal antecedent factors characterizing these two per cent. Certain proved moderate

correlations, (e. g., between rate of criminology and slum residence, or "broken" families, or negro-mulatto extraction, or religion, or frontier residence, or celibacy, or lack of vocational training, and the like) have not yet been proved to imply causal interdependence but only concomitant variation due to social selection.

c. But it is of very great importance to instruct and train the ninety-eight per cent who are not likely to commit criminal acts now to help control in the future the as yet unrecognizable two per cent who will do so. Perhaps it is of especial importance that the schools so instruct that quarter of potential adult political citizens from whom we are to expect the most of dynamic civic action as to what should be done towards potential and actual criminals.

3. Hence the political scientist might propose this problem for educators: Assume that in a large junior and a large senior high school, each having over a thousand pupils, there are courses to be organized (A, R) for the production of superior civic powers, such courses being designed primarily for the highest quarter of civic mentalities and characters in such schools. (Other civic courses will, of course, be provided for different levels; and we need not now concern ourselves with methods of getting the right people into the different courses. Partly election and partly advisement can be trusted to accomplish that.)

Having in view only the one dynamic civic function of preventing, reducing, and correcting various types of criminality by potential noncriminals, what units of instruction and training will the schoolmasters provide?

Can he probably find functional means to this end in American histories? Could very concrete and simplified short-unit courses perhaps prove of value? What of the illuminations provided in some cases by the biographies of criminals—like Booth's pathetic "Stealing Through Life"? Would study of the work of police courts, of police departments, of prison reforms help? What of possible studies into city residence, present-day economic difficulties of wage-earning adjustment?

Now it is certain that when the educator of the future has set before him certain fairly concrete and manifestly desirable objectives of school achievement, he will find limitless opportunities for exploration among, and experimentation with, means (and the attendant methods of using each) as suggested above.

From that stage on, an experimental science of educational values can be developed no less certainly than was medicine able to develop an experimental science once Pasteur had given the clues to bacterial sources of disease.

VII. TEACHING GOVERNMENT IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS[9]

CHARLES H. JUDD

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Perhaps I have gone far enough in my efforts to define the schools as society's agency for the transmission of civilization to justify me in coming directly to the plea which I am here to present. I am quite sure that the American Political Science Association is right in its contention that American schools must make pupils intelligent about government. I am equally sure that it is impossible to accomplish the end desired by injecting into the curriculum a new course on government. We must devise some method of making pupils conscious of the meaning of civilization long before we introduce them to the special problems of government and the political system.

Let us consider an illustration which will make clear what I am trying to say. We teach little children very early in life that they must pass people on the street on the right. What we say to children in this connection sounds, when one stops to think of it, like an arbitrary dictum. It is indeed arbitrary in the form in which it is passed on to children, but it is not arbitrary in its origin. If a child who is told to pass on the right should ask "Why?" it would be very difficult to give any satisfactory answer except in terms of racial history. If the child knew enough to reinforce his question by the statement that in England people pass on the left, he would make it clear that he was justified in characterizing the demand that he pass on the right as an arbitrary order. No better opportunity can possibly be found than that which is here presented for a lesson in the fundamental social origin of governmental regulation of individual behavior. Not only so, but the literature of childhood will be greatly enriched by putting into children's hands the story of the origin and evolution of the rules of the road. No one can read this story without gaining a new and vivid appreciation of how

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[9] *School and Society*, Vol. XXXV, No. 891, Jan. 23, 1932, pp. 103–108.

exacting are the demands of the group and how advantageous it is for the individual to act in accord with group conventions.

The illustration which I have just presented was selected with a view to arriving by the shortest possible route at the goal of my discussion. The sympathy of pupils for government must be cultivated if the lessons of government are to be really understood and appreciated. I said a few minutes ago that no course dealing with government and neglecting the other facts of civilization will accomplish the ends at which I believe this association is aiming. There must be from the earliest years of the pupil's schooling a steady instillation of the concept of government. The pupil must come naturally to a mature understanding of government through many immature stages of acquaintance with the evolution of governmental forms. The rules of the road must grow out of the direct experience of a few minor collisions.

From the simple illustration presented let us progress to a somewhat enlarged view of the school program. The laws of the nation and of the state are only a small part of the social inheritance. If we could inspire in pupils some appreciation of the effort which has gone into the production of science or literature, we could, I believe, give a wholly new tone to our whole educational system. As the school program is administered to-day, the pupil too often gets the impression that a course in science is a succession of adult pronouncements forced on his acceptance by dire threats. The fact is, of course, that science, both in its refined techniques and its suggestive and highly useful results, is a gift of enormous value made by the race to the individual. Science is as much a part of the pattern of civilization as is government. The relation between science and law is very intimate when we think of the two as products of coöperative human endeavor. I am sure that we could give young people a wholly new attitude toward natural science if we could induce the scientists to think of themselves as part of the social pattern, which is expressed also in civil order. Conversely, I am sure that government will be in far safer hands when a generation is trained to recognize that the teachings of science are the safest guides in the formulation of statutes.

. . . .

Let me sketch in a general way the program which I think we should try to have adopted. All persons who teach or administer

schools and all citizens who support schools should be led to see clearly that the purpose of education is to give young people the fullest possible equipment of civilized ideas and civilized methods of thinking and behavior. It should be recognized that it is only through an acceptance of these gifts of civilization that the individual can achieve in a short lifetime the goals of personal existence. The individual can make his contributions to civilization only when he has command of the best techniques of life that are contributed through racial effort.

The school under the proposed plan becomes a place of individual training in the arts and adjustments of civilization. At first, pupils in the lower schools will learn the simpler adjustments, such as punctuality and social regard for the rights of others. They will also learn the art of reading and the art of counting. Too often reading and counting have been taught as ends in themselves rather than as highly refined methods of using one's mind. The list of pupil acquisitions in the reconstructed school does not seem at first sight to be different from the list aimed at in the ordinary school of the day, but the spirit of the program will be quite different if the subjects taught are recognized as introductions to the arts of civilization. The pupils will have arduous tasks to perform, to be sure, but the teachers will little by little transmit the feeling that these tasks are arranged for the purpose of giving to the pupils something of great value.

By the time the pupils reach the upper levels of the primary school the lesson that social coöperation is desirable can be made explicit. In the third and fourth grades children should learn why we call our numerals "Arabic." They should learn something of the curious efforts made by ancient and primitive peoples to write. They should be taught why weights and measures came into existence and why in modern times weights and measures are under the control of the federal government. All this explicit training in ideas about social coöperation can be made the central coördinating theme of the full program of instruction in the early grades, and it can serve at the same time to prepare the pupils for later initiation into the higher forms of social thinking.

I pause to repeat what I said at the beginning of this article. No course dealing with the political system which is inserted into the curriculum of the upper grades can be more than a

partial success if it is not preceded by some such cultivation of a general social understanding as I am advocating. Ideas must have a background. As the schools of this country have been conducted in the past, there has been no remotest intimation given to the pupils of the social meaning of the Arabic numerals and of their absolutely unique character. The schools have taught Roman numerals as a kind of added arithmetical luxury without calling the attention of pupils to the uselessness of these numerals for calculation and without confessing to the pupils that the Roman numerals are the best that the European mind was able to devise.

Coming back to our school program, I recommend that the fifth and sixth grades be made opportunities to learn about other civilizations and also about our own. Industry, with its fascinating machinery and its systems of transportation, with its story of recent rapid evolution, should be given attention. Reading matter about industry and transportation should displace some of the trivial reading material which now finds its way into these grades.

Somewhere in these upper grades there should be introduced an account of national government. It is my firm belief that the explicit study of national government should not concern itself at first with the legislative aspects. Instead of telling pupils about Congress in the early stages of instruction about national government, I should tell them about the Bureau of Standards. In my judgment, pupils will have more respect for government if the early discussions deal with the Bureau of Standards or with some other scientific branch of the government.

Such a sketch as I have tried to draw has perhaps become as complete as it is profitable to make it at this time. I turn to the discussion of the practical operating machinery necessary to effect the reform which I am advocating.

The necessary information to be used in instructing children along the lines indicated is not now possessed by teachers in the lower schools. It is not possessed by the teachers who give instruction in teacher-training institutions. It is in the possession of scholars of the type commented on a short time ago—the specialists. These specialists must be induced to supply the information.

As a second step, the information must be put in a form which will make it presentable to pupils. For the execution of this

second step, writers must be found who have full knowledge of the vocabulary which children can understand and of the literary style which children enjoy. In short, skilful teachers must be employed to formulate the social material.

It should be noted at this point that there is a definite intention to include in this program of reformulation of information the conventional subjects now currently taught in schools, such as science and arithmetic. Would it not be an experiment well worth trying to rewrite the arithmetic textbooks so that they can be read? Arithmetic is at the present time a barren skeleton. This and other subjects now represented by dry bones could be made into living realities if the economic information were supplied which would enliven all teaching in elementary courses. Instead of being required to calculate interest in arithmetic, pupils might be made at least somewhat intelligent about investments. In time, even a chapter on speculation might be introduced, to the great advantage of the public purse. When taxation, which is now studied as a case of percentage, is rewritten in the kind of book on arithmetic that I am advocating, there will be an account of how taxes were levied in the time of Caesar, whose image on the coin was pointed out as the legal justification for the collection of tribute. There will be a definition of the duties of the assessor and like entertaining materials.

In short, textbooks in all school subjects, should be rewritten by competent writers equipped with information supplied by wise men who know the facts as only the specialists do. These textbooks should go into the normal schools and into the hands of pupils. There will be a new curriculum with a social core. Ultimately the periphery as well as the core will be socialized. The school will become in a much fuller sense than it is to-day the agent of civilization charged with the duty of transmitting its highest achievements to the new generation.

VIII. CAN WE MEASURE THE SUCCESS OF CITIZENSHIP TRAINING?[10]

CHARLES C. TILLINGHAST

. . . Because of a variety of causes, we are right now confronted by a serious condition which calls for the best that every

[10] *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Vol. IV, No. 5. January, 1930, pp. 298–299.

man can give, in whatever situation he finds himself, to develop certain qualities in our American life; and the junior and senior high schools of the country offer a field which is more fertile than almost any other than one can mention for the development of these certain fine qualities. There has grown up the realization that principals and other administrators cannot escape the responsibility, as indeed most of us would not, of fostering and furthering moral education. This present paper concerns itself not with this responsibility, privilege, or necessity which for the instant I am assuming we will all willingly admit; neither has it to do, except in a passing manner, with the way in which we give our citizenship or moral training. I am now more concerned with the question of what is at our hand with which to measure the success of that training which we are all trying, each in his own place and after his own fashion of work, to give.

. . . .

I have taken the liberty, then, of making a list of ten qualities, which it seems to me we ought to see to it are found in our high schools, and which we ought, for our own satisfaction as well as for the advancement of the school, to measure as well as we can.

These are listed, in no exact order of importance, but merely to place them all clearly in our thinking, as follows:

1. Self-respect and spiritual and moral courage.
2. Respect for properly constituted authority wherever found.
3. The readiness to meet and to carry responsibility.
4. The readiness to accept constructive suggestions, even reproof, from whatever source these suggestions may come, in a spirit which is not sullen or rebellious but fine and big.
5. Ability to distinguish between right and wrong.
6. Ability to discern one's group responsibility.
7. Ability to be honest with one's self and one's associates.
8. The willingness to recognize and respect the rights of others.
9. Reverence for worth-while things.
10. Wholesomeness, cleanness of mind and spirit.

Those ten I submit as some of the qualities which in my school I should like to be able to measure, and of the presence of which I should like to be assured.

Chapter V

The Expanding Function of Education—Character Education

I. INTRODUCTION

Recent emphasis upon good character as an outcome of school instruction coördinates with the emphasis upon civic education and roots back into the same causes, the growing complexity of life and the failure of the conventional curriculum of the public school to train in moral living, as educators had hoped. While the latter generally have become interested in the development of character, and the psychologists have made substantial contributions to the methods of instruction and the measurement of character traits, the problem of character as an element of personality development and social adjustment is fundamentally a sociological problem.

The problem itself, moreover, rose out of social change and readjustments. The development of invention, transportation and communication, with the consequent reconstruction of industry and commerce, have created new values and have modified existing values, thus effecting changes in ethical and moral concepts and decreasing the influence of church and family. New problems of social control therefore appear as the simpler social order disintegrates and declines in influence.

The nature of the new problem of social control becomes a matter of primary concern to educational sociologists, since the character of the change, the disintegration of conventional social influences, and the reëstablishment of

social control are both sociological and educational. The essential sociological nature of character education is adequately emphasized in the selections in this chapter. It is important to note, however, the fact that the educational problem grows out of a special condition, in that the attention in universities, colleges and schools has been given to the development of scientific knowledge dominated by an industrial civilization. We have therefore neglected emphasis upon the emotional, moral and social qualities and outcomes of instruction. A readjustment becomes necessary, and the readjustment rests upon a new sociological emphasis in education. The expanding function of education in the direction of character development is therefore a problem of primary concern to the sociologist.

II. SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHARACTER EDUCATION INQUIRY[1]

HUGH HARTSHORNE

An investigation of the nature of character could hardly be otherwise than sociological. In a sense, therefore, the entire report[2] of the Character Education Inquiry is a sociological document. Had it been written by sociologists, however, its emphasis might have been quite different, and it is for the sake of making more prominent certain data which are of primary interest to sociology that this paper is written.

Nature of the Data

Those who have read the report of the Inquiry will recall the nature of the data gathered. The primary data consist of objective records of conduct in social situations. The conducts selected for study were deception, helpful behavior, co-operation, persistence, and inhibition, each within certain well-defined test situations. Behavior was recorded qualitatively by reference

[1] *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, September, 1930, pp. 251–262.

[2] The report has appeared in three volumes under the title "Studies in the Nature of Character," published by The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928–1930.

to commonly accepted definitions of deception, helpfulness, etc., and quantitatively by reference to the rate at which instances of these sorts of behavior occurred, if they occurred at all. Thus the deception score on one type of honesty test is the probable number of times a pupil made use of an answer sheet in the course of ten minutes.

These particular classes of conduct were chosen partly because of their *a priori* significance for the maintenance of successful group relations, partly because of their relation to individual achievement, and partly because it was possible to devise standard situations for measuring the frequency with which each form of conduct occurred.

Three sampling processes were involved—first, the sampling of social conduct in general; second, the sampling of situations within which such modes of conduct operate; and, third, the sampling of the pupils' contacts with these particular situations. The adequacy of these samples was in each case statistically determined by the use of an adaptation of the Spearman-Brown prediction formula.

A second group of primary data consisted of scores on tests of social intelligence and attitude. Three types of material were involved: first, material which could be objectively scored, as, e.g., a social-ethical vocabulary test; second, material which, as scored, represented the pupils' approximation to "enlightened opinion" regarding "right and wrong" conduct; and, third, an arrangement of the latter type of material to reveal in the score not only the pupils' ability to comprehend social standards but also the degree of conviction with which these opinions are entertained.

Since the imaginary situations of the tests are social in character and reveal the pupils' assimilation of social standards of action, the scores are of significance for sociological investigation.[3]

Supplementary to these behavior and opinion records are the data consisting of measures and observations of such factors as age, sex, intelligence, suggestibility, neurotic condition, socio-economic status, health, assimilation of cultural factors of environment, size of family, nationality and church connections of parents, school behavior and achievement, and reputation.

[3] Of even greater interest might be the actual opinions expressed by the pupils. Very little study of the records has been made with this in view, however.

The Populations Studied

Several thousand school children were involved in the study at one time or another. Subsequent to the investigation of deception, the Inquiry concentrated on three populations, each of Grades 5 to 8, in three contrasted communities. X is a high middle-class residential section of New Haven. Z is an unfavored community, largely foreign, in the same city. Y is a small town in eastern New York, with a socio-economic average falling between the other two groups, but with a wide range of social background. To these children, some 850 in all, the entire battery of tests was administered, requiring about thirty classroom hours. In addition, supplementary data obtainable from school records, teachers, parents, and leaders were secured.

Sociological Correlates of Conduct

In view of the fact that the results of the Inquiry regarding the associations between conduct and background are in print, it would be a waste of time to repeat these findings, even if space permitted. Instead, I shall pick out a few of the more significant and suggestive conclusions for brief mention before turning to the main problems of this paper.

Environmental factors in moral conduct. Socio-economic handicaps are accompanied by corresponding increments of deceptive conduct. In the case of helpfulness and co-operation, however, although within any one community the children of more favored backgrounds are the more socialized, the most socialized community of the three referred to above was population Y (the mid-social group) rather than population X (the high social group).

No such associations with general environment, however, are found in the case of persistence and inhibition, with regard to which the socially inferior community, Z, frequently scored highest. Nevertheless, within any one community, self-control increases with level of social background.

It would seem, then, that there is a slight social trend in conduct going along with improvement in social condition, but that this is swallowed up in the influence of the community as a whole. Hence we must look also to other factors in community life for sources of moral conduct.

In religious and national differences we have two sets of factors which cut across communities, tending to keep them either above or below the general level of conduct which their socio-economic status alone would entitle them to. It is difficult or impossible to disentangle these two factors or to separate them from the socio-economic status. The implications of the data are that the cultural complex associated with national tendencies and religious background affects honesty and service tendencies to an extent not accounted for by differences in intelligence and socio-economic status. These influences are maintained for national groups in the case of persistence and inhibition, but in these two types of conduct the religious groups are not consistently differentiated.

That national and religious culture is not the only other source (besides economic status) of differences in conduct is further indicated by this fact: The children of American-born and of Protestant parentage in a community predominantly foreign and Catholic scored lower than similar groups in communities predominantly American and Protestant but higher than the foreign and Catholic of their own community. But the children of foreign-born and of Catholic parentage in communities predominantly American and Protestant scored higher than similar groups in communities predominantly foreign and Catholic, but lower than the American and Protestant groups of their own communities. That is, the minority group tended toward the standards of the majority, whether these standards were high or low.

Another type of community influence is found in the factor of transiency. Population Y is the most stable of the three communities studied and is also the most co-operative. Furthermore, the children of higher grades in Y are both more honest and more co-operative than those in the lower grades, whereas in Z the higher grade children are more dishonest and less co-operative than the lower.

Environmental factors in moral knowledge. Conclusions concerning the relation between environment and moral knowledge will be found in the third volume of the report of the Inquiry. Extreme differences between the more favored community, X, and both Y and Z occur, corresponding to the general social differences between these groups. The superiority of X, however, is accounted for in a large part by its superiority in intelligence,

since socio-economic scores do not correlate with moral knowledge scores. On the other hand, the correlation between the scores representing the degree to which subtle cultural factors have been assimilated by the subjects and a combination of a large battery of moral knowledge and attitude tests, is 0.322 ± 0.022, even with intelligence constant. It is evident that ability to grasp the ethical implications of life situations is directly associated with ability to grasp the more subtle aspects of general culture.

With regard to national and religious groupings, no evidence was found for supposing that scores in moral knowledge were functions of the country in which the parents were born or of the church to which they belonged.

Group Morale

The problem of school and classroom morale as a factor in the control of conduct and knowledge will next engage our attention. Frequent reference is made to the phenomenon of morale in the first two volumes of the report of the Inquiry. It was found that schools and classrooms differed from one another in ways which could not be accounted for by population selection. In the case of honesty, the tendencies observed in a classroom were found to persist from one year to another. The children in a classroom resembled one another in conduct trends more than they resembled children of other classes. These classroom differences are attributed in the report to differences in classroom experience, which tends to accumulate in such a way as to produce a type of conduct characteristic of the class as a whole. Since length of attendance in a school (age constant) is not related to degrees of socialization and since individual scores in conduct and moral knowledge do not correlate, the report suggests that the classroom morale hypothecated is a function of the group as such rather than of the several members of the group. In other words, in situations in which the classroom itself is a common factor, the pupils tend to respond to the classroom itself (its morale, codes, habits, teacher, prestige, etc.) as much as to the specific demands of the test situation.

Group codes and group conduct. In the third volume of the report data are available for the study of this problem of group morale. I shall now summarize these findings.

The problem to be dealt with may best be presented in the form of a table of intercorrelations.

THE INTERCORRELATION OF CONDUCT TENDENCIES (CORRECTED FOR ATTENUATION)

	Service	*Inhibition*	*Persistence*
Honesty	0.434	0.487	0.166
Service	.....	0.472	0.083
Inhibition	.....	.....	0.202

Here we find a degree of interrelation among these various modes of conduct ranging from an r of 0.083 to an r of 0.487. To what shall we attribute these associations? The question would not seem so pertinent were it not for the fact that the scores used for determining these relations are combinations of many tests. When single tests of honesty, say, are correlated with single tests of service, etc., these inter-r's are greatly reduced. Furthermore, when out-of-classroom tests of honesty are correlated (even in combination) with other conduct combinations, most of the r's approximate zero. As we deal with less and less complex modes of conduct in situations which have less and less in common, we find less and less evidence of integration.

Let us consider, then, what various situations may have in common which might help to account for the intercorrelations we actually find. We get our first suggestion from the evidences of school and classroom morale reported in Volumes 1 and 2 and from the fact just now noted that r's fall when one set of scores is concerned with classroom conduct and the other with out-of-classroom conduct.

The inter-r's so far reported have involved all three of our populations, X, Y, and Z. The fact that each of these groups exhibits a degree of homogeneity within itself, there being significant differences among the three, tends to raise the inter-r's according as one population is found higher or lower than the other on each of two variables—or to lower the inter-r's if one population is higher on one variable and lower on the other. To get rid of the influence of this heterogeneity we may figure our scores as deviations from the means of the respective populations in which each subject belongs.

But we also find that classrooms differ from one another within one population more than they would by chance, and, again, if they differ in the same direction from the mean on two

variables, this will automatically raise the r for the entire group by virtue, not of individual integration, but of the accident of class membership. The amount of influence[4] exerted upon the correlation of two variables by the fact of classroom heterogeneity is roughly indicated by the correlation of classroom means, which show the maximum effect of these classroom differences.

Thus, if we take one population, say Y, we have three types of intercorrelation, one computed from scores taken as deviations from the mean of the classroom, another from scores taken as deviations from the mean of the population, and a third consisting of the intercorrelation of classroom means. For the four behaviors already listed these three sets of inter-r's average, in the case of population Y, for the classroom means, 0.510; for the whole population, 0.255; but with classroom heterogeneity removed, only 0.123.

From these relations it may be seen that when we consider individuals only in relation to their own groups, the modes of behavior with which we have been dealing have very little in common, but when we introduce the common factor of the classroom a relationship is discovered which appears in the intercorrelations to an extent directly proportional to the amount of heterogeneity among the rooms. And even the little which the r's on the homogeneous groups do have in common (an average r of 0.123) tends to disappear altogether when we break up our combinations of tests and deal only with single tests of honesty, service, etc.

The problem of heterogeneity. Our problem now shifts to the explanation of these classroom differences. It is because of these differences that any association at all among our various conducts is discovered by the correlation technique. It is important to know, then, whether the classroom means in honesty, service, inhibition, and persistence are intercorrelated because these factors are associated with basic facts like age, mental age, and brightness, in terms of which the classroom might easily be genuinely differentiated. If this should prove to be the case, our correlations would turn out to be accidents due to classroom selection and to have no apparent codal significance. But, as a

[4] For the statistical procedures used, *see* May, M. A., "A Method for Correcting Coefficients of Correlation for Heterogeneity in the Data," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, Vol. XX, No. 6, September, 1929, pp. 417–423.

matter of fact, no such associations exist between classroom means in age or intelligence and the behaviors studied as would account for the intercorrelations found among the behaviors. The hypothesis of some such factor as classroom morale, common to all test situations, is thus fortified.

The problem of a group code. Just how the complex common factor of morale, as we have called it, operates is not settled merely by pointing to its existence.[5] One possible explanation of the slight association found among the various forms of "good" conduct studied is the presence of some effective standard in the minds of the subjects. And it is true that a combination of all our conduct scores correlates with a combination of our moral knowledge scores to the extent of 0.422. Even when intelligence is held constant the raw r's between conduct and various knowledge and attitude tests range from 0.117 to 0.264. But these r's are in part a function of the type of heterogeneity we have just been discussing. When only one population is taken and when we remove the influence of heterogeneity among the classrooms of this population, the r of 0.632 between knowledge and conduct drops (corrected) to 0.116. Thus we see that classroom heterogeneity accounts for most of the correlation observed between knowledge and conduct. Indeed, for Y alone the r between the means of all conduct scores and the means of all knowledge scores is 0.841.

Again, however, we need to ask whether this association is due to the common factor of age or of intelligence. It is impossible to quote here the evidence or the arguments adduced in support of the theory that over and above the influence of mere accidental selection there exists a classroom code which operates as an aspect of the classroom situation of which the children make a direct response in all tests of conduct and opinion. A brief summary, however, will be attempted. That classrooms are genuinely differentiated in moral knowledge is clear. Further, we have classrooms of the same level of intelligence which still show differentiation in moral knowledge. Further, we find nine classes which are heterogeneous in intelligence but homogeneous in knowledge. Intelligence, therefore, is not necessarily involved

[5] In "Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong," Hartshorne, May, *et al.*, Religious Education Association, Monograph No. 1, Chicago, 1927, it was pointed out that as the same children go from one situation to another they alter their answers on these opinion tests.

as a common factor. Correlating the mean classroom scores for honesty with those for age, intelligence, and moral knowledge, we find, for population Y, r's of 0.53, 0.52, and 0.76, respectively. Even if the classes had all been of the same level of intelligence or age, the r between knowledge and honesty would not have been greatly reduced. In the case of service tendencies, however, it seems that the group correlations may be accounted for by class selection in intelligence and age.

The effort to show that the correlation of group means in knowledge and conduct is a function of community, of intelligence or age, is somewhat fallacious. In any concrete situation age and intelligence are real factors leading to differences in both conduct and code. The isolation of conduct and code from the influence of age and intelligence is an abstraction. No matter what may be the source of classroom correlations, they do exist, whereas corresponding individual correlations do not exist, and no matter what may be the source of classroom morale it does exist, whereas corresponding individual integration does not exist.

We are not confined to this reasoning, however, since we have in population Z an instance of negative correlation between age and honesty means (-0.69) and a relatively low r between intelligence and honesty (0.54) as compared with honesty and knowledge (0.84). Consequently if we had had classes of the same age and intelligence in Z, the group r between honesty and knowledge (0.84) would actually have been higher than it turned out to be. That is, the significant fact seems not to be selection, but group experience.

On the whole, therefore, the contention that class morale is built up within a room and is a potent factor in determining knowledge and conduct and the correlation of the two is well supported.

The Problem of Integration

The correlation of measures of social conduct reveals definite though slight relations among miscellaneous tendencies which seem to be due to the presence of genuine classroom differences rather than to the integration of the individuals composing the population. Similarly, a definite relationship exists between measures of social intelligence and measures of conduct, but this also is seen to be largely a factor of group differentiation rather

than of individual integration. Groups which average high in moral knowledge also average high in social conduct, not chiefly because they are differentiated also in intelligence and age but because of a genuine association between the status of a classroom in knowledge and the status of a classroom in conduct. This status, which is not only produced by the members of a group but is also operative in the form of expectancy or prestige, constitutes a potent aspect of the group situation to which the individuals respond. We have called it morale or code. It is exhibited in a tendency toward classroom uniformity in both conduct and knowledge and toward an association between the two which is not a function of any direct causal nexus in the mind of the pupil but of the fact that both conduct and knowledge or morale and code are common to the various test situations faced by the pupils in a classroom.

We may therefore conceive of the group as possessing a degree of unity which is so far distinct from the ethical integration of the individuals composing the group as to vary independently of such individual integration. For individual integration is evidenced by high correlations between individual scores when these are taken as deviations from group means. But such correlations may occur when there is little differentiation among groups. On the other hand, high correlations between group means can occur only when there is significant differentiation among groups; and under these conditions the individuals composing the groups tend to exhibit less differentiation among themselves, i.e., they tend toward uniformity. If all members of a group thought and acted in the same way, the individuals would appear to be integrated, to be sure, and the group might under these circumstances be distinct from other groups. What we gain in group unity we may gain by reducing individual variation and individual integration (save in the sense of uniformity). What we gain in individual variation and integration we may gain by reducing group variation and group unity.

In so far, then, as we project common action on the basis of agreement in thought as a desired outcome of group experience, we may endanger the individual integration of standards and conduct which is usually regarded as fundamental to character. It is the virtue of the parliamentary process of voting that it may secure common action without necessarily implying agreement in thought. Under such circumstances, at least a partial

integration of character can survive group integration. The same is true of autocratic forms of social organization which secure joint action without joint thought. It may be questioned, however, whether the recent trends toward more complete group integration, involving the achievement of group action through the medium of a common will, may not detract from the integrity of the individuals who, in this act at least, combine in an undifferentiated unity of will. In a very true sense, the individual loses himself in this process. He falls in love with a group or a common will. If such a common will were the attribute of a continuing and all-inclusive personality, such loss of self might conceivably result in a new form of self-integration, but if it is a new will for each group and each occasion, such experiences of merging one's will with the wills of others could result only in the disintegration of the self.

That something of this sort takes place in childhood seems to be the case, as in his efforts to find himself in a variety of groups a youngster conscientiously meets the conflicting demands made upon his conduct and loyalty. A study of the amount of integration actually exhibited by children reveals that the average standard deviation of individual scores on a number of tests is only slightly less than the standard deviation of scores selected at random.

The problem of self-integration is thus seen to be tied up with the problem of social integration. The problem of how we may achieve both without sacrificing either has yet to be solved, for we may produce groups at the expense of individual differentiation and integration at the expense of group differentiation. Logically, we must be content either with better differentiated groups or less differentiated individuals, or less differentiated groups with greater differentiation among individuals, or else discover some optimum compromise or moving balance between the two. We need to choose our ultimate social unit—the individual or the group. If we choose the former, the fundamental group is humanity—or some ideal society. If we choose the latter, which group shall we select? With each additional group demanding adjustment from its members, we limit the possible integration of the individual.

The suggestion that the process of self-integration reaches its fulfilment in genuine religious experience is not new, but its pertinence was never more manifest.

III. A SOCIOLOGIST'S VIEWS ON CHARACTER EDUCATION[6]

Ross L. Finney

Failure to perceive the *culture mass* and to apprehend its significance is responsible for most of the fads and fallacies of present day education. The term "culture mass" is a synonym for "social heritage." "The cognitive capital of the race" is another synonymous term. Most people can see individuals, but they cannot see the culture mass. Most people can even see the teamwork, association, or "togetherness" of individuals, and they imagine they are talking sociologically when they talk about that, but very few such persons discern the culture mass, which is the *sine qua non* of human "togetherness."

You cannot play bridge unless you know the cards, the rules of the game and at least some of the tricks of procedure. This is a racial accumulation, a social heritage, a vast cognitive capital, and without it the would-be participant is utterly helpless. The same is true of everything that human beings do. Nothing human is done without individual mental possession of the possessed-in-common culture mass. Failure to grasp this principle—failure to apprehend the magnitude of the culture mass—is to think wrong on any and every social puzzle that arises, including moral education.

In the moral field the "culture mass" is the "mores," or, in other words, the generally accepted moral code. In normal times, the moral code is a *consensus;* that is, it has general acceptance throughout society, without dissent or skepticism—so much so, indeed, that it eludes attention like the atmosphere. One learns it incidentally, without being aware of, or remembering the learning process; so the illusion prevails of knowing right from wrong intuitively. One is motivated into conformity to it by the ordinary pressures of the group, just as in the case of the prevailing fashions in costume. In normal times, the moral life is mostly a subconscious process, moral education is almost entirely so, and penalties are as sheerly a matter of custom as is the code itself.

The crux of the present situation is that the *mores are in flux.* The present is a period of unprecedented change in all the

[6] *Religious Education*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, March, 1930, pp. 207–209.

circumstances and conditions of living, hence on the moral field as well. Almost every item of the moral code is subject to skepticism, discussion and nonconformity. In short, there is no longer any consensus. Naturally, therefore, the process of moral education has shifted into the focus of attention and has become problematical. The centipede has become conscious of the walking process and as a consequence is floundering in the dust.

What are we going to do about it? Probably the best answer is, "Not very much!" There is no magic by which the problems of a great transition can be solved over-night. History suggests that it will take several generations before the moral life is settled again and a generally prevalent set of mores re-established. And meantime many lives will doubtless be ruined. Nevertheless, educational and religious leaders must give their best thought to the problem.

In trying to answer the question of what to do about it, we shall do well to get to the bottom of things, since the fallacy is usually in the unchallenged premises. At bottom, morality is a method of welfare—perhaps we should say a co-operative method of mutual welfare. The mores accordingly represent the collective judgment of society as to the kinds of behavior that are helpful or harmful. And so they are accepted in a blind, herd-minded sort of way. One feels, in a deeply satisfying way, that all is well with him if he has conformed, but that something dreadful is imminent if he has not. His reasons for feeling so are located less in the factual consequences of his behavior than in the vague feeling that everybody cannot be wrong.

The peculiarity of the present situation lies precisely in the fact that such social grounds of conviction and security are largely absent because there is no consensus. The "conventional" members of society say one thing; but the "emancipated" say quite another. The reaction of the young people to parental instruction is that father and mother are old fogies, the reason being that the young folk have encountered other people in good social acceptance who teach and practice quite a different code, and with no perceptibly bad results. Naturally the young people (and some who are not so young) are quite confused.

In this predicament parents, pastors, teachers and others concerned about the real welfare of some young person must seek grounds of conviction, not in social consensus but in demonstrable

facts. They must explain what kinds of water will certainly wet us, and what kinds of fire will as certainly burn, and why. The reasons for fearing tigers, tubercular bacilli and syphilis are factual and not hard to explain; the same is true of gambling, stealing, lying and adultery. Some of the difficulties in such a case are that the parent does not himself see all the consequences of dangerous behavior; or that he cannot give up the urge to shoot a bogus scare into harmless behavior that he himself was taught to condemn. But the parent who falls back on the conventional bugaboos in such a case is pretty sure to see his youngster fall into the actual consequences of ill-advised behavior.

However, human nature is so constructed that personalities are often more convincing than facts. We should prefer to believe that six times seven are forty-three than take it from some persons we know that nothing is correct but forty-two; and there are other persons whom it would grieve us to doubt if they wished us to believe that chalk is only a special brand of cheese. Hence the importance of establishing sympathetic relations with the youths whom one would influence. Hence, also, the deadly menace of a pleasing personality in a teacher whose example is a vote for dangerous practices and ideals.

And this leads to a fashionable but silly fallacy that dominates much of the character education of these befuddled times. The idea is that the essence of morality is group loyalty. It is, in ordinary times, when the mores represent a consensus of the whole community. But to say that the mores are in flux is only another way of saying that groups are competing with each other for the loyalty of your Mary, George or Walter. Ne'er-do-wells and social parasites are often the best of good fellows. There is teamwork and group loyalty among grafters, to the unspeakable disgrace of city governments. It is not the group loyalty of a group's members, but the objectives of the group's activities that count. Nothing could be worse for Mary, George or Walter than loyalty to some groups. To entice them into loyalty to a group with safe ideals, instead of letting their loyalty be captured by some other group with dangerous ideals, is likely to be the very core of the problem. This brings us back to the lure of the pleasing personality and the whole philosophy of hero worship, so important in the technique of inter-group competition.

Closely akin to this is the Dewey tendency to identify "voluntary" and "social." These two words are *not* synonyms. To

imagine that they are, is to overlook not only the culture mass but also the compulsion that always plays so large a part in the social process. To suppose that compulsion of a member by his group is always resented is to betray the blind worship of a fetish. Study "Hell Week" and its significance! People *can* be made good by law, given time enough and a good law. And our current aversion on principle to compulsory discipline, though to some extent a salutary reaction, is rationalized by unsound sociological principles.

We come now to the final chapter in our philosophy of moral education. There is nothing the human spirit craves like a great cause to serve, a holy crusade to win, or a splendid art in which to lose one's self. What have we in that line to offer our young people? So long as a typical college class will contend that it is useless to get an education in science, art and philosophy if one is to be a carpenter; so long as we can live in our own local "Middletown" with no reaction to its hideous commonplaces except the typical American spirit of "boosterism"; so long as neither church nor school fortifies young men and women against the repression of idealism and the stultification of talents which the profits system will almost certainly impose upon them, it is to be feared that our moral and religious educators are but blind leaders of the blind, missing the challenge of the age to enlist the awakening souls of our youth in a soul-satisfying crusade. In which case their souls naturally will not awaken—nor their teachers! The deepest of all needs for moral education is a new vision, in *our* age, and as applied to *our* institutions, of what Jesus called the Kingdom of God.

For moral education, the first requisite is a moral code with reason in it; and for religious education the prime essential is a religious faith with vision in it.

IV. THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE PROBLEM OF CRIME PREVENTION[7]

NATHAN PEYSER

Education is the process of effecting changes in human behavior. Changes result from but one phenomenon, from the

[7] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 3, November, 1932, pp. 131–138.

reaction of the individual to stimuli in his environment. All that the teacher, parent, and minister can do is arrange situations, so as to induce suitable responses and thus develop desirable patterns of behavior. Good behavior is wholesome, satisfactory adjustment, socially approved interaction of the human organism and its environment; delinquent conduct is defective adjustment, psychologically similar in its causation to acceptable behavior.

The development of human conduct is complicated beyond the possibility of precise analysis; external stimuli are multiple in kind and infinite in number, while internal organic and psychological factors are oftentimes intricately interassociated and unpredictably variable in nature. Consequently, we cannot set up a single formula descriptive of the process. We cannot hope to reach a single explanation for any species of behavior aberration or to set up a corrective formula that will inevitably solve any problem at hand.

Misconduct is one of the overt expressions of personal maladjustment. Seen from its broadest angle the problem of crime prevention is the problem of education. At the outset, however, it must be recognized that the school is but one of the many situations confronting the child in the course of his growth. The home, the street, the theater, the movie house, the newspaper, the church, and the library—all play their parts in shaping his attitudes, molding his habits, fashioning his ideals, and forming his interests and appreciations. In fact, from both the standpoints of lateness of school admission, and the small amount of time spent by the child in school, the latter institution is in a position not at all advantageous with respect to character and personality development. Dean Withers has told us that less than 7 per cent of the total time at the disposal of the child is spent in school under the eye of the teacher. Often the efforts of the teacher are rendered futile because of the more protracted conditioning of an unfortunate home environment or of a vicious out-of-school companionship.

The school does not receive the child initially until he is five, six, or seven years of age. Every psychiatrist, regardless of the school to which he may belong, will attest the supreme importance of the first five or six years of the child's life in determining his attitudes, repressions, and conflicts, which often prove to be the root causes and impulsions of future misconduct. Freud

says, "Educators must transfer the main emphasis in education to the earliest years of childhood. The little human being is frequently a finished product in his fourth or fifth year and only gradually reveals in later years what lies buried in him." The responsibility for infantile inhibitions and compulsions, for early conditioned attitudes and responses, cannot be placed at the door of the school.

Nevertheless, the school, as the only agency consciously and deliberately organized by the State for the education of its citizenship, must assume its share of the social obligation for the proper moral development of the young. From the practical standpoint these questions immediately arise: What can the school do to mold the characters of its children? What activities shall it introduce to realize its objectives? What attitudes shall it adopt? What procedures shall it follow? What practices shall it avoid as prejudicial to the well-being of its pupils? What can the teachers and supervisors do to safeguard the personalities of the children from the internal maladjustments that find their manifestation in neuroses, psychoses, and delinquencies?

It would be of no value whatsoever to attempt to indicate specific activities that should be introduced or to suggest particular devices to accomplish these purposes. All that should be recommended are general objectives and procedures that must find specific, concrete expression in terms of the special problems of each school and of the particular circumstances in each case.

Teachers must first of all become highly conscious of their obligations with reference to the spiritual life of the child. Character building should not be relegated to a subordinate position nor regarded as an accidental factor in the school program. The attention of the teachers must be fixated, not upon subjects, subject matter, and scholastic results, but rather upon children as human beings, upon their health, their happiness, their developing personalities, and their problems of adjustment to life, to reality. Teachers must set up as conscious goals the conservation of the social and personal integrity of their children. Crime and other forms of maladjustment are often escape and substitute mechanisms, compensations for inferiority conflicts; they are expressions of emotional instabilities, symptoms of loss of psychic integrity. Teachers must inspire confidence and engender courage. Nothing more promising has entered into contemporary educational philosophy than the

concept of mental health and its relationship to learning and conduct. Our newly established Bureau of Child Guidance is doing a splendid work in launching a program of teacher education in this regard.

Teachers and supervisors must not restrict their vision to what happens within the walls of the classroom or of the school building. They must concern themselves with the entire life of the child in the home, in the street, in the playground, and in the classroom. They must regard as a vital test of the efficiency of the so-called disciplinary activities of the school the carry-over into life outside of the habits, attitudes, emotions, and ideals they are seeking to engender.

The school should set up a character-building program that will be positive, constructive, and dynamic. Passivity, immobility, and acquiescence must not be the sole desiderata. These qualities, raised by teachers into positions of prominence in the eyes of students of human personality, appear as traits that are least desirable. Character building must not be left to chance. It must not be conceived in negative fashion, as a program of inhibitions and restraints. It must not be formalized or reduced to a pattern of words relating to good sentiments and virtuous ideas. It must not be isolated from the remainder of the school program, nor from the daily life of the child. Every element of school routine, atmosphere, and activity must be integrated into the general program in which superintendent, principal, teachers, parents, and children coöperate.

Such a program must be predicated upon the postulation of definite goals—habits, attitudes, interests, and ideals. Supervisors and teachers must comprehend the psychology of character formation. They should understand the factors that enter into the causation of normal personality and those that lead to conflict and maladjustment. They must appreciate the importance of wholesome school environment; for example, of understanding and sympathy, of habit formation, of success and accomplishment, in the development of patterns of individual growth. Self-control and inner control should be seen as the final objective, and disciplinary procedures should be so fashioned that external control will gradually be translated into inner control through a progressively increasing assumption by the pupils of responsibility for deliberation, choice, and behavior in school and out-of-school situations.

The importance of our health and recreative programs cannot be stressed too strongly. Case studies of delinquents reveal a relationship between physical soundness and well-being and normal social adjustments. Ill-health, debility, organic defect, and organic malfunctioning give rise to irritability, discouragement, feelings of inferiority, fear, resentment, and what may be called "volitional flabbiness." Undoubtedly there is a causal relationship between endocrinological functioning and individual behavior. Everything that is done by the school to discover defects and deficiencies to secure treatment and correction, to safeguard well-being, and to promote health habits and ideals will inevitably reflect itself into an improved outlook on life and superior adjustment to environment.

Men and women rarely go wrong in their busy, working hours. It is in their unemployed, free, and leisure periods that they commit mischief and crime. Idleness is the "devil's workshop." A study of the records of the inmates of any correctional institution for adults will reveal the frequency with which crime is associated with unemployment and even more dramatically with unemployability. Surveys of juvenile delinquents reveal a similar situation, the high degree of correlation between misbehavior and truancy, idleness, misdirected play, desire for adventure, and vagrancy. The school can perform invaluable service by extending its program of vocational guidance, training, and placement; by the development of wholesome leisure interests and activities—physical, athletic, musical, aesthetic, literary, and social.

Most criminals have been school failures. Failure stands out strongly in the lives of the maladjusted. We must protect our children by diagnosing their needs more efficiently; by classifying them properly; by adjusting curricula, class organization, and methodology to their particular needs, interests, and abilities; by enlisting their interests; and by individualizing instruction. In each case, we must discover activities in which the child can be successful. We must treat each pupil on his own level, starting from where he is and leading him upward by suitable stages along the road of successful achievement. Success engenders interest and confidence, and leads to further success. Failure begets loss of interest, inferiority feeling, further failure, and ultimately escape or compensation in forms individually objectionable and socially undesirable.

A perusal of the numerous studies that have been made of the causation of crime makes one fact stand out in bold relief—the fact of multiple determination. Delinquency springs from a wide variety and usually from a multiplicity of alternative and converging influences. Most of these causes are so subtle and insidious that it is well-nigh impossible to trace their source or their paths of influence upon the victim. At times the provocative factors seem to stand out clearly; at other times the condition is so subtle that the offensive act seems gratuitous and incomprehensible. One investigator has traced more than 170 distinct conditions, every one of which he maintains is conducive to misconduct.

It is evident, however, that in any given case amid this tangle of accessory factors, some single circumstance—social, intellectual, emotional, or physical—stands out as the most prominent or the most influential.

Examination of the records of the inmates of our penal institutions in numerous cases, perhaps a majority, reveals a history, if not of juvenile delinquency, at least of pathological acts or conditions that might have been taken as premonitions, as warning signs of impending trouble. Deteriorating home conditions, unfortunate companionships, temperamental disturbances, morbid emotional conditions, truancy, misbehavior, vagrancy, intellectual disabilities, detrimental interests, defective family relations, to varying degrees and in different combinations, are manifest. These, when viewed in retrospect, may be regarded as the causative agents, and when seen in prospect, may be considered as threatening determiners of future maladjustment.

In every school organization appear the perverse, the neurotic, the defective, the truant, the juvenile delinquent, the disorderly, the eccentric, the undependable, and the victims of unfortunate and degraded home and family relationships. Not every member of this group will become a criminal later, nor will every member of the so-called normal group develop into a good, moral member of society. We must not see pathology in every individual aberration nor human disaster in every social variation. Nevertheless, these conditions are potential factors in delinquency causation. Often their occurrence is so acute that they may be envisaged as the inevitable forerunners of aggravated forms of later disorder. Here the school can function

quite effectively. Teacher and supervisor should be on the alert for the appearance of these anticipatory conditions. They should be in close enough touch with the home and with the outside life of the child to gain sufficient data as a basis for further action. A tentative diagnosis should be made and measures should be taken to secure adjustment of deteriorating factors. Adequate adjustment should be made within the school in terms of grade and group reclassification, course of study modification, changes in method of teaching, and teacher-pupil relationship. Some one in the school or in touch with the school should be ready to assume the function of big brother or sister, or of father or mother surrogate, to give to that boy the understanding, the sympathy, the guidance, the oversight, and the help that he requires. A careful case study of the child should be made. He should be given a mental, physical, psychiatric, and environmental examination. The coöperation of the Bureau of Child Guidance, of the department of ungraded classes, and of outside agencies should be secured. Additional ungraded classes for the segregation and specialized education of the mental defective and the borderline cases should be established so that all of the children of this type may be cared for. All this must reflect itself into the home. Every effort must be made to enlist the understanding and the coöperation of the parent or of a parent substitute in the form of brother, sister, cousin, uncle, neighbor, or interested citizen, in the adjustment of the child. The recreational activities of the delinquent must be supervised. Here and there experiments have been made by individual school supervisors aiming at the integration of the resources of a community—educational, recreational, religious, philanthropic, medical, psychological, social, and moral—so as to bring about organized community action upon its own problems. In some cases, the schools making up the local community have united in this effort, have developed a corps of social-welfare workers and a number of new community agencies, such as a local preventive children's court, a big-brother and sister organization, additional playground facilities, instrumentalities for checking up local neighborhood conditions, and parent-guidance groups. The united schools have become the nucleus of social integration and have taken the initiative in developing a community consciousness and in organizing activities for the protection of the young.

There is no problem confronting the school that is of greater importance than this. The problem of crime prevention cannot be separated from the problem of preventing any other form of individual and social maladjustment. The school is the only agency of society that comes into contact with all of the children; it has the confidence of all persons; it can secure the coöperation of all agencies, public and private; it reaches into all homes through its most emotionalized factor, the child. It can become the most potent force, not only for the teaching of subject matter, but, next to the home, for the conservation of the integrity of childhood and the protection of society.

V. COMMENTS ON CHARACTER EDUCATION FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL POINT OF VIEW[8]

Frank N. Freeman

What is character, to what extent may it be influenced, how may it be influenced? Advocates of methods of character training often pass over the first two questions without so much as a passing glance, and treat the third dogmatically and with no attempt to give satisfactory evidence of the value of their methods. Psychologists and educators are now quite confident that many of the methods used in the past defeated their own ends. An example is given by Hartshorne and May of a group of children belonging to an organization which attempted to improve them by encouraging them to report their own good deeds. Whatever else this method accomplished it was apparently very effective in making the children dishonest. At this time when so many are seeking a panacea for misconduct it is worth while to pause while we make an analysis of fundamental principles.

In our thinking about the practical problems of the development of character, we are apt to draw a sharp line between those attitudes or those acts which fall within the realm of good or bad conduct and those which are neutral in respect to conduct. Those attitudes or acts which may be called good or bad are evidences of character and those which may not be called good or bad have nothing to do with character. This is the point of view which is often taken by the educator or the person interested

[8] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 4, December, 1930, pp. 193–198.

primarily in the prevention of crime or other misconduct. The scientific student of human behavior, however, is likely to find difficulties with this sharp distinction. In fact, he may arrive at a point in his attempt to explain behavior when distinctions between conduct which is judged to be good or bad, and behavior which is ethically neutral disappears. The problem of character development, from this point of view, is concerned not merely with the acquisition of a certain limited set of ideas and habits, but is broadened to include the control of all those conditions which influence the individual's behavior. Character education, under this conception, becomes synonymous with the whole of education in all its parts and aspects.

The point of view of the psychologist is shown in the way he goes about the study and treatment of delinquents, particularly juvenile delinquents. In such cases the individual has done something which brings him into conflict with society in general or with the portion of society which constitutes his immediate environment. The psychologist does not begin, as the moralist or the jurist might do, by analyzing and classifying the person's act, trying to decide what principle of conduct has been violated and what penalty attaches to the violation. He rather inquires into the individual's physical and mental constitution, into his parentage, environment, and education, both formal and informal, and into his life history. He analyzes the individual instead of his act. When he has completed this analysis he recommends a regimen of education which will remake the individual and will touch all those features of his life which bear upon his conduct.

The psychologist's conception of conduct and of character education is sometimes misunderstood. Because he sees the individual's behavior as all of a piece and regards the separation of acts into two distinct categories, the ethical and the neutral or expedient, as artificial, he is sometimes regarded as a breaker-down of all standards of behavior. Quite the contrary. He does regard it as quite absurd to consider smoking an ethical question and drinking coffee a neutral question, or playing cards an ethical question and playing checkers a neutral question. Such distinctions are based on authority, and not on science. From the scientific point of view, everything that may affect the individual's development and his adjustment to his world is significant. Nothing is neutral.

If we are to adopt the scientific point of view, then, these conclusions seem incontrovertible. Conduct or behavior, and the factors which influence conduct or behavior are all of a piece. We must not break behavior up into two separate realms, calling one moral and the other nonmoral, either in passing judgment on behavior or in planning for education in behavior. All of education has conceivably an influence on conduct and all elements or procedures in education which may influence conduct must be taken into account in a scheme of character education.

Considered in the large, the development of the child has two aspects. The first is the organization of the individual, considered as an individual, the development of systems of activity which work smoothly and effectively, and taken together form a well-integrated or harmonious whole. The individual's impulses and acts should work together without friction or confusion, performing their function like a well-constructed and well-oiled machine. The individual should be active, energetic, and at peace with himself.

But this is only half the story. A machine is intended to do something, not merely to excite admiration by running smoothly. Likewise an individual must accomplish certain tasks, perform certain duties, do some work in the world. In short he must adjust himself to the environment in which he finds himself. He must meet certain demands of his physical world and of his social world. Adaptation is as essential as is development. These two processes, taken together in their proper relation, and in all they imply, give the elements of a complete formula of education. They likewise give the basis of any adequate scheme of character education. They involve character in both its meanings, as it refers to the traits of the individual considered in and for himself, and to the individual's mode of meeting the demands made upon him by society.

If we analyze education in behavior still further from the psychological point of view we find that it consists of three constituent processes; the development of the emotions, training in habits, and the formation of ideas or the development of the ability to think. The first of these, the development of emotions, forms a large part of the integration of personality. Training in habits promotes integration and also brings about adjustment to the simpler and more stable elements of the environment. The formation of ideas and thinking complete and rationalize

integration of the personality and serve as the prime means to a delicate, far-reaching and effective adjustment to the world of things and of persons.

Many cases of serious conflict and misdemeanor arise from emotional maladjustment. This maladjustment may appear early in the child's life, and may be ascribed partly to native predisposition and partly to injudicious treatment. Character, in this sense, is due partly to nature and partly to nurture. The part that is due to nature is beyond our control but a large part is within the control of the parent and the teacher, provided they have gained sufficient mastery of their own emotions. The technique of education of the emotions is being rapidly developed in child guidance clinics and psychological laboratories. This technique should constitute an important share of the teacher's equipment for character education.

Habits are often despised by the modern educators on the ground that they are opposed to thought or reflection; but the psychologist commonly regards habits as means of economizing mental energy and as essential to efficiency. Perhaps the real objection is not to habits themselves but to habits which originate in external control as distinguished from those which the individual forms in his own initiative. Many of the habits formed in childhood are of the first sort. In part they represent ways of behaving which are customary in the group; in other words, convention. It is idle to despise convention. It is the basis of every individual's behavior, and is an essential part of his education.

The relation of ideas and thinking to conduct has also been variously judged. Intelligence has sometimes been held to be the chief factor in good behavior. This is true both of intelligence regarded as knowledge or information concerning the facts of the situation and the probable consequences of various lines of action, and of native wit or keenness which enables one to apprehend the situation and to forecast consequences. On the other hand, the limitations of intelligence as a guide to conduct are often pointed out and the importance of emotion and habit are emphasized. Having given due weight to these factors it is desirable, especially at this time, when the importance of adequate ideas and straight thinking tend to be minimized, to point out its important function.

Conduct is unquestionably governed to a very important degree by the conception one has of the meaning of the situation.

To take but a single example, at the time these words are written, drinking alcoholic beverages is regarded by many conscientious persons as highly reprehensible, not only because of the injurious effect which they believe it has on body and mind, but because in most cases it involves a violation of the basic law of the land. On the other hand, drinking is regarded by other equally conscientious persons as a virtuous act on the ground that it constitutes a protest against a law which is subversive of correct governmental principles because it invades the individual's right to control his private affairs. The issue is an intellectual one, and should be debated and decided by the method of scientific investigation and generalization.

As the above example suggests, the realm in which intelligence has the most direct and significant bearing on conduct is social science. The broadest and deepest foundation for behavior which can be laid in the child's experience by education is a just and comprehensive understanding of human relations. A better understanding of the interdependence of human beings and of the ways in which the strands of human life are knit together may be expected to improve the way people manage their relations to each other in all groups from the family to the nation and even to the world. To give the child such an understanding should be a cardinal objective of education throughout his school career.

While, then, character and character education are not separate and distinct from behavior in general or education in general, there are certain aspects of behavior and certain features of education which are particularly significant; namely, those which concern the relationships of persons to each other. The current interest which is being manifested in character education will be fruitful if it promotes as one of its forms of expression a thoroughgoing, scientific expansion and intensification of the study of social science and the incorporation of the outcomes of such study into the curriculum of the school.

VI. THE HOME AND CHARACTER EDUCATION[9]

JESSIE A. CHARTERS

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Character education is so fundamental to the safety of our democratic civilization that it has become a major enterprise in

[9] *The Journal of the National Educational Association*, Vol. XIX, No. 8, November, 1930, pp. 259–260.

all progressive school systems; but it is still an outstanding problem whether the schools can carry on an effective character education program. There are several major difficulties which must be faced and overcome if such a program is to be effective.

(1) A difficulty arises from the fact that the child's interests, desires, habits, all his fundamental trends of experience, are already well established before he reaches school. Whether one believes that character is partly inherited or whether one believes that character is entirely learned after birth, almost everyone agrees that it is already blocked out in the preschool years. The school has an almost impossible task if it must alter the major traits embedded in personality during the most plastic learning period.

(2) Another difficulty is that the school at best has the child only a small fraction of his time. If the child goes to school every school day of a thirty-six weeks' school year, from the time he is six, until he is sixteen, he spends only seven per cent of his time in school; ninety-three per cent of his time is spent outside. But the laws of habit formation require consistent, repeated, and prolonged practise of any behavior. What chance is there, then, for the school to form any habits, to construct any stable attitudes, to establish any system of ideas which is at variance with that of the home and the community? Improvement over the general character level of the social group seems well-nigh hopeless, unless in some way this difficulty is overcome.

(3) One of the major difficulties is that school situations are not so vivid, interesting, and satisfying as the situations outside of school; moreover, school situations differ intrinsically from those situations outside in which character traits will be habitually practised. For instance, the teaching of honesty must usually be done by precept, story, argument, and the use of the specific school situations involved: cheating on tests and similar occasions which do not arise anywhere else. It is difficult to make vivid in school the ordinary human situations which test the child's ideal of honesty.

(4) Another difficulty is that the school now splits up the child's life into separate parts; home *and* school. An almost insurmountable difficulty with our present conception of educating the child is introduced by this split between school and out-of-school life. When the child closes the schoolroom door, he goes back to his customary environment, his habits, and home

influences, the whole vivid experience which has formed and is forming his character. He becomes a person-in-school and another person-out-of-school.

There is no psychological fact of greater interest and significance than that of the multiple personalities which human beings develop to meet the separate environments which they encounter in living. A character education program is above all else an attempt to integrate personality in terms of ideals higher than those usually functioning in the separated personalities.

(5) A difficulty which the school may not realize is that perhaps the most impressionable hours of life occur outside of school. Something has already been said of the preschool years which are recognized as most significant. It must be borne in mind also that *the few moments just before falling asleep every night are exceptionally valuable for fixating ideas and attitudes* and therefore for modifying behavior through suggestions given at that time. We all know, too, that people who are sick are more than usually suggestible. And there are other exceptional occasions occurring in the variety of home life, but rarely in school, when lessons for character development acquire their greatest potency.

These are typical of the difficulties which must be solved by a plan of personality development. They may all be summarized in the statement that any program of character development must be planned for the child's life as a whole and carried out in the home and in the community, as well as in the school.

The schools' problem, then, becomes that of securing the coöperation of *all the agencies which affect the child's character.* Obviously the agency which has paramount influence on the child is the home. The persons in the home have absolute control over the child during the preschool years; they are responsible for his out-of-school time; they have the opportunity to make the necessary suggestions for character development during his most susceptible hours; and lastly, it is the parent, if anyone, who is interested in his child's best development and his future welfare. I am sure that educators in general underestimate the motive power in parental love.

An antithesis has been built up between school and home which frequently amounts to antagonism. The wall between adult and child is nothing as compared with the abyss between home and school.

The plan for character development in the state of Ohio is attempting to deal with the child as the center both of home and of school on the theory that these two agencies are to be used by the child in the development of his own character. Consequently, one major approach in our character education program is that of parent education.

Parents will learn how to train their children because that is the most important thing they have to do in their lives. We find that such a motivation is effective in remaking parents themselves. Parents can be educated; they want education. They will learn new ideas and then make every effort to put them into practise.

Obviously, our most hopeful field is with the parents of the youngest children. But all parents are anxious to improve their home environment if thereby they can give their children a better chance to live satisfactory lives.

However, a program of parent education alone would not bridge the gap between the home and school. Home and school should be two natural and coöperating influences in a child's life. What the school is teaching of subject matter, of ideals, of habits, should be known and understood by the parents—more than that, this should be fundamentally wanted by the parents.

. . . .

VII. SOUTH SEA TIPS ON CHARACTER TRAINING[10]

MARGARET MEAD

There is much talk today of the evils of standardization and the dullness of a society in which every one thinks alike and feels alike, has the same views on politics and the same tastes in food. All serious parents, alive to the problem, will wish their own children to escape the rubber stamp, to grow up as individuals, individuals who can be distinguished from the mob. Some parents feel so keenly on this point that they try to keep their children away from other children, try to preserve a purer speech by forbidding association with the young of parents less interested in grammar, try to have children spend all their time with adults or good books. But such extreme measures for preserving the individuality of the child have been shown to be dangerous; the separation of the child from its own age group has made

[10] *The Parents Magazine*, Vol. VII, No. 3, March, 1932, pp. 13; 66–68.

children too individual, too "different" for future happy adjustment in the world. Upon such negative responses to the school system and its leveling effects, it is impossible for self-conscious parents to depend. Yet, it may be possible for those who must send their children to routine public schools and can not rely upon the imagination and experimentation of more progressive schools alive to the needs of each child as a developing personality, to correct in some measure the standardizing effects of public education.

After having spent two years in the South Seas studying two different groups of primitive children, the Samoans and the Manus of the Admiralty Islands, I am convinced that one of the influences which tends to blur children's individuality is the herding of children into groups where all are of the same age, size and stage of mental development. Because teachers found it so much easier to teach any school subject to children who were all of the same age, the coming of the school system necessarily meant the separation of children in groups, each group labeled and warranted to contain the same potentialities and the same amount of knowledge. The ideal school system today, from the standpoint of teaching children school subjects rapidly and efficiently, is the group where the children are all the same age, have the same I. Q., are at the same point of physical maturity, have gone through the same previous courses of study, so that all know geography except for Australia, arithmetic as far as square root, can diagram a compound but not a complex sentence, etc. It is better if these children all come from the same kind of home, all have parents who have the same sized vocabularies and the same religious beliefs. It is much less convenient to break the routine of turning out finished products by holidays of different religious faiths. If the children are to be taught a little practical economics, it is easier to teach them if all have been newsboys and sweated for their pennies, or all have been the pampered sons of the wealthy. The more similar the children, the raw material upon which the teacher has to work, the more satisfactory will be the results, the better will each child approximate to what a child of that age should know, as determined by exhaustive surveys of what other children of the same age do know. Education from this standpoint is just like a factory and the more uniform the raw materials, the more uniform and "reliable" the product.

It is not my purpose to dispute the efficiency of this method of teaching facts or techniques. Children today are faced by an enormous number of things which must be learned, must be learned painfully, under duress, without free movement or fresh air. This is a costly process to the state and to the child and it would be folly to quarrel with any method of speeding it up or eliminating waste motion. But just because we have this machine in our midst which must sort our children out in usable lots of material of different quality for the five or six school hours a day, it does not mean that we need sit tamely by while the sorting process is followed through every activity of child life. Because fourth grade can do more arithmetic than third grade is no reason for establishing a definite line between third grade and fourth grade across which club, or Sunday school class or Girl Scout troop will trespass at its peril. Children fall readily into any snobbery which is offered them and will fight fiercely for its perpetuation once the society in which they live gives them a framework. Children who "live on the Hill" in one college town of my acquaintance, look loftily upon "those who live down below." Children on the north side of the street may scorn those on the south, children who wear velvet dresses those who wear calico—as "poor," or those who wear gingham those who velvet, as "fussy and in bad taste." There is no end to the categories of contempt and exclusiveness which young children will defend once they are given to them. But none of these are innate and neither are age groups, much as has been said in their defense as "natural."

In Samoa, the age group is more rigid than among ourselves. Without the lines drawn in the schoolroom, with only a few catchwords to help them, these groups are nevertheless held firmly together. Girls and boys are strictly divided, meeting only for gang wars; older girls won't play with younger ones; younger ones would be ashamed to be thought to aspire to the company of older ones and so on. There is one kind of behavior for very small girls, another for slightly older girls, another for small boys, and so on. There is no concept of behavior for human beings as such, aside from considerations of age and sex. Children are regimented in groups, each group has certain attitudes assigned to it and the children jealously defend any accusation that they do not correspond to the group standard. So would, among us, a high school girl resist the imputation that she was

behaving like a grammar school girl, no matter whether this behavior be defined as wearing silk stockings instead of lisle, putting up the hair, being allowed to have "dates" or a betraying knowledge of Latin and grammar. Unfortunately all the social and extraneous points will be resented more fiercely than the legitimate emphasis on different scholastic achievements. And in Samoa, where age groups are insisted on so heavily, the children do not develop very much personality nor differ greatly one from another.

In Manus the picture is quite different. Here the younger generation is continuous from birth until puberty for the girls, from birth until marriage for the boys. Parents, far from shunting their new babies off upon little child nurses who will encourage the child to remain quiescent and un-precocious, spend hours developing the child's physical capacities and teaching it to be at home in the lagoon where the village stands. The children get early sets towards definite personality traits because they associate as babies with marked and mature personalities. When they grow older and venture into play groups, there is no rigid age standardization to blot out this early differentiation. The childhood group is so large, so fluid, that it permits room for every type of child. The husky child, large for his age, will wrestle with his elders, but turn for the rewards of equal social play, to his age mates. The undersized clever child will share in the secrets and plots of seniors, but wrestle with his juniors. In a community where children are valued beyond all other possessions, and no grown man of wealth and position is too proud to pause in a moment of economic triumph to gratify some child's whim, the older children follow the parents' lead and enjoy the younger children.

The contempt for younger children is no more an attitude which is natural and independent than is the respect for elders. Either point may be made by the community, in which case the children will feel it, or neglected by the adults, the point will be neglected by the children. Among ourselves children are ashamed of being too slow, among the Samoans it is precocity which makes a child blush and a parent apologize; in Manus it is neither. Because there is no emphasis on age groups, no standard set up for each age, precocity and retardation are matters which receive no consideration at all. The child is one member of the child world, not age ten, grade five, mental age of 12, and so forth.

And as a member of the child world, each child is an individual; the child world is too large to encourage the provincialism of age groups. Nor do the children develop feelings of inferiority which we have so often been told are the result of a child's associating not with equals but with superiors. The child is one minute leader, the next follower, the next quite the equal of his playmate. Imitative, faithful following of a leader, happy give and take, are all developed. There is no set standard beneath which the child can fall only to be scorned; above which he can rise only at the risk of being called precocious and pushing. And Manus children have great individuality; there are marked differences in temperament between one child and another. The intelligence of each child is developed to the full. When the government takes away boys and sends them to school, they do better than any other children in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. As police boys, they show great initiative and resourcefulness. Compared with Samoan children, they are more interesting, more alert, more individualized.

It is possible that by losing the neighborhood play group which used to have a far wider range than the school grade, we are losing many of the advantages which result from the free give and take between older and younger children. It is possible that our children lack the opportunity to develop as both good leaders and good followers, because in the age group they become one thing to the exclusion of the other. If mothers who supervise their children's play, if leaders of Scout troops and clubs, were to set a standard by which association with younger children were made interesting and rewarding, they would do much to offset the dull, standardizing effects of the school grade and its insistence on groups of individuals who are as much alike as possible.

The Manus children live in a society which is far more stereotyped than our own, in spite of our public schools, newspapers, moving pictures and radios. In Manus the same ideas, the same beliefs, are held by every single member of the community. The same manners, the same canons of speech are conformed to by everyone. And yet, by utilizing the natural differences which result from age and sex, by permitting young children close association with adults of developed personality, the Manus are able, despite the even, unvaried nature of their social life to develop children with personality. We who are self-conscious,

and have so many other sources of differentiation to draw on—books, pictures, different religious and social faiths—should be able to do even better, if we will utilize these same natural differences upon which the Manus depend.

VIII. HONESTY TRENDS IN CHILDREN[11]

HAROLD SAXE TUTTLE

Two problems face the student of character education: First, are there normal trends in character? Is social heredity effective enough to produce reasonable unity among growing children? How greatly do children conform to their social environment? How early does conformity begin in a degree which may be called moral? If there is a high conformity at any stage does it tend to increase or decrease as time passes? In other words, to what degree does social adjustment occur among normal children in a typical environment without any special effort at character training?

Any study of the effect of specific methods which look towards the education of character in any way needs to be checked against a large section of the group represented. Small control groups lack reliability because so many different selective elements are likely to be operative in any particular control group. In a study of some specific methods there is a large degree of probability that a half-dozen effective influences will be at work. Some of these influences may be responsible for the greatest differences which occur in the character growth of children. In dealing with a single control group there is no means of knowing whether the group is representative or highly selective.

The second problem relates to the technique of discovering conditioning factors. Can social agencies which modify conduct be measured without isolating each one under controlled conditions? In a normal environment in which many social forces are operating can those which are most influential in changing conduct be detected? Is it possible to devise techniques analogous to those in qualitative analysis in chemistry, by means of which the element sought can be measured within the compound?

This question is of critical importance in the future development of social research. There is a high probability—certainly

[11] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 4, December, 1931, pp. 233–239.

there is an unquestioned possibility—that the isolation of social forces from a normal complex environment may altogether change their effect upon the subjects studied. The analogy of chemistry is again germane. Oxygen and carbon may be mixed at one temperature with only imperceptible chemical combination. Identically the same elements may combine with explosive force when the temperature is changed. On this point, indeed, it is not necessary to rely upon analogies; illustrations are abundant. A boy has misbehaved in a schoolroom; the teacher calls him to the desk; with stern face and voice she reprimands him. What will be the effect? It all depends upon whether the incident occurred in the presence of the class or in their absence. It is not possible to determine the influence of social forces, when isolated from other social forces, which are present in a normal situation. The accepted scientific procedure in the physical sciences is to isolate each element under investigation. So long as this technique is considered necessary in the social field we shall be measuring, so to speak, the chemical properties of carbon and oxygen at seventy degrees centigrade and, assuming that we have a unit description of the relation of these elements, missing entirely the difference in their behavior at four hundred degrees centigrade. If, however, it is possible to measure different forces in their normal complex operation there is high promise that social science may rapidly be able to develop effective techniques of social control.

With a view to securing data which will tend to provide the answers to these two questions the author has recently carried on a study of honesty trends among pupils of grades four to seven, in thirteen different schools. There were 2,037 cases tested. Of these, 1,320 cases were followed through a two-year period. The major feature of the study was a performance test in changing answers in a well-motivated school contest. A carbon device completely concealed from the subjects was utilized. This test was given at the opening of school, at the close of the first school year, and at the close of the second. Distinctly different forms were used in order that previous contests might be suggested as little as possible.

The tests thus given provided two distinct means of indicating tendencies. In each of the tests a comparison of the school grades served to indicate general grade tendencies towards deceit at that time. With three such cross sections it was possible to

corroborate one conclusion by means of the other two. In addition to these cross sections the case histories of nearly seventy per cent of the cases through the two-year period made it possible to determine whether individuals showed the same tendencies towards deceit over a period of time as the cross sections of the grades indicated.

In addition to the general trends, data were gathered as to intelligence quotients, ethical judgments, attendance at religious classes, and biblical knowledge. The conclusions to be drawn from such a study have bearing upon many other problems besides those just suggested. In so far as the data here gathered are concerned three different tendencies began to be evident.

1. In the first place, intelligence correlates highly with honesty tendencies. Intelligence quotients were secured for 1,055 cases. For one comparison the cases were divided into three groups: those below an I. Q. of 90, those between 90 and 110, and those above 110. Of the superior group only 11 per cent were consistently deceitful, while 50 per cent were consistently honest. Of the subnormal group 22 per cent were consistently deceitful; 33 per cent consistently honest. It is significant that the percentage of the consistently deceitful cases below an I. Q. of 90 is twice as great as that above 110. The contrast of percentages of the consistently honest is equally striking.

All cases for whom I. Q.'s were secured were classified into four groups: group A, representing the cases who resorted to deceit at both the beginning and the end of the two-year period; group B, consisting of those who deceived in the final test though not in the first; group C, those who did not deceive in the final test but had done so in the first; group D, those who did not deceive in any test.

Of the 148 cases in group A, 52 had I. Q.'s below 90; 20 above 110. Reduced to percentages the former group represented 35 per cent of the total, and the latter group 13 per cent. In other words, of the consistently deceitful cases more than one third were below the 90 I. Q. limit, while scarcely one third of that proportion were above the 110 division. Of the 58 cases that developed deceit after the first test, 19 or 33 per cent fell below the 90 I. Q. limit, while only 8 or 14 per cent were above the 110 mark. The similarity of the two groups is apparent and striking. However, in group C, of the 346 cases indicating reform, 92 or 26 per cent of the total had I. Q.'s below 90, and 61, representing

18 per cent, above 110. Of the 337 in group D, the consistently honest, 71, or 21 per cent, were below 90, while 89, 26 per cent, were above 110.

Table I following indicates more graphically the relation between the intelligence quotient and tendencies towards deceit. The percentage columns show constant and marked decrease from group A to D in percentages below a 90 I. Q., and a constant and significant increase above 110.

TABLE I

Total Cases	*Group*	*Cases Below 90 I. Q.*	*Cases Between 90 and 110*	*Cases Above 110*	*Per Cent Below 90*	*Per Cent Above 110*
148.....	A	52	76	20	35	13
58	B	19	30	8	33	14
346.....	C	92	193	61	26	18
337	D	71	177	89	21	26
		234		178		

2. Tendencies from grade to grade were not so significant, although on the whole increased grade showed improvement in honesty. The case histories were somewhat more consistent than the cross sections and are probably more dependable indications of typical trends. Of the 793 who resorted to deceit in the first test 625 did not do so in the final test. On the basis of 1,383 cases for whom complete data were secured at the beginning this represents 45 per cent. Only 168 cases consistently resorted to deceit, which represents 12 per cent of the total. Of the 590 cases who did not deceive in the first test only 63, or less than 5 per cent of the total, did so in the final test. The tendencies toward reform clearly outnumber the tendency to become more deceitful. Allowing for a considerable number of cases of suspicion regarding the purpose of the tests, of which no evidence seems available, it is difficult to account for evidences of ten times as large a per cent of reform as of retrogression without some basis of fact.

3. Any study which seeks to discover conditions has just as great significance in the negative results secured as in the positive. Failure to find correlation between any given social factor and tendencies towards deceit may be of as great or even greater significance than the discovery of correlations. It is therefore important to report the relation between geographical areas and honesty tendencies.

The following table (Table II) will give a graphic picture of the findings in this regard. The thirteen schools are listed without identification. The total number in each school concerning whom data were gathered is indicated in column 2. This number served as the basis upon which to compute percentages in all cases. The four classes of cases already described are indicated in the table in reverse order. The consistently honest corresponds to group D. It will be noted from the table that there is very little correlation between rankings of the four classes—indeed there is no high correlation between any two.

TABLE II

School	Total in School Taking Tests	Consistently Honest			Improved			More Deceitful			Consistently Deceitful*		
		No.	*% of Total*	*Rank*	*No.*	*% of Total*	*Rank*	*No.*	*% of Total*	*Rank*	*No.*	*% of Total*	*Rank*
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
A	91	20	21	XII	50	54	II	6	7−	VIII	15	16	X
B	131	37	28	XI	58	44	VI	9	7	IX	27	21	XI
C	91	33	36	VII	46	51	IV	4	6	VII	8	9	II
D	97	46	48	I	40	41	X	2	2	I	9	9	III
E	180	71	39+	V	76	42	IX	4	2	III	29	16	IX
F	68	23	33	IX	30	44	VII	7	10	XI	8	12	V
G	137	54	39	VI	55	40	XI	12	9	X	16	12−	IV
H	92	42	45+	II	39	42	VIII	2	2	II	11	12	VI
I	169	70	41	IV	87	51	III	4	3	IV	8	5	I
J	63	22	34	VIII	29	46	V	3	5	V	9	14	VIII
K	65	21	32	X	44	68	I	..	..	..	.	.	.
L	197	88	45−	III	71	36	XII	10	5+	VI	28	14	VII

* Rank I in columns 11 and 14 means "best" record, i.e., lowest degree of deceit. This corresponds to the first and second sets of ranks, which represent degrees of honesty. The four columns are thus positively comparable.

Two conclusions are evident so far as the data are concerned. Tendencies towards improvement in each higher grade over the previous grade are not uniform in all schools, although the dominant tendencies are in that direction. Wide ranges of differences, however, occur when comparing the two extreme schools. Clearly, any study of methods intended to modify conduct should take into consideration geographical areas before measurements are begun. So far as social types in different geographical areas are concerned it will be painful to some to know that the so-called better classes of society do not show any

consistent advantage. Control groups in future studies should particularly take into account the question of social environment, carefully avoiding a mixture of groups from different environments.

The second conclusion from the data presented is that the forces tending to produce honesty are very strong outside the school. School D ranked highest in per cent of cases of consistent honesty but ranked tenth in improvement, while at the same time it showed little tendency towards increased deceitfulness. Were the tendencies to be found chiefly within the school itself the correlations should be much higher. School A ranked twelfth in consistent honesty, ranked next to the top in improvement, but ranked low in deceitfulness on both counts.

On the whole, it may be said that question two appears to be answered in the affirmative to a sufficient degree to justify further extensive studies in this direction. Question one seems to be answered positively with reference to I. Q.'s, and slightly with reference to increased age. Little evidence was found to indicate other constant trends which might be considered dependable as a basis for corroborating future control groups.

IX. AIMS AND METHODS OF CHARACTER TRAINING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS[12]

W. W. Charters

The belief that our civilization is changing rapidly has led inevitably to a quest for certainty. In the midst of perplexing problems we need to have something substantial to which to tie. The automobile, the radio and the airplane, symptomatic of radical changes, introduce new situations in which we do not know exactly what to do. Whether the perplexities of this generation are more pronounced than those of any other generation we do not know. Each generation feels that its social problems are a little more complicated than were any of those that preceded them. But whether more or less, every person who is thoughtfully thinking his way through the world in which he lives needs to have, for the good of his soul, some fundamentals of which he can be certain.

[12] *National Education Association, Addresses and Proceedings.* Vol. LXVII, 1930, pp. 746–750.

This provides a setting for a consideration of the aims of character training. The one major value that character contributes to the happiness and usefulness of individuals is a battery of moral traits and social ideals which have been tested by the centuries. New situations may arise, novel perplexities may emerge, and conventions may disintegrate, but the fundamental traits of honesty, courage, and kindness are still as substantial as they were at the time of their first discovery and formulation. These are the anchors that hold us solid. Situations may change, trait actions may be modified, behavior may be altered, but these traits of character maintain their strength and solidity throughout the centuries. Superficial forms may be eliminated, but we still believe that the essences of these traits are right.

One of the aims, therefore, of character training, is the development of these traits which orient us in carrying through our purposes and in helping us to coöperate with other people. Our character traits are of two types. In order that we may control our environment and develop our own programs of living, we use the hard traits of honesty, forcefulness, courage, industry, and ambition. But in order that we may live happily in a social situation we make use of the gentle traits of kindness, coöperation, and tact. These two batteries of traits, the hard and the gentle, constitute in one respect at least the equipment with which we provide ourselves and our children in our preparation for life and our participation in its activities. Without these traits well developed and skillfully handled the child will, both during his school days and in adult situations after graduation, be unable to cope successfully and efficiently with the experiences which concern him. The major function of the school is to develop these fundamental traits of character.

There is a variety of ways in which traits of personality may be developed. One of them is so essential and so important that it becomes a major aim of character training. I refer to the ability to think one's way through moral and social situations. In some forms and in some stages of civilization the fundamental traits of character are impressed upon the young mechanically. Courage in such cases is learned through imitation, by the use of scorn, ridicule, and pain. Courtesy is impressed through example and imitation, by suggestion, force, and punishment. While moral qualities unquestionably become deeply impressed

in the tissues of character by methods such as these, the learner does not have complete use of them in his quest for certainty, because he sees them as ends of life rather than as tools of living. He has unreasoned use of them, and therefore an exaggerated opinion of their uses. His hold upon them is formal and rigid. They are fabricated from cast-iron rather than from pliable and tempered steel.

In order, therefore, that these traits of character be given their maximum usefulness, the school essays to develop them through the use of reason and discussion. Armed with the ability to think his way through situations which involve these traits, the child possesses more than ordinary power, he is in a position to make new applications of old and tested standards in modified surroundings, he becomes the master of these dependable instruments of living and uses them with intelligence and efficiency.

The third aim of character training in the public schools rounds out the picture. It is important that the child develop fundamental traits of character; it is essential that his powers of reasoning in moral situations be developed; but in addition to these aims, it is important that he have strong emotional convictions of the worth of these qualities of character. If he is to secure his maximum solidity of life and purpose he must love and utilize the qualities that have been developed for exactly the purpose of giving him solidity and power. This regard must be of the heart as well as of the head. Feeling must supplement intellect in many perplexing situations in which a person is not sure of himself and his actions. Then he needs to love honesty and sincerity, to admire courage and kindliness, and to revere coöperation and ambition. Without this strong conviction of the worth of these qualities of character—so strong that he is resentful when he discovers them badly treated—he will not push through to the end of action and persistently carry through his programs.

It would appear, therefore, that three aims of character training stand out as of major importance in directing the efforts of the public schools. These are, first, to develop established traits of character and personality; second, to teach children to think their way through situations which involve these traits; and third, to generate in children an emotional conviction concerning the importance of certain qualities of character to them and to their generation.

Turning now to the second phase of our theme, we are ready to discuss the important methods by which these aims may be accomplished.

In this case, as in others, methods are implied in aims. When we know what we want to do we have one cue to the method by which to accomplish it. In this way, we have within the statement of aims a collection of methods, of which I shall mention the most important.

First among the methods to be mentioned is the establishment of a curriculum. If we wish to develop traits of character and help the students to use them in coping with situations, it follows that we must first of all decide upon the fundamental traits which we will teach. In spite of the shyness of certain people in the presence of analyses of traits of character, it is nevertheless true that we all believe that some traits are extremely important and that others are of lesser value. If this is the case, one should be quite willing to state as definitely as he can just what traits he is going to emphasize because of their importance. Such lists of traits appear as codes of ethics or as programs which interested faculties and individuals draw up for their own direction. In order that the child may develop competency in handling selected traits the most common, important, and difficult situations in which he finds himself are listed for purposes of discussion at appropriate times. From the application of appropriate traits to situations, behavior and conduct in the form of traits and actions develop in the teaching situation. In achieving the ends of character training it is important that the school know with great definiteness the fundamental traits that they hope to achieve in their children, the most significant and typical situations in which the children are likely to find themselves, and the appropriate lines of action to be followed in those situations.

In achieving the designated aims of education it must not be forgotten that pleasure and pain are essential stimuli to action. It is a psychological truism that action that is pleasurable is likely to be repeated, while the behavior that is unsatisfactory tends to disappear. Similarly, it is a pedagogical truism that good behavior should be reinforced by rewards and bad behavior should be accompanied by penalties. The rewards are, of course, of many kinds and embrace both the lowly and the exalted. The pain may be coarse or subtle. The schools will use both pleasure

and pain. They will teach children that *in fact* to be good is to be happy. The school will regard the elder brother much more highly than the prodigal son. It will praise; it will prefer good action on the one hand; and it will censure bad behavior on the other.

Strange as it may seem, the principle of praise of good behavior has never been fully and warmly accepted by school people. Censure we have. Criticism we use. And both of them with freedom. Praise we use sparingly, for various reasons. We are afraid that it will make the children egotistical. We protect ourselves against the possibility of overpraise. We fear that tomorrow we may have to revoke the words that we used today. We are still vividly bearing upon us the marks of our Puritan ancestry. This is unfortunate, because it deprives us of the instruments of reward and pleasure and praise in our efforts to develop the fundamental traits of character. But, fortunately, as artistic technics develop, we are coming to use a well-balanced program of pleasure over the good and pain resulting from the bad in our public schools.

In our development of character we are coming to lay a great deal of stress upon extracurriculum activities. We are beginning to realize fully that regular classroom situations do not constitute an area sufficiently broad to cover all the problem. Believing as we do that the child must be taught specific forms of action in a variety of situations, we are forced to the position that extracurriculum activities are indispensable in a program of character education. It is indispensable because in these activities, outside of the regular classroom procedures, are found a multitude of situations which probably lie closer, and certainly do lie as close, to life as the regular classroom situation. If these situations lie close to the extra-school life of the child, while still within teaching radius, it is essential that we should help the children to develop the right forms of action in these situations which come within our field of action in the schools. Thus we reveal a tendency to integrate the so-called extracurriculum activities into the curriculum. We see football, baseball, dances, clubs, and hikes as opportunities for developing honesty, courtesy, courage, kindliness, and industry. Thus we are able to double the area within which we can develop traits of character. And some people have claimed that we can more than double the efficiency of character development because these extracurriculum activi-

ties lie closer to life than many of the formal exercises and situations of the classroom. The extracurriculum program of the school requires searching and intelligent attention by administrators and teachers so that, while, on the one hand, spontaneity is not squeezed out of extracurriculum life, well-bred behavior will become the standard of action.

Many other methods might be mentioned, but I shall close our discussion by calling attention to one of the most significant, and one of the least well developed methods of developing the aims of character training. I refer to the measurement of achievement. It is a fact of learning that children learn better if they can know how well they are achieving results through their efforts. It is an axiom of growth that one does not improve his technics unless he realizes their weakness. It is a matter of common knowledge that evidences of success encourage action. For all these reasons and others it is essential that the measurement of traits and qualities should be achieved. Unfortunately, however, not many of the fundamental traits can be accurately measured. It is difficult to demonstrate an increase in courtesy, unselfishness, industry, or honesty after a program of training has been carried through. A few of the less important traits, such as speed and accuracy, are measured in some type situations; but, on the whole, the fundamental traits have not yielded to attention, except partially, as in recent studies in connection with honesty. Yet it is important that measures should be devised, and, being important, it becomes the obligation of the school, through its research agencies, to develop technics that can be used for measurement. The task is difficult, but it is not insurmountable, and we may hope within a short time, as history is judged, to have effective methods of measuring the results of effort in connection with training for character.

It appears to me personally that the foregoing are the essential considerations in connection with the development of aims and methods of character training. Character training is given in the schools because fundamental traits of character and personality are essential in this world of change. In the development of these traits it is important that the method be that of reasoning and thought and that the goal should be emotional convictions concerning the value of traits. In achieving these aims a curriculum must be established, and particularly the era of extracurriculum activities should be utilized. Pleasure and

pain in the form of rewards and punishments should be fully used in balanced form in developing right conduct and action. Persistent attention should be given to the development of measurements of traits and efficiency of teaching. With a program well-considered, systematically developed, and persistently followed—a program which contains the foregoing elements as essential factors in its structure and procedures—it is inevitable that the aims of character training will be secured with increasing efficiency and intelligence throughout the years.

X. SOME DOUBTS ABOUT CHARACTER MEASURING[13]

HENRY NEUMANN

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It is proposed that we get down to business and measure the actual results by certain objective tests. Standardized tests are now widely used to measure general intelligence as well as specific achievement in composition, arithmetic and other subjects. Judgments here can now be more impersonal and precise than they used to be. Why not employ these ways to judge honesty, self-control, public spirit, reverence? Why not use these techniques to check up accurately on the results of methods in character education? Such tests are already applied in many schools, and new ones are being devised every month.

A year before, the first volume of a series of studies in the nature of character was issued by the Character Education Inquiry of Teachers College, Columbia University, in co-operation with the Institute of Social and Religious Research.[14] Pupils in a number of schools had been tested to see what degree of deceit they exhibited. For example, an examination was given in arithmetic, and opportunity was offered for the pupil to improve his answers by stealth. A system was devised whereby the amount of cheating could be computed exactly. Here, too, it was found that children who had received a certain education presumed to result in higher behavior were not outstanding in their moral superiority. In a second series of such studies,[15] the pupils were tested for acts of kindness and for power

[13] *Religious Education*, Vol. XXV, No. 7, Sept., 1930, pp. 620–626.

[14] Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in Deceit," The Macmillan Co., New York, 1928.

[15] Hartshorne, H., May, M. A., and Maller, J. B., "Studies in Service and Self-Control," The Macmillan Co., New York, 1929.

of self-control. They were asked to give up much-wished objects, like money or toys, for the sake of charity. They were tested for persistence, as shown in curiosity to see how an incompleted story ended or in solving a mechanical puzzle or a mental puzzle.

It is very likely that such quantitative researches will be made increasingly in the years ahead, especially in America, where modern business has already shown itself sympathetic toward such charting of personal characteristics of employees. Every help in locating specific needs is to be welcomed; and we may be sure that time will weed out any extravagant claims or other errors.

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That is, instead of saying, "He can be trusted because he has character," we desire to know more precisely what is this character which he "has." Is it a general possession, more or less mysterious? Or can we get more light upon it by observing how it acts at these and these specific points?

High spots among the results of the Hartshorne-May investigations are as follows:

Specific acts of moral behavior are learned as other acts of skill are, by specific experience rather than by listening to discourses upon such skill. Tendencies can be changed, at least temporarily, by suitable teaching. Individuals are more likely to rate higher where they are encouraged by the morale of the group as a whole. The personality of the teacher is highly important, enough to change the scores very markedly where the class is put in charge of a teacher of superior personality.

The results can scarcely be called news.

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Obvious as these findings are, they have at least this importance: they show that while in their daily lives, "children have been acquiring habits which are important for character, there is little evidence that effectively organized moral education has been taking place."[16] What the children at present are learning of self-control, service, honesty is largely a matter of accident. "Anarchy in the leadership of moral education is not likely to produce order in the character of a child. At all events, such

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 453.

leadership as we have in typical American communities has not resulted in organized conduct."[17]

All gratitude, therefore, is due to those who wish to build on something better than guesswork. There is no predicting what their method may yet bring to light. The spirit of science requires that the trail makers be given time and the encouragement of the open mind.

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Character is a much more complicated affair than intelligence. The most intelligent are not necessarily the best behaved, as people knew long before any modern tests were devised. It means nothing to point to the larger numbers of low I. Q.'s in our prisons; the brainiest do not appear in the statistics, because they manage to elude the police or to be acquitted. Ideals are as much a matter of feeling as they are of intellectual apprehension. Just why any one of us wants to do right is hard to say; but the wanting is essential. So is what the old school called will-power. The interplay of knowledge, feeling, will, is a highly complex affair.

Hence, although certain overt behaviors can be observed and measured, the results tell very little as yet about the success or failure of the character methods employed. If it is pointed out that many Bible-class graduates have a low moral rating, it may be retorted that without such schooling the rating for any one group thus tested might have been even lower still. Nobody can say yet just how far this is true of any individual student. Nor if the results seem to show success can we be so sure either. There is no way to tell yet whether graduates of one school rather than of another show up better because they went to that particular school or because they were at the beginning a selected lot. If we say "Heredity," we must ask, "Are the geneticists in agreement as to what is inherited and what is changeable?"

A real test would tell what is the part actually played by heredity and what by the environment. As yet we are scarcely in a position to speak with assurance here or to devise thoroughgoing tests. We should have to begin with twins at the moment of their birth. We should have to separate hundreds of such twins from the very beginning, bring them up under carefully controlled systems, watch at every point the various influences playing

[17] *Op. cit.*, p. 453.

upon them, and only then make our comparisons. Such an experiment may some day be made and give us more genuine knowledge than we now possess. That day is not yet here.

If it is difficult and sometimes impossible to trace back behaviors, it is likewise unsafe to forecast with scientific assurance. Results expected or unexpected may appear long after the child has grown up.

The very use of the word "may" in these paragraphs indicates our lack of knowledge. We do not *know*, for example, whether children are made more priggish by self-scrutiny. We can only guess on the basis of our highly variable abilities to judge people. And, whatever may be the findings with regard to groups at any one time, we do not yet know—for any individual—just what changes are likely to occur. A lad who is easy-going and untrustworthy may be sobered by the death of his father and the need to go to work for the family. On the other hand, he may not.

What is to be said for ideals which do not appear in action immediately but wait, sometimes for years, to be expressed? A child hears a story when he is ten years old. It is a tale of courage. It touches him then as just a good story. Its ethical implications, and especially any suggestion it may offer as to his own conduct, do not strike him at the time. Indeed, after reading it, he may continue to manifest his familiar fears and be rated low. But the time may come years later when a fresh memory of the tale is stirred in him, and he is helped by it to act less timidly. Even though, of course, this later courage is more likely to appear if the normal braveries are present at the usual period, nevertheless, there is no knowing what possibilities may emerge later, which a present measurement does not reveal. The permanently best results of any teaching may lie dormant for a long time.

This is apt to be most true of those more intimate experiences which are at least as important in the making of personality as are the more obvious, outer behaviors. There is a world, a very private one, which a person carries within him. Reveries, longings (sometimes not fully conscious), unspoken judgments, shy aspirations as well as bold ones, all play their part in making us what we are. They are present in childhood when the tests are made; but the tests are devised to indicate quite other things and pass these by. It is just as well that the tests do fail to measure these. There are highly important areas in life which

it is better to leave quite private. "Let not thy left hand know" is one such reminder.

Some of these traits which appear most frequently in the literature on the subject can hardly be called moral at all. Among these are "persistence" and "decision." Another speaks of "muscular control" and "vitality." Good and necessary as these undoubtedly are, they are, after all, not of the same rank morally as justice or public spirit, let us say, because they are tools which may or may not be used to make their possessor more just or more public spirited.

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Apparently similar acts can be done from very different motives. One boy will forego the opportunity to cheat because he scorns to play the sneak; another because he has been taught that God is watching and may strike him dead or may burn him in Hell; another because he suspects some kind of trap (as children are likely to do when character testing becomes more common); another because of the disgrace of being found out. When we test children for service, some may not be eager to make picture cards for the poor because they are already doing things like this at home, or they may think it unimportant compared with other acts of service. Or some may do this charity very eagerly and score high because it is an unusual and fresh experience. It is hard to say of any person just why he gives to charity. The same is true of other acts. Are those who pride themselves on plain speaking as "candid" as they think, or only callous?

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Among those working out moral tests are some who readily admit these limitations. Hartshorne and May repeatedly declare that their studies measure only overt behaviors. In a public address, Dr. Hartshorne is quoted as saying, "In thus testing the products of character education, it is not assumed that character is the sum of these products but that useful knowledge of character is derived from our knowledge of these parts and their interrelation." A third volume in the series of studies by the Character Education Inquiry is to consider this problem of integration. Studies already issued speak of certain unknown "subtle factors in the control of each form of conduct." There is no antecedent reason for supposing that these elusive conditions will forever

escape scientific investigation. But it is hard to see, on the other hand, that any new or far-reaching light upon personality has been shed by the studies already published. Fathers, mothers, teachers and friends have been sizing up character for many centuries. They still do. Very little would seem to have been gained by stating judgments in terms of numbers.

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It is not surprising, therefore, that some teachers face to face with the living children, prefer that the statistical moral testing be done by those in whom the investigating interest is stronger than such scruples as here cited. The reports mention the influence of outstanding personalities among the teachers. One wonders whether the most helpful of such teachers are not likely to be those who win trust by showing trust.

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Perhaps the best results likely to come from the testing procedure will be to offer a more or less rough, convenient way of comparing child with child in certain outward achievements. In the last analysis, our judgments of the children must rely upon that feeling for the realities of a situation which pre-automobile days called horse sense. No matter how precise the technique of measurement becomes, a certain doubt will keep rising whether the most worthwhile products of character building are capable of mathematical definition. The main inspiration in the business of making lives (a slow and often very baffling business) is the keenly felt sense of an ideal self, a self quite reluctant about revealing itself to number hunting. When we have added up all the scores, we can still fail to know the most important fact about the child. To let anything dim our sense of this may lead us to err as lamentably in even our modern way as the tutor did who thought pure hearts could be encouraged by flogging. Science can have its mistaken worshipers no less than religion.

It is estimated that annually three hundred thousand adults enter our jails and penitentiaries as inmates, the period of their incarceration varying all the way from a month to life. In ten years three millions will have been admitted to these penal institutions. The vital question for teachers and parents is: Where are those three million future inmates today? There is only one answer: They are in our homes and schools. They are

criminals in the embryo. Why? The chief reason is that they are daily making many maladjustments to their life situations. Probably 97 per cent of these potential criminals could become good citizens, if teachers, parents, and communities realized the significance of helping children make wholesome social adjustments to their many perplexing life problems. Unless children are wisely and sympathetically guided in their reactions to their life experiences, there are built up wrong ideals, notions, and habits of response in violence in latter years.[18]

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[18] Germane, Charles E., and Edith Gayton, "Character Education," Silver, Burdett and Company, Boston, 1929.

CHAPTER VI

The Expanding Function of Education—Adult Education

I. INTRODUCTION

Recent educational expansion has manifested itself in the field of adult education, and the extension in this field has assumed a number of forms all of which are of vital concern to the sociologist. The importance of adult education at the present time is intensified by the increased leisure among the adult population, by the enormous advance in scientific knowledge, essential in modern life, by the increased need for vocational education and adjustment, and by the growing demand and need for the education of parents to render them capable of aiding in the adjustment of their children.

The problem of parental education is well presented by Professor Zorbaugh as follows:

> The measure of adult maturity is the success with which the individual adjusts himself to the demands of family life and the vocational world. Until within our own generation, schooling has helped the individual little if at all in making either of these adjustments. Consequently numberless men and women have found themselves adrift in life—restless and dissatisfied, bewildered, or resentful. Adult education has risen to meet this adult need of reorientation to life.
>
> The vocational world being competitive, the need of adult education was first and most sharply felt as a means to more satisfactory vocational adjustment. The mass of adult education today is more or less vocational in nature. With the application of modern psychiatry to the personnel problems of industry we are coming to realize, however, that vocational

maladjustments involve more than a lack of knowledge and skill, are rooted in the emotional immaturity of the individual, lie too deep to be reached by reëducational measures. The only hopeful attack on the problems of adult maladjustment lies in making childhood experiences more satisfying and constructive through education for parenthood. As we have come to a realization of this fact, parent-education programs have become a major part of the adult-education movement. While institutes for child development have been doing research into the physical and mental growth of children, parent-teacher associations and child-study groups have been attempting to translate to parents the implications of these facts for successful parenthood. The National Council for Parent Education, attempting to correlate the many research and study groups, has become perhaps one of the most important factors in adult education.[1]

The selections presented in this chapter are designed to illustrate the expansion of interest in adult education and the conception of it as a socio-educational problem.

II. THE DEMAND AND SUPPLY OF IDEAS IN A METROPOLITAN AREA[2]

FRANK W. LORIMER

I

Studies of adult education have now been completed by local conferences of educational administrators in three communities, namely, in Buffalo, Cleveland, and Brooklyn. The first two were primarily undertaken from the angle of *supply*, being studies of the services of educational institutions. The study made by the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education, however, was undertaken primarily from the angle of *demand*, being a study of interests and studies of individuals and of community needs, as regards adult education, in the population at large. In accordance with this purpose the approach in this study was made directly to groups of employees, members of various community organizations, and individuals reached through house-to-house canvass in different neighborhoods, as

[1] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 8, April, 1932, pp. 461–462.

[2] *Journal of Adult Education*, Vol. III, No. 1, January, 1931, pp. 62–68.

well as to persons already enrolled in institutions for adult education.

A social study of such scope involves three fairly distinct aspects, the formulation of suggestions, the collection and systematic treatment of data, and the appraisal of results, interpretations and suggestions. Ideally, very definite hypotheses should be set up before the initiation of systematic research, with reference to which objective data may be collected and analyzed. Practically, in exploratory research, these three aspects all run along simultaneously, and in the course of the investigation hypotheses constantly emerge which are incapable of objective verification within the limits of the study. In such cases resort may be had, in the evaluation of hypotheses, interpretations and recommendations, to the so-called *conference method*—a process essentially political rather than strictly scientific—to deliver the results from the pitfalls of irresponsible individual interpretation.

II

The genuine and very helpful interest manifested in the Brooklyn study by individual conference members representing a great variety of educational institutions, and the many informal contacts of the research staff with individuals in all sorts of circumstances and with leaders of many different types of community activities, assured a goodly crop of suggestions. Questionnaire returns or records of systematic interviews were collected from 7,100 individuals, and in addition, reports were received from various organizations carrying on adult education. Among the returns from individuals there were 4,639 replies to one principal question-form which was used sometimes as a self-administered questionnaire and sometimes as a basis for systematic interviews. This form comprised ninety-three questions bearing on results, interests or attitudes relative to various phases of adult education. The answers to these questions were subjected to fairly extensive statistical treatment of a simple sort, in an attempt to determine relationships between replies of various types. A report, embodying the result of the study, was prepared by the Research Director. All important matters of interpretation were then subjected to a thoroughgoing discussion by the Study Committee, including the Research Director, until the Committee arrived at a consensus of opinion—what the

Quakers call the sense of the meeting. The report was reworked in the light of these decisions and submitted to the whole Conference. Of course many individual differences of opinion remain, but the important points developed in the final report carry the sanction of the Conference as reasonable interpretations of the situation.

The findings of the study cover a wide range of topics and do not easily lend themselves to summary treatment. It is perhaps possible, however, to state three major theses that emerge from the study. (1) Most of the present lines of adult education, developed *ad hoc* to meet specific mass demands, do establish valuable educational contacts with many people at points of vital interest, such as vocational ambition, interest in language and citizenship, and so forth; but whereas these interests are capable of development along broad educational lines, the present programs are in large part designed merely to satisfy these limited demands at the lowest cost, to the neglect of the larger possibilities of liberal adult education. (2) There is a great wealth of instruments for the mass distribution of ideas—although these are of course in many instances capable of development for more humanistic purposes—but facilities for the intimate cultivation of intellectual interests among individuals and small groups of adults are inadequately developed. (3) There is, at least in the particular area studied, a serious neglect of educational issues of the most vital social importance, such as parental education and the study of local, national and international problems. It would appear that the more immediate and superficial demands are being fairly well met; whereas the less articulate, personally vital and socially significant demands are being relatively neglected.

Vocational courses make up exactly 50 per cent of all part-time courses, reported by 1,267 adults who filled out questionnaires taken home by children in six public school districts. Classes in English for the foreign-born and courses taken for high school and college credits each make up 18 per cent. In answer to the main Conference questionnaire, 66 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women gave vocational motives for taking adult courses.

In answer to the question whether or not any leisure-time interests were related (1) to occupation and (2) to courses of study, 21 per cent of the replies were affirmative in the first case

but only 8 per cent indicated a connection between courses of study and leisure interests. A large percentage of those who take vocational courses are not trying merely to get new jobs but are trying to perfect themselves along lines of work in which they are already engaged. Of 1,398 men taking courses in many subjects, 27 per cent of those who reported their reasons for studying said that they had taken courses to fit themselves for new occupations which they had already entered or were expecting to enter; 9 per cent had studied in preparation for lines of work which they had never taken up; and 30 per cent had sought to increase their efficiency in the work in which they were already engaged. Among reasons for studying given by 810 women, these three aims were weighted as 23 per cent, 9 per cent and 18 per cent, respectively. It is interesting to note also that among the men who reported no regular schooling beyond the grammar grades, 75 per cent of those who had subsequently taken part-time courses were users of the library, as contrasted with 38 per cent of those who had not taken courses. Forty-three per cent of the former expressed a preference for the Herald, Post, Sun, Telegram, Times, or World, and only 6 per cent preferred the tabloids, whereas among those who had taken no courses these percentages were 18 per cent and 15 per cent respectively. Among high-school graduates, on the other hand, there were no apparent significant differences between those who had and those who had not taken subsequent part-time vocational courses. Such facts as these prove that vocational interests are not isolated but may occupy an important and often a central place in the intellectual, moral and spiritual development of individuals. Educationally the important distinction is not between vocational courses, as such, and leisure-time courses, as such, but between narrow, routine training of any sort, whether in electricity or literature, and broad, intellectually stimulating courses, which begin with any genuine human interest, develop its implications, and lead on into series of related studies. In this connection it is important to make the distinction, within the vocational field, between basic courses which have a wide industrial or commercial applicability and specialized job-training for limited tasks. The former are conducive to a higher degree of vocational adaptability, thus tending to insure against technological unemployment, and are more easily developed along broad educational lines. Industrial organizations are likely to be chiefly concerned

about the latter, because they afford more immediate vocational results. A few corporations are also willing to supply more fundamental types of vocational training.

The same distinction between superficially meeting limited interests and developing broad educational programs in relation to vital interests appears from an analysis of classes for immigrants. Here is a group for whom it is highly desirable to provide superior opportunities for cultural and political development as an aid to effective participation in American institutions. These people are themselves eager to take advantage of such opportunities. The present public educational program makes a very good provision for teaching them the English language, and offers superficial instruction in the bare outlines of American government sufficient to enable the students to obtain their citizenship papers. Beyond this point the public shows no serious concern for the development of educational programs of interest to new Americans. So far as the teaching of English is concerned the service rendered at present through the provisions of the New York City Board of Education appears to be meeting a real need fairly effectively. A series of 415 interviews conducted with petitioners for citizenship (applicants for final naturalization papers, who have resided in this country for five years and who allege knowledge of the English language) showed that 50 per cent of these petitioners had attended classes in English in this country. In addition to these, 15 per cent had studied English in their native countries. Among those who had never attended formal classes in English about 60 per cent were able to speak English fairly well. The others—and some who had attended classes—could speak English very little or not at all. The percentages of these petitioners who were quite unable to speak English varied greatly among different language groups, being less than one per cent among Germans and Scandinavians but over 40 per cent among Italians. By the use of a simple disguised reading test, it was found that length of attendance at classes in English was closely related to reading ability. There are many ways in which the work in language teaching might be improved, notably by reducing the size of the classes. But the outstanding weakness in the public program of immigrant education is that it omits from preparation for citizenship any systematic study of the economic and social issues upon which citizens are expected to pass judgment.

It is difficult to measure the relation of adult courses to leisure-time interests, but two fairly objective criteria of the character of leisure-time activities may be used: (1) the simple factor of variety and range (2) the number and intensity of leisure-time interests that involve fairly difficult thinking. When these criteria are used, considerable evidence is gleaned from the report as to the relationship between various levels of regular schooling and the nature and quality of leisure-time pursuits. There is also seen to be a relationship between participation in adult studies—especially so-called cultural courses—and superior resources for the use of leisure. This material is rather detailed and can not easily be summarized.

Popular education fifty years ago was concerned with the task of putting knowledge and art within reach of the masses. Today the Sunday editions of the newspapers, magazines, and the radio —to mention only three conspicuous instruments—place within the reach of all an array of offerings ranging from sheer trash to the highest achievements of scientific research and creative art. Accordingly, the interest in lecture institutes and other devices for broadcasting science and art in wholesale fashion has largely waned, while the importance of small classes, individual study, and community educational programs aimed at the cultivation of taste has become vital. The central problem in public education today is the development in individuals of intellectual interests, social sympathy, and critical taste. The educational problem has shifted from a concern about the "distribution" of knowledge to a concern about its "consumption"—from interest in mass *instruction* to interest in individual and community *education*. As the processes of mass culture are multiplied, the need for attention to individual habits and tastes becomes accentuated.

The importance of parental education is widely acclaimed nowadays. If these claims are valid, it is tragic to find that among 1,166 returns from persons (733 men and 433 women) so selected as to obviate bias in the direction of intellectual interests, child study courses were reported by only two persons, both women. Likewise, 1,267 returns from parents of public school children, including 525 women, mostly homemakers, showed that only 11 had ever been members of any group for the study of child development or parent-child relations.

Parental education has, however, a larger aspect. Without gainsaying in the least the value of special studies in hygiene and

child psychology, it is nevertheless true that excellence or inferiority of parents in the multitude of personal contacts with children is largely determined by general background, education, and intelligence. This fact is strikingly revealed by an analysis of the sources of information used in dealing with specific problems in the care of children by seven different groups of mothers. After all, the broad development of adult minds is the fundamental principle of parental education.

This leads to the question: To what extent are Brooklyn parents equipped—in material resources, in intelligence and interest in child life—to make good parents? Unfortunately, the evidence indicates that a disproportionately large number of children are being born to the parents who are least adequately equipped. For example, among one hundred mothers whose replies to a questionnaire were collected through The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 26 per cent had five or more children, whereas among those who contributed replies through Parents' Associations and Child Study groups only 6 per cent had families of this size. The Brooklyn figures bring out, also, this fact: Of parents having only one or two children, 56 per cent report "playing with children" as a favorite leisure-time activity; among those who have three to five children only 45 per cent do so; and among those who have six or more children the proportion drops to 34 per cent. A similar decline appears in the percentage of parents who report "telling stories to children" and "reading to children" in these different groups.

The extent of interest in social and political problems among the adult population of Brooklyn is roughly indicated by the percentage of persons of different occupations who checked the reading of "politics, economics, etc.," in a given list of leisure-time activities. Throughout, the percentages among men were strikingly higher than those among women. The highest percentage—47 per cent—was found among professional men. Among women teachers the percentage was 16 per cent. Clerical workers rated: men 24 per cent, women 14 per cent. Unskilled workers rated: men, 6 per cent, women, 3 per cent.

Some significant data concerning the formation of a serious interest in social and economic problems were collected from replies made by Brooklyn readers of four journals of opinion—The New Republic, The Survey, The Nation, and The Review of Reviews. Such interests seem to belong almost exclusively to

adult years. The material gathered indicated that the interest develops during the later school years or after formal schooling is over. The replies collected from artists indicated, on the contrary, that their esthetic interests were commonly formed in early childhood. Boys' clubs and girls' clubs, with a few exceptions, do not appear among the organizations said to have aroused interest in social issues. The majority of those who specifically mention school influences refer to collegiate or graduate work or to adult institutions such as The New School for Social Research, The Rand School, and The People's Institute of New York.

III

If one may generalize from the results of this study, the development of institutions in response to the educational demands of adults in urban communities may be expected to follow four main lines:

(1) High schools, colleges, universities, social science research centers, art centers, and professional, industrial and business schools; i. e., academic and special schools adapted to superior individuals and to others who have well-defined scholastic objectives and who seek out such schools, usually with a definite view to individual advancement.

(2) Newspapers, radio programs, libraries, museums, botanical gardens, lecture courses, municipal concerts, and other more or less impersonal instruments of mass culture. These agencies are extremely important, but their efficacy is largely dependent upon more intimate types of educational service which develop the intellectual interests and critical judgment of individuals so that they may be able to choose from the great mass of material offered to them those things that have genuine worth.

(3) Neighborhood educational centers for adults under public educational auspices. A plan recommended in the report of the Brooklyn study favors the experimental maintenance of several such centers in different neighborhoods over a period of several years. Such public neighborhood adult education centers might provide (a) general shop courses in amateur and semi-vocational crafts, including instruction in the fundamental principles of mechanics; (b) basic academic and commercial courses, such as English, elementary mathematics, everyday law, stenography; (c) classes in English for foreign-born men and women; (d)

courses in hygiene, cooking and nutrition, child psychology, children's literature and games, home decoration, etc.; (e) popular courses along historical and social lines; (f) popular courses in literature and art. Moderate fees might properly be charged for such courses. There are many difficulties in the way of such a program, but also promise of great possibilities. The plan seems worthy of serious trial on a small scale.

(4) Independent educational institutes, community centers, study groups, church educational programs, and other informal activities, often linked with athletic, religious or social activities. Such programs hold important values that can not commonly be developed in larger institutional and public programs, such as the spontaneity of informal discussion and the comradeship of individuals knit together by likemindedness.

A comprehensive program of adult education in the United States commensurate with the inarticulate but vital needs for knowledge, skill and ideas would be an expensive affair—perhaps comparable in cost to the network of state and national highways. There may be those who feel that public and philanthropic investments in the field of adult education are equally justified from the standpoint of public policy. In this connection it is pertinent to point to the fact that the popular adult education movements in Europe have all been supported by state subsidy and that the United States is already committed to parallel public and private developments in all other major fields of education. The extension and improvement of educational facilities for adults may be expected to take place, however, only as public demands for such education become more articulate.

III. PARENT EDUCATION AND THE COLLEGES[3]

HELEN MERRELL LYND

A decade or more ago there would have been something rather bizarre about mentioning education for parenthood in connection with the American college. Herbert Spencer commented that a man from Mars viewing the educational system of England in the late nineteenth century would assume that it aimed to produce a nation of celibates. Until very recently, if not at present, an observer of our liberal arts colleges might have concluded that

[3] *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CLX, March, 1932, pp. 197–204.

they sought to produce not only celibates but emotionally anaemic individuals—and no mention of other than intellectual offspring ever penetrated the curriculum.

The steps by which this situation is being somewhat altered illustrate the process of cultural diffusion in from the periphery. At the fringe of the orthodox educational system, in a region where there were no established practices, no vested interests in textbooks and subject matter, and no teachers with professional training and prestige to be maintained, there grew up the nursery school movement and, in its wake, adult parent education. At first completely on the margin of established educational procedure, the latter gradually, and in attenuated form, came into certain universities through the back door of Home Economics—again a region so professionally unorthodox that it had fewer barricades than others against innovation. But it was not until the philosophy of parent education had itself undergone modification that it began to be considered as possibly relevant to a "liberal arts" program.

Underlying Assumptions of College Education

Before examining these developments we may briefly consider the point of view which any suggestion of education for parenthood meets in the colleges. Certain assumptions of long standing underlie the kind of college education dominant today: that what we call the "educational process" can best develop individuals by concentrating on training their minds; that this training can best be effected by their being taught certain facts and skills, the facts as widely representative as possible of knowledge accumulated in the past, and the skills primarily those necessary for the accumulation of more facts; that this training should result in the production of adults with "trained minds"; that a trained mind is the best equipment for any possible future, since the training acquired in a study of Keats or Alfred Marshall can be transferred to any other field, from parenthood to engineering.

No one of these assumptions remains unshaken at the present time. Both the truth and the adequacy of each one are being widely questioned. But it still may be a far cry from such criticism to the recognition that the kinds of problems and methods involved in education for parenthood have any place in collegiate education.

Parent education, also, in its early days was largely concerned with imparting certain facts and skills—in the main, those dealing with the physical care of children. From this preoccupation with questions of eating, sleeping, elimination, diet, and clothing, it has expanded to include other than physical factors in the study of "the whole child" and latterly of the whole home environment.

But with this expansion an anomaly has appeared, fundamental to the whole effort toward parent education, and far-reaching in its implications for all educational practice. Nursery school teachers, psychiatrists, and others concerned with the development of children, however much they may differ on other matters, agree that the whole atmosphere of the home is far more important for the well-being of children than any specific of child care. Diet lists, advice on clothing, and even on temper tantrums, negativism, and adolescent adjustment, may be procured from competent experts. For all these things, the main subject matter of parent education to date, there may be parental surrogates. But in the home there are no substitutes for creating a tranquil environment. In such subtle matters as this, leaders have become increasingly convinced that telling parents what to do may not bring results—that *instructing* people in how to create a desirable home atmosphere for children may become a rather futile procedure. As one mother put it, "I try to do just what you say. But I am just a nervous wreck *trying* to be calm!" Because of these difficulties, parent education has perhaps been least successful in those aspects which its own leaders regard as of primary importance. And with good reason.

Precepts Do Not Alter Personality

"Security is one thing you must give your children at all costs," say the teachers of parent education. But what profits it to say this to a father playing the frantic blind man's buff of professional advancement upon which he feels that his status depends, or seeking uncertainly to discover the undefined rôle of a husband in a modern marriage in which many of the earlier satisfactions of prestige and dominance no longer exist? What advantage to say it to a mother who has never reconciled her picture of a successful husband with reality, or who is fumbling to find her own rôle in a world where a woman's path no longer runs straight from a childhood of sampler-making through a

marriage of self-justifying activities of wifehood and motherhood, but at every step reveals, instead of the earlier unequivocal social sanctions, a multitude of possible choices? Why say it to two people who are themselves uneasy from lack of sexual or personality adjustment in marriage, or whose values waver in a world where God is no longer in His Heaven and the very stars wander?

"A child's development is a constant process of weaning from one stage to the next. At each period he must have the freedom essential for his emotional needs. Do not be emotionally dependent upon your children!" say the wise ones. But men and women cannot, simply by taking thought, add a cubit to their emotional statures. Parents who have married blindly under the drive of unsatisfied infantile needs (a thwarted or a too demanding emotional life, a feeling of inferiority, an unsolved personal conflict between the desire for freedom and the desire for security) cannot by attempting to follow instructions become free men and women. Neither marriage nor childbearing can in itself solve personality problems.

Making discipline an impersonal matter, eliminating any feeling of guilt on the part of the child, having the home a place of developing independent judgment rather than of autocracy, making the child feel that no act of his can ever be an emotional threat to his parents—all such things are the products of emotionally mature parents. They are such rare achievements, indeed, that a crusader like John B. Watson gives up in despair and says that it is easier to abolish the home than to change parents. And yet it is precisely this difficult task that parent education must attempt to achieve.

So we might continue with other essentials which undercut specific details of child care. "A child should have the experience of finding satisfaction in creative work irrespective of adult approval." But he is unlikely to find this in a home with parents who have themselves never got beyond the stage of finding satisfaction for work done, chiefly in the approbation of parents or parent substitutes. "A child should educate himself through play and the joy of spontaneous activity." But does this occur with parents who have never discovered for themselves any alternatives to bridge and golf, who do not know what sorts of leisure or play outlets may give them the greatest emotional release?

Education as Personality Development

If, then, the attempt to instruct parents in goals and techniques of child rearing misses those goals which the teachers themselves regard as most important, what can be done? In the first place, it would seem that parent education must be extended from the education of adults whose habits are already relatively fixed, to pre-parental education. The effort to introduce some form of parent education into colleges, and even into high schools, indicates a recognition of the need for this shift. In the second place, there would seem to be need for an education which concentrates on *learning* rather than on *teaching*, on building up certain habitual ways of acting rather than on telling what should be done in certain situations. Let us see what parent education in terms of learning might include.

Since the chief thing that parents can give their children, without which all else may prove meaningless, is themselves as individuals making a happy home, the first concern of parent education must be the development of those individuals. Just as child study which deals with any aspect of the child's personality rather than with the personality as a whole is now regarded as inadequate, so parent education which stresses only an intelligent handling of problems of child care or anything else rather than the development of "the whole parent," must be considered a rather emasculated second best. Nothing less than an education which aims at the richest development of the individual is adequate.

This would presumably involve, first of all, a direct approach by each student to an understanding of his own personality needs, stresses, and aptitudes. Such a direct facing of problems does not by any means imply an over-introspective, pulse-holding hypochondria. Indeed, to be effective it would require a large degree of objectivity; but it would mean seeking a clear understanding of those factors which are going to be more important to one's children than any knowledge and techniques of child care that one may acquire.

A Woman's Needs

For a woman, for example, this would include an understanding of her own physiological needs: objectifying the experiences of possible strain involved in menstruation, sexual tensions in

adolescence, adjustment in marriage, pregnancy, lactation, caring for young children, and ways in which her personal idiosyncrasies may affect all of these; the discovery of her own best health habits; ways in which her special physiological balance may affect her adjustment to husband and children, other persons, and her work.

Likewise, the student would attempt to gain insight into her psychological needs: the emotional patterns of her childhood and the way they may be merged into more mature habits; the extent to which she seems to find satisfaction in people or in things; her desire for new experience versus security; her impulse to follow or to lead; ways in which she may achieve a genuine independence, neither leaning constantly on others nor immunizing herself in an over-cautious way from caring for other people; her own ideal for herself and the way it may be reconciled with actualities; her ideal of her husband, its sources, its self-contradictions, and its relations to other wants; recognition of the relation between her personality and sex needs and the kind of satisfaction each requires; the way in which any of her special traits may affect her relation to her husband and her children; an understanding of the way she herself gets on with the older generation, as a clue to the adjustments she must make to the younger. She can attempt to appraise objectively her attitude toward marriage: her demand for security and permanence as opposed to flexibility; for concentration on one individual versus maintenance of a variety of relationship; for an intensive sharing of interests or having predominantly independent pursuits.

This direct approach to the needs of the future wife and mother would also include an understanding of herself as an individual in her own cultural setting: the relation of her own emotional drives to the various kinds of alternatives which may be open to her in this changing cultural situation; the kinds of professional work she may do and the possibilities and hazards of each; the varieties of marital and extra-marital patterns possible for her, and their implications; the common hurdles which every marriage must meet; the relation between profession and marriage and how it may affect child rearing; the hurdles a child must meet in growing up in contemporary America; the alternate kinds of life possible on various economic levels; the relation between her conception of what she would like and the possibilities of achieving it as far as they are predictable. The job of being a woman

and a wife amid the strains of a business culture demands an imaginative insight and awareness of another's problems which it is well to recognize and prepare for—a realization that men are not just "that way" in their moods but are that way under competitive pressure.

Finally, an educational experience of this sort should help a woman to find valid sources for a scheme of values which is her own. If she has traditional values held with such emotion or prejudice that she regards them as not open to discussion, she should learn to examine them in the light of wider and more flexible experience. Or she may find that she is in the modern stream of lack of strong conviction on any subject, and may want to discover, through aesthetic or other experience, how she may find some integration and focus of energy. Or again, she may be cherishing fantastic values and her need is to reconcile them with actual possibilities. Whatever her background, some integration of experience in terms of values which can sustain and direct her energies is undoubtedly part of her search.

The above is, of course, only a tentative suggestion of some of the things that might be included in the attempt of a woman to gain insight into herself in relation to her world. The same necessity for understanding of oneself as a basis for parenthood would apply to men. The specific questions studied would be different; and the relative emphasis would vary not only between men and women but also among individuals.

Satisfaction in External Experience

But, as stated, such an approach to parent education may seem almost ridiculously egocentric and in danger of laying an exaggerated emphasis on "problems." It cannot take place in a vacuum or in a world of mirrors in which one sees only one's own image. Important—indispensable—as is the effort to "know thyself" for any one who would be an adequate parent, a no less essential part of education for parenthood is the losing of oneself in experience wholly external, which bears no immediate relation to one's personal problems. It is not the particular content of the experience which is of chief importance. It may be interior decorating or study of consumption habits or some other aspect of homemaking. But for other individuals, equally valid training for parenthood may lie in the study of community government, or musical theory, or physics, or archeology.

The subject matter may vary in social significance, but it is not that which counts most. The essential thing is that somewhere, in something, every prospective parent shall find some work in which he can lose himself, in which he is master of some craft or skill, in which he can find the emotional satisfaction of successful achievement—some area where, irrespective of other people, he is himself happy and at home. Some such focus should presumably develop into a dominant vocational interest. Others may become centers of leisure pursuits. The essential thing is the feeling of competence, the emotional release, the satisfaction which no one can take from him, an achievement and enjoyment which he has on his own terms.

The best preparation for parenthood, whatever form it takes and whatever else it includes, would seem, then, to have at least these two aspects: the direct approach through an appraisal of oneself, and an oblique approach through an impersonal subject matter. In other words, education for parenthood should help the individual to surmount the contemporary illiteracies of person-to-person relations, of mate-finding, of job-finding, and of rich enjoyment of leisure.

Changing Conception of Education

But why call this parent education? It might be called mental hygiene; for it is precisely the aim of psychiatrists or other teachers of mental hygiene in developing a healthy personality. Or it might be called simply education; for some such emphasis is beginning to appear in elementary and secondary school programs and is suggested by many of the critics of our present collegiate education mentioned above.

What modifications of American collegiate education are being suggested which would seem to point toward some such conception of education as has been outlined? In the first place, there is beginning to be some recognition of the fact that education solely or dominantly intellectual in emphasis, leaving out of consideration all emotional and other aspects of personality, may be as inadequate for a teacher, a lawyer, a business executive, or a bond salesman as for a parent. That this recognition is still far from general appears in such facts as that President Meiklejohn has said that "the college is a place not of the body, nor of the spirit, nor even of the will; it is, first of all, a place of the mind"; and that an educator making a survey of collegiate edu-

cation with a view to founding a progressive college for women, entitled the results of her exploration "A Curriculum to Build a Mental World." Nevertheless, there is increasing recognition that, in so far as both seek the most complete unfolding of the individual, the aims of mental hygiene and of education are identical, even though this recognition frequently appears only in the form of a stray psychiatrist on the campus, a special vocational bureau, or an odd course or two definitely related to individual interests.

But would a reorientation in terms of personality development be possible in a system so deeply committed to passing on a knowledge of the past as a basis for education? Part of the answer may lie in the fact that, as a second modification of current collegiate practice, there is a growing feeling that acquiring knowledge of the past experience of mankind is inadequate training for an unknown and largely unpredictable future. In the past, education has laid its emphasis on things of permanence and stability; if not "underneath are the everlasting arms," at least "until death do us part," economic verities, and the laws of Euclid. But the one thing we can know about the institutional world in which the new generation will find itself is that it will wear a very different aspect from that of today. Hitherto the college has educated people in a knowledge of the past, in the belief that it will have some relevancy for the future. Now it is beginning to recognize that too much immersion in possibly outworn patterns, far from being a help, may actually hinder adaptation to a changing world.

As Whitehead has put it:

> The whole of this tradition [from the age of Plato to the end of the last century] is warped by the vicious assumption that each generation will live substantially amid the conditions governing the lives of its fathers and will transmit those conditions to mold with equal force the lives of its children. We are living in the first period of human history for which this assumption is false. . . . In the past the time-span of important change was considerably longer than that of a single human life. . . . But today this time-span is considerably shorter than that of human life, and accordingly our training must prepare individuals to face a novelty of conditions.

But in the third place, if education must expand to include the rather overwhelming task of educating the whole personality rather than the intellect alone, and educating for an unknown rather than an anticipated future, there would seem to be no alternative to using the experience of the present as a medium

of education. Here again the trend of education would seem to be approaching the kind of procedure suggested for parent education. Perhaps the major cleft in educational practice today is between the teaching of lessons in traditional schools and the providing of opportunities for learning in realistic situations, which is found in nursery schools and some of the so-called "progressive" elementary schools. The latter procedure is just beginning to touch higher education.

Reality in Education

What is "real" experience for a college student? There is probably not a woman's college in the country that is not concerned with the "week-end problem." The dean of one of the leading Eastern colleges has said that the aim of every college girl is to make two week-ends meet. The college aims to save her energy for its main pursuit, the intellectual life—a life mediated to her largely by a group of celibate women who are permanently apart from the life which is most real to her at the moment. Almost inevitably an air of unreality is imparted to her college work. The premium on the not-too-intellectual girl among the men she meets emphasizes the conflict. By this sort of dual existence she is not only building up habits of lack of concentration, bifurcated personality, and so on, but is trying to work out her emotional problems without guidance, and losing all opportunity of having her real experiences serve as a medium of her education.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher deplores the fact that girls of today, instead of entering into and making their own the realms of literature and science and art which have been opened to them through higher education, have simply substituted bridge and clothes for the Victorian pursuits of housework and embroidery. But is not the girl of today using bridge and clothes in precisely the same way that the Victorian used embroidery and housework—to find and attract a mate? And can it be denied that this for her is as important a pursuit (requiring the best she has and the best that education may give her) as any experience of the inherited wealth of the past?

The development of emotional maturity, spoken of above as one of the chief essentials for parenthood, is said by psychiatrists to demand, among other things, the ability to see situations in terms of their realities rather than of infantile symbolisms and

needs, and to make choices freely in terms of these realities. If this be so, must not the educational experience of a student take it into account by helping him to analyze and face the actual situations in which he is living? Much of our education has tended to furnish a retreat or escape from reality rather than an active help in living in the midst of it.

None of the above, of course, implies any lack of recognition that Simon-pure intellectual interests may form a large part of a student's most vivid experience in his college years. The only suggestion here is that development of the mind will itself proceed more fruitfully if related to other aspects of the personality, and that the delights of exploring knowledge will flower more richly if they can come as a part of, rather than set over against, other experience.

Individual Emphasis

Such a view of education may seem to lay an impossible burden upon the curriculum-maker. And it does. A fourth point at which collegiate education is approaching the needs of parent education is in its concern not with curricula for groups of students, but with individuals. Every person is born with a special organization of biological propensities. These are malleable and can take on an almost infinite variety of forms. But amid the strains and stresses of an adult environment peculiar to him alone, they early assume a highly individualized pattern. Every new experience which comes to him, being incorporated with these earlier habits, stamps more deeply the uniqueness of his particular personality integration. Whatever elements they may have in common with others, his mental and emotional organization, his experiences past and present, and his glimpses into a problematic future are his alone.

What Sidney Webb has said of government in the twentieth century applies still more to education:

> [Up to the present] it has reminded us rather of the crude and clumsy proceedings of an army of occupation than of any fine adjustment of services to needs. . . . But the wholesale method of supplying human needs is very far from ensuring accurate adjustment. . . . The normal human being is a mere abstraction, who does not exist. . . . So varied is our individuality that whatever is handed out to all alike must necessarily fail to meet our requirements with any exactness. . . . By far the most important business of the twentieth century. . . . must be to provide not only for minorities, but even for quite small minorities, and actually for individuals. We are no longer content with the army contractors' standard sizes.

Thus it appears that if we conceive a parent education adequate to the needs of parents it becomes an education essential not only for parents but for any kind of pursuit and for every individual. And, conversely, if we have an adequate collegiate and pre-collegiate education, there will be no need for parent education.

IV. WHY ADULT EDUCATION?[4]

CHARLES H. JUDD

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The idea that childhood and youth are the periods of preparation for life and that the middle years are to be devoted to fixed routine is rapidly being replaced by the conviction that all the years of life must be years of adjustment and of vigorous adaptation to new conditions.

Let us consider a typical case in which the middle years of life were years of new adjustment. One of the railroads which crosses the state of New Jersey recently changed from steam power to electricity. The electrification of this railroad made it necessary for hundreds of engineers and their assistants to change radically their physical and mental habits. The State Department of Public Instruction through its division of industrial education came to the aid of these people and gave them a course in electrical engines. Childhood is evidently not the only period during which training for life is required.

The foregoing example could be paralleled by hundreds of others drawn from current industrial history. The only difference is that in many of the cases which could be cited there was no department of public instruction at hand to offer the opportunities for training necessary to save the day. The fact is that industry is compelling a revision of our theories and beliefs about education even though we are only partly aware of what is going on. Indeed, it is true that the whole national plan of education has been compelled to expand because of the pressure which advancing civilization has brought to bear on the individual and, through the individual, on the educational system.

The forces which have compelled teachers to go to summer school and engineers to study electricity are the same as those which have operated to expand the whole educational system.

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[4] *School and Society*, Vol. XXXII, No. 832, Dec. 6, 1930, pp. 743–750.

In other words, adult education is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a part of a general movement to increase the training of all kinds of people.

It is unfortunately customary for educators when they come together to boast about the recent great increases in attendance in high schools and colleges in such a way as to give the impression that they accept the assumption that it was the attractiveness of the programs of studies offered by these institutions which led to the rapid increases in attendance. Any such assumption commits the fallacy of mistaking a result for a cause. The fact is that the schools have expanded because modern industry, commerce and politics have forced all individuals who seek success to acquire knowledges and skills which can not be provided in rudimentary schools.

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The same causes which have filled our secondary schools and colleges are now creating a demand for the education of adults. The cause of the adult-education movement is the industrial revolution, which became a powerful force in the life of this country during the eighties.

Striking evidence that education has developed in response to the demands of machine industry is to be found in the evolution of correspondence courses and of other types of practical courses supplied by private institutions for the training of machinists. If any one has failed to enlarge his knowledge of the current movements in education by reading the advertisements of correspondence schools and of practical institutions for the training of machinists, he should hasten to correct this deficiency. In the first place, these advertisements exhibit by their number a widespread belief in the efficacy of education. In the second place, the optimistic tone of these advertisements makes it evident that success in life is coming to be generally thought of as related to training.

There are in these advertisements false notes as well as true. References are frequent to extremely short periods of study as sufficient for the acquisition of complete mastery. Promises of introduction to a secret method of acquiring skill are often made. Antipathy to the public school and to conventional forms of study is not uncommon.

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We may pass with mere mention the public night schools which have been very generally organized by the city school systems of the country. There are two facts about these public night schools which greatly limit the scope of their influence. In the first place, they emphasize relatively elementary training. Many of their classes are designed to serve those who have had very little previous training. In the second place, the public is so little accustomed to the support of adult education by funds derived from taxation that in times of financial stress night schools are among the first divisions of the school system to be discontinued.

By far the greater part of adult education in the United States is privately initiated and supported. A recent study made in the city of Minneapolis shows that there are 464 secular organizations and 246 church organizations in that city which report education of adults as a major or minor objective of the organization. The range of interests cultivated is very broad. Many of these organizations deal with purely cultural subjects; others deal with political and economic studies; others, with occupational problems; still others, with ethical questions.

Like the schools for the training of machinists, these organizations for the education of all classes of adults are expressions of a type of ambition for self-improvement which is typical of the age.

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The major fact and the fact to which we must give our attention is that eagerness for training is one of the most characteristic expressions of the spirit of our times. It is part of the general effort of Americans to make themselves fit to take advantage of the discoveries of science and of the refining influences of letters.

The foregoing statements would be open to the charge that it is an overstatement of popular enthusiasm if it were not specifically stated that, while Americans are very eager for the training which will make them successful, they are hindered in their efforts to acquire training by certain fundamental difficulties. Some of these difficulties are personal, and some arise out of the present lack of organization of the adult-education movement.

We may pass somewhat lightly over the difficulties which are personal. Intellectual effort is difficult. Study involves the use of certain mental skills, notably skill in reading. The

individual who lacks these skills is greatly impeded in his efforts to attain the desired goal.

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One of the drawbacks to a successful evolution of adult education has been, I am sure, the attitude which all of us are prone to assume—that there is no education without the formality of a class and a set course and all the other paraphernalia of institutional organization. Our educational formulas here, as in many other connections, are derived from our experience with children. We forget that the needs and the tastes of adults are much more highly diversified than are those of children. It is proper that we should assemble young people and provide them with both instruction and supervision. Society must provide shelter and proper care for children as well as training in the rudiments of civilized experience. Children, furthermore, have an abundance of what we may properly term "leisure." They have no distracting engagements. When we begin to insist that adults shall come together in classes in order to learn, we are confronted by a series of inhibitions which are absent in dealing with children. It follows from what has been said that we shall have to be inventive and devise methods of administering education to adults which are not of the conventional school type.

Fortunately, modern science has supplied us in the radio and the printing press with means of communication which promise to make adult education possible by methods and on a scale never heretofore practicable. The fact that the radio and the printing press are at hand does not, however, solve the problem. Suitable material also must be supplied to be distributed by these agencies.

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When I try to visualize the kind of material which ought to be supplied in large quantities if adult education is to become really successful, my mind naturally recalls the period when a brilliant group of British writers made natural science popular in England. When Huxley and Tyndall and Herbert Spencer wrote, they did not make textbooks; they wrote readable science.

Before books of the kind for which I am making a plea can come into existence in large numbers, there will have to be a change in attitude among the members of the learned classes of this country. It is not altogether respectable to be a popular

writer. I am tempted to rephrase this statement and to say that it is not altogether respectable to contribute to adult education.

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Whatever other devices of communication are employed, books will always be important means of providing adults with the intellectual material which they need for their education. Even where the radio is freely employed as the means of transmitting knowledge, some one will have to prepare the material to be broadcast in a form which will closely resemble the form in which that material would appear if it were transmitted in a readable book.

The question now arises: Who is to supply adult education with its material? The adult-education movement seems to be confronted at this point with a perplexing decision. Is it better to leave the preparation of suitable material to private initiative, or is the preparation of such material to be recognized as a duty in which the public is to participate?

I recall an occurrence in the evolution of a program of education for young people which may help to encourage those who believe in public coöperation in adult education. In 1911 the City Club of Chicago made a survey of the activities of the so-called "business colleges" of that city. The survey brought out the startling fact that as much money was being paid in the aggregate for tuition in these privately conducted business colleges as the city was paying at that time for the support of its secondary schools. The immediate result was the inauguration in the public schools of a series of courses paralleling those offered in the private institutions.

Private institutions are stimulated by competition to develop methods and material, but they also make it possible, as pointed out earlier, for incompetency and fraud to be foisted on the public.

There is a public interest in the matter of training adults which seems to me to dictate some measure of public control. It is commonly argued that the state must provide and supervise education for children because the preservation of the state requires that children shall be introduced to the fundamentals of civilization. On the other hand, the principle seems to be accepted in many quarters that the adult who wishes to improve his knowledge or skill must pay for the opportunity of self-

improvement. According to the opinion of those who would leave adult education to private enterprise, the welfare of the state is fully provided for when the rudimentary branches of learning and a few advanced courses are offered to children. Does not the principle of public responsibility expressed in compulsory-education laws dictate that public provision be made for the training of adults as well as for the education of children? The state has a stake in adults. It has become evident in all the learned professions that continued study is essential. No doctor could keep himself respectable in an intelligent community if he relied in his practice on the knowledge he acquired in medical school. The preacher who gave no evidence of reading current literature would not be acceptable to present-day audiences. Teachers, as was pointed out earlier, are being stimulated by every known device to study as much as they teach. All these conditions are due to public interest in legitimate forms of adult education.

It is certainly of public interest that parents should know how to feed and train their children. Here is a sphere of education which is peculiarly difficult, if not altogether impossible, of administration except to adults.

It is certainly of public interest that citizens should have some knowledge of the results of careful thinking in the sphere of the social sciences. So vital to individual adjustment are some of the economic and social discussions of the day that groups of workers have banded together in order that they may secure unbiased instruction in the social sciences. If voluntary efforts are made by workers to secure adult education, should not the public take note of the need and consider seriously whether here is not as legitimate a call for public supervision and support as that which was met by the organization of schools for children?

When society enjoys the advantages of some new mechanical invention or the introduction of some new material which compels a group of industrial workers to forego the advantages of a form of skill which they have cultivated, is it not to the public interest that society should provide for the training of its disadvantaged members in some new productive type of skill?

One might go on asking questions of this kind without limit. The logic of the situation is so clear that we come directly to the conclusion. Adult education can not be left to those who promote it for private gain. Adult education is demanded for

the good of all; it needs large resources in order to secure suitable material and in order to make this material available in attractive form to the public.

By way of conclusion, let me summarize what I have been saying. Adult education is the product of modern conditions. Formerly adults were able to perform their duties in a relatively simple and highly stable world on the bases of education received in early life. Conditions have changed. Progress is so rapid and new experiences are so numerous that no individual can keep pace with modern life except by continually renewing his intellectual outlook. The satisfactory organization of education for adults requires a new approach to the problem, unbiased by the formulas derived from the education of children. New and large resources are required in order to produce suitable material to attract the interest of adults. Adults must be induced to participate more energetically in the cultivation of the intellectual skills necessary to keep their minds vigorously active. The state must devote resources to the carrying out of this program because the good of communities is as much dependent on the proper training of parents, citizens and workers as it is on the training of children.

V. THE TASK CONFRONTING ADULT EDUCATION HOW SHALL WE CONCEIVE IT?[5]

By William Heard Kilpatrick

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The original meaning of the term "adult education" . . . was an education designed to take place during the adult years of the under-privileged classes. This implied a more or less stratified system of opportunity for education and cultivation; on the one hand, definite and fairly satisfactory schooling for the privileged ones, the absence of this in greater or less degree, on the other hand, for the under-privileged. The original effort was thus to even up for the less fortunate adults some of the disadvantages they had suffered in childhood and youth. These efforts at adult education were apparently not meant to obliterate distinctions or differences of status. The *status quo* would be essentially maintained, only its acerbities would be ameliorated. In this general outlook it was implied—and this we shall particu-

[5] *Journal of Adult Education*, Vol. I, No. 4, October, 1929, pp. 403–412.

larly wish to consider later—that education is properly a matter of the years preparatory to full adulthood, that it consists primarily in the acquisition of knowledge and that once this has been got it remains as a sure possession for the rest of life.

It was this conception of adult education, based thus upon a more or less stratified society, that was taken to the United States shortly after the World War. At once it became evident that such a conception would require modification and extension. The general social and economic situation was there too highly flexible to domicile a conception based essentially on any very definite or abiding social stratification. Moreover, the public free schools (enrolling 82 per cent of the total school population, ages 5–17), especially with the very great increase of public secondary school enrollment (rising from about 520,000 to about 3,065,000 in 26 years), were leaving each year fewer to constitute an educationally under-privileged group. The immigrant population would supply perhaps the greatest exception, but even here the new restrictive laws served to reduce the problem.

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Every adult is subjected every day to a vast host of other influences which are as truly educative in effect and often in intent as are those influences emanating from institutions set aside for teaching purposes. The press, both book and periodical, has long been felt as of prime importance here. In immediate connection we think of such well-established agencies as the public library, the stage, the pulpit, the lecture platform, and of those bustling newer developments of the cinema and the radio, with the talking cinema just emerging. Besides, there are all those voluntary organizations which are intended to pool and direct thought and effort along chosen lines. The political party is one of the oldest examples of this. The National League of Women Voters, the Association of University Women, The League of Nations Associations are newer instances. The total number of these can be expressed only in terms of the possibilities found in "combinations and permutations" with resulting effects almost as great. Of course there are among these agencies some hardly to be approved, as for example certain propaganda and advertising efforts. In any case, adult education as a conception must as matters now stand be taken broadly enough to include also this highly significant type of educative influence.

Some may be tempted at this stage to conclude that the conception under consideration has by now been so widened and so stuffed with variegated content as to become worthless as a term. Whatever may thus be thought regarding the term, the conception still remains, as worthy, at any rate in my opinion, of the most serious consideration. Now that the term and conception have been so widened as to include so great a variety of agencies which do in fact exert actual educative influence upon mature humans, we are led to consider our emerging civilization with its problems new to the world at least in degree and very insistent, and to ask in relation to it whether this wealth of varied forms of actual adult education may not prove the means for grappling with these new problems. Let us then next consider this new situation with its insistent demands. Here, perhaps, we shall at length find the final definition of our task.

As to our emerging civilization, it is recognized on all sides that modern scientific method has by its contributions, direct and indirect, already gone far toward remaking the world of human life. Our present historical period has a character distinctly its own. First, for us, perhaps, stand out certain changes of mental attitude, limited originally to the few, now being spread among the many, even to our children. Man faces the world with a new faith in himself and a corresponding weakening of faith in the older external authorities.

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The problems of our civilization, significant in their demands on education, may be discussed under the four heads given below. Each, be it noted, will itself appear as an abiding problem made so by the factor of abiding and increasing change. In this way changes promise to present themselves continually throughout the life of each individual. Education for all throughout life seems foreshadowed.

First is a problem of morals. With authoritarianism weakening, not a few among us face moral chaos. Youth asks very difficult questions, which perplex the older people, who in their turn find new situations for which old ways of behaving do not suffice. A permanent problem arises of keeping moral responses and the moral outlook abreast of the changing times. Possibly any morals fit to be have always included the element of growth. In any event, continuous moral education in the life of each one

is thus indicated, and again must the education be essentially different from that type of authoritarian preparatory indoctrination hitherto dominant. Morals based on a philosophy of change may to some appear a contradiction, but this seems exactly what must obtain. Herein does an enlarged conception of education find one insistent line of work extending from the cradle to the grave.

Next, is the problem of social stability, including within it the demand that any height achieved shall at least be maintained. All hitherto abiding civilizations have stressed unchanging elements. Old China, which had the longest enduring high-type civilization yet seen, surpassed all others of equal height in opposing change. Are change and stability antithetical? We hope not, but certainly we face here very difficult problems. One is the growing complexity of affairs and the consequent increasing difficulty of making this complex modern world run successfully. Loss of interest is both sign and cause of trouble.

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Whether we state our problem as one, or whether we fasten attention on separate constituent problems, the conclusion is the same. New and difficult situations constantly arise. Old solutions do not suffice. Ever new and ever better thinking is required. The best if not the only hope in sight lies along the line of education, in and through the efforts to meet the successive situations of difficulty. And again must the education be continuous, ever with us. If difference there be for different ages among us, the education of the generation in actual control of affairs seems perhaps of all the most essential. Civilization itself appears possibly to stand or fall with a more adequate working of a more adequately conceived adult education.

Third is the problem of leisure and life which is in a way a newer problem, but none the less insistent. If we make the common contrast between the daily work time and the release from that work, and think of the latter as the time in which life goes on in a truer sense or higher degree, we have no difficulty in admitting a new situation. In times past only the few, largely a hereditary class, had both wealth and leisure. "Culture" was largely confined to these, and, indeed, got from this state of affairs a definition and an aristocratic bias dominant from Athens even to now. But leisure no longer depends on the

exploitation of man by man for the sake of the few. Mass production so increases wealth that release for the many has already begun, and the future promises yet further advances. The worthy use of leisure becomes now a problem for the whole group.

Two difficult aspects of the problem are, in degree at least, peculiar to the new civilization. On the one hand machine-tending may be very monotonous, involving at times the least conceivable play of thought. The natural effect of such monotony is a demand for compensating excitement. Excess in one direction calls for excess in the other direction. Such excitement easily assumes hurtful forms. The greater evil appears, however, to be not so much a strong desire for excessive excitement as a weak and empty acceptance of inane amusements, the kind that impoverish by emptiness and degrade by fixing taste at low levels. And here appears the other evil. Commercialized amusements, as cheap in character as they are in money-cost, catch the multitude and so tend to bind the newly leisured to low standards of life and taste.

The new leisure must be filled. An easy inclination is to this cheap excitement. There are, however, many better possibilities. For these some form of education is necessary. We must not here think too quickly of books. Music, wholesome games, absorbing handicrafts, constitute one type of possibility. Amateur but serious interest in social and public affairs forms another type. To explore the possibilities in these fields and devise such agencies of teaching as will most effectively fill and enrich the new-gained leisure emerges as one of the insistent problems of the new adult education.

It must not be hastily supposed that the problem of the worthy use of leisure is one confined to factory workers or others of low rank in the present economic régime. It is in fact the problem of the vast majority of all those whose work does not in itself carry all the necessary constituents of the well-balanced life. Many will at once think of the hobbies of the well-to-do business man. We should not lightly restrict any one in the use of his leisure, but many a man relies overmuch upon a hobby unduly narrow, too limited to supply the needed balance. It is not sufficient that a hobby be absorbing and harmless. Life must go beyond the two sides of merely remunerative work and of merely absorbing pastime. An essential part of each man's

life is sharing with others in matters of wider good, partly on the play level, but certainly also in more serious concern. Without hurt no man liveth to himself. And again does the wider education of the grown-up enter to encourage and make possible this better-shared living. The full problem of the continuing enrichment of life for all is in itself of sufficient importance to justify any effort put forth under the name of adult education. But there is more yet.

Finally, our civilization seems to carry with it, at least for the present, a still further problem. Over and beyond the specific unrests accompanying the specific problems so far considered and possibly caused by them, there seems yet one further unrest which demands our attention.

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This wider and more suffused unrest seems to have several roots. One is the unsatisfying life now common amid the new conditions of monotony of work and the passive and commercialized amusements. Another is the perplexing array of very serious problems which confront modern civilization. The thoughtful and conscientious mind is harassed and torn as it contemplates these. Still another is the loss of the older objects of controlling regard, varying in emphasis from person to person but essentially the loss of faith in a religion or philosophy adequate so to unify personal endeavor and outlook as to permit the giving of one's self unstintingly to a worthy cause. That these three roots of causes react differently upon different persons is most true, but it seems equally true that the three are in our present situation mingled inextricably.

The degree to which this unrest exists will be differently appraised. But to the degree that it is in fact present, to that degree is our civilization sick and diseased. It needs no words of proof to argue that such a malady cannot be adequately cared for by any education of merely the younger ones of us, however good such education might be. This trouble most burdens the older among us and from adulthood on. Some way must be found to get more of these to face the problem more successfully. It is perhaps true to say that for many, this problem underlies all other problems as giving or withholding the basis of faith and outlook needed for the hearty and promising attack of the others. If so, and in so far as it is true, this becomes the supreme problem of our time.

Enough has been said to make it evident that our times face many and serious problems and that they are of such nature that for their adequate consideration education must take more and more conscious account of the adult years of the whole population. Most of us have inherited a conception of education different from that here contemplated, namely that education is properly limited to the earlier years of life and is to be got once and for all as a preparation for the real business of life to come during adulthood yet ahead. Some of us have also confusedly thought that the power to learn is in some manner peculiar to childhood and youth, at least so in degree if not so in very fact.

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The continuous process of education throughout life follows at once from the foregoing considerations. Each new life-difficulty met and coped with is an instance of learning and of self-building. Learning is from this point of view best conceived as the building of the self and this is indeed continuous with the whole of life. To think of learning and education as confined to early life and to schooling is to miss its essential point. Adult education is but the latter part of one continuous process and must be so conceived.

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What then is the conclusion of the whole matter? Three things stand out.

First and foremost there emerges a new and more adequate conception of education itself, a conception in which education is seen as inherent in expanding life. When a difficulty confronts and advance is barred, control over the difficulty, if it is to be effected, depends on finding such a solution as marshals in new fashion old ideas and habits and skills so as successfully to cope with the difficulty.

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Secondly, as we think thus of education and life, we can see in our shifting, changing civilization new possibilities. On the one hand it presents difficult problems, insistent demands, threats that unless the problems and demands be met trouble will come. In this light civilization is cause of anxiety. But in another light, the problems and difficult situations which continually arise to trouble our civilization are exactly the opportunities for

our continuing education for the enrichment of both communal and personal life.

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Third and last then, those in charge of adult education must recognize the broader task and its wider possibilities. Education is co-extensive with active growing life at any and all ages. A changing civilization gives the continuing need and opportunity for universal, continuing education.

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What is required then is such social and institutional machinery as will best take care of all such demands. The outlook and opportunity are greater than most of us have dared to entertain even in imagination. But our times are new and new conceptions are needed, else we fail of our possibilities and even of our necessities. The task is great. The effort must be commensurate. Thus does adult education become practically co-extensive with all shared effort to face life's problems.

VI. CHERISHING CULTURAL HERITAGES[6]

By Mark Villchur

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With the foregoing facts in mind, it is not surprising to find that educational methods employed by immigrant societies reflect old-time European standards rather than the modern educational technique based largely upon psychological research. The objectives of their educational work are usually stated in their constitutions and by-laws in such general terms as "self-improvement," "attainment of a higher cultural standard," or "promotion of cultural interests." For the understanding of the basic principles that distinguish their educational work from other forms of adult education and that give them a place of their own in the adult education movement, we must look elsewhere.

Recent writers upon the subject of adult education have emphasized the economic conditions that necessitate adult learning. In this field we must take account of the extreme complexity of industrial life, resulting from the application of mechanical power, improved machinery, and scientific organization and management that make it possible to carry on the work

[6] *Journal of Adult Education*, Vol. III, No. 3, June, 1931, pp. 321–326.

of the world with fewer and fewer workers. New "service" and other industries call for the constant re-education of workers for new processes and new enterprises. Adult education is destined also to occupy some of the increased leisure of the worker and in a measure at least to compensate him for the stupefying monotonous routine of machine labor.

These conditions naturally apply to both the native American and the foreign-born worker. Yet there is a marked difference in the intensity of economic motivation of adult learning in the two groups. For some native-born workers re-education may never become an urgently felt need; in other cases it may take place through a gradual and painless process. For every newcomer to America, on the contrary, re-education in some form is inevitable, whether he be illiterate or a university graduate. His training, his education, if any, his life experiences are all of a different world, and whether superior or inferior to native American standards, must be adapted to those standards if he is to make his way in the New World. Annual reports of public evening elementary and trade schools rarely fail to mention foreign-born physicians, engineers, lawyers and artists, who attend classes side by side with carpenters, tailors and dishwashers. Contrary to the popular opinion, this re-education does not necessarily and always mean cultural gains for the immigrant. It may mean cultural losses as well, even though the training itself may not be at fault.

The former peasant from southern and eastern Europe will acquire literacy and, eventually, a higher standard of living than he ever knew before, but in the tenement house of the mill city or factory district he will long miss, dream of, and idealize the communion with nature that he knew in his native fields and meadows. Many a former village blacksmith or artisan trained in some one of a dozen other lost crafts will for years to come feel the degradation of routine machine work. The artist of great dreams, if he is bent upon "making good" in America, is likely, when he has learned the language, to enter the commercial field and produce art novelties, first by hand and later by machine, to meet the demands of a growing market.

Probably to ease this painful process of re-education, societies of the foreign-born have attempted to supplement the work of publicly supported adult education and to provide their own educational programs where no public facilities are available.

Scores of vocational schools have been established by them. These schools have proved to be, as a rule, struggling ventures, and are gradually being abandoned. The immigrant cheerfully recognizes the limitations of his previous training and is quite willing to make up the deficiency by utilizing whatever facilities are at his disposal. What is more, he recognizes the superiority of public facilities over the often amateurish undertakings of his own society. It is, however, an entirely different story when he is faced by the problem of social readjustment and by the task of finding avenues of approach to the mainsprings of American life.

III

Sociological studies of mankind indicate that the basic patterns of life and behavior are essentially the same in the four corners of the world and have had this sameness in all periods of human history. Various races have had at all times some form of family life, of government, religious institutions, moral standards and esthetic expression through the arts. Yet each of the different races of the world has developed conceptions of values particular to itself. Add to those values various attitudes, a certain identity of experiences and memories belonging to each race, and you have in substance the immigrant heritage which each newcomer must reconcile with American values and attitudes before he can feel himself a part and parcel of America.

Separated by a language barrier from full participation in American life and associated with fellow immigrants of different races and creeds, but all struggling with the same problem of isolation, the foreign-born instinctively turned back to his own cultural background. It was the natural instinct of self-preservation, the instinct that throughout history has defeated attempts to introduce cultural uniformity, and that has kept alive racial integrity of minority nations under the most adverse political conditions. The natural trend of this movement for cherishing and preserving cultural heritages has been, however, always America-ward. This trend and the traditional American policy of non-interference with the cultural life of immigrant peoples, which has persisted in spite of occasional outcries against the alien press and alien "colonies," have given the movement in America aspects hardly known in European countries. On the other side of the Atlantic it has been a struggle, often violent, for existence and recognition, with little desire to reconcile or fuse

cultural heritages. The conscious aim here has been not to perpetuate alien cultures, but to fuse the best in the immigrant heritage with the best in America, to preserve certain cultural values and traits—arts and crafts, folk-lore, the love of music and song, traditions of hospitality, etc.—in order to create here not only a physical home but a spiritual home as well. Such cultural self-expression, with a view to harmonizing and eventually merging cultural heritages, is the professed primary object of all education carried on by organizations of the foreign-born. Religious associations, powerful among several immigrant groups and emphasizing a spiritual allegiance, have supported this interpretation of the educational aim. So have the nationalistic societies, representing European "national minorities," that have in the past been most active in assisting their home countries materially in their struggle for freedom. As in the American workers' education movement, we find here certain "left wing" trends stressing world-wide social aims, but such trends are insignificant in the movement as a whole.

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The *Turn Verein*, an upshot of the German revolutionary movement of 1848, which brought to America men of the type of Carl Schurz, gave America the basis for a physical culture and athletic training system. Dramatic and singing societies of the foreign-born are among the hidden cultural resources of many American communities. Occasionally revealed, they show the variety of cultural background which America, if she would, might more fully draw on for her own enrichment. This possibility has been realized during the last two years in Cleveland, through the action of the City Division of Recreation, which has called upon immigrant societies of thirty-eight groups for public presentation of songs, dances and games of the nations of the world. Great outdoor festivals have been held and all-nations exhibitions promoted. During the last season, under the generous sponsorship of the Cleveland "Plain Dealer," an experiment in uniting the dramatic effort of all immigrant groups for the benefit of the community as a whole has been made. Plays in twenty languages, drawn from the literature of the world, is the record of Cleveland's Theatre of the Nations during its first season.

To emphasize further the point that immigrant recreation is an important form of self-expression, and properly belongs to the

field of adult education, two illustrations may suffice. A Russian mutual-aid society recently staged a song and play festival, the main features of which was Pushkin's "The Tale of Tzar Saltan." A reviewer of the event wrote, "The people of the village in typical peasant costumes thronged the village street, the children ran joyously after a vendor with sweetmeats; they danced, village fashion, to the music of the accordion player; they demonstrated their skill at various types of dances; they routed out their favorite singers and had them sing old and cherished songs. It was a typical festival, not an exhibit for the audience alone. . . ."[7]

About the same time the Junior League of the Armenian General Benevolent Union arranged its annual entertainment. It was a "living pictures ball." The young ladies wore costumes that were faithful reproductions of great paintings, and posed for a few moments in an illuminated frame, assuming the pose of the original. Marie de Medici, by Rubens; Mona Lisa by da Vinci; Enkhozenpaaton, King Tut's wife, painted by an unknown artist three thousand years ago, and a group of noted Armenian paintings were thus reproduced.

IV

The immigrant's efforts to find points of contact with American life, his anxious desire to make his own Americanization a process of "take and give" and to contribute to the intellectual, spiritual and esthetic equipment of his adopted country, often have been both painful and pathetic. Timid, because of a sense of inferiority so often present in alien settlers, facing strong native prejudice against alien "influences," he himself often only vaguely senses the richness and worth of his cultural heritage, and is therefore not able to make it fully manifest to the outside world. What is culture? Is it made up of such things as national costumes, national foods and drinks? Or amusements, songs, language and proverbs reflecting the national mind and soul? Or national habits of thought and peculiarities of temperament? Or national characteristics as they appear in literature, in music, and in other forms of art? These questions furnish the topics for lively discussions in the immigrant press and in study groups of immigrant societies.

[7] Hobbs, Mabel Foot, "A Festival Worth Repeating," in *Fraternity*, May, 1930.

"Culture" is being discussed in societies of Germans and Poles, Greeks and Czechs, Danes and Slovenes. The Russians observe an annual "Russian Culture Day." According to a Slovak leader, the American Slovak group is one of the few racial groups that may claim parity in developing race culture with their people on the other side of the Atlantic. The same leader adds that though the history and the future of the Slovak race lie in the former Hungarian uplands, south of the Carpathians, Slovak culture is "being made" on both sides of the Atlantic.

For interpreting their culture to America the immigrants are placing their chief reliance upon their American-born children. Into the keeping of these inheritors of two cultures are given spiritual values of a race whose blood flows in their veins. Immigrant societies are very keen about supplementing the formal education of their children in American schools with "cultural learning" in their own schools and classes. There are many hundreds of such schools and classes. The junior branches of immigrant societies also show a remarkable growth. In this manner these societies try to bridge the gap between two generations born in different worlds, and incidentally they prepare new ground for the adult education of tomorrow.

The various forms of adult education are largely interwoven, often dependent upon one another, and each constitutes a part of the nation's educational effort. Thus library help so ably extended by the American Library Association is of importance to each field of adult education. Developments in parent education are of equal interest to workers' education schools and to immigrant classes. Museum facilities are for all. Coöperation and coördination, when they leave a free hand in developing specific aims of the educational venture, tend to eliminate duplication and waste, promote better methods and generally strengthen and make the effort more effective.

Self-Americanization as developed by the foreign-born has remained practically unnoticed by the outside world, which explains its almost total isolation. It is the more surprising that this should be so, since immigrant education in general is probably the largest single factor in the American adult education movement. Foreign-born students predominate in tax-supported schools for adults. In workers' education classes in the large industrial centers the foreign-born constitute the nucleus of the

student body. Parent education groups deal to a considerable extent with the foreign-born.

Because of the complexity of the problems involved and the insufficiency of their own facilities, the foreign-born need and welcome American coöperation in their efforts to promote significant cultural interests. After all, they are dealing with problems the solutions of which, in one way or another, will deeply affect the future of America.

VII. SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF PARENT EDUCATION[8]

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

Parent education represents a need, an idea, a program, and a movement. In some respects it comes nearer being a true folk or social movement with an educational base than anything that has happened in America since the decline of lyceums and chautauquas.[9] The reason for this peculiar position of parent education is to be found, so I believe, in the fact that family life has suffered more than any of our other traditional institutions from the impact of urbanization and industrialization. In short, folk movements with learning at their base arise at points of cultural unadjustment; the American family needs a new process in order to accommodate itself to the emerging cultural pattern which surrounds it, and until this process is achieved family life will be the area of cumulative disturbance.

Parents want to know; they have misgivings about themselves as parents and as adults; they stand baffled before their children who are motivated by the newer cultural forces both in school and in the stimulating community; they know that a so-called "new psychology" is abroad and that it is supposed to supply answers to perplexed parents. Because they are disturbed and because they want to know they reach out for bits of knowledge,

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[8] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 8, April, 1932, pp. 500–507.

[9] Some may claim that workers' education is more truly a folk movement because it rests upon a class-conscious foundation. But, workers' education as it has evolved in Europe is not a reality in the United States, and principally because of inadequate solidarity of its working-class constituency. This statement is not to be taken to imply that a working-class educational, or folk, movement is not possible under our circumstances, but merely as a plain statement of present fact.

new instruments of control, and fresh assurances. This disturbance and this reaching out for help constitutes the impulsive phase of parent education. It shows where the dynamic comes from and consequently furnishes an initial clue for interpretation.[10]

The difference between a social movement and a social program is to be found in impulse, that is, in dynamic. Programs derive from the wisdom and foresight (or cupidity) of leaders. The leader creates social dynamic by developing consciousness of need and releasing emotional desire. He cannot build a movement unless those who are led become aware of actual wants, needs, desires, wishes, or aspirations, that is, "actual" in the sense that these impulsive qualities are seen as related to situations and problems other than those on the emotional plane. The energy which the leader releases through emotional means is soon dissipated unless the releasing procedure is in and of itself rational, or educative. Otherwise, the followers can only place their faith in the leader and so long as he leads wisely or retains power they may attain the objects of their need; but, the moment this sort of leader is dropped from the social equation, the followers are lost; they stand without intellectual resources of their own and consequently fall prey to the next allure of the emotional leader.

From the above theoretical point of view one begins to appreciate the "movement" aspect of parent education. Its impulse has been at work for a half century or more in various spontaneous manifestations of parents, particularly in relation to schools and teachers. Gradually, this dynamic reached such proportions as to create the need for other types of leadership, professional and technical. One may now observe the movement as a social phenomenon in all its constituent parts: the perplexity of parents; the awareness of need; the desire for new knowledge; small collective enterprises resident in neighborhoods and local communities; the supply of new knowledge through publications and

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[10] If one were attempting a similar cultural approach to the adult-education movements of Denmark, England, and Germany, one would discover analogous areas of cultural disturbance. The Danish movement rests upon agrarian foundations because it was Danish agriculture and rural life which was uprooted by the catastrophic events of the late-middle nineteenth century; the English movement rests upon a labor base and for similar reasons; and the German movement, so far as it is unique, derives from the cultural compulsions of the new republic.

laboratories; the rise of technical leaders; and finally, the emergence of administrative or organizational leadership.

The above sketch will serve, I trust, to orient the reader with respect to the generalized social setting of parent education. With this cultural context in mind, we may, perhaps, find profit in making brief analyses of some of the more detailed aspects of the movement.

Family Life as an Educational Experience

Learning is a kind of awareness. Sense perceptions are, therefore, primary considerations. I cannot learn from you unless I perceive you. Likewise, one does not learn from the flow of experience unless sensitivity to experience as change has somehow been cultivated. But, even this elementary form of awareness is not enough for true learning; sensitivity to the qualitative aspects of experience is required. Every one realizes the extent to which family life serves as a habit former and tradition stabilizer. We may be born into society and the state and the church but none of these institutions begins its habit-imposing process as soon as the family, nor does any one of the above three persist in its impact with quite the same force. And, because we see so much of family, and incorporate so much of its texture within our personalities, we are likely to take family experience for granted.

Family experience need not be the epitome of mediocrity. Indeed no form of human association is of necessity drab. Lack of awareness, lack of sensitivity, reduces all experience to a dead level. Education within the family group begins, then, when its members begin to cultivate an awareness of themselves as persons and as interacting units in a social process.

Towards which aspects of family life might attention be directed if learning is the end in view? The easiest answer is, of course, towards the whole, because all social process is latent with qualitative meaning. But in terms of our present sociological interest it may be more pointed to suggest that our initial learning awareness might be focused upon the various forms of *relatedness*[11] expressed in family organization and

[11] It may be noted that the term "relatedness" implies a graded discrimination. *To relate, relation, relationship,* and *relatedness* represent roughly the sequence in which the last term carries the qualitative burden and becomes more truly a psycho-sociological concept.

experience. Perhaps in no other type of human association is it possible to combine so wide a range and so rich a potentiality of human relatedness as in the family group. A partial listing of such forms may suffice to strengthen the above statement: The family represents possibilities of relatedness which are

1. Genetic, that is, representative of various ages.
2. Administrative, that is, of the essence of functions.
3. Directive, that is, symbolic of controls and conditionings.
4. Psycho-intellectual, that is, indicative of various intelligence levels.
5. Psycho-emotional, that is, representative of varieties of emotional tone, depth, range, intensity, etc.

In order to bring the above conception of relatedness into alignment with the learning process one should perform at least two further tasks; namely, point out some of the varieties of relatedness under each of the above categories as these reveal themselves in actual family experience, and indicate how awareness of the qualitative aspects of relatedness may become the starting point for a cumulative educational procedure within the family group. To perform these tasks would, obviously, lead us to the consideration of details inappropriate for the purposes of a brief essay.

Parent Education as a Group Process

Much of current parent education consists of a desire to secure knowledge for purposes of meeting a specific need. One might infer, therefore, that all that is needed is a set of facilities for transporting specific information to those parents who need it. This might be accomplished, for example, by means of such agencies as were equipped to reduce technical information to nontechnical, consumption terms, that is, by a "stepping-down" procedure. No doubt, many persons conceive of parent education in this manner and consequently newspapers and magazines find it profitable to cater to the parent's need by means of special columns and departments. There is also a growing body of specialists devoted to the function of transmitting specific information to parents in the light of their specific needs. To the extent that parent education proceeds in this fashion, that is, from individual need to specific advice, it belongs to the technological world and is not representative of a social movement. However, parent education creates three collateral forces;

namely: (a) class solidarity, that is, a folk feeling; (b) intellectual release in the form of continued learning in the interest of social control; and (c) cultural unity. Consequently, it seems to me that it is legitimate to think of parent education as a folk movement. Certainly, the parent does not reach out for new knowledge in a competitive spirit; he or she does not desire education in order to rise superior to other parents. Indeed, one of the basic factors in parent education, from the community standpoint, is its social compulsion. The single family which elevates its standards above those of the surrounding families of the interacting community without giving attention to the problem of its community context runs the risk of defeating itself.

Whether the above reasoning is correct or not, one discovers that parents are learning in groups. Many of them find it easier to express their needs in this communal manner. Also, many find it easier to learn as parts of a joint process. The group serves, first of all, as a means of grading the expert's knowledge for the users. Often these groups are led by parents, so-called "lay leaders," who do not wear the badge of expert but are merely parents or adults with certain special abilities useful in democratic proceedings; they know how to evoke responses, to enlist participation, to reach beyond verbiage, to release from inhibitions, to reveal needs, to place new knowledge within a growth sequence, etc. Above these leaders stand the experts who may be wise in the ways of technology and exceedingly inept in transmitting their knowledge to those in need. The total group process, and again description must be abbreviated, consists of parents, leaders, and technologists all working together in the interest of a set of needs which derives from cultural unadjustment. The net consequence of such units of coöperation within the "folk" is, patently, cultural ferment, an agitation from which one may justifiably expect important social results to flow.

Parent Education in Relation to Community Organization

All educational movements founded upon real folk needs tend sooner or later to become organized, and parent education is no exception to this rule. In fact, a National Council of Parent Education already exists for the express purpose of coördinating the various organizations, agencies, and institutions engaged in some phase of parent education, and reverberations

of an international body are beginning to be heard. In certain sections there are State organizations, usually under the supervision of departments of education but sometimes existing as voluntary forms of association. From the sociological point of view, the most significant feature of educational organization is, probably, that pertaining to the local community.

In spite of the almost all-embracing character of the standardizing influence in American life, it still remains true that local communities differ importantly with respect to their customary modes of functioning. In some sections of the country, for example, the situation seems entirely ripe for the incorporation of parent education within the established public-education system; in others it seems equally clear that the most effective form of organization is one which preserves the voluntary elements in the movement; in still others it seems both possible and advisable to combine these two types of organization. The ultimate goal, so far as financial support and general supervision is concerned, seems to be public rather than private administration. This is, no doubt, the aim or direction of all people's movements; namely, to incorporate themselves finally within the recognized and stabilized cultural pattern. On the other hand, some leaders appear to see dangers in this development, especially if it arrives too quickly. They point to the maxim that whatever gets thoroughly incorporated in the politico-cultural scheme is thereby robbed of some of its lively essence, that is, of that form of vitality which resides only in voluntary effort. At this point sociological principles need to be invoked.

One of the surprising facts revealed in the organization of urban communities on behalf of parent education is to be found in the large number of existing agencies which have already pointed their programs towards education for home and family life. In one eastern city, for example, it was found that eighteen agencies believed themselves to be performing the tasks of parent or preparental education, either as a major objective or as marginal to other related aims. What is needed in such cases, obviously, is a clarification of functions. A coördinated program, a unified movement, can only proceed when all of its related parts are moving in the same direction, and when each is aware of the others' purposes. Schools (departments of home economics, civics, hygiene, etc.), clinics, social agencies, specialists (pediatricians, psychologists, psychiatrists, etc.), voluntary study

groups, parent-teacher associations, mental-hygiene organizations, social-hygiene organizations—these and other types of community agencies are all focused in the direction of education for sex, marriage, and family life; consequently, they all impinge upon the program of parent education. Coördination and correlation of functions becomes, therefore, a primary consideration for urban communities, and again sociological guidance is needed.

As hinted above, one of the fascinating peculiarities of the parent-education movement lies in the necessary convergence of laymen, leaders, technologists, administrators, and organizers. As the movement evolves one begins to see experimental possibilities of intense sociological significance. Our contemporary cultural adjustments cannot omit the services of the expert, the specialist, the technologist. But, a true educational movement is one which derives its powers, not merely by acquiescence or assent to technical advisers, but also by means of its own dynamic.[12] But, how is this joining of democratic and technological processes to be achieved? One sees that if some sort of integration is possible in this sphere, new vistas of social progress will be opened. If, on the other hand, these two forces are not capable of conjoint planning and acting, the future of mechanized culture seems dark indeed. But, once more we have approached a problem which should be referred to sociological thinkers and experimenters.

Summary

From the above sketch it appears that parent education becomes an appropriate object for consideration by sociologists from at least four points of view: (1) it possesses some of the characteristics of a true-folk or people's movement, and arises directly from felt needs; (2) it constitutes a challenge to those who believe that social experience is in and of itself latent with educational possibilities; (3) much of the learning of parents, as well as the need discovery, proceeds as a group phenomenon; and (4) parent education tends to become organized and offers important experimental opportunities, especially for those who look towards the democratic processes of the local community

[12] The so-called Five-Year Plan of Soviet Russia, for example, derives its technical skills from experts, but its dynamic comes from leaders, and its ultimate success depends upon the people's drive.

with hope. These four features of the movement do not, in any sense, exhaust the sociological implications of parent education, but they have appeared to me as appropriate for a brief essay.

VIII. BASIC PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING ADULT EDUCATION[13]

FRANCIS J. BROWN

Résumé of Historical Development

Adult education is as old as civilization itself. Primitive peoples continued to learn the skills of war and of the hunt; the students of Plato and Aristotle were grown men; the Roman Forum was the seat of learning for old as well as young; the church taught its novitiates regardless of age; the guild schools trained boys and men in the arts of the trades. It was only when the artificial agency of society—the school—became crystallized and its subject matter formalized that education was conceived of as a process beginning at the age of six and ending at adolescence. This limited period of learning became increasingly ingrained in our educational philosophy. The school gradually expanded its program downward to include the kindergarten and the nursery school, and upward through the high school, college, and university, but its units became more fixed: an elementary-school period of eight years, a high school of four, and a university course of another four. Even with the recent breaking down of these sharp divisions within the total span, school entrance is still frequently thought of as the beginning of the educational process and its closing symbolized by graduation.

As early as 1890, occasional protests were heard against limiting the opportunity of formal education to children.

> Think of it! Twenty-eight hundred millions of capital invested in education and none of it available to any one after the limits of youth are past. Much of it wasted in untimely efforts to force the minds of children against the unyielding resistances of immaturity. None of it, or anything else, applied to keeping up the intellectual momentum of later years.[14]

[13] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 8, April, 1932, pp. 463–470.

[14] Hart, J. K., "*Adult Education*," The Crowell Publishing Company, New York, 1927, p. 179. Quotation from *Lippincott's Magazine*, October, 1890.

Even as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, sporadic efforts to develop education outside the formal agency of the school began. The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen was organized in New York City in 1790, and in 1820 opened a library of 4,000 volumes. At its dedication, one Thomas Mercein expressed the educational hopes of its founders:

> The general diffusion of light, both intellectual and moral, until its beams fall on every class of society, and cheer the retreat and asylum of the humble and obscure, shall prove an object of ardent devotion to the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian. As population increases and spreads, from the ocean to the mountains, and from the Great Lakes to the wilds of the Mississippi, let the march of education, literature, and science keep pace with the augmentation, adding new acquisitions to the great mass of general information.[15]

A second movement which started in this country about the same time as the Mechanics Institute was the Lyceum. Its high purpose was stated in an "Address to the People of the State of South Carolina" dated 1834:

> We may remark of Socrates, and of all the schools of ancient philosophy, that . . . they produced no sensible effects on the great body of the people. . . . The reason was that the schemes of ancient philosophy did not comprehend the general instruction of the people, embracing both sexes, and all ages and conditions. . . . It is truly a republican institution.[16]

From these early beginnings, both the Institute and, even more, the Lyceum came to play an important part in the enlightenment of the people. Largely within the last quarter of a century the Chautauqua movement, correspondence schools, the development of public libraries, museums, the radio, club organizations of every description, labor organizations, tax-supported evening schools and classes, university extension, and a host of other agencies have reinstated education beyond the limits of the period of formal learning. It is extremely interesting to note that the origin of the movement lies outside the formal agency of the school, and that its incorporation into the program of popular education has come only after it had developed considerable significance outside the sacred precincts of the school and college.

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 171.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

The new term "adult education" came into popular usage immediately following the startling revelations of illiteracy in the drafted contingent of the World War. In many respects the term defies definition. Many individuals assert that at the present time, at least, the movement ought not to be crystallized by defining it. The American Association of Adult Education has consistently refrained from committing itself to an inclusive or exclusive definition, believing that no one can say what the term adult education will eventually mean in the United States.[17]

Even though an exact and delimitive definition at the present time is difficult, and perhaps unwise, certain characteristics of its program can be established. They are stated as "any educational activity in which the individual voluntarily enrolls, does not consider such effort his major activity, is of post-compulsory age, enters upon a course of study, reading, or discussion that has continuity and leads to some definite objective and which can be reported or endorsed by some reputable and recognized agency."[18] A similar statement of characteristics is made by Dr. L. R. Alderman, Specialist in Adult Education, Office of Education. He states:

> The outstanding characteristics of formal adult education are:
> 1. The work must be voluntary.
> 2. It must be taken during leisure time.
> 3. It must be somewhat continuous and consecutive.[19]

Fundamental Principles Upon Which a Program of Adult Education Must Rest

Such a program of adult education as that described above rests upon several fundamental principles, the recognition of which has given enormous impetus to its development, both outside the formal agencies of the school and within them.

I. The period of learning, formerly conceived to end at the close of the period of formal schooling, continues without significant abatement throughout life, at least to the period of senescence.

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[17] American Association for Adult Education, "Annual Report of the Director in Behalf of the Executive Board, 1929–1930," *Journal of Adult Education*, II (June, 1930), pp. 330–355.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 480.

[19] L. R. Alderman, "Adult Education Activities" (Washington, D. C.: United States Bureau of Education, 1929), Bulletin 23, 18 pages.

Opinion of educators, experimentation on animal learning, and the extremely significant experiments on adult learning by Edward L. Thorndike and others all bear out this principle.

II. Individuals differ in general ability, specific aptitudes, and interests.

Although tacitly assumed, experimental work in mental and educational measurements, aptitude tests, and interest analyses have demonstrated extremes in individual differences only partially recognized before. Such differences tend to increase rather than decrease with advancing years, thereby demanding a widely diversified program of education for adults.

III. The increasing complexity and subdivision of labor has decreased the demand for specific skills through the formal agencies of education.

An executive in a large industrial organization stated in a recent public address that the necessary skill for fully sixty per cent of the positions in his organization could be mastered in three days, and ninety per cent within three weeks. Specialization of industry has so simplified the requisite skill for the individual, that the educational emphasis has, to some degree, and will increasingly shift from training in specific skills to an increased emphasis upon the understanding of fundamental processes.

IV. The rapid changes within all fields of human endeavor make reëducation or continuous education essential.

Changes within industry, both in organization and in the application of improved machinery, is proceeding at a pace never before imagined. Whole industries are suddenly supplanted or forced into complete reorganization by the discovery of more effective raw materials or processes of manufacture. Literally, millions of men and women are thereby thrown out of employment annually. It is probably conservative to state that twenty-five per cent of our entire population is engaged in industries which did not exist twenty-five years ago. The developments resulting from scientific research and the application of new techniques within the professions make continually new demands upon their members. A practising physician stated that little of what he studied in medical school twenty years ago, except the basic elements of physiology and anatomy, is of value to him today. The same is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of the engineer, the teacher, the lawyer, and the clergyman.

These changes create a twofold educational problem: the reëducation of those who must seek new positions, often in different basic industries, and the continual education of those who must keep pace with these rapid changes and developments resulting from experimentation and research. Adult education is one attempt to meet these needs.

V. Unemployment and shorter working hours, combined with the monotony for the worker of single operations in industry, has increased the demand for cultural interests, fundamentally avocational in character.

This principle needs no elaboration. The facts are known to all and its expression through the avalanche of reading material that pours annually from the press and the enormous development of commercialized amusement is apparent on every hand.

Dr. Albert Mansbridge, chairman, British Institute of Adult Education, emphasizes the significance of this principle as follows:

> A great opportunity is unfolded by the greater allowance of leisure to many workers. In recent memory, a twelve-hour day for workmen has become in many places an eight-hour day. It may even become less. Thus the man at uncongenial work, as so many must be, in an age of machines and mass production, is provided with an opportunity in out-of-work hours to make his own contribution to the rhythm of life, by creating sounds, molding material, arranging colors, or developing understanding, just as his heart dictates. The test of an educated man is most rightly applied in that time which he calls his own, when the only rule he acknowledges is the unalterable law of life.[20]

Dr. A. Caswell Ellis, director of Cleveland College of Western Reserve University, concluded his address before the National University Extension Association with this significant statement:

> We are led to the inevitable conclusion that we must either resign ourselves to the enjoyment of a smaller and smaller portion of the culture of the race, and to the danger of our vocational equipment's becoming hopelessly antiquated in a few years, or we must all join the ever increasing throng who are going year after year to the after-work-hour classes for adults in order to enrich their culture and to refresh and broaden their vocational knowledge.
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> The nature of man and the requirements of civilization demand a system of adult education fully as complete as in our present system of schools for the young.[21]

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[20] Quoted in the Department of Superintendence, Seventh *Yearbook* (Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1929), p. 477.

[21] Proceedings of the National University Extension Association, 1924, p. 110.

VI. The popularization through press, lecture, and radio of semi- and even pseudoscientific information, together with their commercialization, places a serious responsibility upon education to present the fundamental facts of human knowledge in so far as they are known.

We are a nation of fads and fancies. Effective means of advertising and communication carry them to every corner of the land. We spend millions on proprietary drugs. Doctors announce the food value of liver, and calves liver jumps to a dollar a pound overnight. Mental hygiene lays the beginnings of a scientific approach to the understanding of human problems, and in a few years psychoanalysis has become a fetish, with apparently little recognition of the dangers that lurk in the counseling rooms of thousands who are now willing, for profit, to advise the individual on his repressions, inhibitions, and psychoneuroses.

VII. The increased emphasis upon democracy in education has lengthened the span of tax-supported education.

Free elementary schools have since the middle of the nineteenth century been accepted as the right of every child. The Kalamazoo Case in 1872 legalized the establishment of the high school as a part of the free school system. The development of the State university, given impetus by the Morrill Act of 1862, extended it four or six years further. Classes in literacy gave the privilege of free education to the foreign born of whatever age. Today this broadened conception of democracy demands the expansion of educational opportunity not only to "all the children of all the people," but also to "all the people."

Adult education originally began primarily on a self-supporting basis. It has, however, become increasingly less so as the Federal Government, State governments, and local school districts, as well as private endowments, have given continually larger sums to its support. The further expansion of the educational program to meet the needs for more specialized courses and for more advanced study will make greater rather than less demand upon tax funds.

> In so far as State universities are concerned, probably the large expenditures of money taken from the pockets of the taxpayers of the State can be justified only by rendering service to the whole people.[22]

[22] Thomas H. Shelby, General University Extension (Washington, D. C.: United States Bureau of Education, 1926), Bulletin 5, p. 2.

This emphasis upon democracy has also exerted an influence from another angle, that is, the need of an educated citizenry. This need has been heralded from press, forum, and pulpit. It is specifically stated in its relation to adult education in the report of the Committee on Adult Education of the Department of Superintendence:

> The very foundation of our Government rests upon enlightened public opinion. This necessitates an intelligent, alert, thinking body of citizens. It means an intelligent interest and participation in public affairs. This interest and this participation are not guaranteed by the possession of a diploma from high school or even from college. The essence of the problem is continuing education.[23]

VIII. Organized groups are turning with increasing insistence to educational agencies for assistance and coöperation in meeting their educational needs.

In a recent address before the Eastern Conference for Extension Education, Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., director of the Workers Education Bureau, stated that labor was asking three things of adult education: recognition of labor unions as a focal point for the conduct of courses, responsiveness to their educational needs, and the establishment of coöperative relationship through joint committees of university extension and labor organizations. Retail stores, industrial and commercial establishments are requesting courses for their employees. Grange organizations and coöperative leagues are seeking both agricultural and cultural programs. Women's clubs, social organizations, and community groups are turning to organized educational agencies. In this development it is essential that no interest or group of interests shall control course offerings or dictate policies.

This new adult education is one of the youngest members of the family of educational enterprises. This stripling, scarce thirty years old, has grown to manhood almost overnight and bids fair to become the most important single agent in the educational development of the next quarter century. If it is a bit uncertain in its step, sometimes awkward in its expression, and indefinite and indecisive in its thinking, it may perhaps be forgiven it as the characteristics of youth. Heterogeneous still in character, and multifarious in its organization, it nevertheless rests upon sound psychological, economic, and sociological principles which have

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[23] Department of Superintendence Seventh *Yearbook*, p. 476.

not only given it impetus, but entirely justify the increasing expenditure of money and effort in carrying forward its program —the enrichment of community life.

IX. SOME RURAL ASPECTS OF ADULT EDUCATION[24]

KENYON L. BUTTERFIELD

About a year ago I had the exhilarating experience of spending three days with Dr. James Yen and his colleagues at Tingshien in North China where they are carrying on their remarkable work in mass education. The story of how Dr. Yen has developed his "Thousand Character System" for teaching the ordinary peasant to read during the four months of idle time which he has every winter is well known. But it is not so well understood that it is far more than a literacy movement. This group of some forty highly trained Chinese is carrying on both research and demonstration in such fields as health, agriculture, citizenship, and even art, as foundations for a systematic and widely extended movement not only to teach the Chinese peasants to read but to give them the right sort of reading and the means of continuing their reading indefinitely. It requires little imagination to picture a new China emerging from such a stupendous undertaking.

The problem of illiteracy in China is repeated in India, in Africa, in the Near East, to a lesser degree in Russia. There are probably 1,000 million illiterates in the world, and most of them live in rural areas. Just teaching the world to read is one of the great tasks of civilization; it is largely the "job" of rural adult education. And when these multitudes are taught to read—what then? What part shall their new tool have in gaining an insight into the modern world of science, in fitting them for self-government—yes, in utilizing religion as a means of living the abundant life? Indeed, the "habit of international coöperation," which after all is the surest guarantee of the world's peace, can with difficulty be practised among the rural people of the world until through reading, as well as other forms of gaining information, they come to know something of the problems of the "folk of the furrow."

In many European countries and in the United States, the problem of illiteracy is not so pressing as in other continents;

[24] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 8, April, 1932, pp. 493–499.

consequently the opportunities for the more formal and advanced types of adult education are apparent. Yet the widely differing aspects of rural adult education in such countries as Great Britain and the United States, and in China and among other hosts of illiterates, indicate the magnitude of this problem. The world movement for adult education must attend fully to all aspects of continuing education, as a supplement to the conventional schooling of the billion farmers of the world.

These introductory statements indicate something of the extent and the significance of rural adult education in its world aspects. Let us proceed to consider those phases of the movement that are of more special importance in the United States, first, from the point of view of the work now being done, and second, from that of future needs.

The United States has, in its "Coöperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics," probably the most elaborate project in rural adult education in the world. During the last fiscal year there were nearly 6,200 paid workers and over 250,000 voluntary helpers, and it was estimated that not less than 25,000,000 people were "reached" by the work, which is now less than 20 years old. The annual cost of this service is some $26,000,000. Moreover, the publications of results of the investigational work of the United States Department of Agriculture and of the State experiment stations are pouring into the homes of our farmers an amazing amount of printed information of interest and value to them.

With respect to the agencies of rural adult education, it may be said that first of all we must bear in mind that the publicly-supported system of coöperative extension work in agriculture and home economics is not only the most extensive and popular system of rural adult education which we are likely to have, but that it is capable of carrying a goodly share in the new developments that may be found necessary and practicable. Probably these newer plans must come partly out of the inspiration and genius of a few of the more forward-looking leaders in the extension service, though partly also from farmers themselves. Both groups may however perhaps be stimulated and encouraged by outside agencies.

The schools and colleges have a task in this field. The rural high schools certainly, and personally I think the lower schools, as well as the agricultural colleges, should help their former

students to keep up their education, especially those who do not go on to advanced schooling. This means that the teachers of all grades in education must appreciate the significance, the character, and the method of continuing education and must be encouraged if not required to make it organic in the school itself. For the desire to learn and how to keep on learning must be fostered by the school. Moreover the school itself, especially in rural communities, should be the center of the larger share of the adult education in the community.

The library is essential in adult education. Considering the needs of rural people, the American rural library is pathetically inadequate. This statement does not ignore the work which State libraries and librarians have been doing for a generation, but the fact of inadequacy still remains. Eighty-three per cent of the rural people in the United States have no local library facilities; some States do not have even a State library; while 1,135 counties, or more than one third of the rural counties, have no public library at all. Here is unquestionably an opportunity for one of the great "drives" in rural adult education.

The educational value of farmers' organizations can scarcely be overstated. For example, the Grange, the oldest of them, has maintained definite educational hours in the local Grange meetings, and this quite apart from the incidental educational value of managing an organization and of dealing with the various problems in which it is interested. But these farm groups have not yet risen to the height of their possibilities as educational centers.

There is, too, the country church and its various subordinate agencies like the Sunday school and the young people's societies. We must not underrate the enormous educational accomplishments of the country church. But again we must remind ourselves how much more it can do. The church itself as an organization, and its Sunday school particularly, has in its hands one of the greatest of opportunities in rural continuing education, not only in the field of distinctively religious education, but what is perhaps of greater importance, in the field of education which interprets life and conduct and the relations of human beings, in religious terms. The enormous possibilities lying ahead of a well-organized country church in the field of "continuing education," are most challenging and inspiring. For example, to take only one aspect of this field as yet wholly undeveloped, the

Sunday school might coöperate with the public school in "life counseling" for youth.

Turning now to a discussion of the direction of probable future developments in this field, it is necessary also more specifically to point out the inadequacy of the work now being done. First of all, it is important to extend the informal types of rural adult education, both with regard to groups to be reached and subjects to be considered. New Federal appropriations will help put the extension work of the agricultural colleges into almost every rural county in the United States. In nearly every county many communities do not measure up to their opportunities for educational aid. Thus far moreover the content of this service is dominantly in the field of applications of the physical and biological sciences. Only a beginning has been made in extension work in the economic field, and almost nothing has been done relative to social problems, except in homemaking. The fields of literature, drama, music, art, history, philosophy are almost untouched. Even science, aside from its vocational applications, has had slight attention. Thus at once there opens out the possibility of a great enlargement in this already extensive program of rural adult education.

While various projects have been undertaken to assist groups of farmers to employ advantageously the discussion method, this form of work has not been given the attention it deserves. It is possible to develop a better technique of group discussion than we have heretofore had. On a satisfactory technique depends in no small degree the educational value of a widespread scheme for thousands of local groups of rural folk. The supply of authoritative material growing out of scientific research must be combined with trained leadership in utilizing this material, alongside the experience of farmers themselves, and out of it all getting a matured and stable group opinion. Forums and debates have their place, but the great need is to provide material, method, stimulus, leadership for sustained local group thinking in multitudes of rural communities throughout the country.

The problem of the reading habits of the farmers needs attention. Farmers read, and they think about what they read, but most of them do not read enough and are not sufficiently readers of books dealing with the great problems of the time, both their own problems and those of society in general. Consideration must be had of the necessary limitations under which

farmers work—long hours in the open air and a never-ceasing round of "chores" of all sorts that are time consuming and that seem unavoidable. Then too the need of escape from the farm itself to the recreations and relaxations of neighborhood and village and city cannot be gainsaid. The root difficulty lies in the failure of the rural home and the rural school to coöperate in inculcating and stimulating the reading interest. Here one wishes to plead for the idea lying in the words "continuing education," for continuing education is a habit and a permanent interest in life rather than a piece of educational machinery. Among rural people the habit should root itself deeply in the schools, it needs the encouragement of constant practice after school days, and both stimulus and material for reading must be at hand.

Both radio and motion pictures are increasingly utilized in rural adult education, but their full possibilities have not yet been explored.

When we come to the more formal types of rural adult education, progress has been discouragingly slow. Study and correspondence courses were started by one or two agricultural colleges as many as 35 years ago, but there has developed as yet no real system, on a scale commensurate with the need, of organized lectures, lecture courses, reading courses, correspondence courses, that really reach the people of the farm or even the people of the villages. These formal types of adult education in the country are difficult to develop, but they form a major need in rural adult education. One might almost say that the very success and extent of the great coöperative extension work has been a bar to the development of these important formal types, for it has taken the farmers' time and energy and on the surface seems to supply the need.

One or two allusions have been made to the use of the words "continuing education." Personally I like the term better than adult education for many reasons, but particularly for a very practical reason. There are in this country today in city as well as in country hundreds of thousands of young people between the ages of 14 and 24 who have "finished" school. Even if there were the most complete provision for adult education, these youngsters have not yet fitted themselves into those economic and social groups that are likely to use the agencies of adult education. In the interests of adult education itself, to say

nothing of the interests of the people involved, here is grave danger of a serious hiatus in our adult educational scheme. Provision for those out-of-school, and in a sense out-of-society, youth must be the direct object of one of the most significant and difficult aspects of adult or "continuing" education.

Underlying all types of continuing education which involve large numbers of rural folk, institutions and organizations must provide the materials and suggest the technique which can be used by the rural groups under their own voluntary or lay leadership. Classes or similar groups wholly under professional teaching or leadership can play but a small part in any adequate scheme.

In closing, may there be just a word about content? I think the educational world makes a serious blunder in endeavoring sharply to differentiate cultural and occupational education. Not for a moment would I wish that interests lying quite apart from and far beyond the task of making a living should fail to be a part of every one's opportunity and education. Unquestionably, leisure earned by successful work should be utilized for the enrichment of the spirit of man. But the rub comes in assuming that making a living is merely making a living. Every person in the process of making a living is also making a life. It may be a good living and a poor life, or it may be a poor living and a good life; or it may be both or neither. But work, the "job," the occupation may make or mar men and women in the very depths of their personalities. We almost completely ignore this fact in education; we continue to make compartments.

Therefore a major need in rural adult education is to show farm people themselves how their work, their daily task, the job of being a farmer, may contribute more fully both to good citizenship and to their personal growth in mind and heart. No occupation in the world, aside possibly from the higher reaches of so-called professional life, lends itself to this principle of human growth so well as does agriculture.

Indubitably, abundant provision should also be made for education in the distinctive problems of citizenship, and in those realms of art, literature, philosophy, that for want of a better designation we call cultural. A cultivated rural people is one of the aims of the everlasting quest for democracy.

Chapter VII

Vocational Education and Vocational Guidance

I. EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR THE JOB[1]

David Snedden

Every year in the United States nearly two million grown-up boys and girls, who are really young men and women, reach the time when they must soon become self-supporting.

Here are some of the questions which these young persons now begin to put to themselves: What are some kinds of work for which I might fit myself? What kinds hold out the best prospects for me?

Let us assume that in some degree these questions have been answered. The purpose [of the present article] is to try to answer certain other questions which they are sure to raise. How do young Americans become trained to get and hold good positions in their vocations? What kinds of opportunities are now available for really effective vocational training?

Let us take the imaginary case of Henry Brown, who lives, let us say, in Buffalo. Henry Brown is seventeen years old. He has been attending high school for two years. He now finds that he must begin soon to earn for himself. He is anxious to prepare himself for some profitable and attractive field of work where he can be fairly sure of promotion. He has already worked for short periods during summer vacations as a helper, once in a grocery store and again in an automobile repair shop. But those were only jobs. He now wants a permanent vocation.

Henry has determined to enter some one of the mechanical industries. His vocational adviser finds that Henry has good talents for this type of work and that prospects in that field are especially good in Buffalo. Henry has the good sense to see that

[1] *Occupations—The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, Vol. XI, No. 1, October, 1932, pp. 25–28.

it will pay him well in the long run to get a thorough preparation for some one trade. What are his opportunities?

In Buffalo he will find open to him more than a score of different full-time day trade schools. He can specialize in any one of half a dozen schools teaching machine-shop trades. He has his choice of four electrical trades. There are also special industrial schools for building and printing trades. Many youths are entering the special schools for automobile mechanics and aeroplane mechanics which have been well developed in Buffalo. By entering any of these schools Henry can in from one to three years of industrious application so equip himself with trade skills and technical knowledge that in normal times his services will be in demand. He will have acquired the essential foundations upon which he can in a few years easily advance himself to the rank of craftsman or skilled factory worker.

Or let us take the case of Mary O'Neil who lives in New York City. Perhaps her strong preferences are for some kind of art work. Her artistic abilities are above the average and there is a steady demand for trained designers and illustrators. Mary O'Neil should know that in New York City there are several excellent trade schools for girls, in any one of which can be found courses in designing and illustrating. There are also private and endowed art schools, the courses of which prepare for well-paid positions in costume designing, in advertising, in book and magazine illustrating, and for other profitable vocations needing just the talents which Mary is assumed to have.

As has already been said, tens of thousands of Henry Browns and Mary O'Neils arrive every year at the age when they must not only find the vocations they had best enter, but where they must explore their own cities or the entire country to find the schools which will give them the best preparation for their vocations.

Their parents are no less interested in the future vocational success of these young persons than are the boys and girls themselves. They know especially well how much happiness and self-respect through the years to come depend upon having found the right work and being able to work at it.

It is especially important to these young people and their parents to know the following facts:

First, all the large cities and many smaller ones in the United States now have some good vocational schools for the trades.

Second, for young persons wishing to prepare for the professions or for the better business positions, there are excellent schools or professional colleges, sometimes in the universities and sometimes, in the larger cities, apart from universities. Any school vocational counselor has full information as to where these are and how they can be entered. In the third place, it should be remembered that time spent in a vocational school will generally pay big dividends. In any vocation, the ambitious, earnest worker will educate himself considerably after he gets on the job. But in nine cases out of ten, he can do this far better and far more easily if he has first profited by the training of a good technical school, trade school, business school, or other specialized agency of vocational training.

There are some other facts which should be kept constantly in mind by young persons and their parents when considering preparation for vocations. The first is that ours is an age of specialization.

All modern industry, all trade, transportation, and even farming and the professions, is very much more specialized than it was in former years. There are, for example, more than three thousand distinct vocations in New York City alone. And the specially-trained worker generally has great advantages over the jack-of-all-trades.

In the second place, while new inventions have greatly simplified some kinds of work, they have also created a great number of other kinds of work so exacting that only carefully-trained workers have any chances to get or hold places in them.

In the third place, hundreds of the best vocations today require two kinds of preparation—on the one hand, skills or dexterities, and on the other, technical knowledge of science, mathematics, English, or other subjects. Skills are often learned fairly well on practical jobs, but technical knowledge must be acquired by special forms of training in vocational schools.

Still another fact should never be overlooked. Besides attending a vocational school there are two other methods of getting into and furthering one's chances in a vocation. The first of these we now call the "pick-up" method. Here the worker simply gets any kind of a job that comes first to hand. He hopes to learn while he works, to earn while "picking up" needed skill and knowledge.

But there is always great danger that "pick-up" methods of learning to work will keep young workers too long on the low levels of pay and promotion. America has now far too many men and women workers who belong to what the United States Census calls semi-skilled. Ambitious young Americans should avoid allowing themselves to become stalled in the semi-skilled vocations.

The other method is that of apprenticeship. Apprenticeship, vocational education at its best, gives splendid preparation for successful careers. But well-organized apprenticeships are now found in only a few departments of American industry and commerce.

Thus far we have been speaking mostly of opportunities for vocational training for young persons just beginning their life work. But there are literally millions of men and women in the United States who have already been at work some years and who have now reached a condition where they keenly desire to advance themselves in their present work or else to acquire some training which will enable them to begin along new lines. What are existing opportunities for these?

Our larger cities usually conduct hundreds of evening school classes in shop science, shop mathematics, and shop drawing. Even more numerous are the courses in business English, book-keeping, correspondence, and typing. Evening schools are much better adapted to the giving of instruction and training in *technical knowledge* than in training in skills. But, as earlier stated, skills can often be well learned on the job, whereas technical knowledge must usually be acquired from teachers and books.

In Massachusetts, the great majority of mechanics had formerly never been taught the many uses of the slide rule. Some twenty years ago short courses in the use of this instrument were offered for the first time in a number of those cities in central Massachusetts in which high class tool-making industries supply skilled work for thousands of men. Almost at once the classes were crowded. The work and confidence of a mechanic trained in the varied uses of this little instrument were greatly increased as many employers testified. And when the busy years of the war came on, it was found that these men, partly because of their added technical training, could be adapted successfully to new kinds of work.

It is now certain that the great majority of men who are actually advanced to higher and better-paid stages of wage-earning—and even more of salaried—jobs, are those who have seized every available opportunity to take courses in evening schools, by correspondence or by other similar part-time training.

It requires determination and hard work, of course, to attend evening classes two or three times a week after the day's work. It requires will-power and patience to spend several more hours each week in careful reading or the solving of problems. But such are the prices we pay for promotion, for better pay, for the satisfaction of successful achievement.

II. THE CONTINUED GROWTH OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION[2]

There is frequent theoretical discussion of the future of occupational training of less than professional grade. Some persons contend that, to assure democratization of education, such training must and will increase. Others argue just as vigorously that the rising level of popular education and accompanying economic and social changes will make for the elimination of vocational training. While the discussion goes on, the growth of the enrolment in vocational schools continues. The facts concerning the status and growth of these schools are given in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, 1930.* The status for the year 1929–30 is disclosed in the accompanying table drawn from the report, which shows by type of school the total enrolment and the enrolments in courses in agriculture, trade and industry, and home economics. The types of school considered are evening, part-time, all-day, and day-unit. The total enrolment in schools of all types exceeded a million. It will help one to an appreciation of the magnitude of this development to recollect that the total high-school enrolment in the country is now upwards of four million. The total outlay for vocational training during the year from federal, state, and local sources fell a little short of thirty million dollars.

Other tables in the complete report disclose the growth in federally aided schools from 1918—the first year of operation of the Smith-Hughes Act—to 1930. This growth has been rapid

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[2] *The School Review* (from Educational News and Editorial Comment), Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, April, 1931, pp. 246–248.

TABLE I

ENROLMENT IN VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS OPERATED UNDER STATE PLANS APPROVED BY THE FEDERAL BOARD, YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1930

Type of School	*Total*	*Agricultural*	*Trade and Industrial*	*Home Economics*
		Total		
All types, total	1,064,303	193,325	633,223	237,755
Evening	341,565	63,952	171,775	105,838
Part-time, total	418,265	4,886	382,340	31,039
Trade extension	83,518	4,886	47,593	31,039
General continuation	334,747	.....	334,747	.....
All-day	294,516	114,530	79,108	100,878
Day-unit	9,957	9,957	.....	.....
		In Schools Federally Aided		
All types, total	981,649	188,311	618,674	174,664
Evening	323,224	60,462	165,387	97,375
Part-time, total	407,285	4,164	381,898	21,223
Trade extension	72,736	4,164	47,349	21,223
General continuation	334,549	.....	334,549	.....
All-day	241,183	113,728	71,389	56,066
Day-unit	9,957	9,957	.....	.....
		In Schools Operated Under Approved State Plans Without Federal Aid		
All types, total	82,654	5,014	14,549	63,091
Evening	18,341	3,490	6,388	8,463
Part-time, total	10,980	722	442	9,816
Trade extension	10,782	722	244	9,816
General continuation	198	.....	198	.....
All-day	53,333	802	7,719	44,812

ever since the inception of the program. When the three fields are considered separately, the growth in the last five or six years in home economics has been less consistent than in agriculture and trade and industry. In the light of economic conditions in agriculture, the consistent growth in that field is not a little surprising. The present conditions of unemployment assure further increase in enrolment for the current school year.

III. INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION FOR THE MAJORITY[3]

GLEN U. CLEETON

Industrial education as now organized in our public schools includes two distinct branches, namely, industrial arts education and vocational industrial education. The respective aims and

[3] *School and Society*, Vol. XXXII, No. 819, September 6, 1930, pp. 321–323.

objectives of these two types of industrial education are radically different.

The educational purpose served by industrial arts shop instruction is that of increasing the range of accomplishments of pupils by providing opportunities for development and growth through creative, recreative and exploratory activities which would not otherwise be open to junior and senior high school pupils. Additional units in mental stature and mental breadth are provided by the pupil's industrial arts experience. The general value of such experiences is more important than individual or specific values. Industrial arts training provides a basic foundation upon which the individual and society may build. The primary purpose of industrial arts training is accomplished in the doing of creative, recreative and exploratory shop tasks.

The chief function of vocational industrial education is that of preparation for productive work of an industrial character. The test of such training, therefore, lies in the success with which pupils so trained can produce marketable objects. Employers are interested in production and always will be. Only so far as knowledge, understanding, skill and attitude of the workman affect doing is the employer concerned. Likewise, the pupil and his parents measure the effectiveness of vocational training by the pupil's ability to produce in the field for which he has been trained. This narrowness of view-point may be disturbing to our ideals and hopes for industrial society, but vocational industrial education must be ordered so that it will function in the present and probable future industrial society rather than a hypothetical one. Vocational industrial education need not concern itself directly with general values in education. Rather, the emphasis in vocational industrial training should be on individual and specific values of such training.

Vocational industrial education is a form of special education. The philosophy and points of view characteristic of special education are applicable to vocational education. Industrial arts education is a form of general education. Work in this field should be governed by the philosophy and point of view of general education. Training of the industrial arts type should be organized so that it may be a valuable part of the educational experience of every boy and girl in our public schools. As this reorganization takes place, the next step will be to make industrial

arts in some form a required subject for all pupils of junior high school age and an elective subject for senior high school students who do not expect to engage in industrial pursuits. Few, if any, junior high school pupils can profit by vocational industrial training, and only a limited number of senior high school pupils can be served by this type of training. Industrial arts is the form of industrial education which can be made to serve the majority of pupils. Vocational industrial education can never hope to serve more than a minority group.

It is not possible to estimate accurately the total number of pupils who might profit from industrial training of a vocational nature; however, there are definite limitations to the social demand for persons so trained. This is clearly indicated by the U. S. Census reports on occupational distribution of our population. A critical study of census figures indicates that less than 15 per cent of public school pupils are likely ever to be employed in an occupation in which they will be able to use productively training of the vocational industrial type.

Under existing industrial conditions it does not seem necessary for the public schools to assume full responsibility for vocational industrial training. Vocational training sponsored by trade unions and employers in the construction and manufacturing industries is adequate to meet the needs of at least half the total fields. Vocational preparation by public agencies should supplement rather than supplant the work done by private agencies. Perhaps the public schools should bear about half the burden of vocational industrial training, working in close coöperation with employers organizations.

Full responsibility for industrial arts training should be assumed by the public schools. This type of training will not be met by industrial organizations, for here the objective is training for effective living rather than for pursuit of a specific vocation. The task here is one of serving the entire enrolment of boys of junior high school age. Perhaps the day is not far distant when it will become apparent that junior high school girls should also be required to complete at least one year of work in the general shop or in practical mechanic arts.

Since the needs and responsibilities in industrial education have been specified, it becomes pertinent to inquire to what extent these needs are being met. The answer to this query can be shown best in tabular form.

Needs	*Provision Made*
a. Fifteen per cent of public school group might profit from vocational industrial training.	a. Vocational industrial training now available in public schools for not more than 2 per cent of pupils. Organized training in industry available to about 5 per cent of pupils who leave school.
b. All junior high school boys can profit from industrial arts education.	b. Not more than 50 per cent of junior high school pupils provided with such training in the more progressive states. Little provision in backward states.
c. Half the boys of senior high school age might elect one industrial arts shop course to advantage.	c. Progressive states have made provision for about 20 per cent of senior high school boys in this field. Little provision in backward states.
d. All junior high school girls might profit by a general shop or practical mechanic art course.	d. Rarely provided.

It appears that offerings in the field of industrial education are inadequate at present both in the provision made for vocational industrial education for the minority and in the provision of industrial arts courses for the majority.

IV. GUIDANCE VERSUS STANDARDIZATION OF CHILDREN[4]

ISAAC DOUGHTON

Industry has become so important a part of our social organization that effective participation in the business of living requires vocational preparation. Corners must be cut so closely in the business world today that every possible measure must be taken to eliminate waste; for it is very often true that the dividends of today were the waste of yesterday. The most tragic as well as the most commercially expensive waste comes from human maladjustments and readjustments, and the business and industrial world looks hopefully to the school to help eliminate this waste.

The tyranny of the "iron man" in industry has marvelously simplified the processes of production, but has seriously complicated the problems of living. The complexity of our civilization is the logical outgrowth of our use of machinery to displace

[4] *Education*, Vol. L, No. 2, October, 1929, pp. 115–123.

human skill. This displacement has had to be balanced by a greatly increased demand for products of various kinds, this is, by a more rapid consumption of goods. As a consequence, speed, volume, and efficiency have become the shibboleths of our day, and whoever cannot "frame to pronounce them right," falls a victim before our modern standards. Daily the toll of industrial Ephraimites rivals that of Jordan's fords.

We live in a practical age which demands that everything that costs money shall give an accounting in practical results, the more immediate and tangible the better. One school of curriculum builders would have the curriculum of the public schools made out of those experiences and activities which are common in the life of the world, more particularly out of those which will be common in the next decades when the children now in school will be the workers of the world. Education by them is regarded distinctly as preparation for the duties and responsibilities of adult life. A quotation from Professor Bobbitt will illustrate this point of view:

> Education is primarily for adult life, not for child life. Its fundamental responsibility is to prepare for the fifty years of adulthood, not for the twenty years of childhood and youth. . . . When we know what men and women ought to do along the many lines and levels of human experience, then we shall have before us the things for which they should be trained. The first task is to discover the activities which ought to make up the lives of men and women; and along with these the abilities and personal qualities necessary for proper performance. These are the educational objectives. (Bobbitt, "How to Make a Curriculum," p. 8.)

Does this mean that the curriculum that should be differs from that which is only in the element of timeliness; that is to say, that the school, instead of being so sadly behind social development as it has always been, shall be in advance of it, and that the pedagogue shall become the virtual arbiter of the direction and the amount of social progress? Or does it mean that the pedagogue can be trusted to exercise an uncanny omniscience by which he can as a seer predict the course of civilization and social progress for decades ahead? And does it not lose sight of the child himself, whose welfare is after all the purpose and end of our education?

One cannot but feel that we are rapidly setting the stage for the appearance of another Rousseau to protest against our indifference to the real interests and spirit of childhood. In

his day the dominant guiding principle of education was that children were to be men and women some day and the sooner they became so the better. Childhood was regarded as a period of waste that should be shortened as rapidly as possible by an early adjustment to the world of adults. As Taine said, in describing and criticising the "dancing master" education of the *ancien régime*, "This is to be the great thing of chief importance for them as children." Is there not danger that our present day education, certainly so far as its vocational aspect is concerned, shall make precisely the same mistake as the "dancing master" education of the eighteenth century?

One serious result of our rapid and extensive industrial development is the extreme specialization that has become so marked a feature of our modern civilization. Trades have become so minutely sub-divided that they now bear little resemblance to those of but a few decades ago. In the olden days, for example, feet were measured and shod by a single cobbler; but today most feet are classified and the shoes of the world are made according to standard patterns and over standard lasts, each pair requiring probably over two-hundred workmen. The inevitable consequence of this has been the submergence of the individual. A man may now spend all day, every workday of the year, year in and year out, monotonously repeating an operation or set of operations with a complicated machine. The designer of the machine had the opportunity to impress his individuality upon the product; but the skill of the operator increases only in the degree that he identifies himself with his machine, and any attempt upon his part to impress his individuality upon the product will almost inevitably reduce his efficiency and his economic value.

The demand that the school become an agency to prepare the children for the activities of adult life has made it seem necessary that such preparation shall early become as highly specialized as are the activities of life. But this the school cannot do if it is to be guided by the genuine interests of the children. For whether we successfully practice it or not, we all recognize as a fundamental part of our aim in education the development of the individuality of children. The testing movement has revealed to us the great variety of interests and abilities among them; and our conviction that we are obligated in a democracy to give to each one equal opportunity with another for the

guidance and development of his own worthwhile interests and abilities has led us to see that, while industry can and probably must standardize the processes and even the producers of bolts and bottles, it should not ask the school to standardize children.

There are several reasons for this. First and foremost is the need of flexibility in the school's vocational program. Years ago, when the guidance movement was a struggling and as yet barely articulate infant, we thought that our greatest problem in education was vocational unfitness. Often this seemed to be due to misfitness, but more often to lack of specific preparation. The obvious remedy seemed to be the specific preparation of boys and girls for vocations for which they revealed some special aptitude. But as time has passed we have found that the supposed remedy has really aggravated the disease; for highly specialized fitness has made more difficult the change of occupation that frequently becomes necessary with the fluctuating demand for workers. We are becoming more and more impressed with this fact as we give attention to the difficulty that even college graduates are finding in securing the kinds of positions for which they were specially prepared. Further, the developing abilities and the widening experiences of children often make reconsideration of vocational decisions necessary; and in our modern programs of guidance "rechoice" has become a much used word. The law of supply and demand in labor increases in its tragic effect when the difficulty of readjustment is increased, as it is inevitably when special preparation is intensified and the possibility of rechoice is taken away.

This is to urge caution against making the vocational guidance of the school too highly specialized. We must remember that the responsibility of the school is broader than its responsibility to industry,—it is a responsibility primarily to the child himself and to society; and the problem of adjustment to industry is only part of the larger problem of adjustment to life.

The second reason why we in the school cannot standardize children inheres in the obligation that we are under to give encouragement and opportunity for the development of two of the most prized and prided qualities of the American character—initiative and resourcefulness, i.e., our quickness to see what to do in situations that are not covered by the rules. These qualities were conspicuously shown by our soldiers in the World War in marked contrast with the tendency to paralysis shown in the

German soldier when faced with situations that were not, so to speak, "according to Hoyle." Is there not danger that by the mechanization of character that is so rapidly going on in our country we shall make the American youth as helpless as Germany by the same methods made the Boche?

We must not, of course, claim great credit in the schools for the development of the initiative and resourcefulness that American youth have so often displayed. The school has tended rather to stifle and to thwart these qualities: imitation rather than initiation has been the quality most encouraged. They have been developed more by other forces and agencies in our American life, often in spite of the school. But prizing them as we do, we need to take positive measures in the school to develop initiative and resourcefulness; and too specific preparation for vocational efficiency will not allow us to do this. Professor Bode tells of a man who took lessons to cure him of stammering. When asked how he was getting on, he replied that he was progressing pretty well, but that it was hard to work "Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers" into the conversation. There is grave danger that the standardization of children may bring about the same woodenness of character.

A third reason against the standardization of children in the vocational training that the school might give is the social cleavage that will surely result. The English charity schools of the eighteenth century, some of which flourished in the American colonies until the separation from the mother country and did much to influence the spirit of early American education, sought frankly to "make the children loyal church members, and to *fit them for work in that station in life in which it had pleased their Heavenly Father to place them.*" Then in the early decades of the nineteenth century the working classes, through their Workingmen's Committees, and with the coöperation of philanthropic societies, agitated for public schools to break up what they called a "monopoly of talent which consigns the multitude to comparative ignorance, and secures the balance of knowledge on the side of the rich and the rulers." It was natural that they should covet for their children the education of the "gentleman" by which the rich and ruling class seemed to profit so well. In consequence the education of the children of the workers became even more academic, ornamental and impractical than the same type of education proved to be for those who became nothing

more than idle, ornamental gentlemen. But toward the close of the century the industrialization of society accentuated the purely academic, ornamental character of the education of the workers, and a strong demand was made by them for a more practical and distinctly vocational-preparatory education.

But we have thought too much of vocational and especially of industrial education as particularly designed for the children of tradesmen and laborers; and the short cuts it has afforded to quick and fairly large earning power have tempted the working classes themselves to encourage this thought. Talent of any kind is certainly not "the monopoly of the rich and ruling class," nor of any class. Our own experience as a nation is replete with illustrations of genius born in the thatched hovel as well as in the gilded palace. In the world of business and in the professions are many leaders who can trace their beginnings to far-seeing and self-denying parents among the lowly workers of the world; and this age of automobiles and airplanes has revealed many a scion of wealth and luxury who has found real joy in the arduous and grimy work of the operation and care of machinery. We should not do anything in the school that will tend to fix a gulf between classes, and that will prevent the discovery and development of talent regardless of the accident of birth.

I am not blind to the serious problem of finding laborers to do our dirty work if all are to be highly educated, a problem that is becoming still more serious as the tide of immigration is being stemmed. But our dearth of laborers is already producing two effects that ultimately must prove to be wholesome. In the first place, we are coming to see with Carlyle that "all work, even cotton-spinning, is noble." The real bondage of labor is not measured by grime nor even by slime, but by vocational maladjustment. Second, we are very sensibly turning over our dirty work to faithful and uncomplaining mechanical servants. Electrical appliances about the home have greatly simplified our domestic problems, and steam-shovels and trench-digging machines have lifted hosts of laborers out of the mud and slime of ditches and tunnels. Bagley recently called attention to a significant item in the recent report of the American Federation of Labor which "reveals the astounding fact that, in spite of the vast development of American industry in the present decade, the number of persons actually engaged in manufacturing has decreased by approximately one million since 1920." Hence

there is little basis for the fear that the laboring class is disappearing. Democracy rejoices and speeds the laborer on as he aspires to and achieves for himself and for his children a richer and nobler life.

European systems of education developed along the lines of class leadership, and, until the democratization that followed the World War, leadership was largely determined by the accident of birth. Vocational education, if provided at all, was designed and administered, not to discover and to develop the talent of the people wherever found, but to perpetuate class differences. The English scientist Huxley characterized the American school system as a ladder with one end in the gutter and the other in the University, a characterization that we have proudly, even boastfully, accepted as true and representative of the democratic ideal. We must not allow such a rigid specialization to develop in our schools that our system may lose its democratic character and take on the discredited two-class characteristic of the older European systems, by which liberal and cultural education shall be regarded as specially fitted for children of wealth and strictly vocational and industrial education for the children of the artisan and the laborer.

Is there, then, no place in the school curriculum for technical vocational training? Assuredly there is; but only as part of a well-planned and carefully followed program of guidance. The viewpoint of the junior high school has clearly been that of vocational exploration rather than vocational preparation. In view of the rapid mechanization of modern life and the scrapping of old trades and callings, may not the function of the high school in this new day be more wisely that of developing versatility than developing highly specialized mastery? May not the unemployment problem of today be largely due to the obloquy which we have for decades cast upon "the jack of all trades?" In this day he is not so likely to be the one without a job. If the school will help the boys and girls to know themselves, and will guide them into a wise investment of their powers, it will best justify itself as a democratic institution. In the past we have conceived our guidance problem largely in static terms of "square pegs" and "round holes," and the school's chief function to square off round corners or to round off square edges to fit holes that we thought would not and could not be changed. But as a matter of fact, we are guiding boys and girls to know themselves,

to know and to understand so far as they can the world in which they live, and to find their relations with other people in a world that men are ever changing.

In our work with children we must resist the temptation to standardization both because of our regard for the individual capacities of the children, and because of the changing world in which they must live. A too rigid specialization in our vocational education to meet the supposed needs of industry as well as to meet the supposed vocational needs of the children will lay us open to condemnation which Rousseau passed upon the education of his day, that "by training them exclusively for one condition, you make them unfit for any other, and unfortunate, if their condition should ever change." To help boys and girls live the life of human beings to its richest possibilities, rather than to become mere pinions and cogs in a vast social machine, is the great task of the school. Vocation is important for all, but it is not the whole of life, and the whole of life is or should be the determinant in education. Individual realization and not standardization is the ideal of democratic education.

V. TRENDS IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION[5]

J. D. Blackwell

One of the most noticeable trends in vocational education is the changing attitude on the part of leaders in education, industry, business, and government. A decade ago, a limited number of leaders accepted vocational education as a definite part of certain systems of education. Other leaders opposed vocational education in any form, largely because of their misunderstandings as to the objectives of, and their failure to realize the possibilities of vocational education. Such leaders felt that vocational education had as its chief purpose the developing of manipulative skills without sufficient knowledge of the underlying scientific principles. Today, most of the leaders in education, industry, business, and government are beginning to agree that one of the first requisites of a good citizen is the capacity for self-support; that each individual is entitled to such preparation as will enable him to make the most of life's opportunities; that equal educational opportunities should be provided for all the people of a nation; that

[5] *National Education Association, Addresses and Proceedings*, Vol. LXX, 1932, pp. 803–805

individuals should be given the opportunity to select that training which is demanded by their respective interests and needs; and that every public school system should therefore include adequate provision for vocational education.

As a result of the changing attitude on the part of leaders, as well as the masses, toward vocational education, we now have an ever increasing amount of participation by local and state agencies. According to the 1931 report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, $3.03, as compared with $2.17 in 1919, of local and state money for each federal dollar was expended. Of the $32,139,192 expended, less than one-fourth ($7,978,929) was federal and more than three-fourths ($24,160,263) was from state and local funds. The $7,978,929 federal funds used was 97.5 per cent of the amount available.

The enrolment in all day, part-time and evening classes in agriculture, home economics, and trades and industries during 1931 was 1,125,000 pupils of all ages. The total increase in 1931 over 1930 was more than 60,000.

The period of industrial depression, caused by social and economic disturbances, has been responsible for most of the unemployment. The individual worker has had little or no control over conditions. While vocational education cannot deal directly with the causes of unemployment, it may aid the worker materially by fitting him for employment under different conditions, thus aiding in the solution of the problem of unemployment. Unemployment brings new responsibility upon local school authorities and administrative agencies.

There is a growing tendency on the part of leaders to recognize that the training and placement of physically handicapped persons is a social responsibility. The passage of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920 and subsequent legislation is an evidence of this change in attitude. Despite the economic depression, the number of persons rehabilitated in 1930-31 increased by 13 per cent over the number rehabilitated in 1929-30.

Investigations made during recent years indicate that the trend in commercial education is along the line of formulating statewide programs for the training of commercial teachers, extending state programs to include retail selling and salesmanship, and providing more effective training for adults.

Agricultural educators have had to face the recent unfavorable trend in the economic situation which has led the farmers'

purchasing power on the percentage basis to drop from 89 in 1929 to 80 in 1930, and to approximately 61 in 1931. The farmer has, of course, been forced to become more coöperatively minded in order to save his business. He is looking more and more to organized agricultural agencies for the solution to his problems. The industrial depression has caused many to look with favor upon farming, one advantage of which is that farmers are becoming better satisfied with working conditions and earnings on the farm.

That the tendency is to give emphasis to the economic phases of homemaking, stressing the best use of limited incomes, is evidenced by the following statements taken from the Federal Board report for 1931.

> The importance of the adult homemaker in the solution of economic problems that are of such significance at the present time, is being increasingly appreciated, and more and more intelligently interpreted by those who are responsible for public school education . . .
>
> Much attention is being given in adult classes to the teaching of home management, the effective feeding, clothing, and housing of families at low income levels, and the building up of sound family morale.

Much of the federal, state, and local funds has been used in developing organized apprenticeship. Attendance has, in some cases, been voluntary, while in others it has been compulsory. The trend is that more and more apprenticeship training is being considered an essential part of the preparation needed in learning a trade, and credit for school attendance is essential before completing the apprentice course.

Since the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act providing funds for vocational education in agriculture, homemaking, and trades and industries, there has been an increasing amount of state legislation for vocational education. In fact, each of the 48 states now has at least a law accepting the federal funds made available by the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act. The Smith-Bankhead Act of 1920 provided federal funds for vocational rehabilitation, while the George-Reed Law of 1929 provided additional funds for agriculture and homemaking. The bills affecting vocational education now before the present Congress include, beside the two bills dealing with unemployment, two bills for the education of crippled children; two bills for vocational rehabilitation; one bill for the creating of a federal department of education; and another which provides for the creation

of a department of home and child. The two bills for the education of crippled children and the two providing funds for vocational rehabilitation, designate the Federal Board for Vocational Education as the agency for administering the funds made available. The last two bills, however, propose that the present Federal Board shall be discontinued and the administration of funds for vocational education be placed in a Department of Education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet. The action of Congress on pending legislation will materially affect the trend of vocational education in the future.

VI. MEASUREMENT OF OUTCOMES OF GUIDANCE IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS[6]

By Grayson N. Kefauver and Harold C. Hand

. . . .

B. Measures of Influence on Vocational Plans of Students

Few of the tasks of guidance have been stressed more than those associated with assisting the student in the formulation of intelligent occupational plans. Guidance workers must make certain that the student has adequate information concerning occupations and his own interests and capacities in order that he may have an adequate basis for making a sound vocational choice. This choice is a very important one. Not only do the future happiness and usefulness of individuals hinge partly upon this decision, but the educational plans of most students will be based in part upon the intended occupational destination.

Proportion of students with vocational choices and preferences. The provision of specialized curricula in secondary schools and the choice of vocational subjects presuppose the possession of vocational plans by students. Not all students, however, possess such plans. Some students do not even express preference for any occupation. It is believed that the stimulation and help provided by the guidance service will cause students to decide upon a vocational objective. Consequently, it is claimed that the proportion of students with vocational choices and preferences

[6] *Teachers College Record*, Columbia University, Vol. XXXIII, No. 4, January, 1932, pp. 322–325. A statement of measures considered for use in an investigation of outcomes of guidance being made on a grant from the Carnegie Corporation through the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

may be regarded as one measure of the effectiveness of the program of guidance. Such choices will be considered tentative and subject to change. The choice of a general occupational field may be considered adequate, especially in the lower grades of the secondary school.

These data can be collected by means of a blank of inquiry to students or by personal interview. It is necessary that the student himself be solicited for this information since he is more familiar with his own plans than any other person.

Harmony between vocational choice and capacity and interests. Probably the most important claim made for guidance in connection with the choice of a vocation is that the occupation selected will be more nearly in harmony with the capacity and interests of the student than would be the case with unguided decisions. It is desired that students of superior ability choose occupations with high requirements and that students of inferior ability select lines of work with less severe requirements. It is desired, also, that the student have a natural interest in the activities of the vocation of his choice.

This important outcome of guidance cannot be measured as accurately as one would desire. However, rough indications of the levels of ability of persons now engaged in occupations are available, and the amount of mental capacity required for certain occupations is known. Also, we have definite information concerning the capacities needed to prepare for those occupations which require high school, college, or university training. Of the types of work for which there appear to be no educational requirements, many can readily be recognized as requiring a very low level of mental ability. It is also true that for students of very high or very low mentality there is little difficulty in recognizing the more gross inconsistencies in vocational choices. The measures of vocational and other types of interest can be compared with certain aspects of the chosen occupation to note agreement or disagreement.

Extent and nature of shifts in vocational choices. A major task of guidance is associated with supplying the student with comprehensive and unbiased information relative to occupations and occupational conditions. Of equal importance is the obligation to help the student discover his own interests and capacities. One would expect plans made with such preparation to be characterized by a greater degree of permanence than would be the

case with occupational choices made less carefully by unguided students.

The degree of stability or permanence among the occupational plans of students may be regarded as one of the criteria for evaluating the effectiveness of guidance. Especially is this true of the upper years of the high school. Because of the increased contacts with occupational information and the added knowledge of self which result from adequate guidance, more changes might be expected on the junior high school level when guidance is first provided. This suggestion of permanence does not mean that there will not be any shift in plans. It is indicative only of a belief that students will change their plans less frequently when careful consideration is given to the selection of an occupation than when choices are made without careful thought and study. Another important criterion is associated with the direction of such changes in vocational plans as are made. Genuinely helpful guidance will probably result in these changes being of such a nature as to bring the intended occupational destination more closely in harmony with the capacities and interests of the students.

If the vocational choices of students have been recorded periodically, one could analyze the results to ascertain the extent and direction of change. If there is no record of this item, the information must be solicited from the student. There would probably be some error in the latter procedure.

The extent to which students enter and remain in the occupation chosen when in high school. A follow-up study of students after entry into occupational life will yield certain criteria for determining the effectiveness of guidance. One of these is the extent to which former students enter and remain in the occupation chosen and trained for when in high school. Since competent guidance workers attempt to lead students to give serious and extended consideration to the making of an occupational choice and to the selection of an appropriate program of training, it is probable that the students who were guided would be more likely to enter the line of work chosen in high school and less likely to shift from the occupation of choice than would be the case among unguided individuals. Also, the number of different positions and occupations engaged in during the first years after leaving school may indicate the degree of difficulty students experience in beginning employment. Not all of these changes can be considered as

disadvantageous. An analysis of these changes should not be without value. A blank of inquiry may be utilized to secure the vocational histories of students since leaving school. Information concerning vocational training may be obtained from an analysis of school records.

Success in the work of the occupation engaged in after leaving school. Since competent guidance workers attempt to lead the student through that series of experiences which will make him aware of his various strengths and weaknesses and, further, since the guided student will be stimulated to give thoughtful consideration to the capacities thus revealed in the making of an occupational choice, one might expect guided workers to evidence less inability to perform satisfactorily the tasks of the occupation entered than would be the case among individuals for whom guidance service had not been provided. Employers' ratings and the after-school vocational histories of students may be collected and examined for this evidence of effective guidance.

Satisfaction in the work of the occupation entered. Students under effective guidance will make occupational choices with an extended knowledge of the nature of the activities and requirements of the type of work selected. As suggested above, guided students will also make these choices in the light of a thoughtful consideration of their respective interests and capacities. Consequently, former students who have received adequate guidance in the formulating of their respective vocational choices are less likely to find the activities of their chosen lines of work uninteresting and distasteful than would be the case among unguided workers. Evidence as to the degree of satisfaction experienced in the work of the occupation can be secured by a questionnaire to former students.

VII. VOCATIONAL ADVISEMENT IN A CHANGING ECONOMIC WORLD[7]

C. A. Prosser

Sometimes in reverie and occasionally in dreams, the industrial life of America rises before me as one Great Industrial City. Along its noisy streets there mount toward the heavens huge temples of industry, within which men make a living by producing

[7] *Occupations—The Vocational Guidance Magazine*, Vol. XI, No. 2, November, 1932, pp. 51–66.

goods to serve the world's needs. In adjoining streets and in more quiet suburbs, laboratories and shops are busily engaged in discovering, inventing, designing, and fashioning new labor-saving devices and processes to take the place of human labor. From time to time the results of their work find their way to the rear doors of the temples of industry. Soon the men who have been displaced by the new mechanism or method pour out into the street; look in a bewildered way at the tall temples that tower around them; and ask in discouraged tones: "Where in all this mess can I find another job?"

Changing jobs and shifting workers. Whatever may be the final or net result of technological progress upon the total number of full-time jobs available in the United States—upon the total opportunities for full-time employment—no one will question the essential truth in the foregoing picture of the way in which workers are constantly being displaced by labor-saving machines and processes, and as a result dropped from the payroll into the pool of the unemployed, at least temporarily. Nor will anyone familiar with conditions of employment in productive industry, at least, dispute the statement that the tempo of this displacement has been continually increased. The rate at which workers are supplanted by machines has been constantly accelerated as the number of new inventions has been rapidly increased and as these substitutes for human labor have been introduced and used more rapidly on a more extensive and widespread scale.

This picture of the results of technological advancement upon the employment of workers in manufacturing establishments is also one that describes conditions and tendencies in coal mining, in agriculture, in transportation, and in the service trades. Nor are the effects of the Iron Man confined to the productive callings alone. To a degree already startling, the increased introduction and use of labor-saving devices and processes have brought about a corresponding acceleration in the displacement of workers who are engaged in communication, transportation, trade, and other branches of the distributive callings. Indeed, it would not be difficult to show that technological progress is also affecting in the same way almost every occupation commonly classed as professional.

In every line of employment, the advancement of labor-saving mechanisms and methods is causing more workers to lose employment, at least temporarily, and each worker on the average to

lose his employment more frequently. To this direct effect of technological change upon employment conditions must be added certain indirect results which are almost as formidable. In the triumphant wake of the Iron Man have come both large-scale production of goods and sweeping changes in the materials and tools used in that production. These in turn have led directly or indirectly to huge corporations, combines, mergers, the abandonment of plants, sick and dying industries, over-equipment, over-production, seasonal employment, overcrowded occupations, and a constantly shifting labor force. Taking advantage of its opportunity, moreover, scientific management, beginning where the labor-saving machine ends, proceeds to specialize the task further and to subdivide labor further until the displacement of workers due to improved management of men and materials and machines often exceeds that which is traceable directly to the inventor or the chemist.

As a result of all these causes working together, the typical worker is more and more becoming one who is employed in a job that is subject to both abolishment and pronounced change. He is, therefore, more or less temporarily employed. Whether he looks forward to it or not, the job which the typical worker holds is likely to be either completely abolished by technological change or to be so greatly modified in its content and demands as to become virtually a new job which, as we shall see, he may or may not be able to perform.

New jobs for displaced workers. The problem before the worker of the twentieth century is not that of adapting himself to the conditions of a static job whose demands are fixed and constant, but of a dynamic job which is in process of change or of complete abolishment as the result of technological progress and other concomitant causes. Promotion in an occupation means the continued advancement from one job to a better one, which is won by the worker who succeeds in meeting the requirements of each dynamic job up the line, whatever may be its shifting demands. Because of the acceleration in the discovery, invention, introduction, and widespread use of labor-saving devices and processes, the shifting character of occupations has been constantly increasing during the present century.

In a system of free economic competition we may expect this acceleration to proceed at an ever-increasing rate. As a result, jobs and occupations will tend to become even more dynamic.

They will be wiped out by technological progress more frequently, and more workers will be displaced correspondingly. The jobs that continue will be greatly modified in character and, correspondingly, in the kind and grade of skill and knowledge required for their efficient performance. As we shall see later, out of this flux new employments will be developed in the discovery, designing, fashioning, installing, and servicing of improved labor-saving mechanisms and processes, and these employments will continually make higher demands on the intelligence, the understanding, and the resourcefulness of our more permanently employed technicians and mechanics.

It is in this world of rapidly changing jobs and occupations that the American youth must work out his own destiny. The problem would be difficult enough if these jobs and occupations remained fixed while workers strove to meet their varied requirements, to hold a present employment, and to prepare for advancement to a better position. It becomes as much more complicated under the actual conditions of dynamic jobs which he faces as a moving picture in contrast with a "still." Before he enters upon his first employment he must make one decision: "What kind of a job shall I try to get, or, if you will, what job shall I accept?"

After he enters upon employment he must make, during his years as a worker, many decisions, such as: "Shall I stay in this line of work or shift to some other; or, having lost my job, what shall I try to do next; or, having been dropped by my old employer, where shall I find another one; or where can I get help in learning my job better, or what is the line of promotion in my present occupation; or how can I get help in preparing for the next job up the line; or how can I plan and realize a career in my line of work; or how can I keep abreast of the many and swift changes in technical knowledge and practical processes that are going on in my line of work; or by what means can I make myself indispensable to an employer in my occupation and thus insure permanent employment?"

For every problem and question which the typical youth must decide before becoming a wage earner, a hundred arise after he enters upon employment. For every help, therefore, which he receives from a vocational counselor, there are many occasions on which he may need such help after he goes to work. Nevertheless, our whole program of vocational counseling has appar-

ently been set up on the theory that the youth needs help greatly in finding his first job but no help at all thereafter. We have developed with extraordinary rapidity a movement for the vocational guidance of those who are attending full time and regular schools. With the single exception of the service rendered to working youth over fourteen and under eighteen years of age by the compulsory continuation schools in the larger industrial centers of about half the states, no provision has been made at public expense or under public auspices for the vocational advisement or placement of young persons who have checked out of the public schools to go to work.

No advisement for displaced workers. In many communities every effort is made to help the sheltered youth, before he goes to work, regarding the wage-earning problem before him. Irrespective of the efficiency of much of this effort, too many regular schools say to him, in effect: "We have no further responsibility for you. By virtue of the fact that you have withdrawn from our regular enrolment, you are no longer entitled to any service from us but must hereafter fend for yourself."

Roughly, about 350,000 working boys and girls, most of them under sixteen and few, if any, over eighteen, receive help regarding their job problems during the few brief years they belong as wage-earners to the continuation or part-time school. Outside the perfunctory service of registering those out of work who desire employment, rendered by the public employment offices of the states and by the Federal government, there are few, if any, public agencies which undertake to provide adequate counsel for any person over eighteen years of age regarding the vital and perplexing problems of getting and holding a job, and of winning promotion in the intricate and kaleidoscopic world where he must compete with his fellows, equally perplexed and equally in need of help from some source. So far as I know, moreover, there has not as yet been established by private agency any service in vocational counseling which includes within its purview the youth or man who has already gone to work, as well as the boy or girl who is still in the full-time school.

Causes of the neglect. There are, doubtless, many reasons for the emphasis in vocational counseling which has been laid on service to the sheltered group that still remains in school, and for the exclusion from that service of those already employed. Because of their academic antecedents and predilections, many

vocational guidance persons are ignorant of the real conditions of employment which the youth faces. Such counselors are absolutely honest in their conception of jobs as "stills" instead of moving pictures—as employments having a fixed content and making fixed demands that ambitious workers may learn in a systematic way as they advance through a series of static experiences, which are upgraded so that by learning each of them in order, the worker masters the occupation, wins deserved promotion, and achieves permanent employment.

Nothing could be further from the truth. Nevertheless, still other educators, who recognize the ceaselessly changing character of the world of jobs and the corresponding need of the wage-earner for counsel in his dilemmas, are afraid, apparently, to face the problem. Ostrich-like, they stick their heads in the sand and refuse to see what they know they will see if they look. As in "Mrs. Warren's Profession," they choose to take the easiest way, which to the traditional schoolmaster is always that of dealing with the conforming group of young people whom legal and parental control brings to the schoolhouse. By this plan he avoids the undoubted difficulties connected with any effort to provide service for those who have left the schools for wage-earning; who do not conform in their interests and needs to the accepted pattern of regular students; and who are largely out of both parental and legal control.

Another moving cause of the neglect of both the training and the vocational advisement of the youth who has gone to work is the feeling on the part of the regular school administrator that all the money available should be expended on the other group. It is needed to provide attractive buildings, the best facilities, better salaries for more capable teachers, and attractive programs both inside and outside the schoolhouse for the full-time group of students. "By virtue of the fact that they remain in school, these constitute the superior group upon whom the expenditure of public money will bring the largest returns and will, therefore, constitute the wisest investment."

"Those who have withdrawn to go to work had an equal chance to enjoy the facilities provided for those who remain in school. Since they elected to withdraw, they have forfeited any right to educational service of any kind. As they are now earning money, they should be self-supporting in every way, including further education."

With this argument the use of public funds is restricted for any form of service to employed persons. Meanwhile, we continue to increase the per capita cost of educational service for the typical youth who remains in school and whose family is usually better able to pay for it. The older the group that remains in school, the greater the per capita of its education at public expense, and the greater the proportionate number of its members who are able to pay for what they receive. Conveniently forgetting all this, most communities forego further educational service, including vocational counseling, to those who have entered employment, on the ground that no money is available for the purpose because it must be expended on the other crowd!

Unfounded academic notions. There are still other reasons which have made vocational counseling an exclusively pre-employment service and which are directly traceable to the persistence of certain academic notions. One of these is the belief that education is always something that one gets as a member of a group called a class, which is taught a systematized body of knowledge (facts) by a person called a teacher. This has always operated to minimize the value of practical experience as an educative device and of personal service such as vocational counseling. According to this point of view, vocational guidance constitutes a legitimate part of an educational program when it is given incidentally to those who are attending regular school for other and more important purposes, but not when it is to be given to a youth who needs help in interpreting his experiences as a wage-earner and in planning a career in the line of work in which he is already engaged. That service tends to become something else than education as it becomes a personal instead of a group activity.

Still another even more potent influence upon the policies and practices of vocational guidance is the persistence of a naïve faith in factual education and in the carry-over value for life of cold-storage education in facts and ideas for which the youth has no present use and little, if any, prospect of future use. There can be no defense of the proposal that a program of vocational counseling shall cease for the youth as soon as he enters upon employment, except one or the other of two contentions: (1) either that he will not encounter any further problems, after he gets his first job, which require any decisions by him for which

he needs further counseling; or (2) that he was given by the vocational counseling service before leaving the full-time school a complete factual equipment regarding jobs and occupations and an ability to apply it efficiently in all situations, which have made him self-sufficient for life in solving his employment problems. Anyone who knows the real facts about occupations and employment conditions knows how absurd are both these theories; nevertheless, such notions not only persist with individuals, but they also have been potent factors in determining the purposes and procedures of the program of vocational guidance under complete academic control.

It is this factual and deferred character of vocational guidance for the youth still in school which constitutes the greatest handicap in any effort to make the service efficient. In the performance of any task, efficient results are obtained only by checking them against a standard. When there are no results to check one soon finds himself working in the dark. This is precisely the fundamental trouble in the vocational counseling of school boys and girls. Until, later, they make a deferred choice of an occupation or of preparation for it, there is no opportunity to learn whether they will use the counsel regarding employments which they have been given. When that opportunity comes there is no way to prove that this previous counseling was used at all; or to measure the extent to which it was used; or to determine, even, where the counseling was completely observed, whether it was correct or wise.

There does not exist today, so far as I know, any tangible proof that two decades of vocational guidance have improved the selection of occupations made by our youth on leaving school. All these considerations have tended to make the vocational guidance movement in many places very theoretical instead of practical. In some quarters it has become a cult instead of a practical enterprise and has, as a result, incorporated into the movement all sorts of service, from health and hygiene to morals and conduct, having nothing to do directly with the original aim of guiding young people to suitable employment.

There should be no misunderstanding here. Probably all the various services to sheltered youth which have become part of the vocational guidance movement constitute the most definite program of conservation of our boys and girls which the schools have developed. In that commendable program the actual

working value, in choosing an occupation, of the facts concerning the various employments and their demands on workers is probably much less than is commonly supposed.

The largest value of the vocational phase of vocational guidance lies in its constant emphasis on the truth that all should work; that everyone should try to find a line of employment which he likes and which likes him; and that the way to have a career is to plan it and then prepare for it through education and experience. There are not wanting signs to indicate that more or less consciously the movement has recognized the limitations of the service the schools can really render to youth when it comes to selecting, holding, and advancing in a line of employment, and that there has resulted a spreading and generalizing of the aims of the movement to include other things important both to work and to living which the youth should know.

Confusion and discouragement. Many vocational guidance people who see the constant changes in jobs and the constant shifting of workers find themselves confused in the face of the problem it presents to the youth on leaving school. There may be a recognition of what is happening in industry, but a failure to realize that technological change is also accelerating the displacement of workers in mining, in agriculture, in transportation and in the distributive callings of trade and commerce. Often this confusion leads to the defeatist feeling on the part of the teacher so far as the ordinary boy or girl is concerned, and the ordinary job. What is the use of laying so much emphasis on the choice of the first job when the next improvement in the process may wipe it out and set the young worker adrift?

More than we know, perhaps, this confusion and discouragement regarding the opportunities and possibilities of the employments at which millions toil may explain the great emphasis which many of those engaged in vocational guidance lay upon the choice of a professional career by as many youth of ability as can be induced to take that path. While, of course, there is always room at the top, the truth is that all the professions, with the possible exception of medicine, are already greatly overcrowded—more so than many of the desirable employments of less than college or professional grade.

Along with many others, I share in the notion that the largest service that guidance for the sheltered youth of the schools can render is that of guidance to training and not guidance to a job.

Unfortunately, the only training we have, generally speaking, as yet developed in the schools is training that leads through a regular secondary school course to a liberal arts college and the professional schools. Much less than five per cent of the youth of the country who leave school for work in other than professional occupations have any chance whatever to get any training having any specific value for the kind of work they are to do in life. For them, guidance to training is a joke more honored in the breach than in the observance. After they enter upon employment and discover the need for training that will enable them to hold their present job, they will find an even greater lack of available training facilities to help them.

Perhaps, also, this confusion and discouragement also explains the great emphasis laid on the I.Q. in all discussions among the vocational guidance experts. Apparently the escape is to select the few with higher native or intrinsic intelligence, advise them to shoot at the stars, keep them safely at work through the high school, deliver them to the liberal arts college safely, and let nature take its course. Not a very expert job! Probably this explains also why so much emphasis is laid on one's chronological age and so little is said about the large number of jobs still existing in which, beyond a reasonable degree of sense, the important assets from the employer's standpoint are still the old-fashioned virtues of truthfulness, honesty, promptness, industry, and faithfulness—virtues which no system of mental testing either reveals or evaluates.

What wonder, under these conditions, that the program of vocational guidance resolves itself very largely into a little visiting of large industries and commercial establishments if such are available; a factual study of a wide variety of employments, of a cold-storage character; and the constant preachment of the fundamental thesis that everybody possible should go to college and follow a profession!

In quest of a job. From the standpoint of the mass problem, at least, we need to be concerned least with those who go to college and follow the professions. Theoretically, at least, their longer training at public expense has equipped them, as persons of superior ability, to look out for themselves in getting and holding employment. They constitute much less than one of every twenty of our citizenship who must, somehow, continually hold some kind of a job in order to make a living. Any demo-

cratic scheme of vocational advisement must serve the mass, and serve most those who most need help.

For this reason we are here concerned most with the typical youth of the nation who leaves school to go to work sometime after he becomes sixteen years of age. As assets he possesses at least a common school education and may have part or all of a high school training, but usually in a high school whose chief purpose is to prepare its pupils for college entrance. He may or may not have received the sort of vocational advisement previously described, before dropping out of school. To these assets must be added whatever physical, mental, and personal qualifications—large or small, good or bad—he received by heredity or acquired through environment.

Inescapable is the fact that he must get some kind of a job. Theoretically, he gets one in the occupation upon which he and the vocational adviser at the school agreed as being the one for which he is best suited, because he likes it best and for it he is best fitted. Actually this seldom takes place in practice. The youth who selects his life work before leaving the school, enters upon some job in his chosen line as his first employment, remains in the same occupation while he mounts from one promotion to another until he has achieved the career he planned in his youth, has virtually no existence outside the story books today!

Quite different is the real story. In practice, our youth in quest of a job takes one that is available, of which he knows and for which he can secure fair if not favorable consideration. Obviously, it must usually be one in the old home town; must be open at the time he needs employment, must be one of which, in some way, he has been made aware; must be one for which he is able to set up the presumption that he is fitted; and must be one regarding which he can gain favorable contact with the person who has the job at his disposal.

In spite of all notions to the contrary, these are the true conditions under which the typical American youth gets his first employment. Far more important to him than I.Q. marks and plant visitation and factual knowledge about comparative wages, conditions of employment, and demands upon workers in an array of occupations, is the knowledge which the social circle of his family, the gang, and the neighborhood possesses about current openings for employment and the way to go about getting one of them. However casual or deep-seated may be his

preference for a given occupation, it counts at the outset, at least, for little or nothing if the occupation does not exist locally or is not at the time locally available.

There has just been described the very human way in which the typical American youth secures his first job and will probably always secure it. Along with this way there goes, generally speaking, a corresponding failure of employers to select young recruits properly and to upgrade jobs and promote workers by any definite and systematic plan. Under these conditions everything that might be expected takes place with the youth in his first job. In a few instances he has found his work—let him ask no other blessing. In it he remains and works out a career in a line of promotion which he likes and for which he is adapted. In such a confused hit-or-miss scheme of job-finding, however, it is inevitable that for many reasons the overwhelming majority of youths find themselves misplaced or dissatisfied in the first job, which they soon leave to start again on the great adventure of securing another one.

Any analysis of these reasons will establish all such causes of loss of job, unemployment, and renewed search for re-employment as the following: He left the job because he did not like it; because he did not get along well in it; because it was too hard or too confining; because he was not promoted in wage or position fast enough; because he could not see any future ahead of him; because he saw something he liked better; because he was discharged for indifferent or unsatisfactory work; or because a new mechanical or chemical device or process wiped out the old job and he was not able to qualify for one of the new jobs created by the change.

In my opinion no scheme of pre-employment guidance or advisement will ever serve as a preventive or substitute for the very human way in which the American youth adapts himself to the conditions under which he gets his first job. Not in this generation, at least, will those conditions change. The picture of the human way by which the youth enters into and passes out of his first job is a most discouraging one from the standpoint of those, of whom I am one, who believe that a social responsibility rests upon employers for the better conservation of the young workers whom they employ. Those employers who feel a sense of this responsibility will never discharge it properly unless and until they improve their methods of selecting and handling new

recruits to the business—a problem with which we are here not immediately concerned.

In the pool of the unemployed. When he drops out of his first job for any reason, the typical American youth, whether he realizes it or not, is in a serious plight. He must find a new job for which, usually, the experience in skill or knowledge which he gained on the old one provide little, if any, preparation. In no case is this so true as when he has been displaced by a machine which performs the work which he formerly did, for, as he looks about him, he soon perceives that other employers in the same line of work have, in order to compete successfully, also introduced the same new labor-saving device.

From the pool of the unemployed, he looks about him for a new opening but he does not know what steps to take; nor what kind of jobs are available; nor the real demands and working conditions of available jobs; nor his personal qualifications for these jobs; nor where they are to be found; nor how to go about finding a suitable job; nor where to go for help. If he is ambitious and seeks to break into an occupation at some favorable point or job, all the foregoing questions become still more important, complicated, and difficult to solve. Then, if ever, in his life a situation has arisen "when," in the language of the comic strip, "a feller needs a friend."

What vocational advisement before employment? Suppose we check the needs of the youth, at this juncture, against the equipment in vocational guidance for meeting them which those who have received it carry out from the full-time school. Let us assume that he has been given some sort of an Intelligence Quotient rating as an index of his comparative intelligence. He finds it, however, of very little help in his dilemma. At the best it only reveals the kind of occupation which he should not undertake for lack of ability, but it never tells the occupation which he should undertake because it throws little, if any, light on natural interest, special aptitudes, physical equipment, and the personal qualities which are so often of more importance to the successful pursuit of a line of employment than native intelligence above the level necessary to meet ordinary demands.

For most practical purposes the old school reports of the youth, which he preserved, are of about as much value as a card he may retain giving his Intelligence Quotient rating, because the two run together. Good report, usually good rating; poor rating,

usually a poor report also. But neither I.Q. rating nor school report is of any current value to the youth standing in the pool of the unemployed. It can only be used for his benefit by some one who gains from these credentials a correct estimate of the youth's native ability, so that in advising him with regard to his second or other ventures in finding a job he may be steered away from the jobs and occupations which he lacks the intelligence to perform and advised only regarding those for which he possesses the adequate intrinsic ability. So far as the factual knowledge regarding occupations which was taught him while he was in school is concerned, it has been forgotten, like any other body of facts isolated from experience and taught to immature boys and girls.

Unless some sort of advisement service is provided for the youth who has lost his first job, we can at least be sure that most of the time, effort, and money spent in his vocational guidance before going to work was a useless expenditure! Since the loss of jobs and the hunt for new ones is virtually the experience of every man, then all pre-employment guidance is almost fruitless unless it is preliminary to a definitely organized placement service for the benefit of youth after they have become wage-earners. The latter is needed to justify any expenditure of public money on the former far more than the former justifies the latter.

What should vocational guidance then aim to do for the youth before he goes to work? I pass over the other services or aims which have been included in the movement and confine this statement to that unit of service which has to do with guidance toward a vocation. It seems to me that the aims of this kind of vocational guidance should, so far as facilities at hand permit, include these three services to youth: (1) It should help him to gain a rational (sensible) understanding of himself; (2) it should help him to gain a rational (sensible) understanding of the conditions he will meet in the world of employment; and (3) it should give him a rational (sensible) understanding of an elementary character regarding the technique of finding a job, holding a job, losing a job, getting another job, and planning for a career in an occupation.

Helping the youth to gain a sensible understanding of himself. About some things bearing on this matter we can all readily agree: The object of vocational advisement should be to find out what assets a youth possesses and help him to find an occupa-

tion in which he can use these assets successfully and in which he is interested. The first step, then, in any program is to help him come to a sensible understanding of what he has the capacity to do, and the second is to help him, so far as facilities permit, to find some occupation which he likes and which he is capable of following successfully. In order to be successful and to be happy, he needs to find a line of work which he likes and which he can do successfully. Otherwise, all the voyage of his life may be bound in shallows and in miseries.

Learning one's true assets. Like every other human being, the ordinary youth has mental and physical limitations which he needs to know. Probably no greater injury can be done to anyone than to give him a false estimate of his intrinsic capacity, or to encourage him to plan a career which he does not have the ability to realize. Failure means a waste of time, effort, and money in the attempt to qualify for an occupation to which he was not adapted. Failure too often brings in its wake financial troubles, disillusionment, unemployment, discouragement, an inferiority complex, and the loss of the will to try again.

Tens of thousands of American youth are today pursuing training leading to professions already overcrowded, which they can never practice successfully or for which they have no liking, either because they have been forced by fond parents or because they are laboring under a false notion of their real capacities and real assets. Other great groups of our youth who are today carrying on successfully in occupations of less than college grade are dissatisfied and unhappy. They are laboring under the false notion that they are capable of doing great things, the opportunity for which life has in some way denied them, or that the only true values in life are those which have to do with spectacular performance, prominence, power, and wealth.

Above every other qualification, the vocational guidance expert should be an expert diagnostician of the mental and physical assets of the youth with whom he deals. When he has arrived at the truth regarding any youth he should—gradually and tactfully, to be sure—lead the vocational patient to a clear understanding of what he is capable of doing and, what is probably even more important, of what he is not capable of doing. In the case of any patient, at least for whom there is hope of recovery and life, the doctor in his treatment not only acts upon the facts revealed by his diagnosis but tells the patient what they

are. Since there is a useful place in the world in which almost every youth who tries can be happy and successful, there is no reason that he should not come to understand his real assets and their real possibilities.

This discussion cannot undertake to consider the method by which it is to be done, but can only indicate some of the sensible ideas or points of view regarding himself which the ordinary youth should somehow be led to see:

"I am just an ordinary boy blessed with good health and strength. From my school reports, from what they call my intelligence test, and from my vocational adviser, I know that there are some lines of work for which I am not fitted, but that is true of everybody else. There are many occupations in industry, agriculture, or commercial work that I can do all right. I need to learn more about them so as to make a better choice of what I want to do.

"The most important thing is to find something I like so as to be happy in it. If I like my work, I will try hard to learn it so, as the fellows say, I may be good at it. By working hard I can make each job teach me something and by studying outside, also, I can improve myself so as to make myself indispensable to some employer. In that way I can stick in the business and get promoted. I may not be the brightest student in school by a long shot, but there are two ways I can get ahead. One is to put the best there is in me into my daily work, and the other is to play the game fair by doing the square thing by everyone and being faithful to my employer as long as I remain in his service. In lots of jobs that kind of service counts for more than the superior ability which a more spectacular but less reliable fellow workman may possess. Should I lose my job for any reason, that kind of record is the best help I can have in getting another one.

"Like everyone else I should like to have a permanent occupation and a good income. The way to get it is to start in on some job and keep on working hard until you find the work at which you are happy because you are successful. Continued plugging will bring rewards."

Such a sane attitude does not constitute discouragement, but the sanest kind of encouragement. It will result only from the frank but tactful dealing with our young people which helps them, first, to gain a true picture of their possibilities, and then encour-

ages them to enter upon the grand adventure of realizing them. Such a job well done by a vocational adviser may even equip some youth to educate his own parents away from the foolish attempt to train their offspring for occupations for which he is not fitted or in which he is not interested—a consummation devoutly to be wished!

Against such a policy of frankness in dealing with our youth two very strong popular notions are constantly operating. One is the educational doctrine of encouragement, which holds that our young people should always be stimulated to try for the highest goals, even though they fail, rather than be discouraged from trying because they have learned the real facts about themselves. The second notion which is characteristic of this age of acquisitiveness is that the chief goal of life is the accumulation of things and that real success, therefore, is to be measured in terms of the amount of things—securities, houses, automobiles, radios, and the like—which a man is able to acquire from his occupation.

Along with the doctrine of encouragement there goes a naïve, almost pitiful faith on the part of the typical parent in education as a cure-all. Love of offspring causes him to cling to this faith regardless of the facts. Since others, whom he knows, have taken an extensive education and have made a conspicuous success in life, ergo it will do as much for his son or daughter. Since they show marked capacity to think and to do, ergo education will develop similar abilities for his own son, even though his I. Q. rating and his current school reports show discouraging results. Parental sacrifice will keep him in school and in time the magic of education will do the rest, for it will not only develop his mind but equip him with a body of factual knowledge with which he will succeed even though he does not do very well in school. It is these notions, along with the desire for social prestige, which are crowding the campuses of our public colleges and universities with young people whom we are educating at public expense for a social and economic leadership they can never exercise and for careers they can never realize.

The second notion which resists the frank discussion of the real assets and possibilities of our youth has its source in the greed and swank which characterizes this age more than any of its predecessors. Swept from our feet by an unexampled economic prosperity, the old joys and satisfactions of life have been

almost abandoned. In their place we have substituted a new kind of life, in which we chase the will-of-the-wisp of the pleasure and thrill of external things, with which we play as a spoiled child would play with the toys that he uses and discards. To keep up with our neighbors in acquiring and displaying the latest comforts and luxuries of a mechanical age, we spend our lives in the fierce struggle to acquire money both for the power that it gives and the things it will buy, until the acquisition of money becomes the dominant ambition of our lives. Get money, get it honestly if you can, but "*get money*" seems to be the prevailing spirit of the day.

Disobedience to law, the amazing increase in crimes against property—kidnapping, bootlegging, fraudulent securities, stock market manipulations, adulterated goods, false advertising, the decline of personal integrity, and the loss of confidence in our dealings with each other—all these and many other alarming symptoms reflect, as in a looking glass, the spirit of the world in which the youth of this generation are being reared. Since the realities of the environment where they spend most of their lives are usually more powerful in their influence than the teachings of the school, we may rest assured that our youth have caught this spirit. They could not help but do so, and there is plenty of evidence that many of them, at least, have done so.

For our purposes here, two features of this acquisitive spirit of the times have special importance. One is the emphasis everywhere on the idea that success is to be measured in terms of the abundance of things which men possess. The other is the waning of the old notion that success is to be won by hard work over a period of years and the rise of the contrary idea that, because one should get rich quickly if possible, the way to do it is to gamble on the future by taking a daring shot regardless of the consequences. Anyone who has had close contact with the youth of this generation knows that too many of them are imbued with this false personal and social philosophy, if such it may be called!

Parents have the same notions also. Neither the youth nor they, want to be told the plain truth about his limitations and possibilities. "In this country," as one citizen expressed it, "one man is as good as another and a d— sight more so." He has the same right as others to take a shot at the prizes in important position and salary. Every dictate of family pride tends to

resist the implication that any avenue toward the main chance is not open to its children. Where the family possesses the resources to do it, such an implication is too frequently followed by the determination to equip him, no matter at what expense, for the sort of career against which the teacher has advised.

Getting a sensible understanding of the modern conditions in employment. Vocational counselors of the sheltered youth who has not yet entered upon employment, need to realize even more clearly than he, certain inescapable truths.

Generally speaking, there is no such thing as a trade in the old sense of that word, but only a combination of specialized jobs within the old-time trades. Through these jobs the young worker of industry and ability moves from one level to another of higher demands and of corresponding wage, as a child climbs a staircase—slowly, step by step.

There is no such thing as a fixed job in industry, agriculture, or the distributive callings. As the result of science, discovery, invention, and scientific management, all jobs, some more slowly and others rapidly, are in process of constant change. Continuously, some jobs are being abolished; some are being profoundly modified; and virtually all are in a state of flux, undergoing a ceaseless process of alteration. Only less pronounced are the shifts in occupations as collections of jobs. Many old occupations are waning; some are disappearing; and new occupations are arising for the production of substitute products to take the place of those formerly produced in old occupations or to produce entirely new and different products for the additional comfort or enjoyment of us all. All these statements apply to agriculture and the distributive callings as well as to industry.

These things being true, it is of increasingly less importance as to what line of employment the youth enters when he leaves school. In all of them he will, generally speaking, encounter the same conditions; meet the same general problems of change and adaptation to new requirements; and face the same kind of demands upon his industry and ability from which there is no escape. More inexorably than in any previous age the price of success is hard work, intelligent application to the task of learning, and constant improvement in the knowledge, skill, and job intelligence with which to master the job in hand and win promotion to a better one. More and more, in every line of

employment, opportunity awaits only those who are competent and are willing to pay the price of success.

Under these conditions, for most youths at least, one line of employment provides about the same opportunities for advancement and a career as another. Nor is the level at which he enters any line of permanent consequence. The important thing is not where he is but in what direction he is moving. The one vital thing is that he shall be interested in his work so that he may be happy—for happiness is one of the chief purposes, if not the main purpose in life in a democracy—and so that he may apply his physical and mental assets to the development of a competent and therefore an indispensable workman. "Blessed is the man who has found his calling—let him ask no further blessing."

Of course every youth should be steered away from occupations like the professions, even if he likes one of them, if he does not have the native ability to follow it successfully. Within the limits, however, of the range of lines of work which he can learn to do, the vital thing is that he shall pick one which he likes because interest in an employment is the mainspring which drives a workman to utilize his assets in its mastery. If he is unable to get a foothold at the start in the ultimate line he wants to follow, and if he does not like the first occupation he enters, he should not be discouraged but keep on trying until he finds a job in the kind of work he wants to do. Few youths fail to shift their line of employment and most youths do so numerous times "before they settle down." A rational understanding of the conditions just described, amid which they must make their way, is of vastly greater importance than a mass of second-hand, factual knowledge of wages, hours of labor, and conditions of employment in a wide range of occupations with which the inexperienced novice has had no first-hand contact.

The technique of getting a job, holding a job, and planning a career. If the modern conditions of employment just described be true, it follows that there are three services for which the American wage-earner, whether youth or man, has grave need. One is help in adjusting himself to employment in a confused, complex, and changing economic world. The second is help in planning a career in some line of work. The third is help, through training, in realizing a career, once planned. Little can be said here about the third of these needed services, except to point out that it cannot be rendered adequately in any community

until opportunity is provided for the extension training, through part-time and evening classes, of every ambitious worker who needs specific help in skill or occupational knowledge in order to improve himself on his present job and prepare for a better one to which he aspires. To urge any workman to plan a career, in any community which spends all its money for the education of the more fortunate group that goes to college, comes dangerously near being a case of "demanding without helping."

If it be true that the typical American worker will inevitably face displacement due to technological advance which will make it necessary for him to find and adjust himself to other jobs and occupations, then he needs help most of all in acquiring the technique—the way, the skill—of getting a job, of holding a job, and of planning a career. Only as he deliberately plans a career for himself can he hope to make himself indispensable, so that when displacement takes place he will be promoted to meet the higher demands of some more responsible position created by the new machine or process instead of being discharged. Only in this way can he control his progress from one job to another and thus avoid passing through the pool of the unemployed.

Now the technique or way of doing anything successfully can only be acquired by practice, and is best acquired by practice under direction or supervision. No amount of lecture and advice, however wise and well-meant, will ever give a learner the ability to take care of himself in the matter of employment in the world of modern employment. An ounce of experience in learning how to go about applying for employment, selling one's self to an employer, getting along with a foreman and fellow workman, mastering a wage-earning job and planning for one's own future is far more educative than a ton of more or less loose and aimless talk, or of a mass of undigested facts about occupations.

A proposed plan of vocational counseling. I am proposing below a tentative plan, which describes in some detail the essential aims and procedures of vocational counseling. This plan is based on the facts and principles hereinbefore discussed and is justified by such considerations as the following:

Almost all youths are required numerous times during their lives to make decisions regarding occupations, change of occupation, changes of employers, and the like, for which they must take the responsibility. They need to get experience in the

self-reliance necessary to the proper discharge of that responsibility. They can only develop that self-reliance by practicing it.

All their childhood and through their school career they have been trained to rely on others for virtually everything; consequently, too many of them approach the question of a vocation with the fully developed tendency of relying on others to tell them what job to take and to get them employment in it.

It is proposed, therefore, that the vocational counseling plan contemplated shall only help the youth to help himself in the matter of choosing the occupation he should follow, and in the matter of finding employment in some job within that occupation. Such a program constitutes a sufficient task for any Counseling Service.

Such a plan must provide for the participation of the youth in experiences by which he learns to think straight, with pertinent facts about himself and about occupations. He is counseled while he goes through the grand adventure of finding out for himself an occupation which he likes and for which he is fitted, and of learning for himself how to go about getting employment in that occupation.

In a very real sense vocational counseling, as the term is used here, includes all the organized experiences of the Service by which the youth learns to take care of himself vocationally. From this viewpoint it would include all such experiences as: those by which he learns the real facts about himself and his interests, abilities, and possibilities; those by which he learns the real facts about occupations and their demands, difficulties, and opportunities; those by which he learns to measure himself against occupations; those by which he learns to seek employment for himself; those by which he learns to plan a career for himself in an occupation; those by which he learns to use education for that career effectively; and those by which he learns to become a reliable as well as a competent workman in his line.

Whether operated as a public or private (philanthropic) service in any community or whether, if public, it should be conducted by the public school system or some other public agency, are probably questions which would be settled in different ways by different communities. Any reading of the plan will show that it is designed primarily to serve the working youth. This service could be rendered at the time he is contemplating the withdrawal from school to enter employment; after he has withdrawn from

school and before getting a job; after he has entered employment and has lost his job for any reason; while he is employed and wants to be ready for eventualities; and when in the successful pursuit of a present employment he desires to plan a successful career in the line of work which he likes and which likes him.

Vocational counseling should be an individual and not a mass service. Its purpose should be that of all real education—to help the individual to help himself. Such a service can be rendered only by giving him experience, under direction, in helping himself—and as many times as he wants and needs such help. No other kind of vocational counseling can aid him sufficiently to justify the expenditure of public or private money for its support. No other kind will equip American citizens to make their way successfully through the problems and exigencies of an age dominated by technological advancement and scientific management.

Chapter VIII

The Expanding Function of Education—Special Education

I. INTRODUCTION

The problem of the handicapped has long been a concern of the various states and communities in the United States, and educators have, in response to social demand and need, sought to provide programs of education appropriate to this unfortunate and generally maladjusted group in our social life.

The problem, however, has become more acute with the growing complexity and difficulties of modern life, and there has been a correspondingly increased interest in this group of our population. The character of this increased concern is well expressed in the following statement:

> School and community are becoming increasingly aware of a new group of educational problems—the problems presented by the socially inadequate and maladjusted. The community's attempts to deal with these problems—through social agencies, clinics, courts, and institutions—have shown the possibilities of adult reëducation to be limited. However, these inadequate and maladjusted personalities almost invariably yield a long history of childhood difficulties; and the community has tended to make the school the fulcrum in the whole program of prevention and readjustment.
>
> Individualization and guidance for all children have been the basis of this educational program. But in every school population are many children who vary in one way or another from the average to such an extent that their needs cannot be met without specialized educational provision. Consequently, special education—for the physically, mentally, and emotionally atypical—

has been a vital and growing complement to this program. The major educational tragedy of the depression is the nation-wide tendency of school administrators, faced by the necessity of budgetary curtailment, to cut out special educational services. This policy must inevitably have an aftermath of individual maladjustment that will be with us long after the financial aspects of the depression have been forgotten.[1]

The selections in this chapter present a clear picture of the growing interest in handicapped children, the nature of the social and educational problem involved, the status of special education in the public school, the trend of special education for the underprivileged class, and a more adequate program for their adjustment.

II. ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF SPECIAL EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC[2] SCHOOLS

LEWIS A. WILSON

"For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability. Expenses of these services should be borne publicly where they cannot be privately met."

The above paragraph from the Children's Charter, issued by the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, not only indicates the groups of children who are in need of special educational treatment but also enumerates some of the other services essential to their welfare. Special classes or other special educational services are only a part of a carefully coördinated program of health, educational, and social service which must be provided if these handicapped children are to be adequately served. No one agency can supply all of the services

[1] Zorbaugh, Harvey W., *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 6, February, 1933, pp. 321–322.

[2] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 6, February, 1933, pp. 371-377.

needed. School administrators, responsible for the special educational services of these children, should secure the help and coöperation of all community agencies in the development of the program.

There are many difficult administrative problems to be overcome in providing adequate educational services for the physically and mentally handicapped children and many special groups to be served. There are tens of thousands of children so seriously crippled that they not only need special educational treatment but must also be provided with transportation, physiotherapy treatments, and, in some cases, with artificial appliances. Many of these children are home-bound and in need of home teaching or special institutional care. Other thousands of children are found with physical defects so serious as to require special class training to conserve their vision and ensure their general education. The hard-of-hearing, the cardiac, the tubercular, the blind, the deaf, and those with speech defects add tens of thousands to the vast army of physically handicapped children. In addition, there are thousands of mentally handicapped children who are in need of special class training. The proper education of these children is a joint responsibility of the State and local communities.

The number of physically handicapped children in the United States is so large that it constitutes one of our major educational problems. In each State the number is also sufficiently large to warrant immediate action in providing the special services necessary to meet adequately the educational needs of these children. The most difficult administrative problem, however, is in providing special educational opportunities for the handicapped children living in the rural communities. In the larger urban centers there are usually sufficiently large numbers of children in each handicapped group to warrant the development of special class services. The urban centers usually have the wealth and other resources necessary to develop the work properly. On the other hand, the problem in the villages and rural districts is most baffling. There, the numbers of children in each handicapped group are so small that it is not possible to provide special-class services for them. Moreover, the financial resources of many of the rural communities are too limited to provide many of the special services needed. However, a considerable percentage of the handicapped children reside in village and rural districts.

New types of organization must be provided if these children are to secure special educational opportunities.

As a result of the findings of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, we realize, as never before, that the magnitude and complexity of the problem makes it impossible for any one agency, either private or public, to supply the necessary services. Among the major services to be provided are:

1. A health service to ensure competent and specialized medical care and treatment which is absolutely indispensable to the health of physically handicapped children.
2. A well-organized program of general education, guidance, vocational training, and placement for all children who cannot profit by the educational program provided for normal children.
3. A social service that will help them in solving their many baffling problems.

I wish to make a special appeal for a coördinated program of service for all handicapped children. Generally speaking, no one group has physical handicaps greater than another. The child who is partially blind is just as seriously handicapped as the child with paralyzed legs; the child who is partially deaf is as greatly handicapped as the one with crippled arms; while the cardiac or tubercular child may be carrying a burden as great as that of any of the others. All of these children must have special help if they are to make the most of their lives. The major administrative problems to be solved in providing adequate educational services for these children are as follows:

1. *An accurate census of all handicapped children.* It is obvious that a census of them is necessary if adequate physical care and educational services are to be given them. It is equally important to have the names of all children of preschool age in order that the physical and corrective work for the physically handicapped may be undertaken, and completed if possible, before the child enters school. The census would show the numbers in need of special class service, physical care, artificial appliances, transportation, institutional care, and home teaching, but it is just as important to know the number of partially seeing children who are in need of special-class services as it is to have a record of crippled children in need of similar services. Every State should have a law requiring an annual census of every physically handicapped child from birth to eighteen years of age.

Until we develop such a practice we shall never know how many of these children there are or where they live. The general statement that one child out of three hundred is physically handicapped is meaningless until we have its name, and know where it lives, and determine its physical and educational needs. That is the starting point of all effective work.

2. *An adequate program of physical care for all physically handicapped children whose parents cannot afford to provide the necessary services.* All that we can hope to do for many of these physically handicapped children depends upon their receiving proper corrective care and treatment. At the present time these services are unevenly distributed. A child living in a large center can find competent medical service and, if its parents are unable to pay for it, the service is usually available at free clinics. On the other hand, a child living in certain rural areas cannot find adequate service available within a hundred miles of its home. Certain groups of physically handicapped children are given preferential treatment under the legal provisions of many States. Others are entirely neglected. Why should one child who is physically handicapped fail to secure corrective treatment when another is adequately cared for?

3. *The development of adequate educational services.* A considerable percentage of all handicapped children is in need of special-class opportunities. Others need transportation and still others home teaching. The development of adequate programs of guidance, vocational training, and placement are also equally essential for these children. Training for economic citizenship is of major importance to the handicapped child. This training must be so planned that it takes into consideration not only the handicap of the individual but also the particular aptitudes and abilities which may be capitalized in the training program.

4. *Adequate financial aid in developing State programs for the education of the handicapped.* A careful study of the practices in the various States indicates the wide variation of the methods used for financing programs designed to provide educational opportunities for the handicapped children. The development of complete special educational services is dependent, to a large degree, upon adequate financing. To what extent is the State responsible for the providing of the necessary services? It will be impossible to develop in the various States, particularly in the

rural communities, adequate educational services for the handicapped children, unless liberal State aid is given for it.

5. *Advisory councils for the handicapped.* There are in every State and in every community many agencies interested in one or more groups of the handicapped children. These organizations can become one of the greatest forces in the development of State or local programs if their efforts are combined and coördinated. Such a council would serve as a clearing house of information for physically handicapped groups.

6. *Teacher training.* The success of the special-class services provided by the State or local communities will depend, in a large measure, upon the training and experience of the teachers selected for the work. Every State should set up minimum standards for the certification of teachers of special classes. Only teachers with excellent experience and special preparation should be permitted to teach them. Special-class teaching is always more difficult than the teaching of normal children.

In order to develop properly a State program of education for the handicapped, provision must be made for the training of teachers. In some States, where the numbers of handicapped children in any one group are so small that only a few teachers are needed, the State can arrange to have the special teacher-training work provided by some of the larger institutions that are adequately equipped to do it. In other States, where considerable numbers of special-class teachers are employed, the State should assume the direct responsibility for this training.

7. *Leadership and supervision.* The development of a carefully coördinated program of special educational services for the physically and mentally handicapped children requires unusually competent leadership. It is one of the great undeveloped fields in American education. The program presents many difficult administrative problems in connection with the financing and development of the many unusual services which are essential. Furthermore, it is very desirable to have the active and coördinated coöperation of the large number of organizations in any State—social, medical, civic, welfare, health, service, and fraternal, that are interested in the physical care, education, and general welfare of the handicapped children. Many of these organizations are in a position to offer financial assistance as well as specialized services in the development of the program. The extent to which a State or community meets this baffling problem

will be dependent, to a large measure, upon the competency of the leadership provided. Many large cities are also in a position to employ persons unusually well qualified to administer the work.

It is also necessary for the State, as well as the larger centers of population, to provide adequate supervisory service. The supervisors are in a position to render a very direct service to the teachers of handicapped children. Many of these teachers are employed in communities where no special supervisory service is available. In many cases, too, there are no other special-class teachers in the community. The supervisory service provided for these special classes should be just as direct and frequent as that found in the elementary or secondary schools. Frequently, there is apt to be a feeling on the part of a teacher that a special class is not essentially a part of the regular school system. Whenever special provisions are necessary for any group of these children, the details should be carefully planned in advance, in order to ensure a reasonable coördination of the special-class work with that of the regular school. Adequate supervisory service should also be provided to ensure the proper development of the program.

Commendable progress has been made during recent years in providing educational opportunities for handicapped children. Special facilities have been given in most States for the education of the deaf and blind. Many of them have provided special classes for the mentally handicapped. During the past five or six years a few States have enacted laws for the physical care and education of the crippled children. Many progressive communities have organized special classes for children with serious eye or hearing defects. The organization of many of these special activities, however, has been due to the active leadership of lay groups or organizations interested in the education and general welfare of some group of handicapped children. As a result, very few States have a carefully coördinated program of education for all groups of handicapped children. It is time, therefore, for the school administrators to assume an active leadership in providing for a coördinated program of education for all of these children. The future citizenship and economic independence of tens of thousands of people depends, to a considerable extent, upon our ability to help them physically, educationally, and vocationally.

III. THE GIFTED CHILD[3]

HENRY HERBERT GODDARD

When Thomas Jefferson wrote, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," it was perfectly well understood that he was talking of human rights, *not* of individual capacities; of social relations, not biological. The utterance no more implies that men were created equal in ability and in intelligence than it does that they were created of equal stature. And yet, as Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn has well said, "The true spirit of American democracy, that all men are born with equal rights and duties, has become confused with the political sophistry that all men are born with equal character and ability to govern themselves and others and with the educational sophistry that education and environment will offset the handicap of heredity."

So subtle and settled is this idea of intellectual equality that any attempt to overthrow it meets with the most stubborn resistance in most unexpected quarters. It is now 65 years since William T. Harris called the attention of American educators to the fact that there were children in our schools who ought to be promoted oftener than once a year.

Most parents have always known that there were decided differences in the capacities of their children. The mother of John Wesley wrote that all of her children learned their letters in one day, with the exception of Molly and Nancy. It took them a day and a half. Likewise, teachers have probably always commented on the fact that there were some children who never seemed to work but always had their lessons.

In spite of all of these observations, we have been slow to recognize that the pupils of every schoolroom in our graded system, though of the same chronological age, differ widely in inherited capacity to do intellectual work. We are indebted to Terman for a classification which tells us that 20 per cent of all children are of superior mental ability, while 6 per cent are *very*

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[3] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 6, February, 1933, pp. 354–361.

superior. This latter is the group which is provisionally considered under the title "gifted children."

While the question is still sometimes debated, it is now pretty generally conceded by biologists and psychologists that these students have inherited a superior brain which probably means that a larger proportion of the ten thousand million brain cells with which all humans are endowed have grown and developed to functional maturity. Terman has also shown us in his extensive work entitled "Genetic Studies of Genius," that these children are more healthy than the average child and that they come from families in which there are others of marked ability, thus pointing to the hereditary character of the condition.

This means that on the basis of twenty-five million children of school age in the United States, we have a million and a half who are equipped with a brain so much better than the average that they can cover the work of the curriculum in our public schools in approximately *half* the time required for the average child. It may be pointed out at this place that our term "gifted child" does not include the so-called "child prodigies" such as the Sidis boy, the Hardy boy, and the Stoner girl, who are all the products of home forcing and not examples of inherited ability. If these child prodigies prove anything in regard to education, it would seem to be that to force a child who has not the natural capacity spells ruin. As a recent writer has said of one of these three, "He is ready for the dust heap, a broken bit of human pottery that was baked too quickly."

Contrary to this experience, Terman's studies and the experience of two large American cities after a ten-year experiment have proved that these gifted children are thoroughly normal and capable of profiting by every reasonable advantage that can be offered them.

The poets have sung of the evils of idleness itself, but for children with brilliant minds to be kept in idleness is a double sin. Some educators have appreciated this and various experiments have been tried for solving the problem. The first was the one proposed by William T. Harris whereby children should be promoted faster and thus get through school at an earlier age. This is an appealing thought but experience has shown that it is not the solution of the problem. The procedure which has created the most enthusiasm is what is known as "enrichment of curriculum." This, however, has sometimes been misunder-

stood. For instance, the writer recently found some classes in Germany where the gifted children were being provided for by an enrichment of the course of study. Further investigation showed that these were merely children who had done well in their regular classes and it was thought that they *might* do more work. Accordingly, they they were put in a class by themselves and given *twice as much arithmetic* as they had been doing. In financial matters it is true that enrichment is having more of the same, more money. But enrichment of experience is not necessarily having more of the same kind of experience. Education, rightly understood, is experience. And so it comes about that the enrichment which counts in the education of gifted children is giving them a broader experience; utilizing their time in those activities which call forth their interest and contribute to their mental, moral, and social development.

The records show that some forty school systems have at various times tried segregating the gifted children into classes which were conducted on one or the other of these two plans, or sometimes a combination of both. Many if not most of these classes have been gradually dropped for one reason or another, while the remainder have continued in a more or less perfunctory manner. They have never aroused great enthusiasm in parents, teachers, or school authorities. The fact seems to be that the "rapid-progress" idea does not seem to be the solution of the problem.

With the *enrichment* plan quite different results are recorded. More than ten years ago two of the largest and most progressive school systems in the United States, widely separated and independently, began work with their gifted children. They established special classes for them, which were conducted on the most approved enrichment plan. Today they have some fifteen or twenty classes each in the elementary grades and as many more children in the high schools. Everybody is enthusiastic about them. The writer attended a conference of the teachers of gifted children in one of these two systems and some near-by smaller systems that have adopted the same plan. The conference, an all-day session on Saturday, was attended by four hundred people—teachers, parents, and schoolmen.

If one is to judge by results, the solution of the problem of what to do with the bright boy and girl apparently has been found. It only remains for the patrons of our schools to under-

stand the situation and support the school authorities in the establishment of these classes for the gifted child to come into his own. These children need special consideration and special treatment from a three-fold standpoint. First, in the interest of the children themselves, second, in the interest of the schools, and third, in the interest of the community.

First, the children themselves. They constitute a distinct group, so different from the rest that they cannot properly profit by the ordinary school routine. That has always been the case though not until recently have we had sufficient knowledge of child nature to understand it. Today child guidance clinics find a large part of their problems of maladjustment due to the fact that the child is so far above others in intelligence that he cannot tolerate the same kind of treatment that is proper for the average child. Public-school teachers who have looked into the matter realize that there are one or two children in every class that are wasting a considerable proportion of their time because it is impossible for the teacher to keep them occupied and at the same time do justice to the larger number of average children —especially when she does not understand the situation.

Second, from the standpoint of the school. These children are maladjusted, out of sorts, and unhappy. Every schoolmaster knows that that is the soil in which grow discontent, mischief, and delinquency, habits of laziness, antisocial conduct, and bolshevism. Among other things, the child develops a sense of superiority to those about him, with a consequent contempt for them and their thoughts and feelings. He gets to thinking of himself more highly than he ought to think. He gets to thinking of his own importance which is used for his own aggrandizement instead of for the welfare of the group. Personal power rather than social service becomes more or less unconsciously the impelling motive of his life. He becomes a disturbing element in the school and much energy of teachers, principals, superintendents, and even boards of education is used up in trying to straighten out these cases of misapplied mental energy.

There has been serious and proper objection to picking out the bad boys from the school and putting them in a group by themselves because, by this means, the evil thoughts of each are pooled and become the common property of all. There is no such objection to picking out the gifted children and putting them in a group by themselves. On the contrary, all is to the good.

Theoretically and practically, it is found that they work together, each respecting the other's ability; they lose their self-conceit, because they find that there are others as bright as they are; there is a healthy mixture of rivalry and coöperation; and there is easily instilled in them by the teacher who has the right ideas the conception and habit of service to others rather than individual power.

In spite of the obvious advantages and desirability of these classes one sometimes hears objections to segregating these children into special classes. The same arguments would overthrow the entire graded system. The older ungraded system had some good points which we have lost, but all in all we would hardly go back to the old plan. There is little more argument for having in one group children of mental ages, say from 9 to 14, than there is for having chronological ages from 9 to 14.

A curious objection is sometimes met with to the effect that special classes are undemocratic! When the objection is honest it is probably due to confusion over the word "special"—it suggests *special privilege.* The case is similar to that of one of our large State universities which was subjected to a legislative investigation as a result of an assertion that the professors were "red." They were teaching socialism! The catalogue showed a department of *sociology!*

If democracy means equal opportunity for all, rich and poor, fortunate and unfortunate, then special classes are required; for no child has an equal opportunity in any class where he is forced to mark time because the majority are slower than he. Moreover this movement is merely giving to every child just what the rich and the special privileged have always had. Their parents with money enough to pay tuitions in private schools or salaries for tutors have seen to it that their children had the opportunity they required. Democracy demands that *every child* shall not only have public-school privileges, but that he shall have public-school opportunities adapted to his needs, whether he be an average child, a blind child, deaf, crippled, mentally defective, or "gifted."

Third, from the standpoint of the community. It is a trite remark that we need leadership. We are woefully lacking in leaders. This is not the place to discuss the psychology of leadership, but it may be pointed out that the failure of a great many of our would-be leaders is due to the fact that they have too

narrow a view of life. Too many people have specialized too early. They know their own specialty but they do not see its relation to other activities and to the great problems of group welfare. Too often our leaders have been people who had the zeal but not the knowledge or the wisdom. We have never educated for leadership. We have put all children through the same mill and we have accepted as leaders those who have ambitions or have acquired certain techniques or special controls, but who have not had the intelligence to apply whatever abilities they possess to the pressing problems of the times.

Here, however, are a million and a half children who are *born with superior brains*, who are capable of the highest development, whose very intelligence enables them to discover and appreciate the relation of the individual to the group, and who need only a little encouragement in school to become wholeheartedly devoted to the social welfare. Korzybski has said that the World War marked the passage of humanity from its childhood to its manhood. This would mean that at last society had become conscious of itself and its problems. If this were true, we would now be grasping every opportunity to develop ourselves to the utmost and to attack our social problems with the same care, intelligence, and forethought with which our most intelligent people attack their own problems. And one of the first to be attacked would be this question of the adequate education of these exceptionally gifted children.

The trail has been blazed. Two of the largest school systems in the United States have made independently a ten-year experiment in segregating these children in special classes and giving them an enriched program. Both of these cities have arrived at the same conclusion: that the plan is a success, that it is practicable, that results are most gratifying, and that it should be the next great move in education.

In view of these facts, the White House Conference recommended that such classes should be formed in all cities and that the work should be conducted on the enrichment plan.

The Commissioner of Education of the United States and the National Educational Association were urged to promote this movement in every possible way. It was urged that all teachers in service and all persons preparing to teach should be made acquainted with the problems, with the plan and the methods, to the end that they might recognize the gifted child and do

whatever is possible for him even in rural communities and isolated centers where it is not possible to get together enough of these children to form a special class. And the report concluded with the quotation, "Failure to develop the very bright to their very highest capacity represents waste of a kind that we can least afford."

IV. TRENDS IN EDUCATION OF CRIPPLED CHILDREN[4]

MARGUERITE LISON INGRAM

In the United States up until nearly a decade ago, there had not been any State-wide programs looking towards the solution of the educational problems of the crippled child. A few of the States previous to that time had legislation providing for medical care of this group. Some of the larger cities had developed splendid programs for the education and medical care of crippled children, but their interest in this problem had been entirely local. In 1921 there was organized the International Society for Crippled Children, a group comprised largely of lay-persons interested in the problems of the disabled. Through the promotional efforts of this organization under the inspiring leadership of its president, Mr. Edgar F. Allen, of Elyria, Ohio, thirty-three States have formed State societies. These State societies have created considerable interest in the problems of the crippled child and have sponsored legislation in behalf of this group. In these particular States there have been enacted many laws looking towards equal opportunities for crippled children, both from urban and rural communities, in the fields of medical care and education. The trend in legislation regarding education for crippled children is to provide them with opportunities equal to those of the normal child.

In the field of education, perhaps there has been no one who has had a greater vision of the possibilities for the crippled child than Miss Jane A. Neil. Miss Neil was for a number of years principal of the Spalding School for Crippled Children in Chicago. Her recent death has caused a deep-felt loss in the crippled-child

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[4] *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 6, February, 1933, pp. 339–347.

movement in this country. Not only did she strive valiantly for enlarged and better facilities for the education and care of crippled children of her own city, but she has urged at all times the establishment of special facilities for the handicapped child of the small town and rural community.

Because of Miss Neil's wide experience, her untiring efforts in behalf of the physically handicapped, and her broad vision of the entire problem, her services as chairman of the Crippled Children Committee of the recent White House Conference were of inestimable value. In 1930 this committee conducted the first scientific study of the problem on a national scope.

The committee learned in surveys made in some States that the ratio of crippled children averaged about 2.5 to 3 per thousand population. It is estimated, therefore, that there are 300,000 crippled children in the United States. It was also learned that about one third of this group need special educational facilities. Of this number approximately 10,000 or one tenth of that number were actually being provided with special educational facilities.

In 1930 sixteen States either required or authorized the establishment of special classes for the crippled. Eleven of the sixteen States provided some State support for these special classes and nine provided for State supervision of the work in the educational department. A few States provided for academic instruction in hospitals for crippled children, for transportation to regular schools, and for home teaching.

The problems of the crippled child are so complex that it is impossible to separate any one phase and to attempt to consider it to the exclusion of the other phases. The physical and medical side of this problem must at all times be considered if a satisfactory educational and rehabilitation program is to be carried on. The closest coöperation is necessary with the medical, social, and industrial groups of a community if the educational facilities for crippled children are to produce the best results.

In 1930 there were fifteen States which provided special classes for crippled children as part of the regular school system. One other State had hospital classes but no other educational provision for this group. Admitted to these orthopedic classes which are under the supervision of the public-school systems are various groups of crippled children. Based on the policies followed by the various States in regard to which children shall

be admitted to these special classes, the White House Conference recommended the following standards:

A crippled child eligible to attend a special school or class for crippled children is one who, by reason of disease, accident, or congenital deformity, cannot attend the regular school with safety and profit during the period of his physical rehabilitation, simultaneous mental training and social adjustment.

A child for whom physicians and surgeons have recommended the daily care of nurses and physiotherapists.

A child who must have transportation service to reach school, specially adjusted furniture, or other facilities.

A child who needs special attention in vocational guidance, training, and placement.

A child handicapped by cardiac complications or other medical conditions for whom no other provision has been made.

A child who requires plastic surgery which must be followed by muscle training or speech training.

For the group of children who are unable to walk or to climb stairs it is very evident that school facilities different from those in most regular schools are necessary. The orthopedic schools are usually provided with ramps or elevators in order that wheel chairs may be moved about the building. With such provisions, a child using crutches or wearing braces encounters little difficulty in attending classes. At all of the special schools bus transportation is provided. In most of the special schools an entry to the building is provided which is protected and which has a landing level with the floor of the bus. Railings are provided along the hallways and in classrooms in order that children having difficulty in standing may have this support. In many of these special schools, matron service is provided in order that quite helpless children may attend. Only a few of the larger cities have provided high-school courses in the special buildings. It is being urged that all regular high-school buildings provide elevator service, thereby making it possible for many older disabled boys and girls to obtain higher education. Many of this group are now being deprived of this opportunity only because of their inability to climb stairs.

When the orthopedic classes were first established, some of the cities provided for the educational needs only of the crippled child and admitted just those children who had difficulty in attending regular schools. Other cities provided for treatment and supervision of the physical care of crippled children as well. In the group needing treatment are many children who, as far

as their ability to walk or climb stairs is concerned, are able to attend regular schools but who come to the orthopedic school to receive the necessary treatment provided there. The tendency in most States at the present time is to provide therapeutic treatment as part of the service of all orthopedic schools and to admit this latter group.

There are many crippled children for whom no surgical care may be necessary but for whom some type of therapeutic treatment may correct or greatly improve their condition. In a few States, facilities for treatment of this group has been provided in convalescent hospitals. It has been found, however, that in orthopedic schools the same care can be provided at a lesser cost and under much more normal conditions for the child.

Since 1900, medical science has progressed far in the surgical treatment of orthopedic cases. Frequently, however, some of the accomplishments of fine surgical care for crippled children have been lost through the inability of the parents to provide the after care advised and which is necessary to ensure permanent results. Where orthopedic schools have been established, children who have been discharged from hospitals with recommendations for corrective exercises, muscle training, heliotherapy, hydrotherapy, and other forms of treatment can be enrolled and the physicians' recommendations carried out for as long a period as is necessary. Each child to receive treatment in an orthopedic school is admitted on the recommendation of his physician or of an orthopedic specialist.

The physiotherapists who have charge of the treatment work in the orthopedic schools are either graduates of schools of nursing or physical education with additional training and experience in crippled-children work. The trend now is to have in the orthopedic schools those physiotherapists who have had a physical-education degree of university grade with the additional training necessary for work in the crippled-children field.

Another group of handicapped children usually cared for in the orthopedic schools is the children suffering with cardiac complications. Some of the children with certain forms of heart disease are too seriously ill, of course, to attend any school. Another group, with some restriction of their activity, can attend a regular school with safety and comfort. There are children in a middle group, however, who are able to continue with their academic studies and are usually able to keep up to

grade if provided with transportation to school, do not need to climb stairs, can have several rest periods during the day, and can have all their recreation and exercise carefully supervised. Children in this group of cardiac cases are enrolled in orthopedic classes. Records are kept of their pulse and temperature and frequent reports are made to the physician by the physiotherapist at the school. A few children having other medical conditions such as diabetes, kidney complications, etc., are sometimes admitted to the orthopedic schools when their condition does not permit their attendance at a regular school.

Most orthopedic schools are provided with rest rooms where the crippled children and those with heart trouble may have as many rest periods as their physicians recommend. In nearly all schools, noon luncheon and, usually, milk during the morning session is served. In a few schools breakfast is also served to those children who are very much undernourished.

In the classrooms of the orthopedic schools, special seats are usually provided the children with certain types of deformities. Seats have recently been manufactured which provide supports for the child wearing a cast or braces. These seats can also have the wooden back supports removed and be supplied with wide bands of webbing which can be padded in various ways to make both a corrective and comfortable back rest for the child having a spinal curvature.

The academic instruction in these special schools is conducted much as in regular schools. As far as possible the regular course of study is followed. When these classes are first organized in a city, there are always a number of children greatly retarded because of absence. In order to bring these children up to grade, much of the academic instruction in the orthopedic classes must be more or less on an individual basis. In the States where there has been established a complete educational program for the crippled child, one does not find so much retardation after a few years.

In some States where the special classes for crippled children have been organized for several years, additional requirements above those in regular schools have been set for teachers in orthopedic schools. Such cities have required postgraduate study of the problems of this group and also a certain number of hours in observation at clinics. In States where orthopedic classes have only recently been organized, academic teachers

have been chosen from the superior group in regular schools, with much consideration to their personality, leadership, and ability to adapt themselves easily to all conditions.

In the White House Conference report the following recommendations were made regarding the requirements for academic teachers. These recommendations portray very clearly the complexity of the educational problem of the crippled child:

> It is manifest from these findings that teachers of crippled children must have exceptional qualifications and training. In addition to superior ability in teaching normal children, the requisites in personality are adaptability, willingness and endurance, controlled sympathy, and vision. The teacher of crippled children must be able to keep up to grade the children who are constantly becoming retarded by absences of hours, days, or weeks. She must carry on her class program in the larger schools in cooperation with the doctors, nurses, and physiotherapists of the treatment center, and coördinate her work with that of shops or with other special services. She is surrounded by children enduring discomfort, often actual physical or mental suffering; there are noises of crutches and braces, of wheel chairs; the shock of children falling and the necessity for helping, at all times, in meeting emergencies that are foreign to regular classroom teaching. Since the welfare of the crippled child is dependent in so great a degree upon the attitude and circumstances of the family, the teacher must be able to enter into their planning for his educational and vocational program. Vision is especially needed, when the time comes, to help tide the adolescent child through the spiritual crisis of realization of all the implications of his physical impairments, in their relation to his social and his vocational ambitions. These qualities, needed in any school for crippled children, cannot be too greatly emphasized for the teacher in the single-room class or rural school.
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> Skill in teaching in this special field depends largely upon a sound background of knowledge of child psychology, with an added insight into the emotional and mental significance of physical defect; upon a scientific understanding of the diagnosis, treatment, and prognosis of the diseases which are the chief causes of crippling; and upon training in the general principles of social case work and vocational guidance.

In some States, academic instruction is provided in orthopedic hospitals and in general hospitals having wards for orthopedic cases. A few States grant State aid for such instruction; in the others, the local boards of education pay the cost. Several States provide State aid for instruction given crippled children in their homes, but in most States this cost is paid by local school districts.

There is another group of crippled children who do not need the supervision of an orthopedic school but who are handicapped in walking to the regular school. Several States have provided aid for transportation for this group. Several States have also

provided aid for maintenance to assist crippled boys and girls in obtaining a high-school education. These are the children living in rural communities where no high school is established.

It was very evident in the survey made by the White House Conference that the crippled child of rural communities and small towns did not have equal opportunity with those living in urban centers. Since the time of this Conference, the Federal Bureau of Education added a member to its staff to study the educational problems of crippled children. At the present time a very extensive study is being made of crippled children living outside the urban centers by this Bureau.

The appointment by the Federal Bureau of Education of some one to study the problem of the crippled child has also fulfilled to a large measure the recommendation of the Conference that a national bureau of research and publicity be established for the problems of the crippled child.

Following are the general recommendations which were made by the White House Conference for Federal, State, and local organizations necessary to carry on an efficient program for the education and follow-up care of the crippled child:

The following organizations should be instituted:

1. A National Bureau of Research and Publicity.

To study the best methods of giving the crippled child, according to his endowments, equal opportunity with the normal child.

To study the end results of special education through individual case studies embracing large numbers of children over a period of years.

To study the cost of education for crippled children under different methods, in the light of services rendered and end results.

To establish terminology.

To study the problem of rural children, with especial reference to those of mountainous regions and of the great plains.

To plan for the extension of the services of the State and Federal vocational rehabilitation bureaus to meet those of special schools and classes.

To carry on a continuous program of publicity and propaganda based upon the constitutional rights of crippled children, not upon sentiment.

2. An administrative unit, wherever feasible, in the State department of education, to which shall be delegated all powers and duties in connection with the care and education of physically handicapped children.

To provide for the systematic enumeration of crippled children from birth to twenty-one years of age through a school census, to be taken annually by enumerators qualified to recognize the various types of crippling diseases and conditions.

To maintain a central register of crippled children through a well-coördinated system of reporting from all agencies, organizations, and individuals concerned in the care of crippled children.

To assume responsibility for coördinating the services of the State departments of health and welfare with that of education in a complete program for prevention, treatment, education.

To work in close coöperation with the division of rehabilitation in developing a coördinated program for vocational guidance, training, and placement.

To report children to local school boards.

To promote and supervise special education in local school systems, serving in an advisory capacity on questions relating to local problems.

To assume responsibility for proper legislation relating to provisions for handicapped children.

To secure coöperation of medical and lay groups in the larger problems of prevention.

To evaluate annually the work of the State and local communities.

To develop effective methods of publicity in order that the public may have a thorough understanding of the value of special education for physically handicapped children.

To encourage the establishment of training courses in higher educational institutions to meet the need for more and better trained classroom teachers, physiotherapists, visiting teachers, and vocational advisers.

3. Special classes or schools.

The public-school systems of local communities, city, town, or county should be responsible for the proper care and training of every individual crippled child.

Although dictated by local conditions, organization, facilities, and methods should be based upon the findings of the Federal and State bureaus.

V. PHYSICALLY AND MENTALLY HANDICAPPED CHILDREN: A PROGRAM FOR THEIR ADJUSTMENT[5]

WILLIAM J. ELLIS

This country suffers an enormous loss, both economic and social, from adult handicapped persons who through lack of proper training facilities have become, to a degree, dependent.[6]

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[5] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 6, February, 1932, pp. 368–373.

[6] The program presented herewith is the outgrowth of the work of the Committee on the Physically and Mentally Handicapped of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, William J. Ellis, chairman. The following subcommittees were concerned with particular phases: The Deaf and Hard of Hearing, Josephine B. Timberlake, chairman; The Visually Handicapped (blind and partially seeing), Robert B. Irwin, chairman; The Crippled, Harry H. Howett, chairman; Internal Conditions, LeRoy Wilkes, chairman; Problems of Mental Health, Lawson G. Lowrey, chairman; Problems of Mental Deficiency, E. R. Johnstone, chairman; and the Vocational Adjustment of Physically and of Mentally Handicapped Children, Emil Frankel, research secretary.

The potential problem of handicapped children threatens to be still more serious, due to the growing complexity of our daily life and the increasing demand of industry for the capable and alert. Among the handicapped in America today there are large numbers of children who are now or will later become social and economic liabilities unless society's attitude towards the physically and the mentally handicapped becomes wholly constructive.

A majority of physically and mentally handicapped children possess aptitudes and abilities which, when developed by proper social, academic, and vocational training can make these children socially and economically competent. To every child we owe the opportunity to develop to the maximum of his capacity. It is our particular duty to see that physically or mentally handicapped children have this opportunity, as a matter of right and fair play, in order to conserve human resources and to afford protection against dependency, pauperism, frustration, and delinquency. The waste of ability involved in our present laissez faire policy warrants our putting forth every effort in behalf of physically and mentally handicapped children, and demands that we supply such facilities that they may have a thorough preparation for community life. The most immediate objective in dealing with the handicapped children is the determination of their numbers, the discovery of the extent to which their needs are being met, and of the facilities necessary to meet their needs.

Ten Million Handicapped Children

The large number of handicapped children in the United States indicates that the problem of the handicapped child is by no means a minor one. It is estimated that there are more than ten million children in the United States who are handicapped in the sense in which the term is here used; *i.e.*, children who are blind and partially seeing, deaf and hard of hearing, crippled, mentally deficient or disordered, or suffering from tuberculosis, parasitic, and cardiac diseases. A recent study to determine the number of atypical children requiring special class provisions in the school systems indicates that nearly eight per cent of the school population is mentally or physically handicapped.

These figures indicate that the problem of the handicapped child is of sufficient scope and interest to challenge the efforts of

all intelligent, thinking persons. Although the movement in behalf of these children is progressing with an acceleration that is encouraging, the results are as yet far from satisfactory. This is due primarily to lack of scientific knowledge of the problem and to lack of adequate facilities for diagnosis, treatment, and training.

White House Conference Recommendations

The Committee on the Physically and Mentally Handicapped of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection formulated its recommendations for future activities on the following principle: Like every child, the child who may have some physical or mental handicap is to be regarded as a potential social asset and not as a liability. The handicapped child should be so guided that his aptitudes and abilities may be given the fullest possible development and that his life may be one of usefulness, success, and happiness.

The question of what we shall do to ameliorate the condition of the handicapped child is complicated and demands comprehensive research. It involves problems of the physical care of the child in schools, institutions, and in the home. It involves problems of his education, both general and vocational, and it involves also problems of social training and adjustment. The specific recommendations for curative and remedial treatment must be decided by the needs of the individual case and must be made in the light of the best scientific knowledge on the subject.

Perhaps the most important phase of a program for physically and mentally handicapped children is their education. The medical approach to the handicapped necessarily emphasizes their defects, but an educational approach to their problems begins with an inventory of their assets and builds upon these assets. This whole group of children is coming to be regarded as a stimulating challenge to educational methods instead of as a load to be carried with pessimistic fortitude.

In the education of handicapped children there must be a differentiation of methods and procedures to provide the special kind of education required by their special needs. In view of the relatively longer period of preparation for life's work necessary in the case of handicapped children and because of the somewhat restricted range of employment opportunity open to them, a

restatement of the aim of education for them may seem advisable. In any such restatement emphasis should be given to the need for vocational training including preparation for professional, commercial, and industrial pursuits depending upon the degree and nature of the handicap, and to the adaptation of the curriculum, subject matter, and methods necessary to meet the aim.

The successful vocational adjustment of the handicapped child is the practical test of any program formulated for the child. The recommendations of the committees leading towards vocational adjustment are fourfold: guidance, training, placement, and follow-up.

Proper Guidance Essential

The vocational guidance of the physically and mentally handicapped should be directed primarily by the aptitudes and abilities of the child, never losing sight of the handicaps that are involved. Skillful guidance should lead the child into those fields in which his handicap will not forbid equal competition with the normal or even into those in which it may be an asset. Such guidance must necessarily be given by well-trained and competent counselors who will direct the attention of the handicapped child away from what he cannot do to what he can do, specialize on strength rather than on weakness, give him an opportunity to participate in social activities while he is in school, similar to those in which he will participate when he leaves school. Vocational training related definitely to local industrial, commercial, and professional opportunities is the best guarantee of a specific kind of employment. Such training can often be given in part within the public-school system and through the utilization of special schools. For a large number, however, training on the job must be arranged.

The employment of the physically and of the mentally handicapped child of working age would seem to proceed on three levels, viz.: (1) those who are able to work in regular industrial, commercial, or professional pursuits alongside of the normal worker and on an economic competitive basis, (2) those who are able to work only in a sheltered environment; e.g., a subsidized workshop, (3) those who are unable to travel to and from work and therefore must work in their homes, with materials and finished products delivered for them.

In developing these employment opportunities, industry becomes the focal point for the first level of employability. The program of providing fair opportunities for useful and profitable employment for the physically or mentally handicapped child of working age is based on the philosophy that any handicapped person who can, despite his handicap, perform a particular job as well as normal persons has a right to employment, and furthermore, if he can compete with the able-bodied, should be guaranteed employment. Industry is often open-minded, willing to be convinced of the feasibility of employing the handicapped. If it can be demonstrated to industry that a physically or mentally handicapped young person who has been adequately prepared can do as well as the normal worker, industry will not be slow in providing employment opportunities.

There are also many tasks in city, State, and Federal establishments that could be effectively performed by the physically and the mentally handicapped. A comprehensive survey of these positions should be made with a view of filling them as far as is practicable with the physically and the mentally handicapped.

The ultimate social and economic adjustment of the handicapped child depends to a large extent upon the attitude which he has towards his handicap, his associates, and the work he is to do. Social contacts are needed in order to enable the child to acquire favorable attitudes. Such contacts instill self-confidence, good morale, and a spirit of independence. There must be opportunity for physically or mentally handicapped children to have social contacts with normal children as well as with other handicapped persons.

Prevention

Amelioration of the condition of the handicapped child is of great importance. But even more important is the prevention of handicaps. Proper medical care of the individual cases can do much, and improvement in public-health work has a considerable value. Yet much remains to be learned before a large reduction in the total number of cases of physical and mental disabilities can be accomplished.

As a fundamental step in the formulation of any preventive program research must be carried on in many parts of the field. There is no handicapped group which is so well under control that it does not require research in practically every phase of

the problem, especially in the preventive aspect. It would seem important for the White House Conference to find a way to continue the study on facilities, employment, costs, accomplishments, and results, and the possibilities of prevention.

One of the most vital phases of a program for dealing with the handicapped is the development of a constructive attitude as to the debt and the opportunity we owe to physically and mentally handicapped children.

If we want civilization to march forward it will march not only on the feet of healthy children, but beside them, shoulder to shoulder, must go those others—those children we have called "handicapped"—the lame ones, the blind, the deaf, and those sick in body and mind. All these children are ready to be enlisted in this moving army, ready to make their contribution to human progress; to bring what they have of intelligence, of capacity, of spiritual beauty American civilization cannot ignore them.

The handicapped child has a right: (1) to as vigorous a body as human skill can give him, (2) to an education so adapted to his handicap that he can be economically independent and have the chance for the fullest life of which he is capable, (3) to be brought up and educated by those who understand the nature of the burden he has to bear and who consider it a privilege to help him bear it, (4) to grow up in a world which does not set him apart, which looks at him not with scorn or pity or ridicule but which welcomes him exactly as it welcomes every child, which offers him identical privileges and identical responsibilities, (5) to a life on which his handicap casts no shadow, but which is filled day by day with those things which make it worth while, with comradeship, love, work, play, laughter, and tears—a life in which these things bring continually increasing growth, richness, release of energies, joy in achievement.[7]

VI. THE SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF THE SPECIAL-CLASS CHILD[8]

PHILIP A. COWEN

. . .

It may be well to call attention to the definition of a special-class child which is generally accepted in New York State. Special-class children are those who because of the lack of mental ability cannot keep up with the slowest moving group of a regular grade and yet may with suitable training become socially useful citizens. It is essential to notice the introduction in this

[7] From "Report of the Committee on the Handicapped," White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930.

[8] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 3, November, 1931. pp. 152-158.

definition of "social usefulness" as a measure of ability. The mental deficiency committee of England in its report for 1929 says:

> . . . The only really satisfactory criterion of mental deficiency is the social one, and if a person is suffering from a degree of incomplete mental development which renders him incapable of independent social adaptation and which necessitates external care, supervision, and control, then such person is a mental defective. . . . [9]

There are other indications that social efficiency is being generally accepted as a measure of ability.

In order to determine whether or not the problem of adjusting a special-class child to society is different from the problem of adjusting a normal child to society the social contacts and associations of the two groups of children must be examined to find any differences which may exist. If the contacts and associations of a special-class child are no different from those of a normal child the same program of adjustment may be provided for a special-class child which is provided for a normal child. It is unfortunate that scientific data are inadequate to show the relationships of children to their various social groups so that it is necessary to proceed upon a more or less hypothetical basis until accurate data are available. However, this procedure may have the value of pointing out the way in which the problem in a particular situation should be approached.

An examination of the reports from clinics held by the State Department of Mental Hygiene indicates rather clearly that the parents of special-class children are frequently of low-grade intelligence. These records also show that homes of such children are often unhappy, immoral, unclean, poorly equipped, and located in an undesirable neighborhood. However, in a few cases the homes of special-class children are quite the opposite of this description.

When homes are poorly located the play groups of children are likely to be a bad influence upon their lives and since these homes are more than usually unattractive and the amount of parental control is often lax, the amount of time which special-class children spend with an unfavorable play group, such as a gang, is likely to be excessive.

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[9] Report of the Mental Deficiency Committee of England, 1929, Part I, p. 13, after Davies, S. P., and Williams, F. W., "Social Control of the Mentally Deficient," Thomas Crowell, New York, 1930, p. 6.

As far as special-class children are concerned neighborhood groups with which they come in contact are likely to be very similar to their play groups. Neighborhood groups in these localities are the kind that would sanction if not encourage wrong tendencies which were possibly started in the younger play groups of the children.

The associations of special-class children in school may in some cases have the wrong effect. Children who are retarded mentally have been very generally failed and forced to repeat grades. They are taught the habit of failure with the result that they develop an attitude which is antagonistic towards all forms of social control. In this situation the school has not attempted to provide the kind of instruction which is adapted to the needs of special-class children.

Church groups cannot in this case be counted upon for a great deal of assistance because those children who should attend Sunday school or church are the least likely to do so.

These groups are the ones with which special-class children come into the most frequent contact. They seldom associate with groups of a more derivative nature than those mentioned. It seems to be quite clear that special-class children may be found associating with primary groups in a widely different manner than do normal children. However, this statement needs to be verified by accurate investigation in every single case. If it is true that the social situations of special-class children are as unfavorable and discouraging as they seem to be, the problem which exists in the correction or improvement of these situations is a very difficult one. It is especially difficult when one considers the short amount of time which a special-class child may spend in school and the comparatively long amount of time which he may spend under unfavorable circumstances. The critical question therefore, is, What shall we do about it? One may ignore the problem but that would not solve it. Davies says:

> The school which merely concerns itself with its mentally handicapped pupils during school hours and fails to maintain a close and helpful contact with the child's extraschool environment is closing its eyes to the larger part of its task. Every devoted special-class teacher becomes quickly aware of the importance of this need of following the mentally handicapped child into the home and community, and of bringing all possible forces to bear to correct conditions which tend to counteract the work which the school is doing in developing the boy or girl into a social and economic asset.[10]

[10] Davies and Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

A similar point of view is given by King who says:

> The school can scarcely be of great social service unless the teachers study the life of the community, mingle freely with the people, and by sympathetic contact with parents and homes learn something of the conditions under which school children are reared and something of the training they require for the life they will have to lead.[11]

These recommendations would impose considerable burden upon a special-class teacher. She would need to become personally acquainted with the parents of every child in her class to the extent of knowing the problems of each family and also the major community problems of a social nature which affect the child. There is no doubt but that a teacher should know and understand community social problems as well as the problems of her individual children. But the amount of time which she can devote to visiting homes is problematical. Davies solves the problem by saying:

> Every school system which attempts to do special-class work should have an organized visiting teacher service on which the special-class teacher can call for assistance with these out-of-school problems.[12]

Granting that it is possible for a given teacher to become thoroughly familiar with the social problems of her children she has not yet remedied them. A program must be planned which will help each pupil improve his social situation.

There may be a need for assistance from outside agencies. If a particular family is found to be in unusual trouble a teacher may need to bring the difficulty to the attention of whatever social or welfare agencies may exist in the community for alleviating such difficulties.

If boys or girls are found associating with unwholesome play groups it may be necessary to shift the purpose of the groups. For instance, if a boys' gang is organized to engage in all of the mischief it can discover, the purpose of the gang may be shifted to one which is more socially acceptable by developing some common interest among the boys such as building model airplanes or whatever may attract and hold their attention. The important point is to divert their energy from unwholesome channels to activities which are socially and educationally profitable.

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[11] King, Irving, "Social Aspects of Education," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1912, p. 55.

[12] Davies, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

Teachers need to stress the ordinary values gained in primary groups by providing activities in school which result in the development of primary attitudes such as honesty, responsibility, etc. A suggestion towards this end is made by King who favors school government for every class. He says:

> School government is often regarded as purely incidental to the intellectual training, or, if approached more directly, it is usually through talks, lectures, and general admonitions. But what boys and girls need is practice in the habit of responsibility, practice in discriminating between good and bad conduct, and for this the daily work of every school affords plenty of opportunity.[13]

The school program should center around activities which arouse interest in special-class children. These usually are constructive or manual in nature. They involve things which show results and progress to the children.

Miss Ethel Jones, a special-class teacher in Utica, has submitted a brief list of projects in handwork which her class had under construction. These articles are the kind which arouse interest in children and lend themselves to the correlation of related academic work which should be introduced during the period of interest. In following such a procedure the commonly recognized tool processes such as reading, arithmetic, writing, etc., are automatically used to the extent that they are needed in understanding academic material which is introduced. Therefore, drill in the tool processes becomes automatic. Weaknesses in these processes may be corrected when they are discovered. At the same time, social adjustment occurs whenever a pupil learns how people live.

Miss Jones's pupils were making a four-poster bed. The materials used were a cigar box, clothes pins, and spools. Academic material which might easily be related with this project includes furniture catalogues for which letters might have to be written, books about furniture, and literature describing the kinds of wood from which beds are made. The children could easily be encouraged to make scale plans for their miniature beds and to draw pictures of different types of beds which they may have seen in books or stores. It may be necessary to visit a furniture store for which adequate planning should be made

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[13] King, Irving, "Education for Social Efficiency," D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1913, p. 161.

by the class. This project might easily lead to a study of springs and mattresses which are available, to the sources of material used in making blankets and sheets, to the cost of such material, to other kinds of furniture, to the cost of furnishing a room or a house, and older children could be interested in picking out furniture from a catalogue to furnish a certain kind of room within a given price. Another project which Miss Jones's children had under way was a wardrobe trunk. In this case the materials were a cigar box, large match boxes, and some brass hooks. Again academic material could be found in catalogues, newspapers, and magazines. It would be necessary for children making a trunk to prepare a working plan after having studied the different styles and sizes of trunks. The material from which large trunks are made should be studied in the literature furnished by trunk manufacturers and the reasons for certain kinds of construction could be brought out. This activity would lead to a study of different kinds of luggage and to the kinds which might be used for traveling to different places.

The girls in this class were making a doll's desk. They would be interested in seeing pictures of different kinds of desks and almost the same procedure could be followed as in the previous illustrations. They were also making a doll's hope chest. In this activity the chest seems to be only the beginning because after it has been made it is necessary that it should be filled with various and sundry articles which the doll might need. All of these, of course, should be made by the pupil. The academic work connected with this project would be found in reading about different kinds of articles, the material from which they are made, the ways in which they are made, the cost of different articles, where they may be secured, and the story of why hope chests are filled by young ladies.

These children are also making aprons from cotton material which would give an opportunity to study about cotton growing, where and how it is grown, and by whom. This involves geography, nature study, and spelling. The cost of cotton goods would include arithmetic and thus again the academic subjects may be used to assist a child in understanding rather simple handwork activities. Both boys and girls in this class were making hooked rugs from burlap and wool. Burlap gives an opportunity for reading about the source of the material from which it is made, other uses to which it is put, and its cost, while

wool gives an opportunity for studying sheep, where they are grown, how the wool is secured, how it is treated before it arrives in the classroom, how much it costs, and the other uses to which it is put. Activities conducted in this manner tend to give children a better understanding of the way people live. Thus the school may take its part in becoming an agency for social betterment by fostering wholesome attitudes, by improving social contacts of children outside of school, and by building habits of success, industry, and accomplishment, all of which constitute social adjustment.

VII. THE PROBLEM OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED CHILDREN IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS[14]

META L. ANDERSON

The problem of the mentally retarded children in the public schools is one from which we cannot escape. No matter what we do, that lower end of the curve of distribution is always with us. In the urban civilization which we have developed to such an extent in this country, we have become dependent upon each other. The greater need of coöperation is apparent. Weakness in any link of the chain inconveniences or actually hampers many of us.

The mentally retarded who have been trained and who have found their place in the world and are properly adjusted to it can and do make a contribution to society. Those not trained, not adjusted, find their way to the courts or to correctional institutions. In this they are not so different from other groups of average or even superior individuals as we might like to believe.

For some twenty-five or thirty or more years, school systems generally have made attempts to solve the problem of the education of mentally retarded children by segregating some of them into special classes and giving them special instruction. In many instances State laws have been passed directing the establishment of classes for the mentally handicapped whenever the number of such children in any given community warranted it. However, the subcommittee on mentally retarded of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection found

[14] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 6, February, 1933, pp. 348–353.

that in the drafting of the laws there had been little consideration given to the underlying educational and economic principles which should guide such legislation.

In spite of the State laws directing the establishment of special classes for the mentally retarded there is a wide gap between the need and the performance. Various investigations have indicated that 2 per cent of the elementary-school population is feeble-minded and that 5 per cent is mentally retarded. If these investigations have presented a true picture of the problem, then any city school system meeting adequately the educational needs of its feeble-minded and mentally retarded pupils would have 7 per cent of its elementary-school population receiving special instruction. According to these figures a city with 5,000 pupils in its elementary schools should have 350 pupils in approximately 17 special classes, and a city of 50,000 should have 3,500 pupils in approximately 170 special classes. As a matter of fact, there are very few cities or States, if any, which are providing special instruction for any such number of mentally retarded children.

At the time the subcommittee on mentally retarded of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection made its report, New York City reported 366 special classes, or approximately 7,320 (about 20 to a class) children, Chicago reported 162 special classes, or approximately 3,240 children, and Philadelphia reported 157 special classes, or 3,140 children. Eighty-three cities, out of the 270 cities reporting, reported but one class each or about 20 pupils, 59 reported only two classes each, and 26 cities reported but three classes each.

It is evident, on the basis of the known number of mentally retarded children, that comparatively few are receiving special class instruction.

The present economic crisis is tending to prevent the further development of special education for the mentally retarded, when it does not actually reduce what has already been developed. However, aside from the effect of the crisis, special education for the mentally retarded is entering a very interesting phase of its history. There are some trends which are fairly definite and which seem to point to a continued development of the work for the mentally retarded. There are other trends which are not so definite as to direction and which seem to point to a continued interest in the work for the mentally retarded, but

appear to indicate a solution of the problem of the education of the mentally retarded in other ways than in special classes. This at least indicates that special education is not tradition-bound and can, even now, although only twenty-five or thirty years old, be open-minded to different ways of training dull and feeble-minded children. If better ways of training backward children emerge because of the pressure of the crisis, we can say that "sweet are the uses of adversity."

One trend in the education of the mentally retarded which is definitely indicated and which bids fair to be continued is that which tends towards better social grouping of the children, whether in special classes or elsewhere. The grouping together of all sizes, ages, etc., of mentally retarded children is considered poor educational policy.

Another very definite trend is along the line of remedial teaching. It is no longer defensible to decide that inability to learn is always due to sheer stupidity of the mentally retarded child. The good special-class teacher analyzes disabilities and applies remedial measures.

Still another definite trend is shown in the tendency to incorporate the manual-training subjects into an integrated activity program. The beginning special classes trained the children through a correlated program of manual-training and academic subjects. In the special classes the curriculum has ever been the means of training children rather than an end in itself, but as special teachers of special subjects have been brought in the special classes it has been necessary to keep close watch on the situation in order to keep the emphasis on the children instead of on the subjects. In this present era of emphasis on activity programs for elementary classes, it is still necessary to keep close watch on the situation in order to keep the emphasis on the children to be taught instead of the program of teaching. No matter how interesting the program may be, the children are still more interesting.

These definite trends in the education of mentally retarded children towards better social groupings of children, towards better teaching methods and remedial measures for special disabilities, and a better integrated program of activities and academic subjects are the logical outcomes of the work which has already been done in the special education of dull and feeble-minded children.

There are other trends in special education whose direction is not so definite, but which are nevertheless clearly indicated in the present situation in special education. One of these trends is indicated by the tendency on the part of school authorities to disapprove of any sort of segregation whatever, except for the definitely feeble-minded. If segregation in the sense of isolation as opposed to integration in the school system is meant, then segregation should be disapproved because special classes should be a part of the individual school and of the school system to which they belong. If the objectors to segregation mean that all mentally retarded children (exclusive of the feeble-minded) should be returned to their own social groups in the elementary, junior, or high schools, then the value of such a course is open to question. This trend against segregation indicates the need of a more satisfactory solution of the problem of their education than is presented through special classes. Before a decision can be reached a careful study of the types of solution at present attempted should be made so a better plan for the education and training of dull and retarded children can be arranged which will include whatever good that has been done.

There is a decided trend towards a better understanding of the slower learning children and the children who are not academically minded, on the part of the teaching body. This is splendid. A lack of understanding of the needs, abilities, and disabilities of this group has led to some hasty conclusions and some ill considered plans. Better understanding of the dull children and a closer coöperation between the teachers of the regular school grades and the teachers of special classes will result in a better integrated school and school system where the spirit of "each for all, and all for each" will give every child his just due.

These trends whose direction is uncertain at present are the outcomes of this better understanding and the coöperation between teaching groups. The result can be nothing less than a greater good for the mentally handicapped child.

The subcommittee on mentally retarded of the White House Conference reached a few conclusions as to what ought to be done for the mentally retarded children.

1. *Objectives.* "Special education in any given city should grow until it is in a position to train and educate all the feeble-minded and subnormal

children in that city, including the provision for the education of the borderline subnormal children. Many of the borderline subnormal children are placed in classes with either the subnormal or the backward children, which is perhaps better than nothing, but cannot by any means be considered as adequate provision for this large group of children."

When any school system consciously plans to train and educate *all* the children of *all* the people, then it will not fail to educate and train the feeble-minded, the dull, etc., if not in special classes, then in some other fashion.

2. *Organization.* The committee recommended that a department of special education be established in every State which would "provide constructive leadership which would be an inspiration to every city, town, and hamlet of the State." This department was to be of "direct assistance to those localities and communities who cannot afford the expense of specialists in the field of special education."

The committee also recommended separating the feeble-minded from the mentally retarded and dull, whenever possible.

The question of special classes versus special schools for the retarded children was not settled, because it cannot be settled without regard to the specific community where such schools or classes are located, but the committee did agree that "in any event, whatever type of organization is used, it should be considered an integral part of the school system, and children completing the course satisfactorily should receive recognition for that achievement."

3. *Location.* "Instruction of the subnormal and borderline subnormal children should be given in the division of the school system in which they will be properly placed socially; that is, the young children should be provided for in the elementary school, but the older children should receive their instruction in the junior or in the senior high schools or in both of these schools. In the junior and the senior high schools the instruction of the subnormal groups need not necessarily be in special classes, but rather by means of special courses adapted to their needs."

4. *Selection of the children.* "The selection of the children who are to receive special instruction in special classes should be carefully and scientifically made by those trained and experienced in the field. This can be effected best by a child-study department headed by an educational psychologist who will have the services of physicians, psychiatrists, social workers, and other agencies to assist in determining the best type of training for any given child."

The committee made recommendations for the establishment of vocational guidance bureaus and for the supervision of the mentally retarded in industry. It recommended that methods of instruction and the subject matter to be taught be made the subjects of exhaustive experimental study and research.

The committee could but survey the field and try to understand the trends in the field of special education and draw its conclusions accordingly, because "the solutions of the problems should be regarded as ever evolving. Better knowledge of the possibilities of the children of lower levels of intelligence must come from the continued study of these children and their special abilities or disabilities."

VIII. HARD-OF-HEARING CHILDREN[15]

ANNE C. NORRIS

In the report of the Committee on Special Classes of the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, it is stated that there are in the United States "3,000,000 children with hearing impaired in various degrees." These children must not be confused with the 18,212 deaf children who are enrolled in schools and classes for the deaf, according to the same report.[16] There is a great difference in the two groups—medically, educationally, socially, and psychologically. Those whom we term the "deaf" became so either at birth or soon after and *before* they learned in the natural way to speak and use language. Deaf children require a special type of education which can be obtained only through especially trained teachers. It has been said that "deafness before the acquisition of language is a greater affliction than blindness."[17]

Among the hearing children of the regular grades of the public schools we find that some have hearing impaired in varying degrees. It has been estimated[18] that there are 3,000,000 of them. If we think of these children as *hearing children with hearing difficulties* we can more properly comprehend them and their needs. Further, an important factor is that in most cases we must *discover* them. We must go through the schools with a sieve, and, so far, the best one obtainable is the 4-A or phonograph-audiometer. This instrument was developed as a result of a request from the Educational Committee of the Federation for the Hard of Hearing to its scientific committee for some method of testing the hearing of school children which would be more dependable than the watch tick and whispered speech tests then in use. With the coöperation of the Bell Telephone Laboratories,

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[15] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 6, February, 1933, pp. 323–330.

[16] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930. Committee on Special Classes, "Special Education: The Handicapped and the Gifted," The Century Company, New York, 1931, p. 5.

[17] Keller, Helen, "Midstream: My Later Life," Doubleday, Doran and Company, Garden City, N. Y., 1929, p. 81.

[18] American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing, Commission on Education, "The Hard of Hearing Child." Bureau of Education, School Health Studies No. 13, 1927, p. 8.

4,112 school children in New York City were tested in 1925. It was found that "595, or 14.4 per cent, will be classed as having deficient hearing, 3.2 per cent having defects in both ears, and 11.3 per cent in one ear only."[19]

Later tests in Boston[20] and Chelsea[21] showed that hearing acuity and health conditions had a bearing on each other. In a country day school where health conditions were excellent and where the children came from homes in which careful attention was paid to health habits, after-effects of childhood diseases, colds, and so forth, the percentage of children showing a defect was around 1 per cent, while 7.8 per cent had impaired hearing in a school of a thousand children in a thickly settled part of a city where children came from homes in which parents did not or were not able to give careful attention to health habits, etc.

In Rochester, New York, where hard-of-hearing children as a group were first recognized by a city school system, and where there has been in existence a thorough program of testing, otological care, and lip reading for a period of some years, it was found that 7.7 per cent had losses of 9 or more sensation units in one or both ears.[22]

In Wichita, Kansas, 6.4 per cent of the children had impaired hearing.[23]

The medical inspector of the schools of Philadelphia reported as follows:[24]

> Our school medical inspectors routinely report a prevalence of slightly less than one per cent defective hearing or inflammatory ear disease in pupils, while on the other hand the majority of persons who have used the electric audiometer in schools have reported a prevalence of hearing defect of at least 7 per cent. School medical inspectors are usually unable, with their necessarily crude methods of testing pupils' hearing, to detect those cases where the hearing loss is less than 15 or 20 per cent.

[19] Fowler, Edmund Prince and Fletcher, Harvey, "Three Million Deafened School Children," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, December 4, 1926, pp. 1877–1882.

[20] Rowe, A. W., and Drury, D. W., "Tests of Hearing of Five Hundred Average Ears by the Audiometer No. 2-A," *Archives of Otolaryngology*, May, 1925, pp. 524–532.

[21] Ena G. Macnutt, addressing the Health Section, National Conference on Social Work, Boston, 1930.

[22] Bock, F. W., Report of Special Work with Hard of Hearing Pupils in the Public Schools, Board of Education, Rochester, N. Y., 1930.

[23] Wichita Public Schools, Bulletin No. 21, August 1930.

[24] Division of Medical Inspection, Public Schools, Philadelphia, June 30, 1931.

The above statement is proof that an adequate test is necessary. "The 4-A audiometer is a valuable first filter and its positive findings are wholly significant."[25] With this instrument it is possible to test the hearing of forty children simultaneously. It consists of a spring motor phonograph using a magnetic reproducer which picks up the sound waves reproduced by the record and transforms them into electrical vibrations. These are delivered to the ears of the persons who are being tested through ear phones. A record is played on which are recorded two series of numbers, one reproduced from a woman's voice and one from a man's voice. The voices decrease in intensity, and, as the record is played, the persons tested are required to write the numbers as they hear them. A person's hearing is rated by his ability to hear these numbers.

We now know that many children thought to be behavior problems or mentally dull were laboring under hearing difficulties. They heard so much that it was thought they heard normally. Parents and teachers had failed to link up restlessness, inattention, strained facial expression, and failure in class with impaired hearing until the phonograph-audiometer test disclosed the defect. Even a slight hearing loss is a handicap to normal educational progress. It has been said by one who knows that "hearing is the deepest, most humanizing, philosophical sense man possesses."[26] Denied this sense, even in part, so that what is said is not easily and entirely understood, an adequate philosophy of life is necessary and usually has to be developed.

The *discovery* of a hearing defect is not enough. When a retest shows that there is indeed a defect an ear examination by the family or school otologist must follow. Experience has shown that prompt and adequate attention returns many children to the normally hearing class or often arrests their trouble. "More important than remedial educational work is the prevention of deafness."[27] "Deafness is dependent on the physical capacity and ability as a background. The ear apparently

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[25] Allan Winter Rowe, "Unrecognized Deafness in Children," a radio broadcast, March 10, 1932.

[26] Helen Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[27] Wallin, J. E. W., "A Brief Survey of Special Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore" (Baltimore, Md.: Superintendent of Public Schools, 1929).

suffers or is more sensitive to certain sources of toxemias than any other part of the body. The eye, for instance, is especially sensitive to the backbone. The ear is very much more sensitive to a pusy tooth; it is sensitive to various intestinal upsets—apparently more so than any of the other organs."[28]

A certain proportion of those children found in the screening process to be hard of hearing will need lessons in lip reading by a special teacher in addition to their regular classroom studies if they are to keep up to grade. It is estimated that approximately 342,000 of the 3,000,000 children with varying degrees of hearing impairment are in need of lip reading.[29]

The Sub-Committee on the Deaf and Hard of Hearing of the 1930 White House Conference reported that 3,873 hard-of-hearing children in the school systems of 61 cities were being given periodic lessons in lip reading.[30] The more recent report of the Chairman of the Committee on Hard of Hearing Children of the American Federation of Organizations for the Hard of Hearing, Inc., states that there were during 1931–1932, 3,440 hard-of-hearing children in only 46 cities so provided for, not all cities included in the former report having been heard from.[31]

Hard-of-hearing children may need special seating in the classroom,[32] periodic lessons in lip reading, or, in more serious cases, speech correction and vocational training in addition to more intensive instruction in lip reading.

At the present time there are three textbooks on elementary lessons in lip reading.[33]

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[28] Dana W. Drury, addressing the Health Section, National Conference on Social Work, Boston, 1930.

[29] Berry, C. S., "Preliminary Committee Reports," The Century Co., New York, 1930. White House Conference on Child Health and Protection.

[30] "Special Education: The Handicapped and the Gifted," The Century Company, New York, 1931, pp. 336–337.

[31] Norris, Anne C., "Committee on Hard of Hearing Children," *Auditory Outlook*, October, 1932, pp. 323–325.

[32] Hannegan, Eliza C., "The Honor Seat," *Journal of the National Education Association*, November, 1932, p. 242.

[33] Bruhn, Martha E., "Elementary Lessons in Lip Reading," The Nichols Press, Lynn, Mass., 1927.

Stowell, Agnes, Samuelson, Estelle Elsie and Lehman, Ann, "Lip Reading for the Deafened Child," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

Olive A. Whildin and M. A. Scally, "The Newer Method of Speech Reading for the Hard of Hearing Child," Harford Printing and Publishing Company, Bel Air, Md., 1929.

The training of teachers of the hard of hearing is less elaborate than the training of teachers of the deaf. They should have work in lip reading, speech correction, voice development, and social problems of the hard of hearing.

In most cases the lip-reading teacher goes from school to school or from center to center. In Portland, Maine, there are grade teachers in several school buildings who have taken the course in lip-reading methods and are thus prepared to care for the children in their buildings. Periods of instruction are from one-half hour to one hour, and are held once or twice a week.

Rochester (New York), Baltimore, and Detroit, maintain *also* special classes for the very hard-of-hearing children. They are sent to the class from different schools and remain there for intensive work until such time as they can keep up with their grade. An audiphone is part of the equipment of the Baltimore class.

It has been found that (1) more hard-of-hearing children repeat grades than do children with normal hearing; (2) a hard-of-hearing child can, with the acquisition of lip reading, change from a backward to a bright pupil; (3) the estimated costs are less to give audiometer tests and provide lip reading than to reëducate grade repeaters.

In the actual findings in his Survey of Special Education in the Public Schools of Baltimore, Dr. Wallin found the duties of the Acting Supervisor of Deaf and Hard of Hearing of that city to be as follows: supervision; individual conferences; group meetings; surveying schools to discover those with hearing defects; individual testing of hearing; taking children to medical clinic for ear examination; keeping records; home visiting; teaching lip reading to adults and children; training teachers; working on course of study; organizing classes for both deaf and hard of hearing; observing hard-of-hearing children in regular classes; follow-up work; and vocational guidance for deaf and hard-of-hearing children when required.

In his recommendations Dr. Wallin states that "the education of deaf and hard-of-hearing children in the same classes is discontinued in modern practice. Hard-of-hearing children should be educated in a normal speaking environment."

An exception to such a recommendation is found in the Report[34] of the Chairman of the Committee on the Hard of

[34] Norris, Anne C., "Committee on the Hard of Hearing Child," *The Volta Review*, October 1932, p. 521.

Hearing Child of the American Association to Promote the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf where it is stated that children "in the middle zone of deafness need all the help and advice that educators of the deaf can give them." (By "children in the middle zone of deafness" is meant those hearing children who have lost too much of their hearing and whose speech has grown too faulty to make proper progress in the regular grades, but yet who have too much hearing, speech, and language to be educated to the best advantage with the necessarily slower learning deaf.)

The Children's Charter, an outcome of the White House Conference, is called by the Wyoming State Conference "the most remarkable, far-reaching document brought forth by any nation in this age, and which serves as the basis for the substantial improvement in the general welfare of our people through the pathway of child welfare."

Its Article XIII is as follows: "For every child who is blind, deaf, crippled, or otherwise physically handicapped, and for the child who is mentally handicapped, such measures as will early discover and diagnose his handicap, provide care and treatment, and so train him that he may become an asset to society rather than a liability. Expenses of these services should be borne publicly where they cannot be privately met."

And, finally, we have the following recommendations from the Conference.[35]

1. Any or all of the research recommendations of the Second Conference on Problems of the Deaf and Hard of Hearing described in No. 88 of the Reprint and Circular Series of the National Research Council, Washington, 1929, be put into execution as soon as possible.

2. A more accurate term is needed for those designated as hard of hearing. It should be based on speech and language ability.

3. The laws providing for adequate detection of hard-of-hearing children, as well as for their compulsory school attendance, should be more carefully drawn and emphatically enforced.

4. The following surveys should be made:

(a) Extension and continuance of surveys conducted in some cities for the detection of auditory deficiency among school children and the determining of the degree of deficiency.

(b) A survey of children classed as mentally deficient or retarded, to ascertain, by means of adequate scientific hearing tests, whether their hearing is normal.

(c) A survey of the personnel engaged in teaching the hard of hearing.

(d) A survey of teacher-training centers, courses of training, etc.

[35] "Special Education; The Handicapped and the Gifted," The Century Company, New York, 1931, pp. 322–326.

(e) A survey of laws requiring aural examinations of school children as a basis for detection at such early age that remedial treatment would be possible.

5. Adequate tests for the educational and psychological examination of hard-of-hearing children should be developed.

(a) Trials of various present tests for measurement of the intelligence of the hard of hearing.

(b) Test comparisons among the three groups: the deaf, the hard of hearing, and the hearing.

(c) Development of thoroughly standardized tests, both group and individual, for the classification of deaf and hard-of-hearing children in schools in order that the incidence of feeble-mindedness among both groups may be better known.

(d) Determination of general distribution of intelligence of the deaf and the hard of hearing so that more adequate plans may be made for their educational and vocational careers.

(e) Construction of objective tests of speech and lip reading.

(f) Development of mechanical aptitude tests.

(g) Study of different methods of teaching as soon as necessary tests and scales have been constructed.

(h) Further investigation of the training of residual hearing.

6. Thorough survey of curricula should be made; educational tests based on this survey should be constructed; and standards established.

(a) Comparisons of curricula for hard-of-hearing and hearing children.

(b) Investigation of present practice of time spent on lip reading.

(c) Study to determine maximum possible use of residual hearing.

(d) Study of the maximum possible use of visual education.

(e) Investigation of amount of special training in a separate class or school depending on basic intelligence and amount of hearing of hard-of-hearing children.

(f) Credit be given hard-of-hearing children for lip reading in the grade schools. Where speech courses are necessary, credit should also be given for speech work.

7. Thorough psychological study of hard-of-hearing children of preschool age should be made.

(a) Wider use of visiting teacher to assist in parental education.

(b) Development of adequate hearing test for children of preschool age.

8. Personality and character traits and emotion factors among the hard of hearing, both adults and children, should be measured.

(a) Psychological research on emotional difficulties likely to arise in the lives of hard-of-hearing children.

(b) Study made of social maladjustment of the hard of hearing with a view of effectively solving the problems presented.

(c) Study made of the number of children who are classed as mentally deficient who in reality have only defective hearing.

9. Thorough study should be made of all occupations with the view to finding those most suitable for the hard of hearing in order that training in school may be directed towards such occupations.

(a) More adequate provision for placement and follow-up.

10. Investigation of the cost of annual scientific hearing tests compared with the cost of education when hearing defects are not discovered.

(a) Study made of hard-of-hearing children who repeat grades.

11. Consideration should be given to the feasibility of establishing, at some university, a national training school for teachers of the deaf and hard of hearing with ample facilities for research and adequate training schools.

(a) Establishment of more normal-training courses for trained teachers who wish to become teachers of the hard of hearing; these training courses to be thorough and practical as well as theoretical.

12. Medical provision should go hand in hand with educational provision especially in certain types of deafness.

(a) Deafness be made a reportable disease in order that steps may be taken for correction when possible; immediate steps may be taken towards the child's special education in cases of serious loss of hearing or where deafness is progressive; vision be conserved as well as hearing.

13. More concerted effort to impress upon the medical profession and to acquaint the general public with the grave after-effects of many diseases of childhood which result in serious loss of hearing.

14. The establishment of a special educational center for the blind who are deaf or hard of hearing, not necessarily a school. New cases could be sent to it for observation, classification, and elemental training and later admitted to schools for the deaf or blind or both in their home States. Special cases might have to be provided for in this center.

15. The hard of hearing who are feeble-minded should be segregated in schools for the feeble-minded and provided with teachers skilled in teaching the hard of hearing as well as the feeble-minded.

IX. EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES IN THE UNITED STATES FOR PARTIALLY SEEING CHILDREN[36]

WINIFRED HATHAWAY

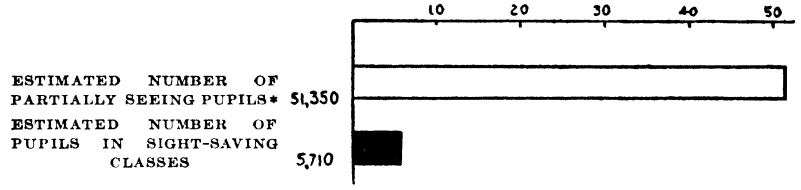
Although thinkers in advance of their times began to realize as early as 1802 that children with seriously defective vision are quite as much misfits in schools for the blind as in those for the normally seeing, the earliest practical application of this belief was the establishment of the first school for myopes in England in 1908. In 1911 the first school on the European continent was established in Strasbourg. The United States followed by initiating the work in 1913 with two classes, one in Boston and one in Cleveland. From this modest beginning the number of classes in the United States has increased slowly but steadily; at the close of 1932 there were 414 classes, representing 22 States and 119 cities.

[36] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 6, February, 1933, pp. 331–338.

Extent of the Problem

The most conservative estimate of the number of children requiring the advantages of a sight-saving class is one in 1,000 of the school population, but in those States and cities that have had the longest experience in this work and have made the most intensive efforts to meet the needs, the estimate is much nearer one in 500. Exclusive of those pupils whose sight can, by treatment or glasses, be so helped as to enable them to carry on their work in the regular grades, there are over 50,000 children in

NEED FOR MORE SIGHT-SAVING CLASSES
DECEMBER, 1932
NUMBER OF PUPILS (IN THOUSANDS)



* The ratio of one out of 500 of the school population was used in estimating the number of partially seeing pupils.

the United States who need the advantages of educational facilities specially adapted to their vision handicaps.

Encouraging as is the work already accomplished, the diagram above shows how much remains to be done.

Candidates for Sight-saving Classes

And who are these children? In general, they may be divided into two groups: those with eye conditions that are likely to grow worse unless the sight is carefully guarded and those with low static eye difficulties who are unable to see well enough to use the regular school equipment.

The final decision as to which children belong in a sight-saving class rests with the ophthalmologist. But since ophthalmologists do not have the opportunity of examining all school children or even a very small proportion of them, the nurse and the school physician must have some guides that will help them to determine which children should be routed to an ophthalmologist for this decision. These guides vary so in different communities that only the following very general suggestions can be made:

Children having a visual acuity between 20/70 (6/21) and 20/200 (6/60) in the better eye after proper refraction, children in elementary schools having four or more diopters of myopia, and children suffering from eye diseases which are inactive or subsiding, in which some irritation may be present, provided the approval of the attending physician is given, should be sent to an ophthalmologist. Any child who, in the opinion of the ophthalmologist, would benefit by it, should be assigned to a sight-saving class, subject to suggestion for treatment and training by such ophthalmologist and the acceptance of the educational authorities having charge of such classes.

All cases must be considered individually.

It is assumed that all children assigned to sight-saving classes have average normal mentality.

Organization and Administration for Sight-saving Classes

When it has been demonstrated that there is need for a sight-saving class in a community, either through examination of the eyes of all school pupils or by deductions made from health records, the educational authorities must assume the responsibility for providing the educational facilities.

One of the earliest steps is the selection of a school building. Since these children are social beings it is important that they have opportunity for mingling as much as possible with their normally seeing companions. Segregating them in a group by themselves, no matter how great an advantage this gives them to overcome their visual handicap, is but robbing Peter to pay Paul, for their mental development is likely to be procured at the expense of their social relationships. In the United States practically 90 per cent of the sight-saving classes are conducted on the coöperative or the coördinating program by which these pupils do all work requiring close use of the eyes in a special classroom under the direction of a trained teacher, and join their normally seeing companions for oral work, dramatization, rote singing, music appreciation, and other activities that may be decided upon coöperatively.

Since the proportion of children needing this type of education is small as compared with the general school population, one class must often serve a district or a community. Hence, children in three, four, or even more grades will be found in the group. It is, therefore, essential to the success of the coöperative

plan that a school having the same grades as those represented in the sight-saving class be selected. A centrally located school will help to solve the very difficult problem of transportation.

Wherever possible, a modern building, or at least one renovated to meet modern requirements, is chosen since it is likely to approximate the ideal of correct lighting, seating, decoration, etc., somewhat as follows: east, west, or northeast or northwest exposures to give a maximum of light with a minimum of glare; unilateral lighting to the left of the pupils; glass area adapted to the proportions of the room, the glass reaching to within six inches of the ceiling since the best light comes from above; narrow bastions to prevent shadows; natural light controlled by two translucent, buff-colored shades placed on rollers near the center of the window, wide enough to avoid streaks of light at the side and with protection of the space between rollers; adequate artificial lighting without glare, well distributed and diffused and properly maintained; light-colored walls, preferably buff in temperate zones, white or light cream ceilings, neutral tone woodwork, all in dull finish to prevent glare; adjustable, comfortable, hygienic seats and desks that lift to an angle, also in dull finish; good slate blackboards kept in condition.

Special Equipment

The above equipment differs in no wise from that which should be afforded any child. For children with seriously defective vision the following special equipment is necessary: books in large, clear type; large size buff-colored paper; heavily leaded pencils; pens that make a clear, heavy line; chalk that meets the same requirements; typewriters in large type in order that typewriting may be substituted as soon as possible for much handwriting; large, clear maps without detail; good illustrative material and material for creative work specially adapted to the needs of the child with serious eye difficulties.

Curriculum Followed in Sight-saving Classes

Pupils with seriously defective vision, to be eligible for sight-saving classes, must be of normal mentality. In the coöperative system they recite with normally seeing companions. Furthermore, four and one-half per cent of the pupils assigned to sight-saving classes are able, in time, to return to the regular grades because adequate care and treatment result in improvement of

eye conditions. From the foregoing it should be evident that the curriculum used in regular grades should be followed as closely as the eye conditions of the pupils permit.

Supervision

A. Ophthalmological supervision. Ophthalmological supervision includes not only the first examination of the eyes to determine candidacy, but also arrangements for regular subsequent examinations, for treatment for eye diseases, for prescribing of glasses where these are necessary, and for checking glasses with the prescriptions. It also includes making recommendations concerning the amount of close eye work that may be undertaken, and provision for the maintenance of careful records which are made available to the educational authorities so that teachers may be conversant with the eye difficulty of each pupil in order to fit the work to his needs.

In the United States such ophthalmological care is provided in various ways: by private physicians, by ophthalmologists of the board of health or the board of education, and by private agencies. Much of this care is excellent. It is, however, greatly to be deplored that in only 50 per cent of the classes is ophthalmological service regularly and adequately provided.[37]

B. Pedagogical supervision. In only two States, New York and Ohio, are all classes given the advantages of a special sight-saving class supervisor. In the great majority of cases the supervision is placed under the jurisdiction of a supervisor of all special classes. It is evident that to give efficient service such supervisor should be thoroughly conversant with all phases of the work. It is unfortunate that in many instances the special training of such supervisors is limited to the work of but one group.

Training of Teachers of Sight-saving Classes

A. Fundamental training. The ultimate success of a sight-saving class depends upon the teacher. Naturally, the teacher of a sight-saving class should have the fundamental qualities and educational training necessary for teaching normally seeing children.

[37] White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, 1930, Committee on Special Classes, "Special Education; The Handicapped and the Gifted," The Century Company, New York, 1931, p. 220.

Since she must carry over into the special work the normal attitude and also since she will doubtless have to teach several grades, experience of from three to five years of teaching regular grades is essential.

B. Special training. What shall be included in the special preparation and what shall be the length of time required to obtain special training are moot questions. There is, however, general unanimity of opinion regarding the inclusion of certain fundamental lines of study. First and foremost, a course should be taken on the anatomy, physiology, and hygiene of the eye including a study of refractive errors and common eye diseases, with opportunities, under guidance, for considerable observation in an eye clinic. Unless such training is adequate it is impossible for a teacher to adapt the work to the individual according to his needs. Second, a course in the organization and administration of sight-saving classes is necessary. This is essential for a thorough understanding of all phases of the work. Third, a course should be taken in methods of teaching sight-saving classes. Such a course is adequate only when developed through observation in a demonstration sight-saving class. Hence, opportunity should be included for this in the preparation work.

In all phases of teaching, education must be a continuing process. Out of the experience of the sight-saving class teacher will come the urge for further study—a reaching out to broaden and deepen her own educational life in order that she may, in turn, broaden and deepen educational opportunities for her pupils.

Health of Sight-saving Class Teacher

The health of such teacher is of paramount importance, since the demands are usually greater than in the regular grade. Above all, she should possess excellent sight, because she will be required to spend this most generously to save that of her pupils.

Opportunities for Partially Seeing Pupils in Secondary Schools

The same proportion of pupils eligible for secondary education will be found in sight-saving classes as in groups of normally seeing students. Opportunities in junior high schools are increasing almost at the same rate as those in elementary schools. A

creditable number of cities are offering opportunities for continuing the work in the senior high schools.

Vocational Training and Guidance

The same proportion of motor-minded pupils will be found in the partially seeing groups as in the normally seeing; for such the greatest opportunity would seem to lie in vocational training. Such opportunities for partially seeing pupils either in junior or in senior high schools are, at present, exceedingly limited. Development of these opportunities must be guided by the results of further research to determine what types of work may safely be undertaken by those with serious eye difficulties and what opportunities will be offered for actual employment along these lines.

Educational Opportunities in Rural Communities

It is natural, because of the increased difficulties in solving the problem, that very little has been done for partially seeing children in rural communities. It is greatly to be deplored that twelve States still feel that the solution of the problem is to send such children to schools for the blind.

Three States have already demonstrated that county classes will prove at least a partial solution of the problem. Another possibility may be found in the establishment of sight-saving classes in the demonstration schools of teacher-training institutions. The fact that teaching in rural schools is largely individual opens the way for special work with partially seeing children in their own communities, provided that State supervision makes possible adequate help to enable rural teachers to formulate and carry out a program.

Financing Sight-saving Classes

The State makes education compulsory; hence it should bear its just proportion of the additional expense incurred by providing facilities for those who cannot make use of the regular equipment. Fourteen States have recognized their financial obligations for the education of partially seeing children. It is noteworthy that 94.5 per cent of the sight-saving classes in the United States are found in these fourteen States.

The justification for such investment lies in the possibility of changing potential liabilities into actual assets. The State's

financial expenditure should therefore be accompanied by the setting up and maintaining of standards of requirements for supervision and teaching, for methods of establishing and conducting classes, and for the physical equipment of classrooms and the material to be used by the children.

Ultimate Solution

It is evident that the State should assume the responsibility for the education of all educable children. Hence, for the 50,000 or more partially seeing pupils of school age opportunities as adequate as possible must be provided. Special education is, however, reaching alarming proportions and it would be a most uneconomic and short-sighted policy to overlook the fundamental principles of preventing, in so far as this is humanly possible, in succeeding generations, those difficulties that make special education necessary. Such undertaking calls for a coöperative effort—medical, educational, and social—to discover and eliminate causative factors.

Chapter IX

The Expanding Function of Education—Creative and Progressive Education

I. INTRODUCTION

An important function of education with which sociology is concerned is what we may call the creative or constructive function. We mean by this the problem of providing in our educational system for the development of open-mindedness to enable the individual to meet intelligently social change and flux. The tendency of education, and particularly the education that goes on outside of the schoolroom, is to give a definite mental set on questions arising in social and civic life. This mental set handicaps progressive change in conformity with social readjustments and developments.

We may note as an example of this mental set the line-up of political parties in the United States. The "Solid South" remains under ordinary conditions Democratic, and certain states of the North, particularly rural populations, remain Republican, regardless of the changed conditions and interests resulting from commercial and industrial readjustments. Recently, there has been evidence of the beginning of a readjustment which had not appeared in seventy-five years; but whether any extensive readjustment will take place is too early to say. Furthermore, the party lines have held for generations and still hold, regardless of certain changes in policies within the parties themselves. One can account for this situation only on the ground that, early in life, there is developed a mental set on problems of party politics, and this persists

regardless of the interests and needs of the individual or society. This condition impedes the development not only of the individual but of society as well.

Moreover, the whole recent development of education under the influence of behavioristic psychology, has tended to place emphasis upon the development of habits and to neglect the attitudes and imaginative thinking which look to the future of the individual and the progressive change of the social order. This emphasis upon habit development was a natural change from the older psychology, which accepted mental discipline as the end of education and the transfer of training as the means. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the doctrine of formal discipline began to give way to the conception of social adjustment; that is, the adjustment of the individual to the present situation. The laws of learning outlined by Thorndike,[1] placed the emphasis upon knowledge in present use, and studies and experiments followed this line of emphasis. The application of modern educational theory to practice virtually came to place educational effort upon the child in his schoolroom environment. In other words, the emphasis in practice has tended in the direction of technique in the mastery of knowledge and the acquisition of skills in the conventional subjects confined to the walls of the schoolroom.

The psychological outcome of this emphasis was the fostering of habit formation, the development of specific responses to definite situations. To be sure, the psychologist emphasized the fact that habit formation involved the sizing up of the situation and an intelligent comprehension of the whole process. Thus, mental growth took place in the process of habit formation, and the individual was provided through education with a means of adjust-

[1] See Thorndike, Edward L., "Educational Psychology," Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1913, Vol. II, Chapter II.

ment in identical situations. Education, therefore, consisted in the development of habits and habit complexes, but these had no wider application than to the situations in which they were developed. Obviously, this is nothing more than a sort of modified transfer of training.

We can therefore say that one of the great tasks of modern education is to develop a program that creates greater flexibility in the practices of the individual and leads him to make changes in conformity with social changes. Furthermore, we may hope so to educate that at least the *leaders* in various lines of endeavor will not be content merely to follow the great social changes that are taking place, but will also serve a creative function in bringing about change essential to the greatest social progress. Writers have variously designated this function of education as that of developing openmindedness, logical-mindedness, and the like. We conceive the educational function to be primarily creative or constructive.

It is not our wish here to enter into a discussion of the psychological controversy, but rather to point out the influence of the emphases growing out of the psychological theories, as they involve directly our sociological considerations. In educational practice the emphasis has been primarily placed, in so far as the training relates to the social life, upon the first of the purposes of education, namely, the transmission of the social heritages. Secondarily, the emphasis has been placed upon the acquisition of new social practices to facilitate adjustment to the new situations which the individual has to face, that is, the new needs in connection with health, home membership, use of leisure, vocational practices, ethical practices, civic practices, and the like. Little interest has been displayed in the individual in a changing environment, where new ideals and practices must be developed that cannot be anticipated at the present.

In the discussion of this aspect of the educational process and aims, we find ourselves in the midst of a heated controversy, and it is seriously to be considered whether the sociologist can have anything to say about the creative function of education until the philosopher and the psychologist outline more definitely the aims and the special techniques involved in this aspect of education. Professor Bode speaks pertinently upon this point when he says:[2]

> The moral of all this is that if we devote ourselves to the proper development of concepts, transfer of training will cease from troubling. We have had the problem of transfer because we have failed to develop concepts so as to give them proper usefulness outside of the classroom. The fact that the problem of transfer is, in the first instance, a school problem raises the suspicion that we have this problem on our hands because of the cleavage between the school and the life outside of the school.

A discussion, emanating from Professor Bode's criticisms of the various theories of curriculum construction, bears so directly upon our problem that certain excerpts from it may appropriately be cited at this point. The discussion relates to the determination of the aims or objectives of education and is pertinent here because of the uncertainty as to whether the discussion of the creative or constructive function of education has a place in a text on educational sociology.

Bode[3] seems to imply that the sociologist is seeking to determine scientifically and objectively the aim of education. The aims of education, just as all fundamental aims, cannot be determined scientifically and the discussion of aims must remain in the realm of the philosophy of education, at least so far as we can see at present. Perhaps at some time in the future sufficient data will be gathered to warrant a conclusion as to aims, but at

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[2] Bode, Boyd H., "Modern Educational Theories," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, pp. 202–203.

[3] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 6, February, 1928, pp. 306–307.

present the aims are a matter of speculation, and we shall have to go to philosophy for our guide. This does not mean that the immediate objectives cannot be sociologically considered. Scientific research has displayed a body of data concerning food and diet for example. The sociologist may carefully examine social patterns that do not conform to the results of these researches and suggest changes to bring the social patterns into harmony with scientific discovery. There is a wide field for the activity of the sociologist along many such lines, but the underlying aims of education remain to him a sealed book.

We have designated that aspect of education in which we must train for situations which we cannot now anticipate, and which are certain to arise in the future, "the creative or constructive rôle of education." Professor Bode rightly seems to regard this as one of the important functions of education. His method of dealing with this aspect of education seems to be to develop logical-mindedness by the logical mastery of subject matter. This point of view smacks of formal discipline. This conclusion as to procedure may be the best that the philosopher of education, and such an astute philosopher of education as Professor Bode, has to offer, but it hardly satisfies the scientific-minded sociologist. This point of view gives one no clue as to selection of subject matter. So far as this writer can see, learning Greek or Euclid would be as good a program as any to meet this requirement.

Professor Bode says in response to this statement:[4]

In my discussion of Dr. Snedden's "Sociological Determination of Objectives in Education," my whole concern was with the contention that "from sociology must come answers to the question, what shall be the aims of education?" This proposition, taken in its context, i.e., interpreted in the light of Dr. Snedden's whole theory of education, means indubitably that science is Dr. Snedden's religion. He is what the eighteenth

[4] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 6, February, 1928, p. 309.

century would have called an enthusiast. It is true that Dr. Snedden, like others of his faith, has to fall back eventually on a questionnaire in order to determine the objectives which science is supposed to furnish, but this is done so unobtrusively that the casual eye detects no flaw in the architectural scheme. Science is the alpha and the omega of the city not made with hands.

This is the conception of educational objectives which I undertook to attack. Unfortunately, the heat of battle is not conducive to reflection on more remote considerations, and it did not occur to me that my onslaught might have the appearance of being directed against any sort of sociological determination of objectives in education. Even so judicious and fair-minded a critic as Dr. Payne is apparently disturbed by this possibility. Sociology surely has something to contribute on what shall be the aims of education. We must look to sociology for the determination of certain "immediate objectives," even though we grant that the larger aims or purposes must be determined in some other way, and this view is justified. Sociology determines these immediate objectives in the sense that it specifies the conditions which must be taken into account if the general aim is to be promoted. In order to realize this aim, it is necessary to tie up the school with the home, with the industrial order, and with various other social agencies and institutions, and for this end the contribution which sociology can make is obviously indispensable. But this is clearly different from the assumption that if we pursue sociological investigations or inquiries long enough and hard enough the appropriate educational ideals will emerge of themselves. This is like telling a sculptor that if he will only keep on cutting into a block of marble he will discover the form or outline for his statue. It must be in there somewhere.

Recognizing the limitations in the scientific determination of the intangible objectives of education, the sociologist may legitimately discuss some of the specific problems facing society, in which openmindedness should be maintained, and then note the educational problems involved. Perhaps it would be well to attempt to define the type of situations in which openmindedness is essential. Briefly we may say that, concerning problems which may be scientifically solved and the solution of which is settled for all

time, there is no need for openmindedness. For instance, the rotundity of the earth is a settled question and may be taught as a fact. Likewise, certain drugs are poisonous and if taken will mean death, and there is no need for open-mindedness about these drugs. There are similar facts about food, exercise, family practices, civic practices, etc. which need to be taught as facts, without elaborate reasoning. Essential social patterns may rightly be developed in relation to them.

In contrast with these questions which are sufficiently settled to be taught as facts, and out of which behavior patterns should be developed, are hundreds of others that are not settled. A short list will illustrate what we have in mind. The treatment of defectives, birth control, control of children, the place of children in the family, fashions, politics, government, the permanency of the Constitution, and international relations, are types of problems that have by no means been settled for all time. We are, moreover, greatly handicapped in our national social progress and international relations by fixed attitudes of mind that are out of line with modern needs.

As an example that will well illustrate the international situation, let us consider our interference or non-interference in the affairs of foreign nations. The deep-seated desire for non-participation in European conflicts, and the set of mind developed in a period of international isolation, have created prejudices which make effective international coöperation extraordinarily difficult. This statement is not meant to imply that we should immediately proceed to teach children that we should join the League of Nations and the Court of International Relations, or adopt any particular international policy. It means only that school children should begin to acquire the capacity for weighing arguments, withholding their judgments, and finally arriving at conclusions on the basis of facts. This sort of open-

mindedness would lead later to better decisions in matters that cannot be finally decided. It would undoubtedly result in more adequately appreciating the problems that confront us in our social life.

Why is there such need for this openness of mind? We can answer in a word, social progress. We need to note here but briefly the remarkable character of this progress in recent years. A contemporary writer says:[5]

My grandmother told me that she crossed the Atlantic in her youth on a sailing vessel and people congratulated her because she made her trip in six weeks.

My grandchildren probably will fly from New York to London or Paris as readily as we go by train from Washington to Boston. And every one will take their coming and going as a matter of course.

In New York City on January 8, 1927, the president of the American Telegraph and Telephone Company removed his telephone receiver from the hook and said "Hello London." Already the New York business man puts in a long distance call for London as casually as he would ask for Chicago.

For many centuries tales have been told of the marvelous ceremonies, lasting for two months, that take place in Jarmu, winter capital of beautiful Kashmir, when a Maharajah is inaugurated. Potentates bedecked in diamonds and pearls and other gems worth millions of dollars ride elephants whose trappings cost $200,000 or more. The new ruler sits in state for three hours a day, four days a week to receive the handsome presents sent by eastern potentates. His coronation bath is taken in waters collected by couriers from the four oceans and from every spring and stream in his domain. Not long ago Washington, D. C. members of the National Geographic Society saw every detail of this ancient and amazing investiture for the present incumbent by the means of moving pictures—pictures which were taken, in some instances, through apertures in walls of palaces where no white man has ever trod.

When the National Geographic Society and the United States Navy sent Donald B. MacMillan and Richard E. Byrd upon

[5] *See* Grosvenor, Gilbert, "Growth Through Travel," *The Journal of the National Education Association*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, January, 1928, pp. 1–2.

the arctic aërial exploration, the ships were equipped with radio sending stations. The expedition members talked by radio to the United States and sent daily messages in radio code to the National Geographic Society. The messages were picked up from Maine to California, and Florida to the State of Washington, and transmitted to the society's headquarters in Washington, D. C.

On a lonely farm in Vermont, six miles from a railroad station, a family nightly gathers around a radio set and hears the finest symphony orchestras, the world's greatest musicians, the foremost statesmen. If they tire of the Boston programs they can "tune in" on Cleveland, or Jacksonville, or New Orleans. And this is typical of millions of homes.

Here we have, dramatically stated, some of the striking changes that have taken place in our means of communication, transportation, and of disseminating information that have made this a new world, a world of change and readjustments. It is just such change as we have indicated that requires new adjustments of points of view and attitudes, consistent with social progress. It is, moreover, such changes as these that have thrown into relief certain problems that are critical and demand openmindedness for solution. We wish to discuss briefly a few of these problems as typical.

Central among these problems and perhaps most fundamental of all are those of the family. We have been much disturbed about weakness of the family ties and the corresponding increase in the number of divorces, broken families, and the like. To those who regard the family as the essential primary group for the transmission of the social heritages and the perpetuation of the race, family disturbances are appalling. Note, for example, the increase in divorce.

Some of the proposals made for the solution of the problems of the family are birth control, a new attitude toward children, and the like. These proposals shock those who

have regarded marriage as a sacred institution, and the present recognized family practices as the essential ones for all time. Printed matter relating to the methods of birth control is excluded from the mails, and persons may be fined and imprisoned for publishing material of this kind. Yet serious-minded men and women, scientists, are advocating birth control as a means of social betterment. Without attempting to say whether this is a means of solution of the aggregating problems of family life and a partial solution of race improvement, we are sure that openmindedness and ability to look at facts as they are is essential to the solution of the problem. Prejudices will not help in the solution. Whatever, then, may be done to develop the capacity for viewing data objectively is important and should be regarded as an essential educational objective.

Likewise, the problem of child control has to be faced with the new scientific developments clearly in mind. In the past few generations, we have discarded the earlier conception of child control whereby "children were to be seen and not heard," and according to which children were regarded as clay to be molded by autocratic means into the forms determined by adults, parents, priests, and teachers. Whatever we may wish as the outcome in ideals, habits, and knowledges in child development, we have definitely committed ourselves to the principle that self-control is the only ultimate goal toward which education must tend. Self-control, however, cannot result from autocratic domination during the period of growth and development. Self-direction of behavior must commence early in the life of the child to insure adequate self-direction and control in the social life when the individual becomes a legally independent person. We can develop capacity for effective independent action only through the exercise of freedom and the readjustment of behavior in the process of growth.

This theory of freedom in growth has upset both parents and teachers and left them without an adequate technique of child direction. The solution of the problem, then, of directing child growth must result from scientific observation and experiment, and from openmindedness in arriving at conclusions.

Perhaps in no other field have we so much uncertainty as in that of government. At the same time, we have undoubtedly more reactionary forces operating to maintain the status quo in the field of government, than in any other field of human endeavor. We have societies organized for the purpose of maintaining absolute reverence for the Constitution of the United States as established by our fathers. In spite of the fact that governmental forms have been reconstituted at various periods in the history of the race, following social, industrial, and commercial revolutions, a large group of people still hold that our forefathers, in their superior wisdom and insight, solved the problem of government for all time. They insist that we shall teach the Constitution and complete reverence for the Constitution as it exists. They would even go so far as to exact this absolute respect for the Constitution through legal enforcement.

Whatever we may think of the adequacy of the Constitution as a document and as a national instrument at the present time, obviously, we must conceive it pragmatically, as something that might need to be replaced at some future time by a governmental instrument that will take account of changes resulting from social reconstruction. Furthermore, we cannot equip a democratic society for this possibility by developing such reverence for the document as will make any fundamental change impossible. The only way open to the educator is to seek to develop an attitude of mind on all governmental questions, that will make adjustment to new conditions possible. If this cannot be

done or is not permitted, then the real function of education will be greatly debilitated.

What we have said here about the Constitution applies equally as well to politics, government, labor, capital, international relations, and a host of problems centering about the social life. We cannot settle these problems at the present, and certainly, they cannot be settled by children; but we can present facts, we can draw certain conclusions, we can develop an attitude that will help one to face new facts as they arise. In a word, we can provide for intelligent social reconstruction by emphasis upon the scientific approach to vital social questions, rather than upon the emotional approach.

The purpose of this chapter has been to raise questions upon which a scientific sociology may throw some light. The study of groups, the understanding of how responses are conditioned by groups, and the study of social pressures as they bear upon social patterns, are matters well within the scope of science, and the unbiased weighing of evidence as well as the promotion of adequate techniques of social research will lead to a clearer appreciation of the necessity for the creative or constructive aspect of education.

II. DARE PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION BE PROGRESSIVE?[6]

GEORGE S. COUNTS

The Progressive Education Association includes among its members more than its share of the boldest and most creative figures in American education. My hope is that it will not dissipate its energies or fail to measure up to its great opportunities. But, if it is to fulfill its promise, it must lose some of its easy optimism and prepare to deal more fundamentally, realistically, and positively with the American social situation than it has done up to the present moment.

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[6] *Progressive Education*, Vol. IX, No. 4, April, 1932, pp. 257–263.

In the minds of most Americans, the Progressive Education movement, in spite of its complexity, does stand for certain rather definite things. Moreover, few would deny that it has a number of large achievements to its credit. It has focused attention squarely upon the child; it has recognized the fundamental importance of the interest of the learner; it has defended the thesis that activity lies at the root of all true education; it has conceived learning in terms of life situations and growth of character; and it has championed the rights of the child as a free personality. All of this is excellent; but in my judgment it is not enough. It constitutes too narrow a conception of the meaning of education; it brings into the picture but one half of the landscape.

If an educational movement, or anything else, calls itself progressive, it must have orientation, it must possess direction. The very word itself means moving forward; and moving forward can have little meaning in the absence of clearly defined purposes. We cannot, like Stephen Leacock's horseman, dash off in all directions at once. Nor can we, like our presidential candidates, evade every important issue and be all things to all men.

You may reply that this sounds very interesting but that it has little bearing on the subject of Progressive Education. You may argue that the movement does have orientation, that it is devoted to the development of the good individual. But there is no *good* individual apart from some conception of the nature of the good society. Man without human society and human culture is not man. And there is also no *good* education apart from some conception of the nature of the good society. Education is not some pure and mystical essence that remains unchanged from everlasting to everlasting. On the contrary, it is of the earth and must respond to every convulsion or tremor that shakes the planet. It must always be a function of time and circumstance.

The great weakness of Progressive Education lies in the fact that it has elaborated no theory of social welfare, unless it be that of anarchy or extreme individualism. In this, of course, it is but reflecting the viewpoint of the members of the liberal-minded upper middle class who provide most of the children for the Progressive schools—persons who are fairly well off, who have abandoned the faiths of their fathers, who assume an agnostic attitude towards all important questions, who pride

themselves on their openmindedness and tolerance, who favor in a mild sort of way fairly liberal programs of social reconstruction, who are full of good will and humane sentiment, who have vague aspirations for world peace and human brotherhood, who can be counted upon to respond moderately to any appeal made in the interest of elemental human rights, who are genuinely distressed at the sight of unwonted forms of cruelty, misery, and suffering, who serve to soften the bitter clashes of those real forces that govern the world; but who, in spite of all their good qualities, have no deep and abiding loyalties, who possess no convictions for which they would sacrifice over-much, who would find it hard to live without their customary material comforts, who are rather insensitive to the accepted forms of social injustice, who are content to play the rôle of interested spectator in the drama of human history, who refuse to see reality in its harsher and more disagreeable forms, and who, in the day of severe trial, will follow the lead of the most powerful and respectable forces in society, and, at the same time, find good reasons for so doing. These people have shown themselves entirely incapable of dealing with any of the great crises of our time—war, prosperity, or depression. At bottom they are romantic sentimentalists. That they may be trusted to write our educational theories and shape our educational programs would seem to be highly improbable.

Among the members of this class the birthrate is low, the number of children small, the income relatively high, and the economic functions of the home greatly reduced. For this reason an inordinate emphasis on the child and child interests is entirely welcome to them. They wish to guard their offspring from too strenuous endeavor and from coming into too intimate contact with the grimmer aspects of industrial society. Moreover, they wish their sons and daughters to succeed according to the standards of their class and to be a credit to their parents. Also, at heart, feeling themselves members of a superior breed, they do not want their children to mix too freely with the children of the poor or of the less fortunate races. Nor do they want them to accept radical social doctrines or espouse unpopular causes. According to their views, education should deal with life, but with life at a distance or in a highly diluted form. Indeed they would generally maintain that life should be kept at arm's length, if it should not be handled with a poker.

If Progressive Education is to be genuinely progressive, it must emancipate itself from the influence of this class, face squarely and courageously every social issue, come to grips with life in all of its stark reality, establish an organic relation with the community, develop a realistic and comprehensive theory of welfare, fashion a compelling and challenging vision of human destiny, and become somewhat less frightened than it is today at the bogeys of *imposition* and *indoctrination.* In a word, Progressive Education cannot build its program out of the interests of the children: it cannot place its trust in a child-centered school.

The need for the founding of Progressive Education on an adequate social theory is peculiarly imperative today. We live in troublous times; we live in an age of profound change; we live in an age of revolution. Indeed, it is highly doubtful whether man ever lived in a more eventful period than the present. In order to match our epoch we would probably have to go back to the fall of the ancient empires, or even to that unrecorded age when men first abandoned the simple arts of hunting and fishing and trapping and began to experiment with agriculture and the settled life. Today we are witnessing the rise of a civilization quite without precedent in human history—a civilization which is founded on science, technology, and machinery, which possesses the most extraordinary power, and which is rapidly making of the entire world a single great society. As a consequence of forces already released, whether in the field of economics, politics, morals, religion, or art, the old molds are being broken. And the peoples of the earth are seething with strange ideas and passions. If life were peaceful and quiet and undisturbed by great issues, we might, with some show of wisdom, center our attention on the nature of the child. But with the world as it is, we cannot afford for a single instant to remove our eyes from the social scene.

In this new world that is forming, there is one set of issues which is peculiarly fundamental, and which is certain to be the center of bitter and prolonged struggle. I refer to those issues which may be styled economic. President Butler has well stated the case: "For a generation and more past," he says, "the center of human interest has been moving from the point which it occupied for some four hundred years to a new point which it bids fair to occupy for a time equally long. The shift in the position of the

center of gravity in human interest has been from politics to economics; from considerations that had to do with forms of government, with the establishment and protection of individual liberty, to considerations that have to do with the production, distribution and consumption of wealth."

Consider the situation in which we find ourselves today. How the gods must laugh at human folly! And who among us, if he had not been reared among our institutions, could believe his eyes as he surveys the economic situation, or his ears as he listens to solemn disquisitions by our financial and political leaders on the cause and cure of the depression. Here is a society in which a mastery over the forces of nature, surpassing the wildest dreams of antiquity, is accompanied by extreme material insecurity; in which dire poverty walks hand in hand with the most extravagant living that the world has ever known; in which an abundance of goods of all kinds is coupled with privation, misery, and even starvation; in which an excess of production is seriously offered as the underlying cause of severe physical suffering; in which breakfastless children march to school past bankrupt shops laden with rich foods gathered from the ends of the earth; in which strong men by the million walk the streets in a futile search for employment and, with the exhaustion of hope, enter the ranks of beaten men; in which so-called captains of industry close factories without warning and dismiss the workmen by whose labors they have amassed great fortunes through the years; in which automatic machinery increasingly displaces men and threatens the economic order with a growing contingent of the permanently unemployed; in which racketeers and gangsters, with the connivance of public officials, fasten themselves on the channels of trade and exact toll at the end of the machine gun; in which economic parasitism, either within or without the law, has become so easy for the cunning and the ruthless that the tradition seems to be taking root that "only saps work"; in which the wages paid to the workers are too meagre to enable them to buy back the goods they produce; in which consumption is subordinated to production, and the science of psychology is employed to fan the flames of desire; in which a governmental commission advises the cotton growers to plow under every fourth row of cotton in order to bolster up the market; in which both ethical and esthetic considerations are commonly over-ridden by "practical" men bent on material

gain; in which the dole to the unemployed is opposed on the grounds that it will pauperize the masses when the favored classes, through the institution of interest, have always lived on a dole; in which our most responsible leaders, not knowing what to do, resort to the practices of the witch doctor and vie with one another in predicting the return of prosperity, in which an ideal of rugged individualism, evolved in a simple pioneering and agrarian order at a time when free land existed in abundance, is used to justify a system, which exploits pitilessly and without thought of the morrow, the natural and human resources of the nation and of the world. One can only imagine what Jeremiah would say if he could step out of the pages of the Old Testament and cast his eyes over this vast spectacle so full of menace and of promise.

But the point should be emphasized, that the present situation is full of promise, as well as menace. Our age is literally pregnant with possibilities. There lies within our grasp the most humane and majestic civilization ever fashioned by any people. At last men have achieved such a mastery over the forces of nature that wage slavery can follow chattel slavery and take its place among the relics of the past. No longer are there any grounds for the contention that the finer fruits of human culture must be nurtured upon the exploitation of the masses. The limits set by nature have been so extended that for practical purposes we may say that we are bound merely by our own ideals, by our power of self-discipline, and by our ability to devise social arrangements suited to an industrial age. If we are to believe what our engineers tell us, the full utilization of modern technology should enable us to produce several times as much goods as were ever produced at the very peak of prosperity, and with the working day, the working year, and the working life reduced by half. In other words, we hold within our hands the power to usher in an age of plenty, to make secure the lives of all, and to banish poverty forever from the land.

The problem of the reconstruction of our economic order, however, is not the only problem that we face. Profound changes in this realm are being accompanied and must be accompanied by equally profound changes in other fields. Life cannot be divided neatly into a number of separate compartments. The reduction of the hours of labor and the ushering in of an age of material abundance must have severe repercussions in the spheres

of art, government, morals, and religion. Indeed, we see this very thing happening in contemporary society today. And while in the present paper attention is centered on the economic question, our educational theory will have to embrace the entire range of life. It will have to deal, not only with labor and income and property, but also with leisure and recreation, sex and family, government and public opinion, race and nationality, war and peace, art and esthetics.

When I say that Progressive Education should face all of these questions I do not mean merely that provision should be made in our progressive schools for children to study the problems of economics, government, and so on. This much, of course, should be done. But unless the Progressive Education movement wishes to change its name to the Contemplative Education movement, the Goodwill Education movement or the Hopeful Education movement, it should go much further. To my mind, a movement honestly styling itself progressive should engage in the positive task of creating a new tradition in American life—a tradition possessing power, appeal, and direction. James Truslow Adams has pointed out in his "Epic of America" that our chief contribution to the heritage of the race lies not in the field of science, or technology, or politics, or religion, or art, but rather in the creation of what he calls the American Dream—a vision of a society in which the lot of the common man will be made easier and his life enriched and ennobled. If this vision has been a moving force in our history, as I believe it has, then why should we not set ourselves the task of reconstituting and revitalizing it? This would seem to be the great need of our age, both in the realm of education and in the sphere of public life, because men must have something for which to live. Agnosticism, skepticism, and even experimentalism, unless the latter is given a more positive definition than has come to my attention, constitute an extremely meagre spiritual diet for any people. To be sure, a small bank of intellectuals, a queer breed of men at best, may be satisfied with such a spare ration, but the masses, I am sure will always require something more substantial and colorful. Ordinary men and women crave a tangible purpose for which to strive and which lends richness and dignity and meaning to life. I would consequently like to see Progressive Education come to grips with the problem of creating a tradition that has roots in American soil, is in harmony with the spirit

of the age, recognizes the facts of industrialism, appeals to the most profound impulses of our people, and takes into account the emergence of a world society.

But, you will say, is this not leading us out upon very dangerous ground? Is it not taking us rather far from the familiar landmarks bounding the fields that teachers are wont to cultivate? My answer is, of course, in the affirmative. This, however, does not, in my judgment, constitute a serious objection to what I propose. If we are content to remain where all is safe and quiet and serene, we shall dedicate ourselves, as teachers have commonly done in the past, to a rôle of relatively complete futility, if not of positive social reaction. Neutrality with respect to the great issues that agitate society, while perhaps theoretically possible, is practically tantamount to giving support to the most powerful forces engaged in the contest.

You will also say, no doubt, that I am flirting with the idea of indoctrination. And my answer is again in the affirmative. Or, at least, I should say the word does not frighten me. We may all rest assured that the younger generation in any society will be thoroughly imposed upon by its elders and by the culture into which it is born. For the school to work in a somewhat different direction with all the power at its disposal could do no great harm. At the most, unless the superiority of its outlook is unquestioned, it can but serve as a counterpoise to check and challenge the power of less enlightened or more selfish purposes.

. . . But whether our Progressive schools, handicapped as they are by the clientele which they serve and the intellectualistic approach to life which they embrace, can become progressive in the genuine social sense here suggested, would seem to be highly doubtful. Nevertheless, to my mind this is the central educational task of the age in which we live.

III. WHAT DO WE MEAN BY PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION?[7]

William Heard Kilpatrick

If we believe that men will always be learning new things—and more and more are people believing this—we must then expect that always there will be some newer ideas to be accepted and

[7] *Progressive Education*, Vol. VII, No. 8, December, 1930, pp. 383–386.

some older ones to be given up or made over. Always some new and better ideas will be just coming in to drive out some less adequate old ideas. On this basis, progressive education means simply the forward trend in education. Progressive education thus defined, all forward-looking people believe in. The dispute, of course, comes when we begin to name the good and new ideas that are just coming in. Here disagreement enters. Writers and thinkers differ. In general, perhaps, the newer the idea the less agreement about it. But some fairly new ideas are pretty well accepted. Two such concern us here.

More Study and Less Mistaken Science

First of all is the new idea that education—what it is and how to run it—must be based on careful study. Some of you will say this is not new. It is, however, so new that not even the best have learned very well how to study education. It is, furthermore, so new that most parents, and even most teachers, still prefer the old ways that they were brought up on and are used to—merely because they are used to them and not because there is good reason for sticking to them. Progressive education intends to base itself on the conscious study of education as opposed to mere tradition, however honorable, and especially as opposed to what we hear—or generally don't hear—from old fogies: "the way I was taught" or "what was good enough for me is good enough for my children." Progressive education believes in basing itself on the conscious, all-round careful study of education.

To speak of the "all-round careful study" of education instead of the "scientific" study of education may surprise some. The reason I didn't use the word "scientific" is that just now—as I see it—*education is suffering grievously from a mistaken kind of scientific study and the more mistaken the louder it proclaims itself as "scientific."* This wrong kind of science wishes us to study a child but forget his personality, wishes us to begin, not with "the whole" child, but with little pieces of knowledge, separate skills, separate habits, and the like. To begin by cutting up life and the child in this fashion is, I think, to fail to care for the whole child. It is, in particular, to fail to build personality. Instead, it is to invite maladjustment. A better science must protect education and the fair name of science itself from such misdirected endeavors. Better study is the hope.

A second plank on which practically all moderns stand is that learning is an active affair. Parents and teachers have a real part in the educational program, but the actual education comes through what the child himself does. What educates him is his thinking, his emotional response, his doing—not what we do. What we do can work only as it works through him and his doing. No part of a child is ever educatively affected except as that part or aspect itself acts. Learning is essentially active. Everybody who knows agrees to this, but (as I see it) only those who belong in the "progressive" camp are much impressed by it or care to stress it in any adequate fashion.

Leaving now the new study of education and learning as essentially active, we come next to some matters of less general agreement but which, none the less, seem pretty sure to be accepted. These, and the education based on them, are what I mean by "progressive education."

Learning Involves the Whole Child

At the top, or perhaps better at the foundation bottom, stands a new way of thinking about *learn* and *learning*, a way that connects behavior and learning very intimately. Biology teaches us that when a child behaves, all that he has and is goes *more or less* into what he does; and each part that so acts is more or less changed by the act.

This is easy to say—or at any rate, to believe—in a group of children putting on a play, for example. They are thinking; they are talking; they are responding emotionally; they are moving physically; their internal glands of secretion are, we may well believe, at work. With each, the whole child is at each moment in greater or less degree involved. He is exercising all over. In such case, learning is exactly the change, the more or less abiding change, that comes as and because any part of this doing and acting and responding was new. In putting on this play, this precise venture was a new thing; it never happened before, and almost each moment shows some new and unexpected development. As the children thus grapple with each succeeding new phase, they are responding in more or less new fashion all over. This is where the learning comes in.

John, let us say, fails to play his part as Mary and Henry think he should. They undertake to deal with him. How many things they must think of: what the lines say, what the

situation calls for, how they must deal tactfully with John, how short the time is, what the others will say. Intellectual, social, emotional adjustments, moral decisions—all with accompanying physical movements and internal glandular secretions—the whole child is at work and the whole child is changed thus somewhat. As behaving involves the whole child, so learning extends throughout the whole child.

Behaving and learning are thus almost two sides of one process. What is done we call *behaving*. The effect left in the person we call *learning*. As the child behaves all over, so he learns all through. John may come away discouraged and angry; if so, these are learning effects and they in turn bring other effects. Mary may come away more thoughtless of others, and Henry more thoughtful. Every aspect of mind, soul, or body that got into play will be somewhat affected by the experience. It is always so. The sum total of all such effects and their varied interactions among each other, we have in mind when we speak of the "whole" child.

But there is even more. The child lives in an environment. He responds to a situation. His learning exactly joins him with this environment. If John was angry, he was angry with some one, with Mary perhaps or with Henry, one or both. If Henry became more considerate, there are certain things that he now takes more and better into account, just as Mary takes them even less well into account. Always the changes in the child, the learning effects, are joined to elements in the situation. Learning then is an adjusting, good or bad. Good adjustment means better conduct hereafter. Bad adjustment means later bad conduct.

And this kind of whole-child learning, this whole-child adjusting, is going on all the time. Every experience leaves its manifold effects. We, as teachers or parents, may not know about them, we may even prefer to ignore them, but they go on just the same all the time—only worse because we are not taking care. And these are the things that count for character and for life. All the time, this process is going on. All the time.

Wherein the Old School Fails

We see now why the traditional school is unsatisfactory. It centered its attention on a few things, and ignored the rest. It

chose school facts and skills and concerned itself with them. It ignored these other learnings that were none the less going on all the time, only worse because the school took no account of them. And these ignored things were the character effects, the personality effects, the emotional adjustments. If you ask the teachers and parents who still uphold this older school, they will answer you, a little indignantly perhaps, that they are just as much concerned with character and personality as you are. They say so, but their acts belie their words. They go on stressing grades and marks, tests and examination credits, regents' counts, and they do nothing to interfere with the bad effects of such—almost nothing, perhaps, I had better say. And worse still, they look on these grades and credits and counts as education. They sacrifice the real education to these signs and symbols.

Progressive education, on the contrary, means to build its school exactly on these total effects. It seeks to care for the whole child. Not that it does not care for reading and writing and literature and all the like things. It will get these and even more than does the old school, but it seeks first the whole child. It will not let marks or credits endanger mental health. It will not sacrifice personality adjustment to merely artificial promotion. It will make official promotion fit healthy child growth.

I wish I could say the progressive schools never make mistakes. I cannot, of course, so claim; and the better the school, the better it knows its failures. For one thing, these schools are too new. It takes time to remake education. The essential differences, however, between them and the others seem clear. The traditional school—even when it tries to be what is called "scientific" —first makes up its curriculum, and this in terms of school knowledge and skills. Properly used, these are good but, at best, they are part only. Then it builds a school to teach exactly these things. It marks on these. It promotes on these. *In effect,* its school machinery ignores all those other learnings. Marks and promotion come first. Tests and measures fill the horizon. Whoever thus chooses a part only, and makes his school give first if not exclusive attention to this part, and marks his pupils and promotes them on this basis only—whoever does so need not be surprised if the other learnings suffer. And this is what we see. In all fairness, so one-sided a program is not education, it is mis-education.

Progressive education, if it is worthy of the name, founds itself on the total learning effects, not on part only. It, therefore, stresses life and experience, learning richly under careful teacher guidance. Only thus can we hope to call into play all sides of personality. Only as the whole child is given all-round experience can we hope to build the richer and finer personalities that we all wish. This is the program of progressive education.

IV. THE PLACE OF CREATING IN THE EDUCATIVE PROCESS[8]

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK

Creating in education is nowadays much advocated. But if we listen closely we hear discordant voices. Some find a place for creation only in such as "art," "music," or "writing." Others would extend it much more broadly. Still others, more "scientifically" minded, tell us that only the few can, in fact, create,—possibly one-tenth of one per cent. The rest must be content with "appreciation" and "followship." But to this many will immediately object. When, further, we look into the schools we see that traditionally creating has no admitted place. In more modern schools it is advocated, but thinking about it is seldom clear and practice accordingly suffers. By and large, in spite of some lip service, creation is little sought and less got.

This situation challenges us, both to clear up our thinking and to make our practice conform. If practice is to go forward we must answer, at least tentatively, some insistent questions. What does "create" mean? Is it properly limited to certain kinds of work or does it belong to all of life? Is it limited to the few or do all create more or less? What part does "creation" in fact play in life? Could a different education make it play a more significant part? It is these questions in general, not probably all in detail, that we propose now to consider. Widely different answers suggest that widely different definitions may be at work. So here. The main effort will accordingly be devoted to a consideration of the meaning of the word "create."

Probably the word "create" came into our thinking from the first verse in the Bible and so meant to form out of nothing. Later the term was extended. The great artists and thinkers

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[8] *Childhood Education*, Vol. VII, No. 3, November, 1930, pp. 115–118.

were said to "create." Being men, they used material to begin with; but the results were so much above the majority as to seem mysterious if not divine.

Here we have a beginning. The ways of men we can study. What do we find? Is their creation limited to "art," "music," and "literature"? Or do we find it as well in statesmanship, generalship, invention, research? Do we not in fact find it present more or less in every realm where man has concern enough to achieve? And is such creation limited to the very few? Do we find the great ones standing quite apart from the rest of us, doing things the like of which we lesser ones cannot do even in smaller scale? Are they a different kind of being from us, so that they alone create and we can only imitate? Or do we all create, only in different degrees? Does not history in fact show one unbroken stretch ("distribution of creative ability") from Shakespeare or Beethoven or Einstein down to us, with everywhere each one in the line almost as creative as the one next above, no break anywhere to mark off the "creative" ones from the rest?

At this point some not liking the trend of discussion will rise to propose that we admit the distribution of ability in different degrees among men but limit the word "create" to the significant contributions to the world's store. Certain things could be said in favor of such a definition, but the other line developing above seems to promise better for helping education forward. We shall then first consider it further.

It was suggested above that "creating" extends itself more or less among all people and into all aspects of life. This line of thought we now wish to pursue. Possibly from it we shall reach a more satisfactory definition of the word "create," get light on the part creating plays when present, and consequently get guidance for education.

As it is life that concerns us, let us begin with biology and even with a lower animal form. Such an animal living in its "natural habitat" has its accustomed ways of getting food, etc. Its life seems stereotyped. But let a sufficiently new situation present itself. The animal is stirred to effort. Three results are possibilities. The animal may "get used" to the new stimulus and henceforth ignore it, or he may succumb, and die, or he may "master the situation" by responding in a novel fashion. If the latter, the new reaction brings or means a "corresponding

structural change" (Haldane). Careful observation seems to corroborate these findings. Even a very low animal form may in the face of a novel situation contrive a (to him) novel response to meet the situation, and this response will abide as a structural change. These facts we may describe in two ways: the animal has "learned" a new response or the animal has "created" a new response. Note here that "create" and "learn" (the latter in at least one of its aspects) are made to mean the same thing. "Learn" thus becomes a more active and creative affair than most seem to think. Create is brought more lowly, if you will, but still means to make something that beforetimes did not (for the learner) exist. Old material may enter constitutively, but the result is something qualitatively new. For the learner (if not for the world) actual creation has taken place. The reader is asked, if he will, to reread this paragraph, and let the words "learn" and "create" assume more adequately (at least to try out) the new meanings here suggested.

Let us now move up the biological scale to human thinking. Life, if we look closely, is a novelly developing flux of events. Any event is in itself unique though within it we recognize familiar elements. We never experienced this event before. We cannot tell far in advance (less than a minute more often than more, my students recently judged) *just* what the next event will be. Some elements of the approaching event, yes. *Just* what in its *entirety*, no. But all the same we have to act, and for this we have to plan. Often our plans work. Often they fail. It is a hazard. The greater the step, marriage for instance, the greater the hazard.

Now thinking (in any full sense) is the effort to grapple with this novelly developing flux of events in terms of what we have learned from the past. We may succeed, we often fail. Thinking is sizing up the moving shifting situation already here so as best to manage in the light of what is coming. Moreover I as a fully responsible person (in contrast perhaps with children, slaves, or prisoners) have to decide in matters significant to me my own course of action. If I try to shift the decision by seeking advice, I still have to decide whose advice to seek and then whether to follow it. If I decide to imitate my neighbor, it is still the same. The final decision I must make and in terms of my situation as best I can decide. Such a decision then is itself a "creation" in the same sense as the active constructive learning

discussed above. I make it. Thinking, like learning, in any full sense, is creative. And whether we call it "thinking" or "learning" or "creating," it is the same active constructive grappling with impending fortune to manage it to our ends. And this is life at the highest. It belongs to every person as such, but can be increased in each. Education exists to promote it. Now creating begets creating. As then creating is the essence of living at the best, so also is creating the essence of education.

But "learn" needs further study before we can leave it, especially in relation to imitation. To most people, including many educators, the learning process does not begin until the thing-to-be-learned is set before the learner as a copy to be imitated or a rule to be got or knowledge or skill to be acquired. There is something to be said for such a definition. It seems on the face of it to be the method of acquiring the racial inheritance, admittedly an invaluable endowment from the past. But clearly this conception of "learn" is markedly different from the active constructive creative learning presented above. Can the two be got together? If the answer be no, then we have a dualism in education. Some learning comes passively or imitatively (let us say), while other learning comes "creatively." Dualisms generally give trouble, especially to the weaker (whether in age or ability or social fortune). Let us see if we can reduce this apparent dualism to a difference of degree, a question of more or less.

Begin with a skill, say learning a golf stroke. The professional shows me his swing, even explains it in detail. I try and fail. Mere imitation does not suffice. I have to do some contriving myself. He may show or suggest, but I have to do the contriving. In short, taking my existing stock of habits and skills I "create" a movement new to me (and, believe me, mine is never exactly his). Without his help, however, I had done less well. What I do is thus part "creation," part "imitation." But the same thing is true of Shakespeare. Supreme creator that he was, he profited still by what others showed him. No man can create out of nothing. Always there are things that suggest. It begins to appear that there is a creation-imitation scale: at one end the greatest possible amount of creation in proportion to imitation; at the other end the reverse, the least possible amount of creation in proportion to imitation. With all

gradations in between. Even Shakespeare shows greater creation at times than at others. Many of us would be glad to reach his lowest. Somewhere in this scale each act belongs.

Even in learning such things as 7 + 6 = 13, there appears to be some creation present. Some children are mentally too young to "sense" the numbers. Clearly then a learner is not merely passive, he has a part to play requiring a degree of maturity, that is, a degree of effectual intelligence. But intelligence is in general defined practically as the creative grappling with a difficult situation. Certainly an actual "creative" element is present and the same holds of "sensing" the relation between 7 + 6 and 13. Again is a certain mental maturity necessary. That is, this relation cannot be really learned without the exercise of something best conceived as "creative ability." Lack of space forbids further argument, but it seems most probable that every learning, however pronounced the imitation, has in it, some personal exercise of "creative ability." We seem warranted in giving creation a place in every learning activity.

Well, what of it? What difference does it make? Much every way. Education takes on a different life and spirit. Some things may be said specifically.

1. We cease in caste system fashion to divide mankind into two separable groups, those who create and those who do not. All create to some degree. Those who fall below a certain amount are institutional cases. All who properly go around loose have to create every day and much of the time. Crossing a busy street is one very simple instance. I have to make my plan on the spot at the time. Driving a car is another illustration, again of low order to be sure, but still it quite definitely illustrates the need of a continual creating. Higher up is giving a dinner party. To do this successfully requires much of creating. Any conversation worth the name is another instance. Creating is a necessary element in life.

2. Still further, it appears in general true that the more of creation we can put into life (other things being equal) the richer it is in satisfaction, and satisfaction of a kind by best consent called "higher." If this be so, then it becomes our business as educators to try to bring into each person's life as much of creation as possible. Here is where we wish a different aim and content to school and education. Making the home beautiful would be an excellent instance for the new adult education.

Making the home happy may perhaps also be accepted as a proper object of creative study.

3. This is to give up the idea that creative work is confined to such as making pictures or composing music or writing. That these are *among* the supreme instances no one would deny, but wherever there is a difficult and complex situation to be met, significant to man, there is also opportunity for worthy creative work. So far as concerns school, everything proper to go on there has its possibilities of the creative in it. This is not to say that we expect a different multiplication table, but that multiplication will be learned creatively and put to use creatively in many pupil enterprises. Nor need this outlook deny a proper place to "drill" (or better, practice)—after creative work has brought the need. But creation we shall seek in season and out. We shall measure our success largely by the amount of creativeness that emerges in all that is done. Along with creativeness we shall seek the integration of personality. These two stand together helping each other and quite opposed to the ordinary subject-matter achievements. To stress subject-matter in and of itself, especially as measured by centrally administered standardized tests, is often, perhaps generally, mis-educative, hurtful both to creativeness and to the integration of personality.

4. And we shall cease to think of "appreciation" as confined to "art." Only after we have extended the latter term can we accept the unique connection. Appreciation does attend each successful attempt at creating, and this is life, the life good to live. If we think of art as the honest and sincere effort both to face meaningfully each of life's situations and to contrive (create) the best possible answer to its demands, then with this larger conception of "art" we shall say appreciation should attend it and we shall hope to bring it as an enrichment of life more and more into all we do.

V. HOW MUCH FREEDOM IN NEW SCHOOLS?[9]

JOHN DEWEY

It is not easy to take stock of the achievements of progressive schools in the last decade; these schools are too diverse both in

[9] *The New Republic*, Vol. LXIII, No. 814, July 9, 1930, pp. 204–206. This article by Dr. Dewey is the sixth and last contribution to the symposium, "The New Education Ten Years After."

aims and in mode of conduct. In one respect, this is as it should be; it indicates that there is no cut-and-dried program to follow, that schools are free to grow along the lines of special needs and conditions and so to express the variant ideas of innovating leaders. But there is more than is suggested by these considerations in the existing diversity. It testifies also to the fact that the underlying motivation is so largely a reaction against the traditional school that the watchwords of the progressive movement are capable of being translated into inconsistent practices.

The negative aspect of progressive education results from the conditions of its origin. Progressive schools are usually initiated by parents who are dissatisfied with existing schools and find teachers who agree with them. Often they express discontent with traditional education or locally available schools without embodying any well thought-out policies and aims. They are symptoms of reaction against formalism and mass regimentation; they are manifestations of a desire for an education at once freer and richer. In extreme cases they represent enthusiasm much more than understanding.

Their common creed is the belief in freedom, in esthetic enjoyment and artistic expression, in opportunity for individual development, and in learning through activity rather than by passive absorption. Such aims give progressive schools a certain community of spirit and atmosphere. But they do not determine any common procedure in discipline or instruction; they do not fix the subject matter to be taught; they do not decide whether the emphasis shall be upon science, history, the fine arts, different modes of industrial art, or social issues and questions. Hence the diversity of the progressive schools, and hence the great difficulty in appraising them. Adverse criticisms may be readily and often effectively answered on the ground that they do not apply to specific schools.

Strong and weak points go together; every human institution has the defects of its qualities. Colonel Francis W. Parker, more nearly than any other one person, was the father of the progressive educational movement, a fact all the more significant because he spent most of his educational life in public rather than private schools—first at Quincy, Massachusetts, and then at the Cook County Normal School in Englewood, Chicago. I do not know whether he used the phrase which has since come into vogue, "child-centered schools." One of his most frequent statements

was that teachers had been teaching *subjects* when they should be teaching *children*. He engaged in aggressive warfare against the burden of ready-made, desiccated subject matter formulated and arranged from the adult point of view—in other words, against the stock in trade of the conventional curriculum. He pleaded for subject matter nearer to the experience and life of the pupils. He strove to throw off the yoke of fixed and uniform disciplinary measures. He introduced many things, innovations in his day, which are now almost commonplaces in the public schools which lay any claim to being modern—for example, the school assemblies conducted by the pupils themselves.

Even such an inadequate statement as the foregoing brings out an antithesis which has persisted to a considerable extent in the later movement of progressive education: that between the human and personal element represented by the pupils, the children, youth, and, on the other hand, the impersonal and objective factor—the subject matter of studies, the body of knowledge and organized and skilled accomplishment. In saying that the antithesis thus set up has resulted, upon the whole, in a lack of balance, I do not mean in any way to hold the work and influence of Colonel Parker responsible. I mean that the same reaction against dead, formal and external studies which affected his early reforms has continued to operate with his successors, and to produce a one-sided emphasis—that upon pupils at the expense of subject matter.

That there was need for the reaction, indeed for a revolt, seems to me unquestionable. The evils of the traditional, conventional schoolroom, its almost complete isolation from actual life, and the deadly depression of mind which the weight of formal material caused, all cried out for reform. But rebellion against formal studies and lessons can be effectively completed only through the development of a new subject matter, as well organized as was the old—indeed, better organized in any vital sense of the word organization—but having an intimate and developing relation to the experience of those in school. The relative failure to accomplish this result indicates the one-sidedness of the idea of the "child-centered" school.

I do not mean, of course, that education does not center in the pupil. It obviously takes its start with him and terminates in him. But the child is not something isolated; he does not live inside himself, but in a world of nature and man. His experience

is not complete in his impulses and emotions; these must reach out into a world of objects and persons. And until an experience has become relatively mature, the impulses do not even know what they are reaching out toward and for; they are blind and inchoate. To fail to assure them guidance and direction is not merely to permit them to operate in a blind and spasmodic fashion, but it promotes the formation of *habits* of immature, undeveloped and egoistic activity. Guidance and direction mean that the impulses and desires take effect through material that is impersonal and objective. And this subject matter can be provided in a way which will obtain ordered and consecutive development of experience only by means of the thoughtful selection and organization of material by those having the broadest experience—those who treat impulses and inchoate desires and plans as potentialities of growth through interaction and not as finalities.

To be truly self-centered is not to be centered in one's feelings and desires. Such a center means dissipation, and the ultimate destruction of any center whatever. Nor does it mean to be egoistically bent on the fulfillment of personal wishes and ambitions. It means rather to have a rich field of social and natural relations, which are at first external to the self, but now incorporated into personal experience so that they give it weight, balance and order. In some progressive schools the fear of adult imposition has become a veritable phobia. When the fear is analyzed, it means simply a preference for an immature and undeveloped experience over a ripened and thoughtful one; it erects into a standard something which by its nature provides no steady measure or tested criterion. In some recent articles in *The New Republic* I have argued that an adult cannot attain an integrated personality except by incorporating into himself the realities of the life-situations in which he finds himself. This operation is certainly even more necessary for the young; what is called "subject matter" represents simply the selected and organized material that is relevant to such incorporation at any given time. The neglect of it means arrest of growth at an immature level and ultimate disintegration of selfhood.

It is, of course, difficult to use words that are not open to misapprehension. There may be those who think that I am making a plea for return to some kind of adult imposition, or at least to ready-made and rather rigidly predetermined topics and sequences

of study. But in fact many of the current interpretations of the child-centered school, of pupil initiative and pupil-purposing and planning, suffer from exactly the same fallacy as the adult-imposition method of the traditional school—only in an inverted form. That is, they are still obsessed by the personal factor; they conceive of no alternative to adult dictation save child dictation. What is wanted is to get away from every mode of personal dictation and merely personal control. When the emphasis falls upon having experiences that are educationally worth while, the center of gravity shifts from the personal factor, and is found within the developing experience in which pupils and teachers alike participate. The teacher, because of greater maturity and wider knowledge, is the natural leader in the shared activity, and is naturally accepted as such. The fundamental thing is to find the types of experience that are worth having, not merely for the moment, but because of what they lead to—the questions they raise, the problems they create, the demands for new information they suggest, the activities they invoke, the larger and expanding fields into which they continuously open.

In criticizing the progressive schools, as I have indicated already, it is difficult to make sweeping generalizations. But some of these schools indulge pupils in unrestrained freedom of action and speech, of manners and lack of manners. Schools farthest to the left (and there are many parents who share the fallacy) carry the thing they call freedom nearly to the point of anarchy. This license, however—this outer freedom in action—is but an included part of the larger question just touched upon. When there is genuine control and direction of experiences that are intrinsically worth while by objective subject matter, excessive liberty of outward action will also be naturally regulated. Ultimately it is the absence of intellectual control through significant subject matter which stimulates the deplorable egotism, cockiness, impertinence and disregard for the rights of others apparently considered by some persons to be the inevitable accompaniment, if not the essence, of freedom.

The fact that even the most extreme of the progressive schools do obtain for their pupils a degree of mental independence and power which stands them in good stead when they go to schools where formal methods prevail, is evidence of what might be done if the emphasis were put upon the rational freedom which is the

fruit of objective knowledge and understanding. And thus we are brought to the nub of the matter. To conduct a progressive school is much more difficult than to conduct a formal one. Standards, materials, methods are already at hand for the latter; the teacher needs only to follow and conform. Upon the whole, it is not surprising that, in history, science, the arts and other school "studies," there is still a lack of subject matter which has been organized upon the basis of connection with the pupils' own growth in insight and power. The time-span of progressive schools has been too short to permit very much to be accomplished. What may rightfully be demanded, however, is that the progressive schools recognize their responsibility for accomplishing this task, so as not to be content with casual improvisation and living intellectually from hand to mouth.

Again one needs to guard against misunderstanding. There is no single body of subject matter which can be worked out, even in the course of years, which will be applicable all over the country. I am not arguing for any such outcome; I know of nothing that would so completely kill progressive schools and turn them into another kind of formal schools, differentiated only by having another set of conventions. Even in the same school, what will work with one group of children will not "take" with another group of the same age. Full recognition of the fact that subject matter must be always changing with locality, with the situation and with the particular type of children is, however, quite consistent with equal recognition of the fact that it is possible to work out varied bodies of consecutive subject matter upon which teachers may draw, each in his own way, in conducting his own work. The older type of education could draw upon a body of information, of subject matter and skills which was arranged from the adult standpoint. Progressive education must have a much larger, more expansive and adaptable body of materials and activities, developed through constant study of the conditions and methods favorable to the consecutive development of power and understanding. The weakness of existing progressive education is due to the meager knowledge which anyone has regarding the conditions and laws of continuity which govern the development of mental power. To this extent its defects are inevitable and are not to be complained of. But if progressive schools become complacent with existing accomplishments, unaware of the slight foundation of knowledge upon

which they rest, and careless regarding the amount of study of the laws of growth that remains to be done, a reaction against them is sure to take place.

Sure reference as has been made to the subject matter of a worth-while and continuously developing experience is too general to be of value in actual guidance. The discovery of such subject matter, which induces growth of skill, understanding and rational freedom, is the main question to be worked upon coöperatively. The question may be raised, however, of whether the tendency of progressive schools has not been to put emphasis upon things that make schooling more immediately enjoyable to pupils rather than upon things that will give them the understanding and capacity that are relevant to contemporary social life. No one can justly decry the value of any education which supplies additions to the resources of the inner life of pupils. But surely the problem of progressive education demands that this result be not effected in such a way as to ignore or obscure preparation for the social realities—including the evils—of industrial and political civilization.

Upon the whole, progressive schools have been most successful in furthering "creativeness" in the arts—in music, drawing and picture making, dramatics and literary composition, including poetry. This achievement is well worth while; it ought to assist in producing a generation esthetically more sensitive and alive than the older one. But it is not enough. Taken by itself it will do something to further the private appreciations of, say, the upper section of a middle class. But it will not serve to meet even the esthetic needs and defaultings of contemporary industrial society in its prevailing external expressions. Again, while much has been achieved in teaching science as an addition to private resources in intellectual enjoyment, I do not find that as much has been done in bringing out the relation of science to industrial society, and its potentialities for a planned control of future developments.

Such criticisms as these are not met by introducing exercises and discussions based on what are called "current events." What is needed is something which may indeed connect intellectually in time with what currently happens, but which takes the mind back of the happenings to the understanding of basic causes. Without insight into operative conditions, there can

be no education that contains the promise of improved social direction.

This fact brings us back again to the enormous difficulty involved in a truly progressive development of progressive education. This development cannot be secured by the study of children alone. It requires a searching study of society and its moving forces. That the traditional schools have almost wholly evaded consideration of the social potentialities of education is no reason why progressive schools should continue the evasion, even though it be sugared over with esthetic refinements. The time ought to come when no one will be judged to be an educated man or woman who does not have insight into the basic forces of industrial and urban civilization. Only schools which take the lead in bringing about this kind of education can claim to be progressive in any socially significant sense.

VI. EXTRA CLASS ACTIVITIES[10]

PHILIP LOVEJOY

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In Educational Monograph Number 1, "Creative Teaching in the Field of Spelling,"[11] we read that education in Hamtramck is endeavoring through creative teaching to promote the following objectives:

1. *Growth.* Increased consciousness of one's self as a person growing in power, desiring to grow, able to grow, rejoicing in growth; a person with a record of success behind him, and possibilities of unlimited future success before him; a person, who has come to realize that the degree of success achieved is dependent on his own efforts, who more and more desires to take over *responsibility* for his own growth and to assist others in their efforts to grow; who has a goal and a program for his growth and is intelligently pursuing it.

Note that under creative teaching there are no *failures*, only different rates of growth. The motto of creative teaching is "Try, try again." Creative teaching intentionally and systematically looks upon a 75% failure as a 25% success. It

[10] Lovejoy, Philip, *The High School Teacher*, Vol. VI, No. 4, April, 1930, pp. 143–144.

[11] The Public School Code, Board of Education, Hamtramck School District, Hamtramck, Michigan, 1927.

stresses joyful self-expression, conserves every element of individuality, and inspires in terms of ideals.

2. *Initiative.* Increased courage and will to attack; attitudes of curiosity and adventure, resourcefulness, optimism, idealism.

3. *Efficiency.* Increased appreciation of the meaning and value of efficiency of achievement as an expression of character, and as the result of skillful use of right methods; a desire to adopt the best methods of procedure; search for, and joy in the discovery of, better methods either by himself or others.

4. *Reason.* Increased appreciation of the value of *reason* as a general method of control, and increased power to use reason as a method of solution of problems. Increased appreciation also of the value of the emotional elements of life and of their true place and function. Increased development of the desire to achieve and will self-control of emotions on the basis of reason.

5. *Coöperation.* Increased recognition of the privilege; benefits and obligations of coöperative solution of social problems on the basis of reason; greater power to participate intelligently in coöperative endeavor either as follower or leader; greater enjoyment of friendly coöperative living and the types of self-control and self-direction which it demands.

It is not achievement in spelling that we are after. This is a by-product.

We are after personality goals within each individual child which after all is the object of vital interest in the educational process.

All creative teaching eventuates in personality.

The teacher no longer commands.

Work is changed from task to opportunity.

Responsibility is shifted from teacher to children.

It should be *fun* and not *work.*

Hence our attitude toward activity *in* or *out* of the classroom is one of *growth*—Integration of Personality.

Probably extra-curricula activities had this in mind formerly in that they were more individual.

This leads to a statement of a few facts about the new type of teacher.

The teacher is an integral part in the program of social insurance.

She is no longer a starving nomad.

She must rather teach than eat.

She must not regard teaching as temporary. It may be—but. . . .

She is a direct agent in Public Relations.

She is teaching for development of life activities and for integration of individual personalities. These are now developed feebly by *subjects*.

She is not merely a subject specialist. She is dynamic and develops adolescent potentiality with an unseen but not unrecognized skill.

She is a lover of youth. She is a believer in youth. She is youthful herself in perspective.

She is an unfailing optimist.

She is congenial—She is sympathetic.

She is vivacious—but not frivolous.

She is not a disciplinarian—but a teacher—with specifically developed interests that are so magnetic that discipline as such has relegated itself to the rubbish heap—and self-control has superseded it.

. . . .

VII. EDUCATING THE NEW CHILD[12]

HUGHES MEARNS

Here are some samples of home assignments for twelve-year-old children, part of a huge selection gathered from various parts of the country. They represent the emphasis of the old education upon isolated book information:

Memorize the percentage equivalents of 1/12, 1/9, 1/7.

What are the capitals of Turkey, Soviet Russia, Hungary?

Name the chief exports and imports of Barcelona.

Define *chyle, chyme, pylorus, lacteals, sacrum.*

How many furlongs in 180 yards?

In 1917 President Wilson decided to declare war upon Germany. Mark this statement true or false.

List the predicate nominatives in the first twenty-five pages of *Evangeline.*

Write an essay on Grant's chief qualities as a general.

Parse *major* in the sentence "He called him major."

Trace the course of the Dneiper River.

Memorize *Gunga Din.*

What is the official title of the chief governing officer in Egypt, Persia, Turkey, France, Russia?

[12] *The North American Review*, Vol. CCXXX, No. 6, December, 1930, pp. 696–703.

This is a type of "home work" which parents all over the country will instantly recognize. I have not listed the really absurd ones. Mothers who sit up long into the night with their youngsters, giving what help they can to stir up interest in isolated pieces of school information, have sent me a mass of almost incredible home assignments: one requires the memorization of the 17-table in multiplication, and another demands verbatim knowledge of a considerable part of the Articles of Confederation!

The story of educational reform in recent years is the story of a vigorous struggle to eliminate from school studies the great masses of functionless school information; the results are a monument to the courageous intelligence of members of the teaching profession; but all schools have not progressed step by step with the enlightened leaders. Defeated, the Old Guard still fights on. In an eighth grade classroom not so long ago I was interested to see a vigorous old lady setting examples of cube root before her pupils. "Cube root!" I expressed my mild surprise. "Why, cube root has been out of the eighth grade course these many years." "I am quite aware of that," she replied with beauteous forbearance; "it is not in the course of study, but," a perceptible increase in rigor, "these children shall not be deprived of cube root so long as I can stand before them as their teacher!"

A few children thrive on a diet of isolated information. Many, however, find the fare not only indigestible but tasteless and repellent.

. . . .

One must never forget that much of the evil in the old had the vigorous support of mothers and fathers. The sad fact is that parents have believed in the false learning that goes with functionless verbal memorization. Parents have accepted school "failure" as real failure. Parents have believed that child life should be harassed and uncomfortable. Parents have believed in the cheap motivation of "marks" and have sent their children forth greedily to get them. Parents have not known a gerund-grinding textbook "reciter" from a true scholar; and if they had known, they would have preferred the "reciter," because parents have believed that one's school life should be hard—a little stale, too, and a little musty, perhaps, but always

and wholly hard! And many still so believe and obstruct the better way which teachers prefer. "Children are like colts," said a prominent business man at a recent educational dinner; "their spirits must first be broken before they can be taught anything." Great is my professional pride in remembering that that remark was received by the teachers present with the silence of disapproval.

Long ago I ceased blaming the teacher. She is too often merely a helpless victim of the system. In spite of this avowal, I know, nevertheless, that this article may still stir up the indignation of a host of teachers who are always quick to rise to the defense of their profession and of the fine schools where they are daily giving the best of their lives. They will tell me that teaching represents one of the worthiest personal sacrifices in modern social endeavor. I agree with them in advance. They will indignantly repudiate the picture of their profession as wholly hard and insensitive. I also repudiate that condemnation. They will tell me that their own schools are not dominated by the teaching of book-information nor motivated by the machinery of intimidation. I will admit it. They will ask me if I have seen the cheerful school-loving children in the North, East, South, and West. I have seen and I rejoice accordingly.

Then, like the old-fashioned pedagogue, I shall rap my desk smartly for attention and ask them to note that at no time have I been describing a particular school or a particular school system, but that I am offering a measure by which one may judge—teacher, parent, or mere taxpayer—how far a school is old or new, how far it is behind the times or in touch with the times.

Sometimes we say of the teacher of the old education,—but let us change the "she" to a "he" for the sake of variety—"He may be hard but he knows his subject." One may justly question that. His possession is not to be labeled by the fine name of scholarship; what he has learned by rote is, really, only textbook information. The proof is that while he may know his book perfectly—the recitation drills over many years would give anybody that easy acquisition—the world does not really believe that he knows anything particularly useful. From the raising of puppies to the growing of dahlias we would not go to such a teacher for any living knowledge. His vested interest is solely in a book prepared for the understanding of children; and outside of the schoolroom he does not practice his subject. If he is a

teacher of school biology, for instance, we do not find him also a practising biologist. Though he treat the basic knowledges of industry in his classroom, industry would not think of calling upon him for consultation or advice.

. . . .

Let us now turn to the new education. In a similar fashion one may measure the elements of the more modern practices in your school or in the classroom of your young child. You will know the teacher of the new education almost instantly by the fact that she is not obviously masterful. You will find her interested almost wholly in child growth rather than in purveying a set of facts. Information she prizes, but it is that which comes alive and stimulating out of child experiences. She is interested mainly in what children can do with all their heart and with all their mind; therefore her life is not spent in oscillating between fierce intimidation and sweetish bribery. Surprises are her daily delight, for, under the strong urge of curiosity, even young children may break beyond the bounds of predetermined "subjects" and draw upon, say, anthropology, geology, and astronomy, learning, for instance, the long names of the prehistoric animals, dinosaur, eohippus, pterodactyl, or naturally and lovingly taking to memory the heroes and gods of the *Odyssey* or the beautiful names of the constellations.

She knows that in childhood right individual and social desires may not come to perfection save through endless trial and error and trial again. Her schoolroom is therefore a happy place of blunders. Faith that children really wish to learn, really wish to be worthy, this is her chief obvious possession; knowledge of the rough states through which character grows toward the ideal, this is her professional equipment; faith, again, that out of blundering attempts a rich personality will emerge, this is the assurance of her professional experience with childhood.

She knows also that in their secret lives and in their hidden practices—secret and hidden from adults, I mean—children are wasteful of gift and opportunity, easy liars, faithless to their given word, jealous, hating their neighbor, selfish to the point of cruelty, the devil's silliest sheep. She knows that unless this secret and hidden life is brought into the open and guided, the outcomes may be most perilous. Perilous? Those who have had the real confidence of children and have seen this horrible

thing, know that friendly adult contact and guidance are more important than all the learning in all the school books in the world.

To this new teacher obedience is of less importance than wholehearted acceptance of right law. Therefore her main business will be the cultivation of worthy desires, resourcefulness, independence, self-control. The motivations of fear—punishments, rewards, marks, threats of reports to parents—are absent from her programme. She has no interest, for her own comfort merely, in training children in habits of timidity and cowardice.

Of course she will control her children. Of course she will rule her pupils. The story that she lets them "do as they please" is an invention of the old pedagogue to frighten the citizenry; like the Russian invention that Jews eat Christian babies at Passover time. It is one of her gravest responsibilities that children should have the support of her authority in the organization of their individual and social living. Doing as they please! What an absurdity! No group of children would amount to anything without the steadying control of superiors.

Hers is by no means, therefore, a lawless community, but because she welcomes into her classroom the powerful natural urges of youth—to learn; to write, to draw, to make-believe; to invent and construct; to contend decently with body and mind; to submit for the greater common good; to live the clean life; to dig at difficulties for the sake of an understandable future gain—because, in short, she believes in youth, her government loses the insistent arrogance and the spying watchfulness of the older régime.

The new teacher observes child life and finds it not inferior but superior. She has daily assurance that, even in the kindergarten, children already have thinking minds, a zeal for knowledge, a stirring desire to do the right thing, a sure if undeveloped sense for beauty, a sensitive creative spirit.

She is aware, this new teacher, that the most timid child has something fine to give. She is also aware that that child may neither know this nor believe this, and that, therefore, he must be given courage. Her glow of quiet approval is one of the high points of her teaching, for it steers a youngster in the right direction and it charges him with essential self-faith.

Her reports to you, mother and father, are not dispiriting announcements of failure, not suggestions to you to follow up

the intimidation of the school with further intimidation at home, nor are they sent with such lack of trust in the child that your personal signature must be attached and returned for inspection. She tells you, rather, wherein your child is a worthy spirit, tells you what you must do to help and not thwart his growth, gives you faith in your own, in short, and, most important, instructs you in the newer ways of approach for control and guidance when the signs point to dangerous and treacherous ground.

She specializes in the child, you see, and not in "subjects." The child, indeed, *is* her subject. Of course she will get help from books, but she is not one to lean upon books as her authority. Her experience is her authority and, like all genuine experts, she knows enough to tell when the books are wrong. Parents consult her about the whole life of their children and accept her advice as to how they should readjust even their own lives to secure the greatest good to all concerned, a professional service that one just never thinks of in connection with the old fact-masters. Through this new teacher the education of children is becoming at last one of the socially respected professions.

As a parent interested in having your child "learn something," as the phrase is, you need have no fears about the new education. In the Milwaukee State Normal School, where modern procedures are used most intelligently, a theatre was made the centre of work of a second grade. Through the wise manipulation of natural interests of children in "learning units," these youngsters made surprising headway. In addition to important outcomes in character, personality, and in the discovery of individual gifts, these children, measured by the Stanford Achievement Tests, showed results in arithmetic, reading and spelling which amounted at the end of six months to an average growth of eleven months! The lowest growth record was five-months, and the highest, twenty-one months. And there was not a single old-style "lesson" during the whole period! And, more important, during all that time there were no mentally depressed children bewildered by the impossibility of keeping up with the exactions of fact-driving adults.

In so far as this new teacher is a recognizable portrait of the teacher of your child, you will know what progress the school has made toward a realization of the new education. In the most old-fashioned schools, remember, you may find some of the new education; in the avowedly modern schools you may find less of

it than I have pictured here. Remember again that my purpose is simply to give a measure by which you may judge.

The defect of the old education, as we have tried to show, was that it set its attention too absorbingly upon information, while it considered of less importance the possibilities of self-education in the child; the defect of the new education is that it is likely to make the acquisition of world-knowledge too haphazard and fortuitous. A well-informed child is not necessarily a resourceful thinking child; a resourceful thinking child is not necessarily a well-informed child. The old school neglected the individual; the new school too often forgets the world in which the child must eventually live.

The compromise between these two conflicting modes of education is already under way. Taking advantage of a more enlightened parenthood—our greatest hope these days!—the old education is remodeling its textbooks and placing less attention upon them; but it has not made the mistake of the "progressives" in running loose over the world of established fact and idea. The most notable contribution in this line, revolutionary in its way, is the series of books in the social studies put together under the leadership of Harold Rugg, of Teachers College, Columbia University.

. . . .

Even school information, one observes, is now being reorganized not for the sake of the teacher but solely for the good of the child. When a soldier patient once complained that the doctor was poking him too hard in the ribs, the army surgeon growled, "I am not interested in you; I am interested in your diseases." You, mothers and fathers, may judge the worth of your child's school by a very easy test. Simply ask yourself whether that school seems to be interested mainly in your live child or whether it is all too absorbingly concerned with the acquisition of curious and questionably useful information within the covers of an inanimate book.

VIII. EDUCATION THROUGH CREATIVE ACTIVITY[13]

J. Stanley Gray

Education is the process of bringing about those structural changes necessary for the performance of a certain type of

[13] *The High School Teacher*, Vol. VI, No. 5, May, 1930, pp. 177–178; 201.

desirable behavior. Dewey has called it "growth." The Behaviorist says that it is merely a process of conditioning responses or of forming habits of behavior. At any rate, education is a process of training which will be valuable in the future behavior of the individual. It is not limited to a collection of facts and knowledge. Knowledge is the material used in activity and is valuable only as it is used. It is incorrect to say that "knowledge is power" or that a library contains an education. It would be more accurate to say that a "trip to Europe is an education," or that "building a radio is an education," or that "working on a farm is an education." The *use* of knowledge is power. Education is an activity. It is a process. It is a way of living which will bring about those structural after-effects necessary to certain future ways of living.

Creative activity is that behavior by which a child constructs, or composes, or forms, or causes to exist, by his own efforts a something which is new in his own experience. The more it represents his own efforts, the more creative it is.

There are two dangers which must be avoided in using such activity as a part of school work. First, an activity may be creative and yet not very educative. It may be performed in such a crude manner that the habits thus formed are counter to what education is trying to accomplish. Also the product of the activity may be of anti-social value—for example, counterfeit money, a house breaking device, an infernal machine, poisonous liquor, etc. Again, even though the product is valuable and the habits formed are good habits, the performance may even yet be useless to this particular individual in his future behavior. All creative activity should be educative to the individual performing the activity.

Second, since value exists in the creativeness of the activity, some teachers consider that the more creative it is the more valuable. Consequently, they do not aid the child in getting, or make any attempt to give him, his "social heritage" or the results of generations of past experience. They allow the child to flounder around for fear of limiting the creative part of his behavior. To be sure the knowledge involved in an activity should not be over-emphasized, but a skillful teacher will be able to make the child see that it is always more economical in the performance of creative work, to find out first what others have learned in similar tasks. Instead of such knowledge discouraging

creativeness, it will stimulate it. The old school over-emphasized knowledge and inhibited or ignored creativeness. The tendency of the new school is to go to the other extreme and emphasize creativeness at the expense of the knowledge necessary to efficient creative work.

Let us now define creative activity as that behavior by which a child expresses his own individuality in the production of a something which involves in its creation that knowledge and those processes useful to him in the performance of desirable future behavior.

The *material* for a creative activity program includes school buildings, working materials or equipment, teachers, and pupils. Each must be redefined in terms of the creative activity method of educating.

The *school buildings* should be appropriate places for the performance of creative activities. Each room should be specially adapted to the type of activity performed there—music, manual art, cooking, writing, etc. Variation from the old recitation type of arrangement should be the rule rather than the exception. Each room should be appropriate for a child living in a child world.

There should be an abundance of *materials* which will or might be used in the performance of some activity. These materials should be on the age and development level of the children who use them. They should be so displayed as to be suggestive of the type of activity which will be most useful in future living. Raw materials, books, pictures, maps, models, tools, etc., should be in every room and freely accessible to the children. Any outside privately owned material which claims some child's interest should also be allowed to supplant the more conventional school materials, providing its use is educative.

The *teacher* in the creative school is (or should be) the most radical departure from the old conventional school. She cannot be a task-master, a dictator, or even a teacher. She must be a friend and adviser, a guide in present activity and stimulus to greater and more educative performance. She must understand children on their own development level and be interested in individual "growth." She must understand that education is a process going on *within* the child, rather than a collection of knowledge to be crammed in from the outside or a set of prescribed tasks to perform.

The *child* in the creative activity school is the most important element in the system. The teacher no longer has "thirty pupils," but a Johnny Jones, an Agnes Brown, a Hilda Smith, a Jimmy Hill, a Tommy Blake, etc. Each is an individual personality, rather than just a "third grader." They are much more unlike than alike and so must be dealt with individually. Johnny Jones can be educated only through activity performed by Johnny Jones, and not by being exposed at a series of recitations. Johnny is no longer a pupil who can be taught, but a personality who can learn. Teaching by the teacher is now supplanted by learning by the child.

Theoretical Justification for Creative Activity Schools

With the above definitions in mind, what is the justification for the creative activity method of educating children? This can be answered by establishing three theses.

Life itself is essentially a creative activity. Society has come to recognize creative activity as a criterion for success. It was Froebel who first added the idea of creativeness to the activity curriculum of Rousseau. He said "The essential characteristic of God is his power of creation. It follows that man should likewise be creative." Our greatest artists, poets, novelists, inventors, builders, etc., owe much of their greatness to the fact that they have all created something new. They have all given to society something which society did not before possess. But creativeness as a basis of success is not limited to the hall of fame. In every walk of life, the man who can think and act creatively is given more money, more prestige, more responsibility, and more rapid promotion, than the man who can only copy what someone else has done. Creative living, as judged by society, is successful living.

Creative activity is a special characteristic of child life. Again this idea had its origin with Froebel, or at least received a great impetus from him. One needs only to observe a little child who has not had his creative instinct inhibited by society, to be convinced that with proper inner development, or growth, the child can become a creator of something which society does not now possess. True, the child's creativeness is on a low plane but there is where it should stay until he grows to a higher plane. Education can only take place in the child's world. A superimposed adult world on a child always inhibits the characteristics

of child life. Creative tendencies are often inhibited in this way. There is always more native creative activity in the first grade of the conventional school than in any of the higher grades because such schooling destroys rather than encourages creativeness.

Individual development can come only through the free creative activity of the child. By freedom, we do not mean animal freedom without supervision of leadership. The child should not be allowed to wander and flounder about but neither should he be coerced. All child activity should be child purposed. It should be free and not superimposed. Guidance should be through the child and not forced on him. The Progressive Education Association states this idea very well in their set of "principles": "The conduct of the pupil should be governed by himself according to the social needs of the community rather than by arbitrary laws. Full opportunity for initiative and self-expression should be provided, together with an environment rich in interesting material that is available for the free use of every pupil. . . . The teacher should be a guide and not a taskmaster."

Conclusions Resulting from the Study and Observation of Creative Activity Schools

Our heritage of knowledge must come through its need in use. This is pretty generally accepted as sound educational doctrine but the difficulty is to break away from the old conventional school system which was organized for the purpose of teaching a collection of facts in certain fundamental subjects. The creative activity schools are the only ones making an attempt along this line. Certain other so-called progressive schools separate the knowledge or learning periods from the activity or use periods and thus introduce an unnatural dualism in their systems. Learning should be a by-product of activity in school just as it is in life outside of school.

School work must all be on the development level of the learner. The conventional school forces an adult planned world of formal recitations and "well organized" academic textbooks on the child and then laments the fact that he does not like school. Why should he like it? What is there in the conventional school that is on the interest level of the wide awake boy or girl? The child is compelled to study dry, uninteresting material until he is forced to dislike school or anything connected with it. He is trained to dislike school. Then when an activity curriculum is

organized on his own level of interests, it takes him at least a year to get rid of those deeply patterned habits and recondition his attitude toward school. Those progressive schools which have first studied the child and then formulated a curriculum to fit his interests and needs have done a notable thing for education.

Teachers must understand children. So few teachers and school authorities realize that education is a process of learning by the child rather than one of teaching by the teacher. There is too much attention to textbooks and courses of study and too little to the individual children involved. The child is the center of the educative process and school materials and methods of administrating them must be adapted to fit the idiosyncracies of each child. This means that teachers must have better judgment and better training than they have had in the past. They must understand the psychology of child nature, the peculiar interests of each stage of child development, as well as have a broad practical knowledge of *things* so that they can guide the child in the direction of his particular interest. Teaching training must emphasize child psychology together with a broad general education if teachers are to be properly equipped for school where education is "growth." School teaching must cease to be a dumping ground for business failures, or a stepping stone to some other profession. Teachers must prepare themselves for teaching just as thoroughly as the lawyer, or doctor, or engineer prepare for their professions.

Courses of study and passing requirements must be reorganized in the light of this new idea in education. Present day school standards are appropriate only for the old school where "knowledge is power." If education is to become "growth" we must change our college entrance requirements, our teachers examination questions, our courses of study, our requirements for passing grades, and base them all on the idea of *growth.* Of course we cannot expect the average public school to violate accepted present standards so bravely as have some of our private schools. We must change standards slowly. But, when experimental schools can follow this new idea in education entirely and still exceed the standards of the conventional school, it is evidence enough that the creative school methods are superior to the "knowledge is power" school methods.

Educators can learn much about education by studying the back alley. One often wonders why children learn the unconven-

tionalities of the back alleys so much more easily than they do the conventionalities of the schoolroom. The answer is that the back alley is a more natural and a more normal learning situation than the average schoolroom. Educators could learn a great deal about "method" by studying back alleys. There the child is free. He is without the unnatural restraints of remaining at one seat and getting experience vicariously out of a textbook. He learns things he wants to know and consequently with little or no effort. He tries out new ideas by experiment and he himself judges their worth. Even without a teacher and with little or no learning materials, the "back alley waif" learns more easily and more rapidly in an environment intended for something else than he does in the conventional schoolroom. Worst of all, the back alley is a more interesting and a more desirable place *to the child* than the schoolroom. If the school is to compete with the back alley as an educational institution, it must adopt some of the principles of education now in practice in the back alley.

The "goose step" must be abolished in education and the child given freedom. Because the average teacher knows only one method of dealing with children, and because she has so many children to deal with, we have what one rather cynical author has called the "goose step" in our educational system. The conventional school is too much of a leveling process. Children are moulded within the limits set by adults. They are standardized. This is a mistake. The child should not only feel free to develop but should be encouraged to develop along the lines of his own particular aptitude. The teacher should stimulate him to be different from the rest. Geniuses and leaders are always the product of development outside the beaten path of the "average." Our schools are guilty of training followers and inhibiting the development of leaders.

Chapter X

The Means of Education—The Curriculum

I. INTRODUCTION

We have in previous chapters emphasized the place of the school as an educational institution and its function in social readjustment, but we wish here to deal with the instrument of the school, or the means of instruction available to the educator, in other words, the curriculum. We conceive the curriculum as the single means of the school for the accomplishment of whatever educational ends it proposes. Obviously, in the sense in which the term is here used, the curriculum comprises much more than mere subject matter. It includes the subject matter, the method, the school and classroom organization, and measurement. It should also be borne in mind that what are usually designated as "extra-curricular activities" are quite as much a part of the curriculum as the content of the conventional subjects, although the latter are frequently regarded as the only matter appropriately included. We wish, then, to regard the curriculum as the means of education, as a consciously controlled process, in the school.

With this in mind, the curriculum may then be defined as the instrument of the school for the development of social personality or the effecting of social controls. It is necessary, however, to indicate more fully what this instrument is. Briefly, then, the curriculum is the situation or group of situations available to the educator for making behavior changes in the boys and girls with whom he is dealing. Applying this conception of the curriculum to a particular school (for it has no meaning aside from its

special application) the curriculum of any school consists of all the situations that the school may select and consciously organize for the purposes of developing the personality of its pupils, for making behavior changes in them. This conception of the curriculum includes whatever means those responsible for the school may decide upon as valuable in producing the educational results desired.

Perhaps further a word is necessary as to just what is included in this conception of the curriculum. It includes home study, home activities, play activities, or situations of any sort which those responsible for the children consciously provide or select from those already provided to use for educative purposes. For instance, there may be a predatory or other gang among the children of the school. The moment the school becomes conscious of the gang or any other element in the social background and uses it for educational ends which it desires, that is, for the development of personality or for making behavior changes, at that moment the gang activity becomes as much a part of the curriculum as is geometry or history. It may, as a matter of fact, become a much more potent element. Another illustration is in point. Suppose those responsible for the school decide that they will provide for absolutely free activity in any line of endeavor after school hours and even outside of the school building, as a definite means of making behavior changes; immediately the situation becomes a part of the curriculum. The essential fact is that the educator is to manipulate the environment for purposes of making behavior changes or personality changes, and whenever this is consciously and deliberately done, the situations through which these changes are made become a part of the curriculum.

We may classify the various aspects of the curriculum under various heads for the purpose of making clear the

nature of the educational means and how they may be used. These educational situations that comprise the curriculum are: first, the subject matter and activities in the school or outside, for which the school deliberately provides; second, the method of instruction, which may determine the direction or effect of the situation; third, the classroom or school organization of pupils which may limit the situations used; and fourth, the measurements of the results, which may definitely determine the educational influence of all the other factors of the curriculum.

The conception of the curriculum as here presented perhaps needs some elaboration. The purpose of the curriculum should not be thought of as limited to immediate behavior changes for the better. The curriculum looks to the enlargement of personality in the broader sense. It should look to the development of an intelligent comprehension of the whole social process, including the civilization and culture of which we are a part. This involves an understanding of history, of literature, the arts and sciences, so far as the individual is capable of understanding these aspects of civilization. The object in this case is not so much a matter of understanding the immediate adjustments one can make to the social situation that he is facing at the present time; it looks forward to future adjustments as well. We may assume that the individual has intelligence and that he desires to understand the society of which he is a part. Therefore, he wishes to develop as much of knowledge and appreciation as possible, for the interpretation of the problems which arise and may arise as he enters into the larger aspects of life.

This point of view involves consideration of the more or less heated discussion that has taken place in the past as to the function of education and the curriculum. For a number of years, we were under the influence of Spencer's

dictum that education was designed to equip one for "complete living." This complete living was regarded as adult living. A modification of this point of view was emphasized by Dewey, who called attention to the fact that the real problem of the school is to provide a richer life at the present time. His dictum: "the school is life and not a preparation for living" expresses this point of view. As a matter of fact, we need not regard the two points of view as antagonistic. Certainly the curriculum should strive to provide through education, as rich a life as possible at the present. The child ought to feel the value of what he is learning at present, both in the use that he may make of it and in appreciation. At the same time, those responsible for organizing the educational situations must have in mind also the future adjustments of the child, and in so doing look not only at the present social process, but also look forward to the future of society and the child. The whole problem resolves itself more or less into a matter of method. It is a question of bringing the subject matter and activities to the child in a way that will insure his appreciation at the present time, although the main value may be felt even in the remote future.

The violent reaction to the view that education is a preparation for adult living has undoubtedly come from the fact that under this conception we organized a body of subject matter unrelated to the life of the child but suitable for adults. Moreover, this view led to almost exclusive emphasis upon subject matter and resulted in the memorization of textbooks dealing with matter almost outside of the experience of the child. The fact that the educator placed this interpretation upon the view does not mean that the view was wholly wrong. A bad handling of a theory ought not wholly to condemn the theory. As a matter of fact, the child is growing toward adulthood, and we must anticipate his needs as an adult individual and member of

society in planning the educational process through which he is to go. To fail to take definitely into account the future of the child is to allow him to drift in any direction, and to assume that his inherited nature will take care of his needs for the future.

When we come, then, to the specific problem of curriculum building, we have to decide upon the product we wish to develop through the educational process. We have to decide what sorts of habits or skills, knowledges, and attitudes we wish to build into the character and personality of the child, not merely for his present needs but for his future needs as well. When these have been determined, the problem then becomes one of providing a body of subject matter and activities, a method, a school and classroom organization, and a type of measurement that will insure the results of the educative process desired. We are assuming here a telic educational process, intelligently conceived, not education merely as growth. We are concerned mainly with the direction of growth. It may take any direction, and to the educator, the all important matter is that growth take place in the right direction.

The discussion thus far has related to a definite view of the curriculum, and a slightly different emphasis from that usually presented. We are further concerned with the significance of this view and the function of each aspect of the curriculum as here presented. The view, as already indicated, is that the curriculum consists of the social situations available for making behavior changes in line with a definitely conceived purpose, behavior changes for both the present and future social adjustments. Furthermore, we regard each aspect of the curriculum, subject matter and activities, method, school and classroom organization, and measurement, as having a specific function in the realization of the purposes for which school education exists. A brief discussion of each aspect of the

curriculum, therefore, is necessary here as an introduction to the chapters that are to follow.

Subject Matter

Much has been said in recent years about the material in school textbooks that bears no relation to the needs of the child in modern society. Since the textbooks serve as the courses of study in most schools, and since, in many places, the method consists, for the most part, of memorizing the textbook content, the criticism against the content of the curriculum is not without justification. The readjustment of the curriculum, however, cannot be made with the assumption that the teacher will discontinue slavishly following the text; this will continue to be done for some time in too many cases. An example of extreme practice of this kind is in point.

There recently came to our attention the case of a teacher who instructed the children to give the names of the ten largest cities of the United States in order of size. The geography text in use had figures based upon the Census of 1910; and although this lesson was assigned in 1922, and the new census had been published, the teacher, because she followed the text and used it exclusively for the source of her information and inspiration, persisted in teaching the census data of 1910 and "failed" the pupils if they did not respond accordingly. One of the pupils had the correct information, but was forced, as he knew, to answer incorrectly. No readjustment of material is possible with such a teacher. The problem therefore is that of making over the teacher, and of course the principal, because such practices are impossible where the principal supervises the teaching process intelligently and adequately.

The example of practice here indicated suggests that, after all, the outcome of education and the readjustment of the educational process in conformity with social

demands, are not so much a matter of the specific topics included in the texts as a matter of the point of view and habit of mind of the teacher and principal. If the teacher chooses slavishly to follow the textbook outline and to insist merely upon its mastery, the readjustment of education in her case may be regarded as hopeless.

Let us take for example the subject of United States history. All that the textbook writer can do is to develop logically the historical events and movements which he regards as worth while. If one of the old history texts is selected, the emphasis will be placed upon military movements, political policies, and constitutional developments. If, on the other hand, one of the newer texts in United States history is used, less attention will be paid to these aspects of history, and a greater emphasis will be placed upon the problems that more intimately concern the whole people. The movement toward a more intelligent selection of subject matter in the history texts used in the secondary schools of New York City, is an interesting example of this trend in the writing of textbooks. In the year 1847, 29 per cent of the text in history in New York City was devoted to politics and 45 per cent to war; while in 1920, the amount of the reading matter devoted to politics had increased to 43 per cent of the text, and the amount devoted to war had decreased to 11 per cent. The amount of space devoted to discovery, literature, art, science, religion, great men, and home life remained relatively the same. The amount devoted to industrial and commercial development, together with pressing problems growing out of our modern industrial development—such as the problems of health, safety, and labor—was still negligible.[1]

The point of discussion, however, is that the change in the subject matter itself in the textbooks will not serve to

[1] Data taken from an unpublished Master's Thesis of Benjamin Silver, N. Y. University, February, 1924.

vitalize education and achieve desired results. The results will depend upon the way in which the teacher herself conceives and uses the material of the textbooks in the development of habits, knowledge, and attitudes that will function in the life of the learner. This is really the crux of the curriculum.

There are, however, certain criteria of vital significance in the selection and arrangement of the content of the curriculum. The first of these criteria is that the history of the development of the curriculum and method must be recognized and taken into account in the readjustment of the content and its reorganization with reference to the social objectives. The meaning of this statement is that the conventional division of subject matter must be retained, at least within large limits. That is, we no doubt shall continue the subjects of history, geography, arithmetic, and language, in the curriculum. It may be that we are approaching the time when some readjustment will be made in the social sciences, because they are new to the school and no general practice has been accepted, except in the case of geography and history. Possibly, in the inclusion of some essential subject matter of the new curriculum—e.g., sociology, economics, and civics—the best method will be to combine in one text, material relating to these subjects with that of geography and history and present it as one subject. In any case, there is a very definite limit to which this kind of reorganization can progress at the present time, and for historical reasons alone, the divisions of subjects will have to be retained. Scientific experiments up to the present time by no means reveal any fundamental principles of curriculum reconstruction that would warrant the elimination of subject distinctions, and since these distinctions are drawn in the logical organization of the sciences themselves, it is safe to retain them until scientific experiments warrant a change.

A second criterion that must be observed is that, within the subject limits, vital material must be added and drawn upon if the social objectives of education are to be realized. This is essential in the case of the health objective. The material may be drawn from a variety of sources and does not perhaps need to be included in basic texts at all. For example, current newspapers and magazines, Federal, State, and city publications, the literature of welfare and business organizations, all contain valuable material that can never be put into textbooks. The mere use of the data published is not enough, however; it is essential, also, to develop in the children of today the ability to use, and the habit of using material of this kind. In addition, the use of the material with any particular group necessitates due regard for the background or heritage, the previous experience, points of view, and interests of the particular group concerned. The important thing is to keep in mind the particular qualities, capacities, interests, and points of view which need to be developed, and to select from the abundant material available that which is most effective. This selection will itself depend upon scientific experiment, as the selection at the present time is more or less a matter of guess.

The third criterion for the classification of the subject matter within the conventional subject lines is the validity of the material in the realization of the objectives sought. The matter of vital importance is not whether the material of the course of study is interesting, adapted to the stages of development of the pupils, or whether the pupils rate well as judged by the standard tests and measurements. The essential point to consider is whether the subject matter contributes to the realization of knowledge, skill, and attitudes in the various objectives which the school is seeking to realize. For instance, the problem is not how much knowledge of arithmetic, history, and geography

the pupils acquire, but rather how the subject matter of arithmetic, history, and geography affects the behavior of the child in health, civic abilities, leisure, and the like. Is the child, through his study of these conventional subjects, acquiring skill, information, sentiments, ideals, and points of view with reference to the health, civic life, and other social requirements of a modern, complex society? However, we cannot be dogmatic about these outcomes since they require for their determination scientific investigation and experiment. In the case of health, accident prevention, and first aid, however, we are on fairly firm ground.

Method

The next important problem in the determination of the curriculum is that of educational method, for we cannot conceive content apart from the method of its presentation in relation to the function of the curriculum in education. The problem of methods of teaching, moreover, involves primarily the consideration of the essential methods of learning. Furthermore, the method of learning involves not merely the acquisition of experience as an individual process, but also the adjustments to the essential group functions valuable for the social life of the present, and the future, in so far as the experience of the present and the past warrants.

There has been a great deal of discussion of method in recent years. "Project," "project teaching," "project method," "socialized recitation," and similar topics involving a new emphasis in teaching have become familiar terms in the teaching profession. We have witnessed in recent years, a strong reaction against the formal practices of the classroom, in which the recitation was mainly an exercise of wits between the teacher and individual pupils—the teacher trying to discover some part of the text which

the pupil had not memorized, and the pupils trying to escape the discovery. Since these formal practices are still in vogue, it is readily understood why the main purpose of this discussion so far has been to emphasize the necessity of relating the activities of the schoolroom to the interests, points of view, and backgrounds of experience of the pupils. The problem of method, as we can see, is by no means solved.

The next step in the solution of method requires the analysis of learning under optimum conditions for social adjustment, and the discovery, if possible, of the part to be assumed by the teacher in the process. In the first place, individuals, under normal social conditions, do not seek to understand or interpret a situation that is not in some way related to themselves in a process that is actually functioning in some social connection. In the second place, interest is aroused in the individual to the point of producing action only when he becomes conscious of this process and his own need for adequate skill, knowledge, and attitudes for the necessary functions in connection with it. For example, the infant, because of his helplessness, has most of the activities in the satisfaction of his wants performed for him. The mother supplies him with food, dresses him, washes his body, and aids him in the satisfaction of the demands of nature. But, in the process of caring for these bodily functions, the child in time reaches the point where he desires to be free, having discovered some supposed advantages in the freedom of action of others. He asks his mother to let him wash his own face, put on his own shoes, tie his own necktie, or take his own table utensils in eating. At first he finds his skill inadequate. He cannot, unaided, perform any one of these tasks, and so he seeks help, learns to perform the tasks, and with continued practice acquires the necessary skill. If we examine all the pre-school acquisitions which give the

individual the most important attainments of life, some such process as this described is involved.

A similar procedure characterizes the adult's method of learning. Suppose the adult, in the preparation of manuscripts, finds that he needs to use a typewriter. He does one of two things. He gets a typewriter and by the painful process of trial and error—through the "hunt and peck method"—acquires a sufficient degree of skill in its use. Or, he may get a manual or the assistance of a teacher and learn—that is, begin his practice, and through persistence acquire the necessary skill in the manipulation of this important machine. The simple process here described is the one commonly used, whether one is concerned with the acquisition of skill in writing short stories, learning to be a banker, or mastering the technique of experimentation and research. It is the fundamental method of acquiring social abilities. The work of the world is learned and carried on in this way. That is, in our social contacts, we discover a need—our need; we seek assistance from the experiences of the race—that is, from printed material, from a teacher, or fellow worker, or from the social processes as they function in our environment. We thus acquire knowledge from which we develop skill and then proceed to use this skill in further adjustment or performance of the world's work.

No better illustration of this basic method of acquiring the world's skill, knowledge, and attitudes may be cited than that of the immigrant in his adjustments to his new environment. He comes to the new country and is received by friends of his own race. He seeks information about a place to live, an institution in which he can work, the knowledge necessary for the performance of his task, and with this knowledge proceeds to acquire the skill for his tasks. He has difficulty in getting along. The landlord overcharges him for rent, the furniture dealer swindles him

in his purchase of furniture, and the fellow countryman, who under his own rules, has set up perhaps as a steamship agent or a banker, swindles him out of his earnings. He is found by the ward politician and is inducted into citizenship, which he has discovered to be advantageous. The politician, thereby putting the immigrant under obligations, proceeds to educate the new citizen in his social duties and responsibilities. Of course, such situations are provided as will bind the new citizen to the support of the policies in which the politician is interested. The point we wish to make here is not, however, the miseducation and antisocial adjustments of the immigrant, but the fact that his learning, effective of its kind, goes on in the same way as outlined above. This is the way all learning is obtained, whether we are acquiring our civic responsibilities, our use of leisure, our vocational skill, our health practices and adaptation, or other things. It is the essential process of learning. The work of the teacher in this process is that of a leader, giving inspiration, direction, and help.

The point of significance in this chapter is, first, that the schools have adopted methods of instruction of their own, largely out of harmony with the fundamental necessities of learning, and second, that sound method requires a readjustment in conformity with the fundamental processes outlined. This new method of instruction requires that the teacher occupy the place of leader in creating situations that will bring pupils into contact with social processes, that she help them to interpret the needs arising out of the processes and situations, and that she guide them in the acquisition of skill, knowledge, and attitudes effective in meeting the needs that have arisen. The corollary of this statement is that the methods commonly followed must be abandoned; that is to say, we can no longer take the pupils into the school and, without inquiring into their heritages, interests, points of view, and problems,

set them to the task of learning textbook materials, however valuable textbook knowledge may be as an aid in social adjustment. The fundamental demand of method is that all materials must be conceived with reference to the needs of the child as he feels them, and the work of the teacher is to see that these conform to the requirements of his life in a democracy.

This general discussion of method has an important bearing upon health education. Where health is concerned, knowledge has no significance, except as it finds application in the lives of individuals and in community practices. Therefore, the problem of leading the child to effective adjustment becomes a matter of vital importance in the achievement of worth-while results. No more influential factor can be conceived, in the practical operation of the new aspect of the curriculum in health education, than that of the school and classroom organization. The organizations of the class and the school are inseparable features of the curriculum, for it is in these that the social processes may be made to appear, and out of these the child may come to have needs which may require him to search textbooks for information, to consult his parents, playmates, and neighbors for facts, and to seek the guidance of the teacher in acquiring his knowledge and skill.

Let us consider another example, the learning of the correct use of oral and written language, one of the most fundamental aims of school instruction. Formerly, the method of procedure was to set the child to the task of studying grammar, analyzing sentences, and even diagramming and parsing. This plan is still extensively used. The next step in the procedure was to take a language book, assign lessons, have the children write compositions, learn sentence structure, and memorize the text. The dominant aim in this method was to learn language forms and to recite individually what was learned. In

contrast with this method is that now in use in some schoolrooms, where the instruction begins with a social process which is going on and in which the children are participating. Language is a typical example, because every child uses language but has not achieved effectiveness in its use. This is the only reason for undertaking a study of language as a school task. Good language form must become a school ideal, but this cannot be accomplished without some sort of machinery. It is not enough for the teachers to hold to the standards of good usage. The children must undertake good usage as their own standard, it must become a social ideal, so that social pressure may be used for the attainment of the skill and knowledge which will make it function.

We are conceiving language here in a functional sense and not merely as consisting of language forms. Therefore, some form of class and school organization must be devised whereby mutual aid may be rendered. The members of the class or school may deliberately set out to list the mistakes made by the children, the correct forms to be used, and undertake to correct each other. The process may involve the selection from whatever source—the newspaper, magazine, storybook, or reader—of examples of good oral and written forms that may serve as models for imitation and from which correct usage may be learned.

We have deliberately chosen language as an illustration of the necessity for the organization of pupils with definite objectives, to show that the principle has general validity. We shall later show the application of this principle in safety and health education.

Measurement

The operation of a curriculum, designed to realize for the children of the present the skill, knowledge, and attitudes essential for the social life, calls for a new kind of measure-

ment. Society is little concerned with the amount of native intelligence, or the amount of achievement in the conventional subjects, as ends of instruction. Society wants its members to have good health, to produce and consume the world's goods advantageously, to earn and save and spend intelligently, to vote, hold office, and provide sane political leadership—in a word, to have the abilities, capacities, and desires that will insure competent social practices, in so far as scientific experiment warrants. Society desires that the school contribute to this end, and it is interested to know whether achievement is made in this direction. Our educational process will continue to be a matter of guess work until we are able to measure what we achieve in the realization of social ends. The measures so far devised are excellent to determine what the school starts with and to ascertain whether some limited skill and knowledge has been secured; but society is concerned with another kind of achievement, and the operation of the curriculum requires that such measurements be provided to determine to what extent the school instruction realizes these ends.

The sociologist is therefore concerned with the measurement of outcomes of education not limited by the schoolroom situation but by the behavior of the individual in his group life, and the changes that may be effected in group living through school instruction, in a word, the measurement of social values.

II. SOCIOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE NORMAL SCHOOL CURRICULUM[2]

E. George Payne

In 1923 before the College Teachers of Education, I presented data indicating the requirements for graduation from normal

[2] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1927, pp. 1–10.

schools and teachers colleges preparing teachers for service in the elementary schools. A summary of these facts is significant for this discussion.[3]

At that time there was a complete failure of teacher training institutions to attempt a rational basis for curricula construction. There has been some change, but no radical readjustment since 1923. Among transcripts of credits of the graduates of two year training courses coming to my attention at that time, one which was typical of the institutions in one part of the country indicated that the graduate had taken a program consisting of eighty recitation hours in psychology, one hundred in logic, forty in school management, eighty in the history of education, twelve hundred in special methods in elementary school subjects, and five hundred in practice teaching. A similar transcript from a normal school in a city of 300,000 inhabitants presented one thousand hours of practice teaching, eighty in psychology, one hundred and sixty in pedagogy, twenty in school management, and seven hundred and forty in special methods in the elementary school subjects. The first of these transcripts was from a state normal school and the second from a city normal school and both required these courses with no choice for any of the students entering as teachers into any one of the eight grades of elementary school service.

Note the nature of these two programs. The first required 1700 recitation hours, either in practice or the study of methods and devices, 120 hours in subjects immediately related to the problem of teaching and 180 hours that bore only indirectly, if at all, on the problem of teaching. No attention was given to subject-matter. The second program required 1740 hours of practice teaching, methods and devices, and 260 in principles underlying the practices. No subject-matter was required. These courses represent one extreme of practice in the training of elementary school teachers and indicate that the makers of these mentary school teachers and indicate that the makers of these curricula had pretty definitely in mind one objective; namely, skill in schoolroom practice. They aimed at as nearly as possible perfection of the devices and methods at present in vogue in their communities and in the schools for which they were training. They took no account of the needs of behavior changes in the children that these aspiring teachers were to instruct.

[3] Educational Monographs, Studies in Education, No. XII, 1923, pp. 33–34.

The other extreme is represented by a transcript which included the academic subjects of solid geometry, college algebra, and trigonometry, Livy and Tacitus, modern languages, European history, with educational subjects as follows: the history of education, psychology, school management, general method, and a half dozen hours of practice teaching. No courses in special methods and no subject-matter courses that would bear in the least upon the problem of the elementary curriculum were included. The fact that graduates of this normal school began teaching in the small town and rural schools did not affect the character of the curriculum in the least. The course seems to be the vestigial remains of a nineteenth century educational philosophy, the academic practices of that century, and is designed to fit any condition. The training presumably was kept so general that the graduates would not be handicapped by the training received in any position to which they might aspire. Such a program could perhaps not be found in a normal school or teachers college today. It is characteristic of the training in many of the academic colleges from which 75% of the product enter the elementary and secondary school service.

In the Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, I pointed out another fact of significance about the conservatism of institutions engaged in the work of teacher training.[4] This study showed that normal schools did not regard the problem of accident prevention as one coming within the scope of teacher training.

It is interesting and instructive to note the practice of the public schools of the country as indicating what school men, facing the educational problem in their communities thought of it and to compare their practice with the institutions that are training teachers for the public schools. A questionnaire was sent out by the writer as Chairman of the Education Section of the National Safety Council in 1923. The questionnaire was sent to the cities of the United States with a population of more than ten thousand. Two hundred ninety replies were returned in time to be included in the report.[5] Summarized, they are as follows:

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[4] Twenty-fifth *Yearbook* of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part IX, pp. 310–311.

[5] *See* Payne and McCarthy, "We and Our Health," American Viewpoint Society, Albany, 1925, Book IV, pp. 144–145.

I. Schools with safety instruction.	
a. Introduced as a part of the curriculum	143
b. As a special subject	34
c. Both as a special subject and as a part of curriculum	38
d. Incidental	51
Total	266
II. Schools without safety instruction	19
III. Reply without information on this point	5
Total all schools	290

The statement "Introduced as a part of the curriculum" was explained to mean that accident prevention was regarded as an objective of the whole curriculum and each subject and activity should make its appropriate contribution to the realization of the objective. That is, safety should be taught through language, civics, etc.

The interest thus manifested by the superintendents in accident prevention and the extent to which they had already incorporated instruction in the curriculum, indicates that they are far in advance of the institutions that are training teachers, in recognizing the need of instruction in accident prevention as a fundamental objective of the curriculum. The comparison of the result of these two questionnaires, together with the expression on the part of a large number of superintendents that new teachers are not sufficiently conscious of the accident situation as a social problem and are unable adequately to perform the requirements of the curriculum, indicates that educational institutions responsible for the training of teachers have not fully faced their responsibilities with reference to the accident situation in the United States, as determined by the needs of the schools as now operated. The normal schools have not conceived the idea of taking the leadership in the formulation of a program for dealing with this problem.

From these data presented we may safely conclude that institutions for the training of teachers have been influenced very largely by the past history of education and not by the present needs of social adjustment in formulating and carrying out their programs. Our thesis is that the needs of the present social life and adjustment must be the determining factor in the construction of curricula for the training of teachers of the present generation.

Furthermore that we must set ourselves to the task of developing a new technique that will insure proper emphasis upon social needs and aspirations in school curricula.

The elaboration of this thesis requires an examination of the essential factors in the present social order. It is commonplace to call attention to the fact that social changes have been taking place in a revolutionary fashion in the past half century. It is however worthy of note that in the social change critical maladjustments have developed that can be corrected, if at all, only through school education and that the leadership in the correction of these maladjustments must be placed in the hands of those fundamentally responsible for what goes on in the schoolroom,—the institutions responsible for the training of teachers. Sociologists long since have noted that society moves forward irregularly and the lack of uniformity in progress creates maladjustments and needs of readjustments. This has been particularly true in the past half century. The marked advances or changes that have taken place have been on the one hand in the advance of scientific knowledge as applied to living, commerce and industry and on the other, to the complexity of life relationships, that is, housing, transportation, communication, leisure and the like. But these advances have taken place without appropriate changes in social behavior; that is, changes in behavior patterns. In other words we have a "social lag." The immediate problem of education is that of taking up the social slack, created by the nature of the changing social order. This is not the only problem but the biggest problem of present day education.

The limitations of this paper do not permit an adequate development of this thesis and we must therefore content ourselves with a brief illustration or two, that will indicate the point of view. One of the best illustrations of the failure of educators to incorporate the results of scientific development into social behavior through an adequate school program may be found in the field of health education. In 1876 Louis Pasteur had demonstrated the facts concerning the spread of disease. He had clearly proved that disease does not originate spontaneously. He had proved that germ life, bacteria and protozoa, do not develop out of nothing and are not created by the will of Providence for the purpose of punishing recalcitrant individuals who transgressed His will. In a word he demonstrated that at least a large number of diseases are infectious and are caused by the

spread of germs through natural means; such as food, drink, air, contact, and other similar means of infection. This demonstration laid the basis for the control of numerous diseases such as typhoid, malaria, yellow fever, tuberculosis and other scourges bringing with them unhappiness and disaster.

What now happened to this body of scientific knowledge? Scientifically-minded men became active and set about to discover the means and the specific ways of disease transmission. They went further and began to incorporate into legislation means for the control of disease. Under their influence departments of public health were created. These have done their work effectively in the control of communicable disease. As a result, we have witnessed the rapid decline of the death rate, and of infant mortality, and the general improvement of health. No chapter of history is more sensational or thrilling than that dealing with the scientific control of disease through the purification of water supply, through supervision of the food supply, through inoculation, and by other means which have been used.

So much for that. But what have the educators done with this body of knowledge? When we go through the textbooks, the school programs, the curriculum studies we find that to all appearances educators have been largely unconscious of these scientific changes. Schools retain even to the present time physiologies which take little account of scientific changes. Other texts show little influence of modern health development. Histories, geographies, language texts, etc., although considerably influenced by other matters in which educators have been interested, show little trace of the social demands that have been created by the remarkable advance of preventive medicine and the needs of constructive health practice.

This general statement may also be confirmed by reference to several surveys made in recent years. The Gary survey by the Federal Children's Bureau dealing with 6015 children of preschool age indicates an almost universal violation among these children and their families of common health practices relating to food, exercise, sleep, and the other essentials of healthful living. The results of this survey have been confirmed by my surveys in St. Louis, Texas, and New York City, and yet when we examine the school program, and particularly the programs of the institutions concerned with the training of teachers, almost no account is taken of the health needs of the children and adults

of the country as displayed in these surveys. Numerous examples might be cited. In a New York community in which a survey showed that 95% of the children were suffering from incipient rickets and facing the dire consequences of this unnecessary disease, a teacher of a seventh grade sub-normal group was found to be teaching the skeleton, the framework of the body, the muscles, the processes of digestion, and devoting one week to a study of neurones. This moreover was the sum total of the health instruction in that class. In spite of recent efforts to give more adequate attention to the health needs of children, this case is certainly not unusual. As a matter of fact it represents the type of the knowledge acquired concerning the human body and its needs in many of our normal schools.

We are not simple enough to assume that the schools can accomplish everything that is proposed in the way of social reform, but certainly it is not too much to assume that if the educators of the country had been concerned with the school as an instrument for changing social behavior, the body of scientific knowledge together with the habits and attitudes that should have been changed in the population to conform to the developing knowledge relating to healthful living would have become long. since functional in the life of the present generation. As a matter of fact our educational theory and practice have not been concerned at all with the type of knowledge, habits, and attitudes that would affect social behavior.

The result of this failure on the part of the schools, moreover, delayed the beginning of active efforts for the purification of the water supply on a large scale until the beginning of the twentieth century; it delayed the pasteurization of milk until toward the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, and the care of foods till somewhat later. As a matter of fact these practices essential in the promotion of health have been by no means universally adopted, and the spread of knowledge leading to their adoption has been affected chiefly by other agencies than the schools. Even in spite of the work of other agencies not primarily concerned with education, the schools are not now performing the work essential either to community or to individual health practices. Health instruction is not given a serious place in the schools. Educators have tardily followed the lead of other agencies, and usually upon the insistence of the other agencies to give their attention to the body of scientific knowledge that

requires at the present a transformation of social behavior, particularly health behavior.

The development of scientific knowledge represents one aspect of the social development behind which social behavior has lagged. The other equally startling advance and the one we wish to use as an illustration here, is the material aspect of our civilization; the inventions and their application to modern living. The mere mention of a few of these is sufficient for our purposes. Among the most significant are those affecting means of communication, rapid transportation, local, national and even international, and the conditions of living resulting from these developments.

Let us take a simple illustration, the automobile. The automobile is a twentieth century product. It has become an essential of present day life within the past fifteen years. The activities of society could no more be carried on without this instrument today than they could without street cars, subways or the elevated. Take away either and immediately urban life would have to be revolutionized. Fifteen years ago, however, the automobile was not a significant feature of our life. There were fewer than a million altogether in the country, and accidents from automobiles seldom occurred. Today we kill 23,000 people annually and severely injure a half million more. This slaughter of the innocent is unnecessary. It results from the development of an instrument, a necessity of modern life, but one that is unsuited to our present mode of behavior,—our knowledge, habits and attitudes. We have definite experiments indicating that attention to the accident situation in the school curriculum would not only facilitate the mastery of the subject matter of the present curriculum but would actually in a large measure prevent accidents among the children and adults of the community. In spite of the fact that demonstrative experiments were carried out along this line nine years ago and books and magazine articles were devoted to the character and results of the demonstrations, as experiments in curriculum reconstruction, it was only a year ago that one of our leading curriculum makers stated publicly that he had just discovered that accident prevention was a problem of the curriculum and must be taken into account in an adequate curriculum readjustment.

Another case equally in point is the health situation growing out of the kind of life induced by the conditions that have devel-

oped in urban communities incident to the changed social and material relationships; the method of food supply, the individualization of the family, the crowded commercial activities in the streets, the absence of playgrounds, etc. The most exaggerated case in the country is perhaps the Harlem district in New York City. We have here an urban crowded community. In the food stores, delicatessens, groceries, and bake shops of the community there are hundreds of varieties of foods from which selection may be made and which requires intelligent selection to secure a properly balanced diet. There is no play space and the congested condition of the streets makes play in them impossible. Here we have a totally new problem of social behavior. The type of life induced by the social conditions has developed a high infant mortality rate, approximately 20%; 95% of the children have incipient rickets. There is, however, actually no reason why adequate health and safety might not be maintained in this community. A high state of health and efficiency are maintained in other similar communities in New York City. Efficiency under the conditions of life, however, requires a new mode of behavior that can only be insured through the schools and a new school program. Neither the normal schools nor the public schools of this community have been deeply concerned with the health of its population.

One other case in illustration must suffice. Professor Thrasher has recently published his study of gang life in Chicago, the only scientific study of gangs so far made. He points out that 35,000 youth, 10% of all boys between the ages of ten and twenty years, are members of predatory gangs. From this group of predatory gangs has developed in the past and is developing at the present the criminal underworld of Chicago. To be sure various types of social leaders are salvaged from these predatory groups, such as the ward leader in politics and even business and professional leaders. But the salvaging process so far as it goes on is an incidental accompaniment of the social life and may be regarded as accidental. The social settlements are responsible for the major part of the salvaging process so far as it is done. The schools certainly have no part in it. The schools, so far as can be determined, are unconscious of the nature of the problem or the means of its solution. Curriculum construction and reconstruction goes merrily on without regard to this element in the social situation and without regard for the need of modifying

the social behavior, the establishing of behavior patterns, the readjustment of social groups, and the substitution of activities that will provide for the needs satisfied in these predatory groupings.

Professor Thrasher localizes the problem definitely. He says: "One of the most important elements in the situation which promotes the free life of the gang is the failure of the immigrant to control his children in Chicago. Since about two-thirds of the parents of delinquent boys in Chicago are peasants from rural areas and villages in Europe, it is not strange that they do not know how to manage their children in such a new and totally different environment."[6] It is not only true that the schools are not conscious of the problem involved in this situation but the character of the school program actually accentuates the problem of family control and causes family breakdowns where they would not otherwise occur.

Are we however justified in assuming that the institutions of the country which provide the teaching staff are not alive to these problems of social behavior so vital to the life of American communities? This question can be definitely answered in the affirmative. A study now in process by a graduate student in the School of Education in New York University has progressed far enough to indicate that these institutions are not seriously attacking the problem of health and the needs of health education as they have developed in American life. A recent study of some five hundred institutions,[7] all or most of whose graduates enter the profession of teaching, displays the fact that little or no effort is made through the curriculum of these institutions to attack the social problems outlined in the present discussion, or to effect those changes in social behavior, the need for which is indicated by such studies of social conditions as have been made to the present. It would obviously be unfair for me to say that the curricula of teacher training schools fail in all respects to equip their output for the real job of education, that is modifying the social behavior of the pupils whom they teach. All that we can say is that so far as scientific studies of social needs have

[6] Thrasher, F. M., "The Gang," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1927, p. 489.

[7] Lee, Harvey, "The Status of Educational Sociology in Normal Schools, Teachers Colleges and Universities," New York University Press Book Store, New York, 1928.

been made, no conscious effort is evident to set up a curriculum that would meet those needs. If in spite of no conscious effort the curriculum does serve that purpose the result may be regarded as accidental.

Finally what can we say of curriculum making in general? Perhaps we are justified in assuming that the unofficial claims of those responsible for the latest word on the curriculum—the Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, are justified and that this publication represents what the so-called leading educators are thinking. If so then we must conclude that the leading educators are not thinking at all of the most fundamental factors in curriculum reconstruction. The limits of this paper will not permit a detailed discussion of this Yearbook. However, a careful examination of it indicates that the writers are concerned with the mechanics of curriculum construction in terms of a psychological technique, and that the social needs have been almost wholly ignored. Problems, fundamental to education, such as are outlined in this paper, have not appeared in the consciousness of these writers. If they have, no evidence appears in this Yearbook to warrant a conclusion to that effect.

A word must be said in conclusion concerning the problem of curriculum reconstruction in schools responsible for the training of our teaching staff. The educators in these institutions must cut loose from the present method of curriculum reconstruction; they must diagnose their problem in terms of the social needs and aspirations of their communities, and must begin a reconstruction of their programs in terms of those needs.

The following excerpt of an article by Mr. Retan represents a specific attempt to outline the basis for the use of sociology in curriculum construction.

III. SOCIOLOGY APPLIED IN CURRICULUM MAKING[8]

GEORGE A. RETAN

The child comes to school with social attitudes. In a given class in arithmetic he not only is learning that eight and five are

[8] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 7, March, 1929, pp. 427–429.

thirteen through participation in a game of dominoes with a group, but his behavior patterns are being constantly modified by the social contacts, by the success or failure of the game of dominoes, and by the behavior of the individuals of the group as well as by the personality of the teacher.

Along with these two basal principles we need to accept as fundamental in the situation, first, that the schoolroom is a group in real life. The school is not artificial and cannot be; no matter how stereotyped the work, it is still being attacked by a number of persons working together for a common end. It is, therefore, a real group. The outcomes may be artificial and unreal—the life itself cannot be unreal. The closer it approaches the life situation the more educative it becomes. Cooley's "Social Process" says, "Since the school environment is comparatively easy to control, here is the place to create an ideal formative group or system of groups, which shall envelop the individual and mould his growth. . . . " "Here, if anywhere, we can ensure his learning loyalty, discipline, service, personal address, and democratic coöperation, all by willing practice in the fellowship of his contemporaries." Secondly, we may provisionally accept social democracy as a legitimate goal in education and check up our classroom procedures by the test of how far they advance or retard the attainment of such a goal in school and in life. In the consideration of the school as a social group we need to examine the force of social approvals and disapprovals and we should set forth the social virtues which we anticipate as outcomes of our group activities: coöperation, fairness, tolerance, etc.

While the application of the psychological and sociological principles in the classroom is a unit, we may yet analyze certain phases, notably in schoolroom management, where the sociological are dominant. The accompanying outline is a visual presentation

THE TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING

I. Objectives
   (a) To utilize the sociological and psychological principles of teaching in outlining correct classroom procedures.
   (b) To make provision that the student may see these principles exemplified in artistic teaching in the training school.

II. Outline
   1. Sociological Principles
      A. The basis: The social instincts
                    Concomitant learnings

THE TECHNIQUE OF TEACHING.—(*Continued*)

B. The schoolroom group as a life situation
   Social approval and disapproval
   The outcomes of cooperative undertakings
C. Social democracy as an aim in education
   The school as a telic agent

2. Psychological Principles
   A. The basis:
      Original nature
      The laws of learning
      Individual differences
   B. Self-activity
   C. Interest-motivation
   D. Mind-set
3. Their Application
   A. Social democracy in the schoolroom
      a. The place and function of routine
      b. Discipline as a social end, not a means
      c. The socialized recitation
      d. Extracurricular activities
      e. Teacher personality—its social significance; its development
   B. Classroom procedures
      a. Anticipated outcomes: Habits and skills
         Knowledge
         Appreciation and attitudes
      b. Organization of subject matter—planning
         Principles of organization
      c. Types of procedure
         Drill
         Review
         Problems
         Study-assignment
         Appreciation
         Project
      d. Utilization of materials
         Visual aids, seat work, etc.
   C. Classroom organization
      Testing and grouping
   D. Evaluation of special methods
      Contracts
      Winnetka Plan
      Free schools, etc.

III. PROCEDURE

A. Observation of demonstration teaching and reports on the basis of definitely assigned topics and questions.
B. Classroom recitation on the basis of texts, assigned questions, and collateral readings.
C. Check-up
   Success or failure in application of theory in student-teacher assignment.

of one way of organizing the work. In the time allotments given to the various subheads twenty-four of thirty-five periods are to be devoted to the application; ten are assigned to the development of the principles. This is really review work as the class has had psychology and educational sociology previously. The procedure is a statement of how the course is to be handled by the instructor in charge.

IV. SCHOOL CURRICULUM AND CONTEMPORARY LIFE[9]

F. C. Borgeson

Upon introspection one finds that the knowledge which seems to be most effective and useful in everyday life (and I could as well add in the unusual moments in life) has come not through the formal school instruction but rather through most informal media, quite casually—chance happenings, curiosity, perennial interest, contacts with appealing and forceful individuals, and what not. And yet we continue to center the curriculum around subject matter instead of the child.

Development and Present Status of Contemporary Life

To make a statement of contemporary life in one paragraph would be as successful as an attempt to weave a rope of sand. All that can be said here is that the change from an agricultural to an industrial civilization, from hand to machinery, has so completely revolutionized our mode of living that anything that once served to satisfy needs has now become so antiquated as to be useless. Life has become so intricately complex with the advent of mechanical invention, man has become so interrelated and interdependent upon fellow man, socially, economically, politically, culturally, that the naïvely elementary conception of life which school children formulate as the result of their long-time stereotyped school environment is no longer adequate preparation for their stepping into the arena of so complex a society.

Needed Changes in the Curriculum

One may well ask the purpose of the curriculum in order that needed changes as proposed shall actually further that purpose.

[9] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 3, November, 1929, pp. 181–185.

The curriculum is but an important tool in the educative process. It should contain such ideals and activities and methods of their realization and performance as will best prepare the child to live in that society in which he shall find himself. This will include helping the young to become acquainted with the best that is now known or guessed about mankind and the world, as Robinson puts it. It will include the encouragement of a scientific attitude of mind and a full and vivid appreciation of the inherent obstacles that oppose themselves to its successful cultivation in the human species. In short, it must be an aid in realizing the fundamental purpose of the entire teaching process; namely, the increased efficiency of all affected by the school program.

So radical must be the changes in the curriculum that many are inclined to the opinion that the present curriculum cannot be a point of departure. The present curriculum, they say, is too inadequate for even that. An about-face is needed in our approach to the problem. Whereas, the curriculum has been organized primarily for teaching, now we are beginning to realize that it must be organized primarily for learning. The former may be typified by the Robinson and Breasted history texts; the latter by Wells's "Outline of History." Wells's book, of course, would need considerable modification before it could be used as a school text, yet it represents a new small group of writers who are disregarding the old classification of knowledge, and have hit upon new methods of presentation which begin to "humanize knowledge." This "humanizing of knowledge" that Robinson writes about is virtually what Rugg means when he pleads for the emotionalization of subject matter, through the episodic, the vivid, the narrative. A fitting, rich, and ample stimulus for the child to want to learn certain desirable meaning concepts, skills, attitudes, and the desire to act on facts; i.e., a desire to be able to think clearly will result in the common presence of intrinsic interest on the part of children. Intrinsic interest attained, most of the battle is won, provided the curriculum is what it should be.

To enumerate the specific changes to be made as suggested above would be in order now if it were possible to do so. It would be a joy forever to be able to set down just what should be done. With our present knowledge and instruments, it is a dangerous undertaking; yet scores of local comprehensive curriculum-revision programs must carry on. Various students of

the problem feel sure of certain elements that must be in the curriculum. For example, Flexner feels that a modern curriculum should contain the following:

1. Reading, writing, spelling, figuring.
2. Actual activities in science, industry, aesthetics, civics.
3. Cultivate contacts and cross connections in all these activities.
4. Extracurricular activities (really outside the curriculum).

Other students would not agree with Flexner, and propose other elements. What these shall be can only be determined satisfactorily through other media than those utilized in the past.

How Best Accomplish These Changes?

Bobbitt makes such administrative suggestions in the making of the curriculum as the following:

1. Those nearest the detailed labors should initiate in planning the details of the curriculum.
2. The principal should initiate more general plans and policies.
3. The superintendent should plan independently the educational program of the entire organization; one, two, and three, all to be coordinated.
4. The school do only what community sanctions.

Others make other proposals for the actual reconstruction of the curriculum. Many of these theories have not been tried out; some have. Curriculum studies are being conducted in various parts of the country. The United States Bureau of Education Bulletin, 1923, No. 42, lists the few foundations supporting educational research in its various forms, and the eighty-odd educational research bureaus in the United States at the time of publication—city, State, and university. The work being done by many of these bureaus in the last few years has been almost totally on the problem of the curriculum. Some are highly scientific; others not.

A group of city curriculum directors met at Boston in February, 1928, to consider their common problems. Thirty-three curriculum studies completed and sixty-six under way were reported in the local school systems. Fifty-five additional research problems needing early solution were suggested, which several cities could work on independently, using identical methods. The Twenty-sixth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Educa-

tion gives an annotated and selected bibliography of 105 studies dealing with the curriculum. Five of the seven yearbooks of the Department of Superintendence deal with the curriculum. What is needed as much as anything else just now is a clearing house which will keep in touch with all that is being done, and disseminate information on the same. Only then will it be possible to place in effective operation the tentative results of scientific studies on curriculum reorganization that have and are being discovered. The results of such investigation must displace opinion in curriculum building.

Outlook

The responses of teachers and administrators of schools in coöperating with certain efforts of scientific investigation and experimentation in the reorganization of the curriculum, the attitudes of the pupils in such experiments, and the results attained, force one to entertain a real hope for the not-far-distant curriculum's suitability to prepare youth for the life in which he shall find himself.

What is needed is a new intellectual mood, a new tolerance of intelligent divergence of opinion, a new appreciation of the rôle of knowledge in human planning, and an appreciation of the rôle of child-life experience in learning. A study of students in certain experimental schools suggests that new methods are producing these results. The sooner these methods become general in our public-school system, the sooner will significant progress be realized.

V. BEHAVIOR-ADJUSTMENTS AND THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM[10]

PHILIP W. L. COX

Success both in child life and in adult life must be conceived as growth and integration of personality. The factors which enter into the control of the personality at adolescence are of outstanding importance. From the viewpoint of the child himself these factors are primarily physical. Adolescence is the period of growing up. The boy becomes during a period of five or six years a young man. The little girl becomes a woman.

[10] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 1, Sept., 1927, pp. 37–48.

The Dawn of Adolescence Is a Period of Very Complex Biological and Social Adjustments

Puberty is accompanied by many rather obvious phenomena such as rapid increases in height and weight, changes in facial contour, physical gawkiness due to uneven growths of bones, tendons, and muscles, and the development of primary sex organs and secondary sex characteristics. There are important changes in the child's circulation; increased blood pressure puts a severe strain upon the heart to perform its added duties. There is the change in pitch and quality of the voice, more marked in boys than in girls.

These developmental characteristics must be thought of in the light of the increasing sex consciousness, sex interests, and sex suppressions which evolve from the interactions of the child's nature and the social *mores* and taboos. The child's social awareness which accompanies the maturation is partly a result and partly a cause of his identification of himself with adulthood. The behavior-adjustments to the social practices and attitudes of the adult world complicate and are complicated by the organic changes that are taking place within the unbelievably complex mechanism—the individual boy or girl.

The human body is made up of thousands of billions of individual cells, each one of which is born, lives, breathes, feeds, excretes, reproduces, dies, and is succeeded by its offspring.[11]

Each of these individuals harmonizes "with its own inner life some special function for the benefit of the whole, and destined ultimately for an individual death. Day-long, night-long, in this commonwealth that constitutes each one of us, there goes forward as in the body politic the subservience of many individual purposes to one, the sacrifice of individual lives for the advantage of the many, and the birth of new units which replace the dead. . . . And each of these living commonwealths began its individual existence as a single unit, whence arose the myriads that compose its adult being. There comes thus to coexist the lime hardened tissues of our bones, the contractile cells of our muscles, the conductive cells of our nerves, and so forth."[12]

Obviously there must be some plan by which these many congeries or communities of cells develop and function for the

[11] Cf. Burnham, W. H., "The Normal Mind," D. Appleton and Co., New York, 1924, p. 29.

[12] Sherrington, C. S., "The Integrative Action of the Nervous System" (revised edition), C. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1926, quoted in Burnham's, "The Normal Mind," p. 29.

welfare of the human being of which they are a part. Somehow or other the communities are stirred into action in response to some stimulus, and so food digests, hearts beat, lungs breathe, sex organs mature and function, wounds heal. One set or another of cells multiplies more rapidly than usual and after a while returns to its normal rate.

The control of growth and of special functioning is largely vested in the endocrine or ductless glands. These glands secrete *hormones* or *autocoids* which enter the blood stream and stimulate into activity the communities of cells or organs which the particular hormones affect.

The primary physical and mental changes that take place at adolescence are chiefly due to the activity of an autocoid secreted by the cells of Leydig, so-called "interstitial cells" in the gonads (testes and ovaries). But other glands have important parts to play in this phenomenon as well. If the thyroid does not function normally, causing the disease *myxodema*, the characteristic development of adolescence does not take place. The same failure of normal adolescent development happens if the pituitary gland or the pineal gland (two glands found just under the brain) or the adrenal glands (situated on the kidneys) do not function as they should. The thymus gland, found in the neck below the larynx, generally atrophies at adolescence. If it does not so atrophy, the boy is effeminate and has the high voice characteristic of girls and little children. It is less directly connected to the sex organs of girls, while the thyroid gland is more closely related to sex functions of girls than of boys.

Integration of Personality Demands Intelligently Controlled Environment

Integration is the coördination of all of these interrelated controls of the behavior of the trillions of individual cells. Integration at a period of such rapid change as accompanies adolescence is peculiarly liable to be upset. The school can best safeguard and promote such harmony within the pupil's body by a program of friendly, mildly stimulating activities wherein each pupil will find himself frequently successful, and generally near enough to success to believe that tomorrow or next time, he can win the coveted satisfaction. In the midst of this program of coöperative endeavors the friendly teacher will come to a mutual understanding with every pupil in his charge.

The need for such a sympathetic understanding is very great. Puberty is a difficult time for even the most rugged and well balanced temperaments; for the more sensitive and nervous child, there is required the most patient and continuous stimulation of self-confidence in the performance of worth-while tasks. The positive program depends rather on an application of the laws of learning, and on a recognition of individual differences of many kinds, and on an understanding of the supreme importance of the emotional life of the child. For if these aspects are dealt with intelligently, then the integration of each child's personality is amply protected.

The behavior-adjustments of children at the dawn of adolescence becomes then the primary function of the junior high school. And this youthful institution is, despite the standardizing agencies and "curriculum experts," still sufficiently vigorous and flexible to deal effectively with this most important and complicated problem.

The junior high school is indeed to be defined in terms of this project. It is the institution that accepts all the mentally normal boys and girls of its community before they are adolescent, and fits its educational program to them. In this new school program, what constitutes seventh grade work or ninth grade standards is of little importance. Rather does the new school ask itself what is the subject matter and what the method, what is the educational experience that is most likely to stimulate each one of the 13- or 14- or 15-year old boys and girls to exert himself to the utmost to accomplish tasks that appeal to him, to his teachers, and to his parents as thoroughly worth while. For one it may be the preparation of an assembly, for another a report with charts in geography, for someone else it may be the school orchestra, and for still another it may be intuitional geometry. There are some children who find self-expression even in English grammar, there are many who find it in a foreign language, in typewriting, in art, in dressmaking, and in shop.

In the creatively controlled junior high school, nearly all children can find places satisfactorily in a diversified social environment of home-room and clubs and athletics and student publications and corridor officerships and clerical assistantships. In these places they can and do perform adequately and with growing confidence tasks for which they are competent. And the broadly conceived school, like social life itself, has room for

and need for many and diverse traits and qualities among its members.

The junior high school is an environment to which come all the little children of late pre-adolescence—happy, active, and unspoiled as yet by the discouragements and artificialities of the formal and, to them at least, meaningless grind of grammar and verbal history and examination-passing. It is an environment in which these children, all of them, continue to live happy, adequate, purposeful lives of activity for the ensuing two or three years—years of rapid physical growth, of great intellectual activity, of emotional reconstruction, and spiritual unfoldment. And, finally, it is an environment from which there emerge two or three years later these same boys and girls, now taller and more mature, children of middle adolescence—almost young men and young women—eager to go on with their school education, having tasted of hard work and of resultant success, and found it good! And these self-confident youths of 15 to 16 years of age are interested in the public weal. They have found their personalities in their social groups. They have served as leaders and followers; they have imitated wisely and originated freely. Their personalities have waxed and bloomed in the warm friendly atmosphere of the junior high school.

Character of the Emerging Curriculum

For the junior high school is a protest against the dehumanized verbal and symbolic grind of formal mathematics, grammar, and history, and against the vicious destruction of human personality that has so often characterized the school procedures both of the conventional grammar grades and of the uninspiring lesson-getting of the freshman year of the four-year high school. The school which was typical in 1900—and which is too much in evidence even today—resulted in the disgust and discouragement of most of the children who were not both bright in regard to abstract verbal intelligence and docile in accepting without question others' thoughts, others' wishes, others' standards as their own. There has until recently been little attention paid to the innovators among our youths and to the artistic, the mechanical, the socially effective boys and girls. There have been few, indeed who have had regard for the precious human beings who were being broken on the wheel of our stupid, unreal, and unlifelike, scholastic judgments.

Such callousness has been "respectable"; it has indeed been fortified by conventional standards and accepted practices. The hope of a new day in education has lain in the development of a new school that would base its practices in a philosophy and science of life. The junior high school is life—life that prepares for living, life that springs from within, life that is fresh and dynamic and resourceful. In this life, all children may develop eagerness to contribute, all may find satisfaction in originality, initiative, and service.

In the fields of health and recreation, in civics, in English, in music, in art, and in industrial arts, progress toward intelligent education is really being made empirically and realistically—often in spite of some of our researchers and "leaders." Out of the school's adjustments to the pressing problems of school practices, a new school curriculum is already emerging.

What does the already emerging curriculum indicate regarding the nature of this curriculum-to-be? Already in progressive junior high schools, one-sixth to one-fourth of the school day is given over to activity-periods and assemblies. If we include the lunch period, playground supervision before and after school, athletic teams, Scouts, nature clubs, hiking clubs, and the like, the fraction of the school day given to other than subject-classes is already between a third and a half! If now we add the share of the time given to "subjects" which is used for student activities—recreation, publication, debates, assembly preparation, dramatics, singing, creating—then the amount of the school day that is left for spelling, algebra, grammar, science facts, place geography, and history names and dates is small indeed. In the time assigned to physical education and health, to English, to art, to practical and household arts, to music, to civics, to business practices, to science, and occasionally even to mathematics and foreign languages, teachers and pupils coöperate eagerly, during more or less of the time, in a program of student activities that have subject-mastery as only an incidental objective. During such parts of the class-periods, class-activities are not distinguishable in type or spirit from those of the non-class "activity periods."

The junior high school is interested primarily in the social activities of children; its program takes account of their feelings, their desires, their personalities chiefly as they manifest themselves in relation to institutions and to their fellows. Its theses

are that children can be guided and led to educate themselves best if—perhaps only if—they are first stimulated to undertake purposeful activities, and that such stimulus and control are most effective if groups of children are concerned in them.

This statement must not be misunderstood. The junior high school has no quarrel with individual expressions of abilities and interests. It does indeed encourage individualized leisure and study. But, as a school, its own instruments are social. And it would lead children to share their gifts and experiences and interests with others.

Normal human beings seek companionship much of the time. It matters little whether or not there is a natural "gang age" or whether or not there is an "instinct of gregariousness." For the junior high school, it is only important that boys and girls of late preadolescence and at the onset of adolescence, do enjoy active association with each other in face-to-face primary groups.

In the typical junior high school, they are encouraged and helped to associate themselves in various types of groups: interest-groups underlie clubs and curriculum electives; abstract ability groups underlie home-room sections and generally core-curriculum divisions; while physical size and ability underlie athletic groupings. Vocational interests may determine special curriculum opportunities. "Over-ageness" may determine special classifications for rapid advancement or special instruction.

The limits of this paper require that a single example of such groupings be dealt with here. The most characteristic aspect of the junior high school behavior control is found in the home-room advisory section, and that is, therefore, selected.

The Advisory or Home-Room Sections

Characteristic of the junior high school's creative curriculum-emergent is the home-room advisory period. Here is a face-to-face, primary group, a gang—more accurately the raw materials of a dozen gangs. And the teacher-adviser is potentially a member and a sponsor for every one of them.

Adviser and school environment set up nicely calculated sequences of problems and challenges and obstacles and successes. In some aspect of its program every child will participate with all his heart and soul and mind and strength. About such a central purpose, his personality is integrated and his self-expression blossoms.

Objection may be raised that a home-room group is not a characteristic gang because Thrasher and others have shown that informal gangs are not homogeneous as to age. It remains true, however, that many conditions that promote the "ganging" process are present in the home-room, if adequate time is allowed for social processes to develop informally and spontaneously.

Propinquity and challenges result in common purposes and common undertakings. These involve coöperation and competitions for leadership or for recognition. Out of the resultant conflicts come group disciplines and group approvals. These social behaviors and social controls are typical of and similar to the conditions of life. Leading and following are both good fun, and the accompanying emotional states of elation and subjection are both enjoyable and satisfying.

Occasionally, however, the unsuccessful aspirant for office or other recognition may not accept defeat readily. He may be very unhappy if thwarted too often, and either distrust his own abilities and so cease to aspire, or become sullen, anti-social, or an agitator for disharmony. Treatment of the pathological cases is difficult and frequently unsuccessful.

The best way to overcome this dissatisfying condition is not to let it happen. If in the early days of the group's career, sufficiently varied group-undertakings are promoted to make it probable that all of the more vigorous social leaders will find self-expression, such thwartings need never occur.

Challenges, "races," and competitions assure eager participation in such group activities. In athletics, in getting subscribers for the school paper, in preparing for the assembly, in preparing "thrift-talks," in securing promptness, and in other similar contests wherein several advisory groups are joined in good-natured competition, there is room for every ambitious boy and girl to find a place of leadership. The "gangs" come to look to one pupil for leadership in athletics, another in journalism, another in dramatics, a fourth in the drive for promptness, and a fifth, sixth, and seventh in other group undertakings.

In its narrower sense a "gang" gangs for a specific purpose. An informal and incoherent group becomes socially conscious when challenged by a common purpose. In this narrow sense of the word, the home-room group is one gang for purposes of organizing an athletic team, and a quite different gang when it

undertakes to reduce tardiness to a minimum, or to carry through an assembly program.

As the advisory work progresses, the sponsor promotes the desire for other undertakings of such nature as to give even the shyest or socially least competent pupil his chance to gain recognition, and even to exercise a brief but successful leadership. This is a fundamental duty of the adviser.

In the home-room group, it is desirable that as rapidly as possible and as gradually as necessary, motives for coöperative and competitive endeavors *within the group itself* be promoted. The transition from inter-group activities to intra-group coöperations and competitions should be begun as soon as it seems probable that there is sufficient group consciousness to make the attempt reasonably successful.

It is easier to act than it is to think about such abstract virtues as loyalty, trustworthiness, and the like; hence, the publishing of a home-room newspaper (a single copy for the bulletin board is sufficient) or giving an after-school party or preparing an assembly or cleaning up the locker room serves to promote behavior-adjustments of several desirable kinds.

There is promoted the search for and recognition of abilities and willingnesses on the part of the pupils; proposals frequently conflict and their sponsors must face the need for modifying them; groups within the room urge conflicting schemes which are checked up not only by their feasibility and inherent desirability but also by the social enthusiasm that they arouse; leaders emerge and so do their rivals; political control may develop and it may be challenged.

New resources in pupil experiences and special abilities are constantly sought after. The child who plays a violin, the one who has been to Europe, the one whose father is a city official, the one who can "do tricks," the one who has become an "Eagle Scout," the stamp-collector, and the gymnast are all in demand on one occasion or another.

Group consciousness must be expanded, however. The child serves the group, and child and group serve the school. The individuals identify themselves with the group's ideals and achievements, and the school accomplishments of each member may affect wholesomely the attitudes of every other member of the advisory group.

As an example of such a group's pride, the following quotation from the comments of the spokesman for a group of dull-normal, over-aged boys who had been transferred to the ninth grade may be cited:

It was a few days after the beginning of the fall term, when all the pupils were wondering who was to be their new adviser, and whether we were going to get a teacher that was willing to make us happy and make things like home. We felt like people at a circus, who take a chance on a raffling machine that costs twenty-five cents a shot, and who had their lamps focussed on the prize in the rear of the tent, and who were wondering whether they would win or not. They didn't know, but they took a chance. Well, that is the way we felt before the opening of the present term, when a certain few boys were taken from one group, put into another, still another, and at last we found ourselves in Miss Jones's room, with thirty-five good fellows.

All of us boys were happy as heck. Our adviser, Miss Jones, suggested the name, Blewett Braves. It was unanimously adopted. It sounds weird, doesn't it? Of the big group of thirty-six boys, nearly every one has some office in the school. Some of the guys have more than their share and have as high as four offices. We have the Captain of the Corridor Officers, the four Lieutenants, one Sergeant, and eleven Corporals.

We have the president and vice-president of the ninth grade congress and two representatives to the cabinet. Also we possess thirteen members of the "B" council, three lunch-room cashiers, and two servers. Another feather in our cap is the barn dance we gave, in which eighty members in the ninth grade, faculty and pupils, took part. It was a success that put the Blewett Braves on the map. . . . Well, you've heard all about us. Our wigwam is 108.[13]

To know what each pupil can contribute, to get him to desire to do it, to set the stage so that his effort may be successful to the extent that he makes earnest effort—in a word, to replace the conditions that repress by conditions that encourage expression with satisfaction—this requires great resource and true teaching and advisement. It is of utmost importance, however. *And it does work in practice!*[14]

[13] Cox, P. W. L., "Creative School Control," J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1927, p. 58.

[14] Even relatively mediocre teachers are frequently—one might almost say generally—caught up in the friendly and joyful spirit of the groups. Such "conversions" require administrative finesse, of course. It requires a "big brother" and "big sister" type of coöperative supervision. It requires decentralization of responsibility and creative leadership. It requires that the principal himself become adviser and sponsor to a faculty "advisory group,"—a faculty "gang"

This is no small accomplishment. It is more significant than correcting English usage, more important than history dates or even than intellectual problem-solving. It may result in the child's discovery of, if not in the saving of, his soul. Freed of emotional conflicts and repression, calm and confident within the limits of his ability, each one goes about his daily work, in school and out, knowing from happy experience that in some capacity his contribution is unique and is needed by his fellows, and that to the extent that he puts forth earnest effort some measure of success will result.

All of this he knows, not as information, but rather as a behavior complex. He walks with head higher and shoulders more erect because his conscious self and his biological self are in accord. He is encouraged to live a life of positive action that satisfies his unconscious self.

The truth of the following paragraphs from Samuel Butler's, "The Way of All Flesh," written over a half-century ago, must now be apparent. Speaking of the boy, Ernest, shortly after entering Rough-borough School at about thirteen, he continues:

> The dumb Ernest persuaded with inarticulate feelings too swift and sure to be translated into such debatable things as words, but practically insisted as follows:—
>
> Growing is not the easy, plain sailing business that it is commonly supposed to be: it is hard work—harder than any but a growing boy can understand; it requires attention, and you are not strong enough to attend to your bodily growth, and to your lessons, too. Never learn anything until you find you have been made uncomfortable for a good long while by not knowing it; when you find that you have occasion for this or that knowledge, or foresee that you will have occasion for it shortly, the sooner you learn it the better, but till then spend your time in growing bone and muscle; these will be much more useful to you than Latin and Greek, nor will you ever be able to make them if you do not do so now, whereas Latin and Greek can be acquired at any time by those who want them.
>
> You are surrounded on every side by lies which would deceive even the elect, . . . the self of which you are conscious, your reasoning and reflecting self, will believe these lies and bid you act in accordance with them. This conscious self of yours, Ernest, is a prig, begotten of prigs, and trained in priggishness; I will not allow it to shape your action, . . . Obey *me*, your true self, and things will go tolerably well with you, but only listen to that outward and visible old husk of yours which is called your father, and I will rend you in pieces even unto the third and fourth generation as one who has hated God; for I, Ernest, am the God who made you.[15]

[15] Butler, Samuel, "The Way of All Flesh," Boni and Liveright, Modern Library, New York, 1917, p. 130.

The junior high school has discovered what all socially significant institutions must discover, that stubbornness and perverseness were given by nature for a purpose. It is an assertion of self-respect, "an unwritten insurance policy against slavery." Not mandates but motives, guidance, and sponsorship are the means by which behavior-adjustments may best be obtained.

The individual child is the end of the creative social process, and the school must not utilize the child to promote a smooth running school machine. Rather should the school utilize the school institution to promote purposeful socialized activities and unique but integrated personalities of the pupils. If the pupils of Miss Smith, instead of selling tickets to the school entertainment in order to "beat Miss Robinson's group," do so in order to serve the school, then intergroup coöperations are promoted. Such coöperations are promoted by the introduction of concrete motives such as a parade, a parents' night, a Red Cross roll-call. Later, less dramatic motives, such as the care of the school grounds, decrease of tardiness, traffic problems, library equipment, and lunch-room conduct may call for representatives from the home-room to meet in informal council. Such a council will legislate regarding plans, ideas, conflicts, etc.; it will seldom interfere with behavior-adjustments by vote.

Under such conditions the only competitions between home-room groups is to discover "who best can serve the state." It is, indeed, not unpleasant to be defeated in such a competition if one is satisfied that the better plan won. All members of the home-room groups may not be convinced, of course, but if school welfare is uppermost, the lessons of representative government for the decision and execution of social policies are thus learned. Whether or not pupils agree with decisions of council or administrators, their behavior will be affected rather by the interaction of the school-morale and the habits and attitudes promoted by their home-room groups.

For in the home-room, life is abundant and most unrestrained, eagerness and joy abound, and success attends all earnest efforts. Here it is easy and "natural" to behave in socially desirable and self-satisfying ways—indeed whatever is self-satisfying is also socially desirable. It is an embryonic typical community, a purified and idealized democratic society.

VI. THE CURRICULUM AND THE FUTURE[16]

W. W. CHARTERS

Friendly critics of the job analysis techniques used in curriculum construction assert that the instructor may, by their use, teach the best practices of today but that such a procedure will leave the student helpless to meet the problems of tomorrow. This criticism brings to the front the question of how any curriculum taught in this generation can prepare the student to meet the changed conditions which will arise in the next generation.

Obviously, of course, no curriculum of today can teach methods of individual and social control which are unknown today. In 1885 it was not possible to teach boys how to drive automobiles and guide airplanes nor to construct radio sets and play basketball. However, the application of two simple pedagogical principles will do much to prepare the student while he is in school to meet the novel problems with which he will be faced in adult life.

In the first place, it is possible and desirable for teachers to present to the student the best solutions for the problems of today. In certain fields we can locate these best methods by consensus of expert judgment as in the social sciences where expert judgment is usually the final test of value. Judgments so derived are not comfortably valid and reliable; but they are the best that can be secured and therefore must be used. We can in quantitative fields secure more objective judgments in which we can ascertain the best methods of acting with great accuracy. In every case the principles upon which these methods are based are wisely introduced because principles change with less rapidity than the situations to which they may apply. But whether we use judgment or measurement as our criteria for evaluation, it is possible for teachers to give to the student what they sincerely believe to be the best known solutions for present-day problems.

If, to the objective of providing best known solutions is added the principle of teaching the student to think his way through these solutions, the future is still better cared for.

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[16] *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, Feb., 1929, pp. 141–142.

It is possible to present best methods to the student through exposition and to require him merely to memorize the solution. In that case, the student is helpless in the presence of new problems because the solution he has memorized will not fit. If, however, in connection with today's problems the student is taught to use his intelligence in acquiring the solution, he has gained not only a knowledge of the best solution but the technique of thinking problems through for himself. He has learned to mull material, to weigh suggestions, to apply principles, to arrive at solutions, and to verify them.

Thus armed with the best-known practices and the polished techniques of thinking, a student is fortunately placed in meeting the future. When new situations arise he can face them with a reasonable degree of confidence. So trained, the student actually may reach better solutions than the teacher could provide on such future occasions if he were present. If we give the student such a course of instruction, we need not worry about the future. In any case, we have done all that can be done.

VII. WHAT IS PROGRESS IN EDUCATION?[17]

JOHN W. WITHERS

. . . .

In time, however, old subjects began to lose their sanctity; and since the primary function of the school was still regarded as preparation for adult living, the idea soon became prominent that curriculum content should be based on analysis of adult activities and needs. What arithmetic processes are actually needed by adults? What words do they really need to spell? What historical and geographical facts do they need to know? Scientific investigations were made to answer these questions, and standardized tests and measurements were devised by which success in teaching the new content could be accurately determined.

It was seen by many, however, that this scientific process of curriculum making may easily become a real obstacle to vital progress in curriculum construction. The nature of the child

[17] Withers, J. W., *Journal of Home Economics*, Vol. XXI, No. 10, October, 1929, pp. 720–721.

as a learner is left too much out of account. The emphasis is too greatly upon the products and too little upon the processes by which they are obtained. Hence, another and, in its emphasis, a new and more significant movement became prominent which insists that the curriculum through which desirable facts, habits, attitudes, and other outcomes can be taught shall consist of activities that are meaningful to the child and that the desired results shall be reached by means of projects in which the children themselves eagerly engage. The result has been a wide-spread interest in project teaching and the determination of project curricula.

Lately, however, the recognized limitations of the project method of teaching and curriculum construction have brought another significant movement into prominence. This is the so-called creative movement in education which holds that the attitudes, desires, and feelings or emotional reactions of the child are of greater significance than the bit of knowledge or skill that he may at present be acquiring. It advocates a child-centered curriculum, controlled not so much by what information and skills the child is to acquire as by how he feels about what he is learning.

Looking back, then, over the development of the public school curricula and the placing of the major emphasis in teaching and curricula construction, we see five distinct stages which may be briefly designated as the tool stage, the subject-matter stage, the adult activities stage, the project or purposeful activities stage, and the creative or child-centered stage. All of these are now found singly or in combination, to one extent or another, in public schools of the United States. Proper evaluation and combination of these points of view and their resulting practices in any consistent policy and program of public education is a problem that has not yet been solved. The tools of learning are still important; subject matter still has value; the actual knowledge and activities of adult life cannot be entirely ignored; and the child's own purposes, activities, and enthusiasms in learning are vitally important. In the further progress of education, the problem is, therefore, not so much one of exclusion as it is of relative values in the determination of a well ordered and satisfactory educational program.

VIII. SOCIAL VALUE OF THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM[18]

FRANKLIN BOBBITT

In discovering the social function of the public school, a first question must be: What are the serious dangers which threaten the nation as to call for huge expenditures upon education, and for the enforcement by threat of fine, imprisonment, and confiscation of property, if these are not paid? The nature of the dangers will show the kind of education needed.

I. *Irresponsible Social Management*

Feeble, confused, and irresponsible social management of the groups, agencies, and institutions which constitute our interdependent society is the greatest national danger. In division of labor, we have created a vast coöperative enterprise which gives services without which our civilization could not exist. The special agencies supply us with food, clothing, shelter, fuel, light, heat, power, travel, transportation, communication, exchange of commodities, protection, recreation, enlightenment, religion, philanthropy, education, decoration, personal service, and social control. These are the major general classes. Each of them breaks up into a multitude of working groups and agencies.

The last two or three years have shown up that the parts of this vast social enterprise are delicately interdependent. Each agency is dependent upon every other. Those of each region are dependent upon those of every other region, not only of the nation but also of the world. We have seen how easy it is for this vast mechanism to be deranged. With some further unbalancing, the whole coöperative enterprise might go down as a great mass of social wreckage. Of such wreckage, there has been an enormous amount during the past two decades; and in our country particularly during the last three years. The threat of irretrievable calamity is very genuine. It is to be prevented only through wisdom in the social management of the agencies, institutions, groups, and classes which constitute our vast coöperative enterprise.

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[18] *School Executives Magazine*, Vol. LII, No. 5, January, 1933, pp. 179–181.

Since the enterprise is operated by the entire population, apparently it is to be controlled by the entire population. There are four things which men and women should do in exercising this control:

1. All persons should keep themselves fully enlightened relative to those individual and family needs required for carrying on high-grade civilized living.
2. Out of their knowledge of needs, each man and woman should make enlightened demand upon each type of service agency. It is the impelling public demand upon a social agency which determines the type of service which it will give. An enlightened demand for the right type of service makes clear to the agency its responsibility.
3. Each man and woman, the beneficiaries of the services, are to evaluate the offerings of the agencies with a view of utilizing those that are satisfactory and of avoiding those that are unsatisfactory.
4. On the basis of their enlightened evaluations, men and women will accept good services and pay the necessary prices. They will reject poor services and refuse their support to such agencies.

By the exercise of these four functions, the members of society can build up and make strong those agencies which give good service; and they can weaken and eliminate those that give poor service.

Enlightening the Public

Without general enlightenment of all the population relative to all these things, there can be no proper social control. The people will not get good service. Without enlightenment they cannot desire or demand the proper things. Without proper demand, they cannot evaluate the things that are presented, and therefore can be imposed upon. They cannot know proper qualities or proper prices. They cannot select the good and reject the bad. They simply take things indiscriminately as exploited by self-interest. An ignorant population is a prey to exploitation, parasitism, and brigandage. The social agencies and groups overreach each other and the consumers for the sake of the spoils, without regard to the general social well-being. There is a break-up of democracy into militant minority groups,

each intent upon exploiting an ignorant society in its own interest. There is a failure of statesmanlike leadership of the general social whole with a view to the general well-being. It is obvious that with an unenlightened population, we are headed for social confusion, demoralization, decline, and ultimate collapse of our social machinery.

The seriousness of the danger justifies the establishment and maintenance of emergency institutions for the dissemination of enlightenment. It is action for the national welfare. *The public school is the first line of the national defense.*

The task of the school is to enlighten all members of the population, relative to all fundamental portions and aspects of the social mechanism and its operation. Its task is to help the young people to see and to understand the nature of the agencies, the character of human needs to be served by them, the standards to be employed in evaluating their services and their costs, their relation to society and to each other, and the needs of each agency if the school is to give proper service.

It is not our task to develop within the pupils any *complete* understanding of the agencies. This cannot be done. Our task is to *guide the growth* of all the understanding that is possible.

We should begin to cultivate this understanding even in the kindergarten. It should be expanded further during the elementary years, still further during the junior high school, senior high school, and college. The growth in understanding that we can get under way during these first two decades of life should then be continued by the adult under self-direction during his fifty years of responsible citizenship.

Let us enlighten all we can, we never can do enough. It does not lie in human nature to have all the enlightenment which man needs for his social functions. Our task is to do what we can, with faith that, in spite of human frailty, we can accomplish a reasonably effective enlightenment.

How much of the time of the public school should be devoted to this particular responsibility? No one can yet know, but probably not less than half of the program time.

II. *Inefficiency*

Technical inefficiency in the discharge of responsibilities involving complex thought is a second grave danger to be guarded against by

education. In addition to the consumer activities and matters of citizenship already referred to, we have in mind such matters as health care, physical living, family life, bringing up children, unspecialized work about the home, and the specialized labor of one's vocation.

Any kind of practical work is done upon two levels. The first is the level of thought; and the second, that of practical execution directed by that thought. The thought is the crucial thing. It involves understanding, valuations, attitudes, plans, and decisions.

The thought level of health activities calls for a good understanding of substances, the things treated in chemistry; a considerable understanding of physical forces such as heat, light, and electro-magnetic vibration; a good understanding of bacteriological matters; of biology for intellectual perspective and evaluation; of human anatomy and physiology for the structures and functions that are to be looked after; and a good understanding of mental states and the effects of mental states upon the human organism. For dealing with these things, one must carry on the quantitative thinking of applied arithmetic. All these matters, mostly of natural science, are needed by all persons. The understanding of them all should be growing during the junior high school years.

The unspecialized practical home labors of men and women about the house, premises, garden, motor car, and the like, call for understanding of matters chemical and physical; of insect life, plant life, and some knowledge of animal life; the characteristics of good design; and quantitative thinking. These are things needed by all persons who would operate or participate in the operation of a home.

In family life and in the upbringing of children, there is need of well-grounded scientific understanding; a broad knowledge of biology and heredity in general, and of the human organism in particular; a full knowledge of human nature in its constitution and tendencies to behavior, or in other words human psychology of childhood and of adulthood; a good knowledge of human physiology for guarding the family health and as foundation for any proper understanding of the mental life; a good knowledge of the education of children. These phases of science are needed by all persons who participate in family life and in the upbringing of children.

The practical activities in the aggregate call for most phases of natural science for everybody. There are also other reasons for the sciences. There is need of intellectual balance and perspective in a world of infinite complexity and confusion; of the wide and well proportioned vision which sees reality as far as the human mind can carry. This demands the wider vision outward into space given by geography and astronomy; the vision that sees deeply into things, as into the atom, into the nature of forces, or into the nature of the human spirit, a vision that sees backward into the past as in astronomy, geology, ethnology, and history; and such vision forward into the future as science can provide.

It is this intellectual perspective which will enable one sanely and with confidence to employ the detailed items of the science. It is basic in one's philosophy of life. It serves as the only proper groundwork to a sane religious vision which takes off from this point into the farther and larger hypothetical reaches of space, time, and subjectivity. It is necessary for clearing the jungles of superstition that appear at present to be spreading and encroaching on the realms of sane thought.

The task of the school, it appears, is to awaken in all persons an interest in all the fundamental aspects and portions of natural reality. The task is to get pupils to view these realities as continuously and as abundantly as practicable, and in ways that are effective for the slow growth of understanding.

As with the social realities, our task is not to graft on to the pupils' minds a ready-made understanding of things as printed in textbooks. It is rather to help the pupils to the experience of clear seeing with the expectation that understanding will slowly grow up out of long intellectual contacts and dealings with the natural realities.

We cannot expect anybody at any age to understand things completely. From kindergarten to college, the viewing of natural reality may be carried on for its own sake, and for guidance of practical activities. The continuity of intellectual functioning will result in the slow and sound growth of such understanding as is possible. The task of the junior high school is to guide this growth during one of its crucial stages.

This varied science understanding is the need of all men and women. The science fields are numerous and wide. The awakening of interest and the growth of fullness of understanding

will call for a large amount of time; perhaps at least a quarter of the program time. Nobody knows for certain.

III. *Mastery of Techniques*

In connection with the emergency responsibilities which we have discussed, there are certain component activities which are indispensable and which require educational attention. We refer to the techniques of literacy; reading, writing, spelling, vocabulary, sentence structure, facility in English expression, and the technique of quantitative thinking, mostly arithmetic. These techniques of literacy require a good deal of attention in the elementary school. Thereafter, mastery of the techniques is probably to be accomplished mainly through abundant use of them. Beyond the elementary school, they probably will not call for any large amount of program time. In junior and senior high schools, the techniques of the English language and of the needed applied mathematics can mainly be mastered through the current and supervised use of these matters, in carrying on the two programs which lead to social understanding and science understanding; with remedial teaching where this needs supplementation. Program time devoted specially to these matters may be reduced.

Of the techniques of literacy, we must note that foreign language is one of them. This is a kind of literacy which was much needed five hundred years ago by new professions when Latin was the language of learning. In its modern forms, it is also a needed aspect at present of the literacy of European countries because of their proximity to each other. It is not, however, an element of literacy which is much needed by the population of our own country. While a few persons in our country will use foreign languages, the vast majority will never do so, and there is no reason why they should do so. Hence foreign languages do not constitute one of those urgent necessities that call for the exercise of the police power in raising funds and compelling individuals to attend schools to take the training. Foreign languages do not constitute an emergency need. If one wants them, let him buy them; but there is little reason why the state should exercise its police power to supply them.

Drawing is another technique of expression sometimes looked upon as one of the necessities. It is good play for little children, but except for a few highly specialized vocations, drawing is not a

form of expression that is to be taken seriously by junior or senior high school. The little that is needed by the general population calls for only a minute amount of program time. It is not an emergency responsibility.

Thus far the educational needs of imperative character to which we have referred have been mainly intellectual. There is, however, the other level of outward or practical behavior in which the young people need practice for sufficient skill. Most of this behavior will take place outside of school; but there are certain things that call for preliminary practice at the school. Of such activities we would mention first those that look to the upbuilding of the physique, such as the plays, games, and sports of the physical education. This is at the same time socializing education. Such training, when wisely managed, seems to be a necessary portion of education for physical health, for mental health, and for the properly poised personality.

A second needed type of practical activities are those unspecialized home occupations which we have already mentioned as necessities.

The strictly vocational activities belong in this group but they can scarcely enter into the junior high school program. They belong in the specialized vocational classes and schools.

A fourth kind of practical activities are those of *human association*. Individuals must adjust their activities to those of others in family and community life, in their play and in their work. Long and varied experience in making these social adjustments seems to be an indispensable portion of education. They are especially needed for the healthy growth of the personality, and civilization demands healthy personalities.

These associative activities, however, are a component portion of the entire life of the school and enter into the pupil activities in their group surveys, their field trips, group projects, discussion, problem-solving, laboratory experimentation, shop-work, and the extra-curriculum activities. They call therefore for only a moderate amount of separate program time.

Other activities carried on as bases of association are basketball, dancing, music, orchestra, dramatics, and so on. For the socializing training, there seems to be no need of any great amount of skill in these things. Certainly, a high degree of skill is not an emergency need calling for exercise of police power to enforce support.

Distributing the Program Time

Having enumerated the things of such exigency as to warrant the use of the police power, the question arises as to how to distribute the program time. Nobody knows. It is difficult at present even to make a satisfactory guess. Were we to do so, we should estimate that about half the junior high school time should be devoted to growing an understanding of the social world. There would be much of the science, the techniques of literacy, English language, and practical associative activities as components of the program. Probably about a quarter of the school's time should be devoted to growing an understanding of the world of natural reality, the fields of the natural sciences, with their practical applications.

We should then conclude that the remaining one-quarter of the program of the junior high school would have to be made to cover the remaining portions of the program.

Can the needed program be made less expensive than at present? There is no reason to think so. The evidence points in quite the reverse direction. The growing complexity of society calls for corresponding increase in the complexity of education. It calls for more diversified and expensive equipment and for teachers of greatly improved professional qualifications. These call for added costs. Whether the number of pupils per teacher can be so increased as to offset this cost cannot yet be known. But it is not probable.

We cannot afford to lower the quality of the education. It is far from good enough at present. The national well-being demands that we improve it, not impair it. Such improvement is an emergency need. The educational unpreparedness of our population for grappling with current problems proves that the simple education of the past has been insufficient. It must be improved. We can afford it. The schools are the first line of the national defense.

Conclusion

1. Give more time to the social studies.
2. Give more time to the science studies.
3. Require all the social and science studies of all the pupils, adjusting them, however, to the different levels of mentality of the pupils.

4. Build up the social and science portions of the training on the basis of actual social needs.

5. Let the social and science studies, employing the arts of literacy, constitute the central and major portion of the program in each of the grades of the junior high school.

6. Let the program be guidance of intellectual growth, and not a mechanical grafting on the mind of fixed textbook information. This latter has value; but experience has proved that it is insufficient.

7. Give a moderate amount of time in the school to practical activities; but expect most of the practice in these activities to be at home.

8. Give less program time to the mechanical teaching of the techniques involved in human living, such as the English language, foreign language, higher mathematics, drawing, and the musical notation. Beyond the elementary school, plan to get the techniques learned mostly through use of them, with only remedial teaching.

If these suggestions are valid, they call for much further improvement of the curriculum of the junior high school.

Chapter XI

The Sociology of Method

I. INTRODUCTION

No need in education is more insistent than that of developing a scientific technique which takes into account the social factors and implications involved in the educational process. Sociologists themselves have only recently come to regard their subject as a science and to attempt seriously to develop a scientific method. They have, in the past, approached their data from a philosophical angle. This has been necessary and fruitful, but we have reached a period of development when mere philosophizing about social relationships and processes, will not advance us in giving our subject its merited place among the subjects for university instruction. Sociologists seem to be more or less in accord upon this point.

Perhaps no field of educational research and discussion has been more cultivated than the field of method, and from no field perhaps have the harvests been richer. When one compares the school practice of today with that of a generation ago, he sees that the progress has been notable. This progress has been brought about by the advance in experimental psychology as applied to the educational process, but it has been confined, for the most part, to schoolroom techniques in the learning of the conventional subject matter of the school curriculum.

One example in the field of reading will serve to illustrate the character of the research, and the extent of the change in teaching practice resulting from the studies that have been made. A generation ago, the conventional method of

teaching children to read was to assign from a common text a poem, a literary masterpiece, a story, or some other form of literary composition. The children were instructed to read over the material assigned, and in the recitation, each child was allowed to read orally a part or the whole of the assignment, while the other children listened, pointed out mistakes, and participated in the discussion of the new words, the meaning of the selection, the purpose of the author, and other matters which the teacher thought worthy of emphasis.

The present trend in education has favored a change in emphasis in reading; hence the substitution of silent reading for oral and the development of a technique of teaching silent reading. A psychological analysis, conducted for the purpose of determining silent reading ability, revealed that the essential factors in effective silent reading were the rate of reading and the comprehension of the subject matter. Obviously, then, an effective technique of teaching pupils to read involves the measurement of the rate and comprehension, devising the means of increasing these capacities, and, after an instructional period, remeasuring for the purpose of discovering the rate of progress in learning. These psychological processes involve a very definite aspect of learning to read; but they do not involve the most important aspect, nor the one in which the sociologist is primarily interested. The emphasis of the psychologist, in the teaching of reading, has been upon the schoolroom technique. The emphasis of the sociologist, is upon the use made of the skill outside of the schoolroom in the development of personality and in social adjustment.

It is necessary, therefore, to state some principles upon the basis of which the sociologist judges the effectiveness of teaching method and technique.

1. *The Method of Teaching Is a Socially Desirable Objective Only in so far as the Skills and Knowledges Acquired in the Classroom Are Actually and Wisely Made Use of by the Individual in His Adjustment to Social Situations*

In the case of reading, a rapid rate and adequate comprehension of the matter read is necessary. It is important, however, to avoid putting these skills to unsocial uses. Unquestionably, they are valuable skills when the possessor at the same time has developed the ability to select worthwhile material for reading, and in so far as he has learned to evaluate critically what he reads. For example, a person may read a newspaper rapidly and comprehendingly without critical evaluation, and be harmed in the process. Moreover, a person may acquire the ability to read rapidly and understandingly and devote his time exclusively to the reading of cheap novels, and not to the reading of material that bears upon his vocation, his citizenship, his health, or his relation to the groups in which he lives. Mere rapidity and understanding in reading does not suffice to fit one for effective living. The important point is that the emphasis in method should be upon the selection and critical evaluation of materials read and not merely upon skill.

2. *The Method of Teaching Must Place Primary Emphasis Upon Social Behavior Outside of the Schoolroom*

This principle applies to all the subjects taught in school. The main criticism made by the sociologist in connection with the method of teaching is that it has concerned itself primarily with the learning of the material found in textbooks, but has not sought at each step to provide for the use of the material in life situations. The most practical subjects, such as arithmetic and history, may be

taught in such a way as to develop problem-solving ability which, however, may not in the least affect one's conduct in life outside of school.

3. *The Method of Teaching Must Seek to Utilize the Social Forces Operative in the Social Life in Order to Develop Capacity for Social Adjustment*

The competitive spirit or conflict. Students of social relations and of social progress have long been conscious of the importance of struggle, conflict, or competition as factors in social advance. Darwin pointed out that the progress or evolution of the human race may be accounted for through struggle and the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. This conception of struggle or conflict was made basic to a treatise on education by Spencer, who outlined the aims of education in terms of educational values as aids in the struggle for existence. His point of view may be illustrated by his first-listed aim of education—self-preservation. The object of the school studies, according to Spencer, was to provide the individual with that knowledge that would serve him best in the conflict with his fellow man in the struggle for existence. While the conclusions of Spencer are not all valid, every writer in economics, politics, sociology, and history, has conceded the importance of conflict in our social relations. Although there is great disagreement among writers as to the nature and function of conflict, they all attest to its significance as a social force.

Moreover, there are some points upon which there is general agreement. Life itself is a struggle and conflict. Whatever aspect of life we observe, we find the conflict present. In the realm of the moral, we are advised, "Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with good," and this implies struggle with evil. In the economic life, we find the conflict for position, for income, for leadership in

business, and for trade. In the social realm, we seek fame, social standing, recognition by our fellow men, and social leadership. We witness conflict in vocations, in the family among children and even between parents, in the church, in the neighborhood, in the school, and in fact in every avenue of life. Thrasher has indicated the important place that conflict holds in the development of the gang, in the following:[1] "The gang is a conflict group. It develops through strife and thrives on warfare. The members of a gang will fight each other. They will even fight for a 'cause,' as when a Chicago gang of some note sent a number of young men down into Oklahoma to help a former governor in his struggle against the Ku Klux Klan. Gangsters are impelled, in a way, to fight; so much of their activity is outside the law that fighting is the only means of avenging injuries and maintaining the code."

We all realize that America is a competitive society. Perhaps the most generally accepted conception of American life is the principle of competition. We recognize "competition as the life of trade." We witness the struggle in business, the conflicts among capitalists, the conflict between labor and capital, conflict among churches, the conflict of states, cities, and of individuals. The principle of conflict seems to be so well accepted in national and international relations that writers have sought to discover "the moral equivalents of war," recognizing that conflict is an essential aspect of the social process, but urging that we substitute a more wholesome method of conflict than war with armies and navies. As a matter of fact, the whole history of civilization has been one of conflict, and we have accepted struggle and conflict as fundamental in every phase of the social life.

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[1] Thrasher, Frederic M., "The Gang," The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1927, p. 173.

A glance at the history of civilization, moreover, indicates not merely the fact of conflict, but the further fact that progress may be described in terms of the refinement of the methods of carrying on conflicts that arise between individuals, between communities and between nations.

Our assumption is that the cruder and baser methods of conflict are operative because we have not sought to substitute, consciously and deliberately, methods that conform to our higher ideals; and that the educator, in the development of schoolroom technique, has been more or less unconscious of the relation of conflict in the social life, as it takes place in the various social groups, and the use of it in the classroom for purposes of preparing the individual for a fine type of struggle in the social life. The pecuniary motive, dominant in American life, for example, is operative because we have not learned to compete for service and for social welfare. We have had ambitions to be rich and to attain fame by that road, because we have not learned that fame may be attained by the road of social service.

What bearing has this discussion upon the problem of method? Let us note the types of conflict that take place in the schoolroom. An observation of 645 cases of conflict among elementary and secondary school groups yields the following results:[2]

Types of Conflict	*Elementary*	*Secondary*
a. Group with group	137	50
b. Group with individual	233	53
c. Individual with group	275	61
Total	645	164

Causes of Conflict	*Elementary*	*Secondary*
a. Racial	32	21
b. Religious	10	7
c. Political	18	..
d. Economic	60	15

[2] From an unpublished thesis of Dr. B. F. Stalcup, "A Study of Conflict," School of Education, New York University, New York, 1927.

Causes of Conflict	*Elementary*	*Secondary*
e. Personal	258	94
f. Loyalty	2	..
g. Sex	3	..
h. Jealousy	3	..
i. Carelessness	2	..
j. Ethical	7	8
k. Indifference	3	..
l. Social bad manners	...	7
m. Unknown	247	12
Total	645	164

This table of conflicts is the result of the observation of 2657 pupils in seventy-nine different groups. It represents approximately 1070 hours of observation and is probably representative of American public schools in general. So far as one can ascertain, there is no evidence that any of the conflicts represents anything more serious than opposition arising out of a schoolroom situation which bears little relation to a situation in a non-school social group. As a matter of fact, the whole set-up in the classroom is such that conflicts seldom arise. It is not our purpose here, however, to explain in detail the method of providing situations in order to produce conflicts for the purpose of training children; we wish, rather, to indicate the need for them and also to show that the problem must be solved through experimentation. This line of experimentation is one in which the sociologist is interested and one upon which we have little data.

Coöperation. Petr A. Kropotkin, in his "Mutual Aid, A Factor in Evolution," (W. Heinemann, London, 1902), pointed out that conflict was not the most important factor in evolution, but that mutual aid, that is, coöperation was equally important in the social process. As a matter of fact, conflict usually takes place in the social life between groups, not between individuals. Thrasher emphasizes this point when he says:

The common enemies against whom gangs struggle include rival gangs or alliances of gangs; members or groups of different

races and nationalities; the police; railroad detectives; school authorities, such as principals and truant officers; storekeepers and officials of businesses upon which the gangs prey in one way or another; and neighbors or parents. A relation of a gang to these hostile forces can best be interpreted in terms of the cycles of war and peace, of conflict and accommodation, which they undergo.[3]

The same sort of coöperation and conflict appear in the strike or labor wars in which the capitalists line up as a group against the workers or vice versa. Conflict and coöperation appear as parts of a single social process as pointed out by Cooley:

> Coöperation within a whole is usually brought about by some conflict of the whole with outside forces. Just as the individual is compelled to self-control by the fact that he cannot win his way in life unless he can make his energies work harmoniously, so in a group of any sort, from a football-team to an empire, success demands co-ordination. The boys on the playground learn not only that they must strive vigorously with their fellows for their places on the team, but also that as soon as their team meets another this kind of conflict must yield to a common service to the whole.[4]

In the social process then, we can conceive of the social order as a number of coöperating wholes of some sort or another, each of which is in conflict with some other group, and yet each of which contains, within itself, elements of conflict as well as factors of coöperation. A labor union is made up of disputing, wrangling members when a problem of internal organization or policy is under discussion, but in the heat of conflict, it presents a solid body against capital. The capitalist stands alone against a competing capitalist, but he unites with others of his kind in a board of trade of

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[3] Thrasher, Frederic M., "The Gang," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1927, p. 178.

[4] Cooley, Charles H., "Social Process," Charles Scribner's Sons, N. Y., 1924, p. 37.

his city to compete with the manufacturers or businesses of other cities; he unites with others having similar interests, and combines with industries of a similar kind to promote trade that benefits the group of which he is a member. The soap manufacturers combine, set aside an initial sum of $500,000 to form the Cleanliness Institute, supposedly for the purpose of promoting cleanliness, but actually to increase the sale of soap. The canners provide a large sum for the study of the comparative vitamin content of canned and fresh fruits and vegetables, their object being to stimulate the sale of canned goods. The meat packers employ the most skilled chemists to prove that meat is an essential food, in order to increase the sale of their products.

Wherever we find human beings in action, we find coöperation basic in their associations, and it is in the heat of conflict that coöperation is most marked. Moreover, it is in coöperative arrangements developing from these conflicts, that we find the institutions characterizing social progress. Yet the method of the school has not considered the fact that one of the most fundamental and vital of its problems is that of preparing the individual for his rôles in these coöperative social units. The solution of the problem of health, safety, citizenship, home membership, and the like, depends upon the effectiveness of coöperation, and this in turn depends upon the adequacy of school method in developing capacities for effective coöperation in the realization of social ends. The subject matter of the curriculum has no validity except as the method of its mastery provides qualities of "self-realization" essential to effective social adjustment outside of the classroom.

Leadership. Perhaps no factor in the social process is more significant than that of leadership. The effective realization of ends in politics, in business, in clubs, in education, and even in family life, depends upon the character and quality of leadership; and yet, aside from

the "extracurricular" activities which until recently have been more or less accidental in their character and development, there has been very little in the school that was designed to affect leadership in social groups outside of school. The average adult will look back upon his school career from kindergarten to university and agree that, whatever qualities of leadership he now possesses, have been developed without the aid of the school. They have been developed in life outside of the schoolroom and often in predatory or other unsocial gangs.

Some years ago, Jane Addams[5] pointed out the methods by which the political leadership of Chicago was developed and also showed the evil effects in the administration of the city because of the type of leadership there developed. She found that it was in the predatory activities of the youth of the city, that the leader emerged with a following which he carried with him into political life, and that he maintained the same following in his official position by dispensing the same kind of illegal favors that had been influential factors in his rise to power. Thrasher,[6] in his study of Chicago gangs, confirms this conclusion and shows in detail how leadership in the gang is developed. We have no such educational treatises showing the possibility of the school as an agency for the development of the right kind of leadership.

Suzallo, several years ago, in his lectures, called attention to the fact that leadership is not a general quality which belongs to specific individuals, but that there is an alternate leadership in which a person leads in certain activities, yet follows effective leadership in others; moreover, if the desirable coöperation is to be obtained, he must be equally

[5] Addams, Jane, "The Spirit of Youth in the City Streets," The Macmillan Company, N. Y., 1909.

[6] Thrasher, Frederic M., "The Gang," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1927.

effective in the rôle of follower as in that of leader. The study of leadership in gangs, on which subject we have the most elaborate research in this field, confirms this thesis. The presentation of an adequate discussion of leadership in general, and the possibilities for the development of leadership through the schools, must await further research. All that we can say now is that the method of instruction must provide the means to a greater or lesser degree.

The socialized recitation. Some effort has been made to present method in sociological terms primarily through what has come to be known as the "socialized recitation." This plan of recitation or instruction has been variously discussed. One writer discusses such instruction under the title "The Socialization of Instruction,"[7] and maintains that the entire school should be socialized, that each room and grade should be socialized, that the social method should be used in recitations as frequently as seems profitable, that the subject matter should be selected from the community or have social value whenever it is possible, and that as close a relation as possible should be established between the home life and the life of the community. This author devotes some attention to socialization in arithmetic, in geography, in the selection of subject matter, in inter-room interests and in the morning exercises. There is, however, little here that might contribute materially to our discussion, other than the provision for group activity and the use of subject matter that might in itself have social value.

Another writer has the following to say:

It is sufficient for our present purposes to point out that the important tendency in the development of the recitation has been toward the recognition of the class or pupil-group as a *social* organization rather than as a mass, or mere aggregation,

[7] Freeland, George E., "Modern Elementary School Practice," The Macmillan Company, N. Y., 1919, Chapter XVI, pp. 368–404.

of individuals. In the best schools today, the class represents a *company of learners.* More and more the teacher is happily losing his traditional character as a taskmaster, and is taking on the far more effective qualities of a companion, a leader, and a guide.[8]

This statement summarizes fairly adequately what has been accomplished in the effort to socialize method. It is common sense applied to the treatment of pupils, and represents a changed attitude toward the pupils in the task of teaching the conventional subjects of the curriculum.

The same idea of the purpose of the socialized recitation is expressed by another writer,[9] when he characterizes its essential elements as universal participation, spirit of group responsibility, and morals. These statements, based upon common sense and observation, are in line with the effort to arouse the interest of the child in his school work, but do not help in the readjustment of the whole method with reference to the needs of the child in the social life. The method may be said to be social only in the sense that the activities of the schoolroom are participated in by the group, and not social in the sense that the results are operative in the life of the group outside of the school.

The project method. This method has been defined by Kilpatrick as "whole hearted, purposeful activity proceeding in a social environment." This represents the most far-reaching attempt to conceive method from the point of view of social needs, and yet the practice has scarcely reached beyond the schoolroom and the conventional subject matter. It again takes into account the child and his interests and seeks to base the work of the school upon the problems of the child. This method makes

[8] Bagley and Keith, "An Introduction to Teaching," The Macmillan Company, N. Y., 1924, pp. 206–207.

[9] Heinmiller, Louis E., "A First Book in Education," The Century Company, N. Y., 1925, pp. 87–95.

impossible the mere memorization of the textbooks. It requires that the subject matter be organized around the interest of the child, with his motive as basic to the learning process. But it does not necessarily look beyond the classroom in its behavior outcomes, and in this respect, it fails to meet the requirements of a sociological determination of method.

The study of the sociological basis of method is in its infancy, but the extent and character of its importance may be judged from the character of the selections presented in this chapter. Further research is necessary to determine the ultimate value and contribution of a socio-scientific approach to the study of method.

II. SOCIAL FACTORS INFLUENCING EDUCATIONAL METHOD[10]

WILLIAM H. KILPATRICK

This article is to be taken as a sketch. Adequate treatment of the topic is not here feasible. Possibly other writers will be stimulated to follow it up, either to add or to develop or to correct. As first proposed the topic contemplated a discussion of observable changes in educational method effected during the year 1930 by social factors. Since one year would probably show but slight changes, it has seemed better to limit the discussion to some influential factors which bear upon educational method, some to move method in one direction, others perhaps in another direction, some in effect to prevent motion. The real topic then is the play of social forces upon educational method in the United States of today.

Consideration alike of history and of contemporary life seems to show that education in the degree that it is intentionally directed is an effort to induct the child, the learner, into a kind of life approved by the inductor. Also there is usually some accompanying intent that the learner may by reason of this

[10] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 8, April, 1931, pp. 483–490.

specially directed education more surely and efficiently bring about some desired state of affairs or maintain some approved order or institution.

The statement just made may sound a bit cynical and some may wish to modify it. If, however, the varying character of the approved kinds of life be considered, better agreement may result. Some parents or inductors may hold a very near and even selfish view as to the kind of life they wish from the learner. Parents, for example, may think most of their own immediate peace and comfort and try to make their children behave accordingly. In many times and places children have obviously been considered as economic assets and training has followed that line. Other parents and educators take a larger view, possibly for the child's happiness and success as an adult, possibly for the maintenance of a religious faith counted necessary to the welfare of all, possibly for the glory or well-being of the nation. Still others deny an intent to fix in detail the future either of the child or of society, but wish instead to bring up all the children to study and criticize life and then in the end make it better. Clearly the kinds of life (or life process) to be approved may vary widely. Even so, each one will have in mind some kind or manner of the social process which in some sense he counts better than what he would otherwise obtain and in the light of which he directs his educational endeavors. This fact furnishes the foundation of this study.

The phrase "educational method" appearing in the title demands a word of explanation. Some with ordinary school processes most in mind may think first of varying methods for teaching spelling, reading, or subtraction and the like. This is a true use of method, but something more is needed for this discussion. Here we have in mind, on the one hand, all the ways in which we can and do influence the child and his entire conduct and, on the other hand, all the manifold learning effects that flow from this entire conduct. We may think of teaching arithmetic, but we are also and therein inevitably teaching the child to like or dislike arithmetic, to like or dislike school and the life of study, to respect himself as capable or the reverse. Still further by the ways in which we deal with the child we are teaching him also such things as what justice is, whether or not to expect it, in part also whether or not to give it. Educational method as here used relates then to all that we do and how we do it, viewed

in respect of all the manifold learning effects it helps to create in the children under our care.

It is of course obvious that many different method effects spring from the many varied aspects of the total situation. Each national life, for example, seems to have its own characteristic method effect on its young. The foreign visitor to American schools is at once struck by differences which seem peculiar to this country. One visitor, trying to describe it, said that our young people lack "humility." As I thought over the matter, I had to admit that humility—if it were ever otherwise here—is now a dead virtue, so dead in fact that I am still surprised that the visitor expected to find it. So fully had the American situation got in its effect both on me and on the children.

So much for definition and introduction. Let us now ask more precisely about differences of social outlook. How do these, according to their differing intents, express themselves in correlatively differing school methods for teaching and managing the young? We shall probably be disappointed if we expect in this field highly conscious differences of intent or close consistency of practice. Rather is it trends, more or less unconscious, which we may expect to find.

Possibly the most outstanding instance of *outré* outlook and correlative method is found among those who have accepted, more or less directly from Freud, an extreme fear of suppression. In such extreme, this runs highly counter to traditional American attitudes. Instead of curbing and restraining and compelling a child to fit adult chosen molds and standards, the parent or teacher is told to remove all such restraints. Certain of our literary magazines have recently made definite complaints against this attitude and practice. A somewhat similar method of treatment may follow a belief that a self at birth includes within itself its definite future pattern, which through self-expression is to be given complete freedom to unfold itself. On either basis the child is to be given *carte blanche* to do as he pleases.

The idea of an all-sufficient self uniquely given from the start of life for later unfolding is rather too mystical a conception to attain in this country to the dignity of a social force. It runs too much against the grain of American common sense. Only a few cultists hold to it. But suppression—in some sense—stands on a different basis. Fear of maladjustment spreads. The validity back of the fear of suppression has in social theory a very definite

bearing on the nature of institutions. In this form, the position is by no means limited to extremists. Space here does not allow an adequate discussion, but a few words may help. On this theory there are certain definite organic urges which to be sure may be expressed in a variety of ways with varying directness of original tendency up to a high degree of sublimation, but which must somehow be satisfactorily expressed or maladjustment ensues. It becomes then necessary that customs, mores, and institutions take such form as will foster the most healthful expression. It is as yet too soon to say just what effect this general conception is to have in reshaping our institutions. It does, however, have real bearing on school method. We may readily dismiss the extravagant notion that any and all suppression is wrong or that children are to be turned loose. No such opinion or practice can live. But much study and thought and experimentation will be necessary before we can satisfactorily appraise the precise weight to be given this factor. Meanwhile both as psychological doctrine and as consequent shaper of institutional life this position will continue to influence our management of people of whatever age—children, youth, or adults. Maladjustment is too real and too obvious an evil to be disregarded.

Any theory of institutions raises the whole question of final authority in such matters, and at once we enter the contending arena of religious, metaphysical, and social forces and theories. Traditionally, we have inherited a religious theory that Deity has fixed in detail and for all time the right and wrong of all social forms and practices. Various philosophies have translated the same essential doctrine into varying metaphysical terms, while Newtonian science with its fixed and final "laws" to govern us has often seemed to look in the same direction.

The educational method of the foregoing when consistent is fairly obvious. If institutions get their form with right to obedience from outside of man and apart from the results of experience, then education becomes—as many in fact conceive it—primarily the social process for habituating childhood and youth to the *status quo*. Our institutional life is thus conceived in essential features as fixed and final, and the problem of education is to get the social inheritance accepted. Method is thought of as the process of teaching what is thus already known. Upon trial, the child is often found to be recalcitrant. (In a former day

this was taken for granted—was he not totally depraved?) Motivation becomes then a necessity. Study, learn, teach, and test all get their definitions on the theory of a fixed and foreknown content. Without being exactly conscious of it, this theory assumes a static world where present adult forms and standards will continue to be the proper forms and standards when the rising generation has itself become adult. If one wished to give this general position a bad name he might call it "sanctified conservation." The *status quo* is accepted as final or at least dominant. Education is putting it over. Method then consists of the most efficient available devices for making or inducing childhood to accept these adult standards and processes.

That the American graded school was in fact founded on this conservative conception of the *status quo* seems beyond question. For it, education has been primarily a preparation for a foreknown (because static) adult life. The curriculum, as the spread out content of what is thus to be learned, was to be got by studying present (fixed) adult life. Each year in school must show its quota learned or the child is not promoted. The test of learning is the ability to show on demand what the teacher had previously set out for learning. Learning adds to a child's possessions, but it creates nothing, nor does it change the child except to add to what he owns. While America has been in many respects the most progressive nation in the world, the American school—in essential theory at least—has largely kept the original static outlook that it inherited from Europe.

To get the contrast and lesson, let us now look at a different theory of life and consequently of learning. Life if closely viewed confronts us ever with new experiences, new situations to be met and mastered. True enough there are in any situation, however new, many old and more or less familiar elements, but this situation we are now confronting I never met before. The novelty in the situation may be difficult to manage satisfactorily. I have then to contrive a new way of meeting it. My contriving utilizes the results of past experiences (past learnings in fact), but the contriving is itself new. Do I learn? I certainly do. Whether I succeed or fail, I learn; and if I am intelligent, I shall likely use this learning in connection with subsequent experience. This kind of learning is clearly more active in nature than that discussed above. Here the learner, in a sense, supplies what he is to learn, and he is creative in so doing. What may be called

the "primary learning" here is his success in grappling with the situation, the complete eventual plan of attack that he makes for coping with the difficulties of the situation. "Attendant learnings" are all the accompanying concepts, attitudes, likes, dislikes, etc., which are built during the process. Moreover the learner is and of right ought to be responsible for all the consequences of what he does. This conception of responsible doing and learning is clearly the strict correlation of the life process itself, or perhaps better is the life process itself responsibly accepted. And life here is a dynamic, ongoing, shifting, changing sort of affair. In America of today so many changes take place that obviously each generation faces a new and different world. Education then must take on a complexion to fit such a changing sort of life and civilization. Repetition does not suffice.

It appears at once that the words study, learn, teach, and the like here take on new meaning. Study is the active grappling with a novel situation; it notes the resources and obstacles of the situation and contrives as best it can a way of controlling the outcome. Learn is only another name for the active grappling of study but viewed as deposit, as resulting plan made and fixed in the learner along with all the other attendent learning effects. Teach means the effort to help, as one best can, the cumulative learning to take place. Such definitions as these stress the active creative work of the learner as a responsible individual. They contemplate a novelly developing stream of experience—such as does in fact characterize contemporary American life.

We are now ready to return to the drama of social forces. On the one hand are all the forces calling for a new education: the rushing ahead of material civilization such as never was seen before, the breakdown of many, many old mores as belonging to the pioneer or to the horse-and-buggy agrarian civilization and inadequate, therefore, to the current motor-car and machine-age civilization. All of those things demand a new type of education, better suited to a dynamic, novelly developing situation. Educational method built for a static type of civilization could not be expected to satisfy. Learn must be thought of as active, creative grappling, not as mere repeating, still less as merely repeating an adult life bound to go out of date.

But this is not all. Amid all the burly change of the modern world there remain vested interests of various kinds which seek

to shelter themselves against change adverse to their interests—vested interests of established doctrine and institution as truly as of social status or wealth. Some vested interests may be as unselfish as religious fundamentalism which especially seeks to keep change out of the source of authority in religion. Advocates of no divorce, of anti-birth control, of blue law Sundays, and the like, would belong with these. Other vested interests cluster about traditional conceptions of Americanism and nationalism, including thus the Ku Klux, the American Legion, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and the like. That all of these and their like follow the older conception of study and learn is most evident. These mean to tell the young what to think and to do this so early and consistently that when they are old they will not depart from it.

But there are still other social forces and vested interests. Other factors are at work. America looks up to the business man, so boards of education tend to fall under his sway. Efficiency is his ideal with the soft pedal on thinking especially about social reconstruction. Efficient and safe superintendents are thus demanded. From this, vocational preparation too often gets its cue. Emphasis is placed on budget making, cost accounting, school building, and the like. The educative process is conceived in safe and efficient terms: mass production, pupil accounting, tested results, statistical studies—all done under the halo of scientific accuracy. Partly because the new techniques of administration are intriguing, partly because the dynamic learning way is new and harder to manage, and possibly more costly, partly through wish to play safe before the business attitude—for these and other reasons—the serious study of what education could mean tends to be slighted or laughed out of court. The old way (they say) is the safe way, the new and dynamic way is neither safe nor efficient.

Thus do social forces affect educational method. There is real conflict but the outlook is not discouraging. Already within the study of education a better day dawns. What education means, how it is inherent in the life process alike of the individual and of the group, the possibilities of an intelligent democracy—the study of all these takes on new life. It is study and more study—this is what we need.

III. THE RELATION BETWEEN CONTENT AND METHOD[11]

FRANKLIN BOBBITT

The traditional program of education has consisted of "learning one's lessons," mostly from textbooks, in an academic atmosphere apart from current human living, and with only a vague and ineffectual consciousness of purpose beyond the lesson learning and the testing. The content of this education has been the textbook subject matter to be learned. The method on the part of the pupil has been simply to concentrate on the material, with repetition, until it was learned well enough for recitation and examination. Beyond the examination it was a matter of no educational concern. The French and the algebra, the history and the science might then be used or neglected, remembered or forgotten, and it was all one to the school. When the credit was on the books, the objective had been achieved.

The recently developing functional education has no interest in a lesson learning that is relatively purposeless except for meaningless "graduation." It sets up a wholly different objective. It seeks to bring about current high-grade human living on the part of the children and youths. It realizes that if the young people can be brought to live consistently in an elevated civilized way during the first twenty years of life, their characters, interests, valuations, habits, social behavior, mental behavior, and resulting information will have become properly developed through normal exercise. They will have *grown* into full-formed civilized and efficient human beings. Having thus attained the full stature of manhood and womanhood, they are prepared for the ensuing fifty years of adulthood.

The term "content" in education has meant the content of books, the subject matter to be learned. It was the thing to be stored in the child's mind, becoming in its turn the mental content. The term was quite appropriate to the archaic traditional storage type of education. But for modern functional education, the term is no longer appropriate. This newer type of education will, of course, use books and other reading materials in abundance; but they are merely means to certain vital phases of intellectual living. Its interest is in the continuity of human

[11] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 1, September, 1931, pp. 3–10.

behavior, in school and out of school, during all the years of growth. Functional education will perhaps discard the misleading term "content," and adopt some term that refers to "continuity of behavior."

In the traditional education, "method" has meant the type of procedure to be employed by teachers and pupils in making the content of the book the content of the child's mind. In the functional education, on the other hand, method on the part of the teacher is the procedure that he must employ in getting the child or youth currently to hold to high-grade human living. On the part of the pupil, his method is simply currently holding in all of his behavior to a proper type and level. Teacher method is *guiding* the life continuity. Pupil method is *living* the life continuity. To the pupil, life and the educative process are identical. The teacher is a conditioner of this process. His method consists of providing the necessary opportunities, stimulations, leadership, and guidance.

The present writer was asked to discuss the relation between content and method. He has no interest in the antiquated lesson-learning type of education beyond a desire to see it supplanted by a more effective kind. From this point, then, the discussion will relate only to the functional education and the relations between the continuity of human living and the methods to be employed in conditioning it.

To begin with, the continuity of practice in human behavior that is to be guided goes on twenty-four hours a day and one hundred sixty-eight hours a week. Whether it is accomplished well or badly, it is clear that the conditioning and, therefore, the education by some person or by society is actually going on during all of these hours. It is not a question of whether education should be going on during all of the time; it is merely a matter of how it goes on, since there is no possibility of interrupting the continuity of practice in living, which is currently resulting in the actual education. The family is conditioning the activities for the greater portion of the time; the school for a quite considerable, though much less, portion of the time—about one hour in nine, to be exact; and other elements of the community, each for a still smaller fraction of the time.

If, then, we would consider the method by which the educative process is guided, we must note the various methods that are to

be employed in conditioning the different portions of the uninterrupted and uninterruptible continuity.

Long before children ever go to school, the family will have been employing methods, whether good or bad, in conditioning the life continuity, and therefore the education of their children. They provide the opportunities for the innumerable activities to be carried on by the children within the family milieu. The older members of the family will be examples to the younger members, both consciously and unconsciously. They will show them what to do and how to do it. They will give needed information, advise, admonish, supervise, direct, bring pressure to bear, and otherwise reinforce the weaker understanding and wills of the children in the latter's holding as well as they can to those ways of civilized living which are appropriate to individuals of their situation and degree of maturity. The family, in large part, will be the custodian of all the social traditions, expectations, public opinion, and the like, which are so impelling in shaping the folkways, manners and customs, habitual modes of behavior, and the accompanying valuations and attitudes. The family will provide the general standard of living—material, social, aesthetic, and intellectual—thus automatically providing the level of performance of the younger members.

There is no certainty as yet as to what the detailed functions are which should be performed by the members of the family. It is certain, however, that the responsibility of the family for the child's education, a portion of the total responsibility that cannot be delegated, is very large, and the number of things to be done are very numerous.

At the school the child or youth will have practice in carrying on many vital phases of human living. He will observe all of those aspects of reality which can be shown there, as for example in the laboratories, shops, and in the general life of the school; he will read relative to all sorts of things and happenings that make up the world, near and far, present and past; he will spend much time in listening to the presentation of such matters; he will converse with his juvenile and adult associates on a wide range and variety of stimulating and illuminating topics; he will give expression to his thinking in a variety of ways relative to things of worth; he will enter into sports and games; he will carry on his general physical living at the school in a wholesome environment and in a wholesome manner; in many cases, he will

sing, listen to good music, play an instrument; in the school workroom he will construct things that are to be used in his work or play, and the like. We need not specify further. We are only trying here to enumerate a few examples which will show the nature of the "activity program" of the modern school. The activities to be guided at the school are only those life activities that *ought* to be going on even if schools did not exist. The schools are merely improved and economical social devices for providing the opportunities and other conditions for the complex activities which the families alone are mostly unable properly or sufficiently to provide.

Now, this program of living at the school is not primarily something to be taught; it is rather a thing to be lived. So far as it is a thing to be learned, it is simply high-grade living that is to be learned. And this is learned by practising it. Any methods that the teacher will employ are only for guiding the current practice. The methods of greatest moment will have as their purpose: (1) to awaken interest in things and in the behavior that relates to those things; (2) to set motives into operation; (3) to awaken a sense of responsibility for behavior that is individually and socially wholesome; and (4) so to manage and supervise the pupil's behavior as to get it self-planned and self-directed by the pupils with the least possible amount of teacher direction consistent with getting things properly done.

Functional education is calling for a greatly changed balance of emphasis in our methodological theory. Most books of method have been written with the arbitrary, teacher-planned, teacher-directed, school-tested lesson learning in mind. So far as such theory has been scientifically validated, it will continue to serve us for guidance; but in interpretation and application, much of it calls for reorganization and restatement in the light of changing educational conceptions and procedures.

Any such statement of the nature of functional education seems at present to be widely misunderstood. The chief reason for this lack of understanding is that the profession has not yet developed any clear and definite conception as to the nature of high-grade human living. It does not yet see living of a properly human type as consisting largely of, let us say, reading that illumines all the world and all ages; of a continuity throughout life of viewing the world through the eyes of science, history, and literature; of the thrilling vision that uses art as its medium;

of conversation and discussion that develops and clarifies the great problems with which mankind is confronted; of participation in a virile, impelling, and responsible public opinion, and other similar matters of the intellectual, aesthetic, and social levels. Our profession, strange to say, seems to overlook these types of activity as proper portions of normal human existence; to regard them as academic and alien importations appropriate only to the few, and to them only in their exalted moments. In this attitude it seems that there is confession that education has never yet been able to bring about high-grade human living on the part of the masses of the population. To date we have made them literate. This is an important first step. Now they need to be humanized. Our profession needs first to know of what humanization consists. It seems that ordinarily we conceive the term "human living" as referring only to the simple miscellaneous activities of eating and drinking, playing and working, gossip and trivialities, and the other things that constitute the petty lives of petty men. It is probable that the greatest single need of our profession today is a clarified understanding of the activities that constitute the continuity of worthy and wholesome human living at all age levels.

It is ordinarily felt that if education is to consist only of practice in the behavior that constitutes the good life, it will omit much that is needful. That is to assume that there are needful things that do not enter into an elevated type of human living; things needful that would not get a proper amount of practice if left to such a plan. But if they do not enter into human existence, what is a proper amount of practice? If they are such alien things, how can they be needful? On the other hand, if they are really needful, must they not automatically enter into any current living that is genuine, balanced, and wholesome?

But let us continue our enumeration at least one step further. We have said that the continuity of behavior is to be conditioned by the family and by the school. Let us note that it is also conditioned by a great number and variety of the agencies and institutions that constitute the general society: the church, motion pictures, public parks and playgrounds, bathing beaches, dance halls, the world of work, the health department, police department, advertising, newspapers, radio, public library—to enumerate a few of them. Each of these social agencies bears

responsibility for a portion of the conditioning of the lives of all persons of the community, which includes among others the children and youths. As these agencies condition behavior they are guiding it, and thus are educating in the exact sense of the term as used by our functional education. Speaking quite soberly and literally, they are effecting a large part of the actual education of the young people. They bear, therefore, a share of responsibility for the education of the young people. Their methods of procedure in carrying on their work of influencing the activities of the younger generation may be good, bad, or indifferent for the purpose. Whether they recognize it or not, they bear responsibility for finding and supplying socially good and wholesome methods.

To one who sees the administration of education as only the administration of schooling, the preceding statement will appear too absurd for serious consideration. Yet we recommend that it be seriously considered even by those who are going to confine their labors to the administration of schools. They will discover that, as they bring the schools genuinely to serve the social needs, there must be coöperative effort on the part of all elements of the general community life. The sociological view of these matters may appear absurd merely because it is yet unfamiliar and the various factors are not yet seen in completeness and in their relation to each other.

With the functional education, educational sociology is destined to come into its own. It is a late arrival simply because the older traditional education was, and still is, mostly oblivious of its social responsibilities and of the sociological setting and substance of the educative process. The textbooks in geography, history, science, algebra, grammar, Latin, English, and the like, could be written by scholarly specialists in the subjects with little knowledge of society in general, or the life of the young people in that society. These textbooks could be taught by teachers quite apart from the social milieu. The latter need not be utilized or coöperated with. It may be important mainly in that it is a disturbing influence, presenting distractions that prevent the children's spending enough out-of-school time in the study of their books.

But with our functional education, the objective is life in society—a continuity of behavior which runs through seventy years. The process is the practice of life in society—whether

at play, at work, at home, at school, at church, or otherwise. The process is guided by taking in hand the sociological influences and so controlling them as to bring about the desired types of influence. In other words, methods must mainly be the ways of controlling social influences so that they will guide in wholesome and in normal ways the activities of young people.

IV. THE SOCIALIZED RECITATION[12]

CHARLES L. ROBBINS

This paper for *The Journal of Educational Sociology* assumes that the educational sociologist is interested in such matters as how education (especially schooling) is affected by social institutions and processes, by culture as it exists in a given environment (culture including more than institutions and processes), and by values as they appear as a part of that culture; that he is also interested in the bearings of education upon social institutions, processes, and values. Details of method, which would be of interest to the classroom teacher, will be neglected in order that attention may be centered upon matters of greater interest to the readers. . . . This paper deals with the social and educational problems that arise when an effort is made to combine the necessity of individual mastery of subject matter with the fact of an existing group situation. Details of technique and discussion of psychological considerations (however important in the classroom) are omitted as irrelevant here. . . .

The socialized recitation is the result of recognizing certain social facts and of trying to make those facts significant in the educative process. The recognition of social facts may be seen in a brief statement of the development of the teaching-learning process. In its simplest form the learning situation is about as follows. One person (the teacher) knows something which another person (the pupil) desires to learn. The pupil puts himself into the hands of the teacher and does what he is told to do. One individual deals with another individual in the process of imparting subject matter. With the rise of schools it seemed economical to have the teacher deal with groups of pupils organized in classes. But the old individualistic interpretation of the situation persisted and still persists. The teacher

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is regarded as dealing with a series (not a group) of individual pupils—who may or may not desire to become learners. This interpretation persists in spite of the fact that as soon as a few children are assembled they become more than an aggregation of separate entities. Relationships are established, social processes are carried on, and a social environment is created. The teacher may in blindness still attempt to deal with each pupil as an individual—as the music teacher deals with the child who comes to his studio for individual instruction; but the group situation actually exists whether it is recognized or not. Each pupil must still learn for himself; but he learns as one of a group, not as a Heifetz receiving individual instruction from an Auer.

Whenever the class system is used, certain perplexities arise. The real individual is likely to be lost in the crowd or hidden behind a mythical average pupil. What can be done in order that each may work according to his capacity and receive according to his need? Attempts to answer this question have led to plans for the individualization of instruction. A further perplexity grows out of the fact that the class may in effect be banded together to resist learning or to keep the amount of work done at a minimum. How can individual or social stimulus overcome this evil? The answer has usually been individual rewards and punishments. Occasionally, especially recently, attempts have been made to develop a group spirit that will destroy both individual and group slackness, laziness, and lack of interest. This, whatever its name, is some form of the socialized recitation. Still another perplexity arises from the fact that the presence of others may distract attention from the principal work at hand. The problem then is to overcome such distraction as far as possible and to substitute for it a social pressure that will be hostile to interference with work. Here again we find the socialized recitation used as an attempted solution.

The socialized recitation, then, has grown out of a recognition of certain social facts and the belief that the conditions actually present in class work demand an attempt (1) to get rid of the fiction that each member of a group is an isolated individual and (2) to make the most of the social situation which is always present.

It must be admitted that the term "socialized recitation" is unfortunate. It leads to the inference that a process (reciting)

is actually socialized, when in reality class activities (whether reciting or doing any other kind of work) are being used in an attempt to aid in the socializing of all the members of the group—even including the teacher. The past participle might properly be replaced by the present, and the term "recitation" by "activities." But since the name of the process, however lacking in exactness, has come into general use, it is futile to suggest a new terminology. What is said here is merely for the sake of making it clear that the words do not mean what they seem to mean—any more than "newspaper" is to be understood in its original sense.

All schooling is ostensibly for the sake of socializing pupils in some way or other through the use of accumulated culture. The subject matter of any field of learning is placed in our schools because of the belief of some one (past or present) who saw in it a means of helping learners fit more satisfactorily into the society in which they lived and were to live. The purpose in teaching arithmetic, spelling, history, foreign language, or any other subject is commonly understood as having a social justification. That justification is the power of the subject matter to aid the learner in taking his proper part in the activities of the various groups of which he becomes a member.

The socialized recitation is similar in purpose. But it implies a more comprehensive view of the possibilities of socialization. Its purpose is to socialize not merely through what is commonly thought of as subject matter but also through the activities which are necessary or possible in connection with the mastery of that material. It aims to take advantage of the total situation that exists when pupils are associated in classes.

It may be remarked parenthetically that this statement of purpose implies a conception of the learning process quite at variance with that of individual instruction. Individual instruction, as ordinarily conceived, leads to the belief that classes are a necessary evil, to be avoided as much as possible. The socialized recitation idea accepts classes as an added opportunity to carry on the essential work of education—socialization in connection with individual development. The one emphasizes individual achievement—an excellent thing; the other places no less stress upon mastery of subject matter, but adds an emphasis upon such social values as the feeling of genuine class unity, good will,

common purposes, coöperation, and responsibility to class and to school instead of to teacher alone.

As the socialized recitation has developed, three types have appeared: the informal group, the class imitative of some institution of adult society, and the definitely organized self-directing group.

The informal group approximates a friendly group engaged in the pursuit of almost any matter of interest. The center of activities is the work which the pupils are attempting to accomplish; and it is the nature of this work which determines any organization patterns which may evolve. As in any informal group, embryonic organization appears. There may be the leader of discussion with a number of assistants who emerge as the discussion proceeds. Division may appear as opinions differ. Grouping and regrouping may take place. As need arises various members of the group may be delegated to obtain information, to make records of proceedings, or to render any kind of service. But all these embryonic forms of organization are ephemeral. Duties shift from person to person and corresponding phases of organization crystallize and deliquesce. In the background is the teacher; but his function is not to quiz the pupils for the purpose of finding out how much and how well they have studied a cut-and-dried assignment, but rather to stimulate to fruitful activity, to see that the process of socialization does not degenerate into activities that are meaningless or antisocial. Without such guidance, a group of pupils would, as is often the case in the Congress of the United States or a faculty meeting, become a rudderless ship blown here and there by varying winds of interest.

The imitative group foregoes the freedom of the informal group for the sake of securing the efficiency which definite organization provides or for the purpose of learning the techniques of some social institution. When a class in civics is organized as a board of aldermen, for example, the purpose is to make the study of a certain phase of subject matter more vital than could be possible through ordinary class routine. But it is also possible to have an organization imitating some institution for the purpose of preventing things from flying at loose ends—as they may tend to do when there is no definite organization. In this case, the form of organization is chosen not because it is a part of the subject matter to be mastered, but because it promises aid in the work of handling whatever is being studied. Obviously

the two ideas can be combined. The organization of a scientific society or a literary club may be of assistance in promoting efficiency in class activities without providing any details of subject matter in the fields of science or literature. On the other hand, imitation of the national House of Representatives may combine learning about the functions and activities of that body with concomitant learning about various national problems. The essential characteristic of this form of socialized recitation is its imitation of some organization in actual existence in adult life.

The self-directing group, the third form of organization, may create machinery like nothing else in the world, or may more probably modify some known group or institution. The essential thing is that the members of the class consciously attempt to make plans for their own organization and work. Self-direction is a relative term which may vary in amount from very little to very much. In a public school the amount may be great in such matters as actual form of organization and details of procedure while practically nonexistent in the selection of subject matter and determination of satisfactory standards of mastery. In some private schools, it is possible (whether wise or not) to permit pupils to select what they shall study, to determine how long they shall pursue it, and to set up their own standards.

In view of the fact that one of the chief functions of the school is to help pupils to develop into that maturity which is marked by the possibility of self-direction, it seems clear that each of these three forms of class organization (or any other phase of school management) ought to attempt to encourage pupil initiative and responsibility. Whether these qualities are conceived of as self-direction or not is immaterial.

In spite of the value of organization, teachers should continually remind themselves of the good advice, "Place not your trust in machinery." As history shows that the formation of a republican form of government does not always mean the absence of real autocracy, so classroom experience teaches the folly of believing that any type of socialized recitation is sure to promote genuine socialization.

Since the process of socializing the individual is so obviously a function of the socialized recitation, nothing will be said of it here. There are, however, numerous subsidiary processes which are present, some of which are in danger of being overlooked in a

class group just as they often are in the greater society. The following few will be presented briefly: creation of social values (attitudes, rules) loosely corresponding to the evolution of culture in the large groups; social opposition and coöperation; and equalization of opportunity.

The usual concept of the class group limits it to a number of persons who are engaged in acquiring an already developed culture. This view is too narrow. Interwoven with this process of acquisition is a process of creation which proceeds whether it is recognized or not. Whatever the subject studied, there will inevitably emerge: attitudes towards learning and towards individuals including the teacher; rules of procedure, covert or open; and standards of value, often having little connection with the course of study. Such matters as these represent genuine social values in the minds of the pupils. Too often in the traditional type of school they are badly perverted. Attitudes develop in such a way as to interfere with the proper operation of the school as a genuine social institution—that is, an institution created for the welfare of society. The rules of procedure which the pupils actually practice are too often designed to represent the "strike on the job." Standards of value are frequently very different from those which parents hope that their children are building up. Thus to outwit the teacher comes to have more worth than doing good honest work. Social approval within the class goes to the mischief-maker rather than to the good student.

In the socialized recitation, if it is properly understood by teacher and pupils, the process of creating attitudes, rules, values must have a different background and a different development. The concept of group and individual welfare must stand to the fore, must replace the ancient belief that a pupil's chief duty is to do as little work as possible and cause the teacher as much worry and embarrassment as possible. The relationship between subject matter and the creation of a good or a bad set of values is of very great importance. Undoubtedly it is often true that the culture chosen for transmission to the oncoming generation tends to cause the development of a set of attitudes, rules, and values designed to meet lack of interestingness in content with interest in something else. But even in this deplorable situation it is the function of the teacher to guide into a course of development that will, in the long run, turn out to be social

rather than anti-social. The socialized recitation has value in that it directs attention to the problem and provides a kind of organization which simplifies the attack.

In any sort of class, whether conducted by the Hoosier schoolmaster, the devotee of the individual instruction idea, or the believer in the socialized recitation, opposition and coöperation are almost certain to be easily noticeable. To use these processes for the promotion of educational ends is the difficult problem of every teacher who realizes the larger aspects of his work. In the socialized recitation, it becomes the function of the group (not of the teacher alone) to learn to handle the problems that arise from the situations which inevitably arise. Whatever the reasons for opposition, whether they be personal dislike, disagreement in regard to fact or plans of procedure, or perverse desire to be disagreeable, it is important that pupils learn to oppose without bitterness. They need also to acquire the art of using opposition in the attempt to get at the truth and to repress the desire to carry opposition through conflict to victory. Similarly, in the case of coöperation it is necessary to master the art of working together when that process is appropriate and to learn to handle those situations which demand individual effort instead of group activity and mutual helpfulness. Out of childish dislikes which often lead to unreasonable opposition and friendships which promote illegitimate coöperation, the socialized recitation must develop a state of mind which will put both opposition and coöperation in their proper places.

Equalization of opportunity is a process which seems "contrary to nature." It certainly is not characteristic of the struggle for existence among plants and animals. It is hard to find in the rivalries of business organizations and other competing groups. But it is an essential phase of education as we conceive education in this country. Various studies have shown that in the classroom the aggressive few monopolize activities while the modest and backward many "sit as dumb for want of words." The mere inauguration of the socialized recitation is no remedy for this evil. In fact, without great care on the part of the teacher and the members of the class, conditions are likely to be made worse instead of better.

The educational sociologist, looking at the socialized recitation, sees a group of social and educational problems which confront the teacher and the class who enter into a whole-hearted effort

to make a success of the method. A mere enumeration of a few of these problems will serve to concentrate attention upon the difficulties, dangers, and opportunities involved. As shown in this paper, the following are continually and insistently demanding solution:

1. How to fit social relationships and processes into purposive education.
2. How to socialize and also individualize through class activities.
3. How to adapt organization to purpose—structure to function.
4. How to socialize through both mastery of course of study and activities which are designed to promote that mastery.
5. How to develop a sense of social values together with the necessary attitudes and behavior patterns.
6. How to harness opposition and coöperation together.
7. How to equalize opportunity without limiting the very capable or overloading the less capable.
8. How to provide for carry-over from class work into other activities.

V. THE SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH TO METHODS OF LEARNING AND TEACHING[13]

BENJAMIN FLOYD STALCUP

The educational sociologist has a many-sided interest in education in a democratic society. The present-day tendency is to divorce our educational program from the formal, classical, aristocratic dominance of the past, in which the emphasis was chiefly upon knowledge as the end of education. The new emphasis is upon social education. Ancient society was aristocratic and monarchial and the educational system was set up by the few for the few. But today with the democratic ideal and practice before us well may the objective and practice be set up in terms of democracy. The national aims of a state dictate the policies of the system of education.

The student of social education finds himself interested in all the educative agencies and processes, both within and without the school. It is only recently that the educator has discovered

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democracy. He has likewise discovered that individuals possessed of a universal human social tendency to form societies and live together tend to educate themselves through their own direct and indirect relationships and activities. The writer contends that if modern education is to be democratic it must be based upon: first, practice in democratic living; and, second, that the principles of society building and social evolution need to be studied in order to discover the connection between the social process and the learning and educative processes. On the conception of this relationship of the social and educative processes rests the true basis of learning and teaching. While these bases are psychological, they are at the same time sociological. The individual does not have experience or behave apart from things and individuals. Meaning, as attached to things—material and physical—as well as to individuals, is the product of the cultural evolution of the experience or behavior of the human race. Experience is not a body of knowledge separate and apart from human beings.

The writer is concerned, in this discussion, with the setting up of some underlying theses or assumptions as basic to the sociological approach to method. With the hope of stimulating further discussion in this field, these theses are set up somewhat categorically with a minimum of exposition herein. No claim is made that these theses are original or that they have been logically arranged. Some claim may be made for the pioneer attempt to bring them together as offering a foundation for the social approach to methods of learning and teaching. In the development of a new science, one of the first phases is formulation of the general working hypothesis for experimentation and scientific research.

General acknowledgment is herein made to two great teachers and two writers who have influenced the thinking of the writer. The teachers are Franklin Bobbitt and E. George Payne, and the writers are John Dewey and Charles Ellwood.

The Underlying Assumptions

I. *The human social processes are the basis of learning and education.* The human social process is the sum of the mutually adoptive relationships of individuals. This is a constant process in all the activities of group or societal life. The needs of individuals in a democratic life are met by and through the universal

human social tendency to form societies for the selection of leaders and the solving of the problems inherent to these needs. This is the social process in action—a continuous ongoing function. It is dynamic. It changes as the needs change. Societies come and go, but the fundamental process remains. The learning aspect of this process is in the indirect, incidental, unplanned, non-conscious experience acquired by the individual in and through living his life. A very large part of the experience of every individual is a residuum of naïve participation in a multitude of activities in the numerous groups of which he is a part. Suggestion and imitation are significant motive factors in this kind of experience. A study of the evolution of the folkways reveals that the mores are thus partially derived or developed. The other aspect of the social process is the consciously directed experience of the individual. To hasten change or progress in the group, that is, to aid the individual to acquire certain fixed or definite types of cultural or behavior patterns, conscious planning enters in the form of some kind of leadership; as for instance, in family life, the school, or civic life. This is education —a leading out to some progressive and moving goal fundamental in the life of the group. In the social scheme, infancy and apprenticeship are supplanted by the more carefully designed goals of institutional practice and living. Teaching is thus to be thought of as the directed social process.

II. *Social education can take place only in a social environment.* Another way of stating the same assumption relative to the school is by the oft-quoted statement of Dewey that a school should be a "society in miniature." A group of individuals *en masse,* as thirty or forty boys and girls in a classroom under our present practice today, is much like a "social vacuum." Freedom of association and communication is severed under most of our schoolroom arrangement. The miniature society conception of the school can only mean a social environment in which the fundamental principles of a society prevail.

Activity on the level of ability of the child, motivated by an interest in the realities of the common life and by sharing in the responsibilities and, through participation, meaningful experiences or behavior is the social outcome. Sever the laws of association and communication and you create a vacuum; give these forces free play under guidance and a stimulating social environment is developed.

III. *What one learns and the way one learns individually or collectively are but different and related aspects of the same learning or educative process.* The content of experience or behavior, the organization and method of acquiring experiences are inherent and supplementary phases of a progressively developing and integrating personality. The individual grows through the progressive reconstruction of this becoming or oncoming process or new experiencing. This process is not to be thought of as a constant. Interest and social stimulation will vary with the situations confronting the individual. Further, the problems growing out of the social needs will not offer the same challenge, thus the purposing will be of different levels of intensity. This conception of the educative process leaves behind the older dualism of content and method. Method becomes an integral part of the total situation modifying the behavior or experience of the becoming personality.

IV. *The types of experiencing or the modes of behavior of the individual or the group which gives satisfaction, pleasure, and enjoyment become the bases of permanent interests and values.* The intellectual pursuits and the quality and the flavor of the emotional and spiritual life of the individual are the outcome of the satisfying life experiences. The quest for achievement and the pursuit of happiness in themselves become enveloping phenomena, invigorating the individual with increasing enjoyment and satisfaction. Enjoyment may be thought of as both the means and end product. The converse of satisfaction and enjoyment are dissatisfaction and annoyance. These may easily become negative and disillusioning to the individual.

V. *Knowledge relates to reality.* Knowledge, to be meaningful, effective, and useful in the experience or behavior, must be seen in its relationship to each new situation. Knowledge separated or isolated from method becomes sterile. Cold storage facts may never have any functional meaning for the individual. "Knowledge is power" only as it functions in the reconstructed experience of the individual. Further, it is contended that knowledge, ideals, attitudes, and appreciations become fruitful, compelling, and permanent when motivated by social stimulation and interaction.

VI. *Social conflict as a social force or process has not been fully recognized by the school.* Social struggle is the life of the individual and the group. Whatever the origin, social struggle exists

upon two levels: (a) Competition is the struggle for wealth or economic place in society—it tends to be impersonal; (b) The other level is conflict and is concerned with the struggle for social status. However you may define conflict, some of its manifestations are clear. The writer would define conflict as the result of, or conditioned by, the personal and social divergences of individuals and groups; *i.e.*, the difference in the cultural patterns possessed by individuals and groups. Different cultural environments produce different cultural patterns of behavior or standards of action. It thus becomes easy to understand why there may be friction or opposition between the white and colored races, between the different religious sects, or between the German and the French nations. All conflict is not necessarily bad. It becomes destructive when the method of resolving is revengeful, hostile, and brutal; *i.e.*, when one individual, party, sect, or group tries to destroy the other. The quality and quantity of conflict situations depend upon the type or types of individuals in the group, whether the group be small or large. The greater the heterogeneity of the group, the greater will be the potential conflicts; the converse of this is true; that is, the more homogeneous groups will be free from conflict. This problem of social conflict raises a major problem of resolving conflicts in the United States. "America is a melting pot of races." Yes, but without an amalgam that has as yet resolved or melted the raw material into a harmonious, integrated social union. But what of the method? The social experimenters are recommending: first, the elimination of the hostile practice and, second, the substitution of the friendly process of the discussion method which leads to understanding, toleration, and coöperation. And thus from conflict we advance through coöperation.

VII. *The growing complexity of our social life has led to an increasing specialization of the functions of individuals in their occupational and social relations which, in turn, increases the degree of interdependency of individuals and groups, each upon the other.* In brief, as social function increases, social interdependencies advance. This complexity of our environment sets up at least two social needs: first, purposeful coöperative activity and endeavor and, second, the recognition of the sharing of the social responsibility resulting from the spread and diversity of social functions. It may be readily observed that in the solving of the problems of democracy and the elimination of conflicts of

society, types of planned coöperation shall be substituted for spontaneous coöperation that has passed with the simple pioneer life of the older order. Coöperation follows a recognition on the part of individuals of their dependence each upon the other. Coöperation is good for individuals. It heightens the spiritual value of life. It is the enveloping factor of the socializing process. It thus becomes the great resolvent for conflict. It is method; *i.e.*, a way of experiencing together the common life of the group of society. But the processes of conflict and coöperation cannot be separated from each other; neither can they—each or both—be separated from the third process of leadership and followership.

VIII. *Leadership and followership are relationships of personal and social control through social stimulation and collective action.* The school has been tardy in its recognition of the need of training in leadership and intelligent followership. The school has probably labored under the notion that the leader is born and not made. The conception that the leader is made and not born is gaining recognition through observation and experimentation in the selection of leaders. Democracy possesses its own latent leadership. The school, in recognition of the need of more constructive leadership, should give opportunity for and training in leadership throughout the full range of its activities. Not all individuals desire to lead, but the tendency to be a leader should find expression through participation and shared responsibility. The practice of leading makes the leader. As already indicated, the other aspect of the relationship is the follower. Followership that is intelligent and knows whom to follow and when to follow is as fundamental as leadership. Each does not exist without the other. The latent, unused, uninformed energy of the group is the fruitful ground for the demagogue. An intelligent populace will scorn the selfish leader.

IX. *The recognition of the principle of individual differences carries with it the implication that its counterpart shall be recognized; namely, some basis for homogeneous groupings.* The human social tendency of individuals to form societies or groups already referred to is predicated upon or grows out of certain levels of common interests or consciousness of kind. Color, creed, race, nationality, types of training, social function, social interest, art, politics, as well as a legion of other types of classification or categories become the basis of social groupings among adults. Since a social tendency of this kind is only manifest in the more

democratic forms of national groups, how could the objection that homogeneous groupings are undemocratic have any social validity? The writer believes that intelligence testing as a basis for homogeneous grouping is but one of the social bases that may find a useful place in the discovery of common levels of social organization in school procedure. Homogeneous groups of some type are fundamentally necessary to the stimulation of freer expression, a more spontaneous interest, more highly motivated activity, and a more wholesome participation in the group or society. The school or class should be conceived of as more than the sum of the individuals composing it.

X. *The "school" society or societies possess the potential elements of social control in its own membership and processes.* Personal and external authority as bases of school control have no place, per se, in an evolving democratic society. Desirable personal and social standards should be built up within the group or society and not imposed from without. The school organization, the classes, the homeroom, the assembly, as well as the so-called extracurricular activities offer a wide range of opportunity for training in social control. In passing it should be noted that in the social conception there are no extra activities. All the activities of the school child enter into the whole of the social-educative process.

XI. *The significant and meaningful changes in the behavior or experiences in the conscious life of the individual or group come with the grappling with vital issues and problems.* This does not signify that the individual child or adult is always conscious of the end product of such experiencing. This process does not always imply older and expert guidance leading or directing the activity. Leadership there will be, but it will be mainly the leadership evolving out of the group life itself. In this process knowledge becomes useful and functional. In fact, it is necessary to the understanding of the issue and the resolving of the problem. Personality traits and qualities, and social attitudes and values, public or group opinion, evolve out of such dynamic situations. From this stage of socialization the discussion leads on into the next; namely, the formation of group consciousness.

XII. *Small-group consciousness shall be the basis of the larger group consciousness.* The experiencing or behavior of the individual has two aspects or phases, the first being personality development and the other that of socialization. A complete

picture of the individual as a person is fashioned out of the activities and relationship of his membership in the social groups through which he passes from childhood to adulthood. The dynamic process of developing personality inducts the individual into membership in the group. The psychological process of becoming a person is the first phase of the social process, the second phase being that of group or social consciousness. The "we feeling" is the feeling of membership in the group. This feeling is developed first in the smaller primary groups of which the individual is a member. The individual passes on in his development into an increasing number of group relationships. The type and function of these groups often becomes conflicting. The problem of adjustment becomes one of harmonizing and focusing his loyalties into an integrated personality on the one hand, and on the other, into a good member of the groups, both large and small. The intra-group consciousness fuses with the extra-group consciousness. Translated into citizenship, the good citizen of a city becomes the good citizen of the State, and so on into a feeling of world citizenship. The small-group feeling fuses with the larger and the practice of being a good member of one leads on into the other. Thus the process of socialization is dynamic, progressive, and expansive. The problem of the school is one of providing the types of social situations expressive of the interlocking, conflicting groups of which the child finds himself, but out of which wholesome personality and worthy group consciousness arise.

XIII. *Socially conceived, there is a fundamental unity in the objective, content, method, and outcome of the social-educative process.* An example will suffice to make this clear. One of the cardinal objectives of education is good health. The content of the curriculum to achieve good health is the practice in good health. Method becomes the most satisfactory way of experiencing good health, and the social outcome of the practice of experiencing in healthful living is attained in physical well-being.

VI. A PROJECT IN AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION[14]

H. M. Hamlin

Probably no widespread movement in education offers a better illustration of the successful application of modern

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theories of education than is to be discovered in the activities centering about agricultural extension and the Farm Bureau movement. It seems reasonable to believe that those in charge of our public schools, particularly in rural regions, might learn much as to the desirability and practicability of changing present school practices from a study of this new and different type of education which has so thoroughly established itself in the short space of fifteen years.

Let us note the program of a single state, Iowa, as described in the annual report for 1926 of the Agricultural Extension Department of Iowa State College.

We learn that during that year 1,725,530 persons, including duplicates, attended educational meetings and demonstrations. There were 17,949 boys and girls enrolled in club work; 1503 of the 1605 agricultural townships of the State carried some sort of an educational program under Farm Bureau direction; 87 extension specialists from the College gave full time to the work. County agricultural agents were employed in every county of the state. There were 17 home demonstration agents and 7 local club leaders. In addition to the paid workers, an army of 19,683 farmers and farmers' wives gave of their time to serve as leaders of educational projects.

This movement has established itself mainly in a period of agricultural depression and discouragement. It has progressed and expanded while the traditional type of rural education in Iowa, speaking generally, has been standing still. How can we account for its vitality? To what extent does it depend upon the use of principles which have been developed by our leaders in educational thought which our schools are still failing to utilize?

First of all, each educational project undertaken has definite, feasible, measurable objectives. The projects to be undertaken and the goals to be sought are determined by townships and counties at their annual meetings. At the end of the year, there is a definite checking of results. For instance, we find that in 1926 as a result of the nutrition project, 10,744 families reported using more cereals, 12,828 families reported using more milk and milk products, and 10,983 used more fruits and vegetables. In the same year in Iowa, pork production demonstrations on 422 farms resulted in the raising of 6.64 pigs per sow as compared with an average of five pigs per sow in the state at large. There

were 15,060 persons brought in touch with these swine projects through meetings held for this purpose at the sites of the projects. Much more detailed facts than these are available with respect to each project undertaken, but these are enough to illustrate the care that is taken in setting objectives and measuring results.

The goals chosen are adapted to local needs and are accepted by local people. Many projects are carried on in a number of communities with very slight modification but desirable diversity of objectives is maintained. Results are measured out in the community. There is not the easy satisfaction with results in terms of temporary ability to repeat information with which our rural schools are commonly content. The Farm Bureau holds to the sensible view that information is satisfactorily taught only when it is habitually and customarily used.

The Iowa Farm Bureau program is designed to reach and help every member of the family. It has demonstrated the possibility of extending the period of education well into adulthood, offering what is probably the best illustration of adult education on a large scale which is to be found in America. At the same time, it has given much effort to supplementing the activities of the schools of the state through a vital club program for children of school age. It has found that a community progresses best when all units progress together, not when educational advantages are showered only upon the young. By providing a unified educational program for all in each community, it has done much to make for good relations between the old and the young at a time when the influence of the traditional school has largely been to create a gap between the young, with their superior education, and the old, with their usual conservative tendencies.

The Farm Bureau educational program has also been a broad program, contributing vitally to each of the seven major aims of education. It has given first place to vocational training during a period when our schools have largely neglected this phase. It has made much of training for the home and for parenthood. It has offered some of the best training for leisure activities and for citizenship that rural Iowa has experienced. It has a strong health program. It has recognized the demand of rural people for a balanced education at a time when some have tried to hamper them with a narrow vocationalism and others have scorned to give training in the more common affairs of their life.

The Farm Bureau program of education is a progressive, flexible one. It is tied up with one of the best programs of research to be found in any field and the results of research are introduced into the curriculum as soon as they can be regarded as reasonably safe. There is no such degree of responsiveness to research in the public school of rural Iowa.

While a broad program is attempted and much ground is covered, there is not the gorging with information that is encountered in most schools which have attempted to keep pace with modern developments by broadening their curricula. Since the program is based on the idea that there is a lifetime ahead for education, rather than a few short years into which it must be crammed, it goes more slowly, attempting to teach only what can be learned. In a given year, a farmer may learn a little more about keeping and interpreting his farm records; the next year he concentrates on problems involved in the management of his dairy enterprise. Because the life of the farm favors it, he has ample time to think over and assimilate the new ideas presented to him. When will our schools come to appreciate fully the time required for true learning in any line?

While the methods of teaching used in extension work have not always been the best, there has been a breaking away from procedures still common in our schools. Lecturing is in bad repute. Since participation is entirely voluntary, each extension teacher must be a master of interest control. Practices advocated must be made rational to be accepted; there is commonly much thought and discussion among groups receiving this instruction. There is usually a good balance between theory and practice, though sometimes this group has overemphasized practice as badly as the school customarily overemphasizes theory.

This far-reaching educational program is carried on with relatively few workers but these are well paid and capable. In this, it is setting an example to our rural schools with their horde of underprepared, underpaid teachers. The Farm Bureau has found it profitable to expand only as rapidly as finances were forthcoming to provide competent workers. Have we overexpanded in public education of the formal type?

The use of volunteer adult workers by the thousand offers another suggestion to the school. How many persons are there in every community who are able to teach and who willingly will

assist, for the sheer love of teaching? And how much are we sacrificing because we fail to bring our young people in touch with those older persons outside the school, from whom they might learn so much that cannot be learned from our typically immature country teachers? The Farm Bureau has shown us how to use even the retired farmer as an aid in giving education, while our schools have quite consistently regarded him as the chief foe of rural educational progress.

Liberal appropriations have been made for the supervision of the educational program of the Farm Bureau, while rural schools have been spending almost nothing for supervision. The ninety-nine county agents of Iowa have over them four district supervisors and a state leader, the best men that have developed in the ranks. In addition, the local efforts of the agents, competent as they are, are constantly supervised by specialists in the lines being promoted. No educational project is attempted by the agent without the direction of the specialist concerned. But what rural teacher has a specialist on whom to call to assist her with her problems in teaching arithmetic or citizenship or health, problems quite as baffling as any the county agent faces?

The Farm Bureau movement offers also an excellent example as to the financing of rural education. Costs are shared by Federal, State, and local units. It is certain that, without State and Federal aid, there could have been no such rapid development as the past fifteen years have seen. There might easily have been utter failure. Yet we expect our Iowa rural schools to get along handsomely with less than one per cent of their funds coming from outside the local districts.

The fact that a new, widespread, and successful mode of rural education has developed does not mean that it has developed as a competitor of the public elementary and secondary schools. In fact, the one vigorous demand for better rural schools is coming, in Iowa, from the Farm Bureau. This seems to be true generally.

Nevertheless, the school should begin to take note of the methods and results of its new colleague in rural education. Much that it has developed has direct applicability to the schools. Free from binding customs and traditions, the Farm Bureau has been able to try the new theories the educators have developed, and many have been found adequate. Our schools can now follow the pioneer.

Certainly, the spread of this movement has demonstrated that the people in rural regions feel a need for a kind of education the schools have not been providing. To a considerable degree, the movement is a protest movement which would never have developed if the schools had been alert and responsive to their clientele. Perhaps there will be an awakening to the fact that the type of public school to which we have been accustomed has no monopoly on education.

VII. THE SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGY OF LEARNING[15]

JAMES W. WOODARD

The family patterns themselves carry over into the school group. The teacher, especially in primary- and secondary-school levels where one of them receives practically all of the brunt of the contact, is too important a person not to count emotionally. He and the school group come largely to provide the play group, to displace minister and church, and in a measure to offset the family. Certain it is that to the child of five or six in kindergarten or the beginning years of primary school the teacher embodies the theretofore parental functions of being the final arbiter of disputes, the utterly believed-in source for guidance, the dispenser of petty and jealousy-provoking discriminations, the dread wielder of discipline, the gentle encourager, the admirer who holds up one's accomplishments to others, and even the tender consoler. So great a "superposition of images" results in a displacement of those affectional impulses to the teacher and in a duplication of those dependence aspects, which earlier characterized the relationship to the parents. Thus the teacher is apt to become a mother substitute, a father substitute, or a condensation of both, with all the ambivalence of love and hate, of affection and rebellion which that implies.

Such transference to the teacher, rightly used, is by way of an early important other-than-family-member focusing, a stage in the liberation of the love life and the ego strivings from the too close bonds of love and dependence within the family. These bonds, unless the liberation is sooner or later made, may prevent the ability to consummate that complete emotional outgo to some person of the opposite sex requisite for normal love and

[15] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 7, March, 1933, pp. 387–400.

stable marriage. And (more important relative to "learning") they may jeopardize the development of the person's ability to stand on his own feet, especially when the dependence element is imposed upon to carry the burden of a rote-learning method unduly long, as is much done in our mass education in order to ease the task of school administration.

If the teacher's contacts are too affectional or too repressive, the teacher may get, in addition to the overreaction occasioned by the relationship of the child to himself, displacement of the pent-up love or hate towards the parent. The one example is the "crush" or "pet" so commonly observable in the elementary and secondary grades; the other is the utterly incorrigible pupil who neither behaves nor learns effectively.

There is the possibility that a person who leaves the family a latent rebel may leave successively kindergarten, elementary, and secondary schools with his rebel rôle more and more deeply imbedded. Such failure of teaching and learning produces, at best, an intellectual rebel whose emotional independence means a failure to absorb (to learn) the extant knowledge in his field before parading his own fallacious (because so independently arrived at) idea systems. At the worst, it produces a prospect for criminality or fanaticism.

There is, also, the opposite possibility where even a necessary individuation is not attained, where dependence persists, and the love strivings fail of their normal development. At its worst, the "crush," if intense and towards a teacher of the same sex, may be the preliminary of a homosexual trend later to develop. At best, this prolonged dependence may produce the person who has never learned really to stand on his own feet, in his behavior so thoroughly molded and conformed as not to be able to shift attitudes and values and to analyze out his subjectivated mores even when changed conditions urgently demand readjustment; and on the intellectual side, the scholar rather than the student, the rote learner of facts and theories, the quoter whose intellectual stock in trade is a nicely documented array of what other people think out.

We are only making the point that learning, since it involves this whole relational set-up, is a sociological process as well as a psychological one. First, general characteristics of independence of thought, intellectual dependence, even obstinate resistance to suggestions—and resulting plasticity, gullible tractability, initia-

tive in analyzing and synthesizing material (and the lack of it as reflected in habits of rate memorizing and tabulating)—these have a great deal to do with the actual learning that a person does. Among any others, e.g., native ability, there are sociological factors involved in the explanation. We shall presently see that this is especially true when dealing with emotionalized material. Second, while we have traditionally examined how the teacher's personality and methods, how the texts and course contents have affected the learning by the pupil of the subject matter of the course, these, as stimuli, have meantime occasioned quite different responses which have escaped us. The student has "learned," in a strictly psychological sense from the apparatus for learning which we have set up, many deeply resonant items not discussed in the formal treatises on education and learning!

So much for formal learning. If we take learning through the whole span of a person's life, our discussion has its implications for philosophy and epistemology as well. One could point to numbers of men prominent in diverse fields of learning who took their training under one of the great minds in the field two or three decades ago and to whom their mentor's teachings apparently became the completely satisfying guidance of the word-from-the-father image, clung to in its entirety as are the words of a master to his disciples, not one jot or tittle changed to the last in the face of innumerable and fundamental changes going on all around them.

The teacher's personality and the type of administration are therefore very important in these largely unrecognized aspects of teaching and learning and have not to date been carefully studied in that connection. The writer once gathered case material on all the teachers in a single school in a large city. Of ten persons on the staff at least eight were themselves personality problems. A very brief and untechnical condensation of these cases follows. (These were not patients and no attempt at adjustment was made.)

Case A. Girl, 26. Family slave. Intellectually dependent and emotionally fixated on father; highly ambivalent attitude towards mother. Poor health. Maladjusted since childhood; highly religious and group mores highly subjectivated. At 23, was seduced by the first person who had ever tried. Intense conflict precipitated in terms of love for the man and contravalent hate and guilt arising from the subjectivated parental and religious mores and the father fixation. Lost weight, worried, and developed hysterical overreactions, excessive and foolish laughter, etc. Cut herself

off (as a "fallen woman" in her own eyes) almost entirely from church identifications, theretofore, next to her family, her most meaningful contacts. These traits still persist. Lives in (escapes into) an unreal, highly idealized world. Is "off the men," who are "all alike," but remains essentially mistress to her seducer. Is "psychic," with premonitory inklings, good and bad. Overt anal and oral perversion. Compensates by idealizedly tender handling of children pupils, spoiling them, occasionally irrationally cross with them.

Case B. Girl, 25. Jewish. Excessive ego drives and compensations for racial status, economic position, meager personal presentability, and meager ability. Pathological liar; e.g., related her engagement to recent university graduate, football star, business success, and social élite, who turned out to be a nondescript widower with a child of three. Selfish (egocentric), money mad. Hard to get along with, disposition described by colleagues as "rotten." Peremptory and overfirm with pupils.

Case C. Girl, 23. Family slave and bisexual. Parents divorced, overidentification with and dependence on mother to whom she turns over her salary and whose advice is sought before action on most trivial matters. Sweet disposition and dutiful, what would be called "a good girl" in our culture, but overshy and a case of self-pity. Cries easily. Few men friends, but will ignore rest of a social group and hold hands with her girl chum. Violent hatred and embarrassment towards former girl chums from whom she is now alienated. Writes (and receives) ten-page letters daily to her girl friend who lives in same town and whom she sees frequently. Overlenient with children, her pupils get out of hand.

Case D. Girl, 28. Jewish. Overmotivation and ego drives. Good scholar, but education-mad and cocksure. Overambitious, motivation exceeds ability. Motivation isolates her from normal heterosexual relations, moody. Capricious and inconsistent in her discipline.

Case E. Girl, 22. Italian. Flapper promiscuity, discontented, emotional instability. Parents divorced, lives with sister, very unpleasant home life. Apparently compensates in sex, a "searcher." "I'd give anything in the world if I could get out of Chicago." Thinks she could never settle down to one man; sometimes has two engagements the same evening, excusing herself from one to meet the other. Was on point of accepting an obviously dangerous offer from man who would drive her West in an expensive car, present her with the car, and pay her a disproportionate salary as bookkeeper on a ranch (no knowledge of bookkeeping required). Only the vigorous interposition of a friendly adviser prevented. The man was later arrested for vice activity on another complaint. "One of those jazz creatures."

Case F. Typical old maid. Apparently well adjusted personally and socially within the implied limits. Easy to get along with, energetic, "when she walks her skirts go swish-swish like a little bantam rooster." Not a dominant personality or an independent thinker; is frequently "razzed" by her colleagues without being aware of it—"You could make her think black was white." Hard worker, but doesn't accomplish much. No men friends, apparently completely lacks "it."

Case G. Grass widow, 30. Family slave and Messalina; possibly nymphomaniac. Alienated from mother on whom she was fixated, now a high ambivalence. Fixations also on sister and one brother. Religious, strong extravert, capable, self-reliant. Was virgin until marriage, but had clandestine affair during marriage. Divorce evidently precipitated by disproportionate sex demands, aggressive rôle played by her, and cultural tensions arising out of sectional and religious mores; impotence induced in husband last year of marriage. (He was potent in extramarital relations.) Has rationalized, possibly assimilated, favorably to her own egotistic feelings, the entire marital and divorce experience. Promiscuity curbed only by status drives. For over a year, mistress to two men, both of whom see her frequently and neither of whom knows of the other. Has had intimate liaisons with two men at once. Oral perversion. Was only prevented by good counsel from rash second marriage, conceived almost entirely in terms of family status compensations. Plays with the idea of homosexual experience. In spite of all this was, at time of the investigation, the most resourceful and superficially the best personality picture and the most capable teacher. Handles her children with insight and objective analysis. Still the most capable teacher, but has lost some of her power to assimilate her experiences. Asks, "How long can it last?"

Case H. Girl, 25. Apparently well adjusted. Conformed, religious, capable, thorough, systematic. Only a suggestion of family dependence, of overseriousness, and of "prudishness." Few heterosexual friendships, but apparently on a high level. Feminine. Handles children well.

Case I. Girl, 26. Apathy. Fairly good ability, but no motivation. Says case G of her, "She is not dumb, but just not interested—not even in the men! But I never heard her make an unkind remark or lose her temper —maybe because she hasn't gumption enough." Within these limitations, the pose and tranquillity of possible apathy, she is apparently well adjusted.

Case J. Girl, 28. Inferiority complex, big-girl complex. Very tall and big framed. Compensates poorly by overambitiousness to point of miserliness and well by ingratiating habits. Sensitive, cries easily. Good student, well liked. Few men friends, "not a luscious object." Was once "boy friend" to Case C and now suffers all the embarrassment of a rejected suitor when in social situations with her. Case C handles her with the high-handedness of a scornful woman, and J, masculine to C's mild femininity, but feminine to G's stronger personality, pours out her troubles to G, who consoles her—and is tempted.

The interactions of such teachers[16] with the diversity of types among the students is prime sociological and psychological material at our doors for use but as yet untouched. The complexes which dominate the teacher—religion, sex, status drives, industrial order, race, etc.—cannot but be dragged in by the heels and sooner or later affect the student whether by contagion

[16] Similar studies are certainly called for on unselected groups of university teachers, social workers, scoutmasters, religious workers, ministers, and such official guiders of others.

or negativistically. Our only protection at present, a quite fortuitous one, is the number of teachers through whose hands a student passes in the entire process, so that one may perchance offset the good or evil another has done, and the upshot, if the gods be with us, be something approaching a norm of influence. But with the unconscious selection occasioned by the embracing of teaching by particular types even this becomes doubtful.

The personality of the teacher is reflected in his method of teaching. We have the dogmatic-didactic method of the person compensating for inferiority feeling. It introduces a further sociological factor into the learning process, for, often enough, his dogmatism, even at the university level, goes unquestioned by his students, not yet cut loose from earlier dependence upon and awe before the familial and clerical voices of authority and habituated by the years of unquestioning rote learning in primary and secondary schools. Then we have the kindly didactic guidance of the fatherly professor, the motherly grade teacher, who is apt to be on the best of terms with his pupils, too lenient with them, and sometimes venerated by them. His weakness is failing in the adequate presentation of objective content. But his strength is in mores impressment, in inducing the learning of items which require attitude changes. His strength could be in mores *realignment* did his own make-up not so readily lend itself to unquestioning conformity, were the existing mores not so thoroughly subjectivated in his own case. For *while we will learn our multiplication table at any one's hands, we will not accept values and attitudes (which have to do with what has become part of ourselves and change in which requires realignment of motives) from just any one.* Learning of such content is *predominantly* sociological.

One aim of education, it is true, may be defined as mores impressment, the socialization of the individual. But another may be defined as research, the replacement of the old and false by the new and true, and, in the personal and the social, this usually amounts to mores replacement. Thus the second aim is a sort of continuous negating and rectifying of the first. But both involve attitudes, values, emotions, meanings; both are important integral aims of education as a functioning social institution, and, to be effective, both mores impressment and the realignment of mores—orientations regarding religion, sex, status, race, family, or political and social order—are *not a matter*

of content so much as a matter of teacher, and of method. While persuasion as opposed to argumentation is the more effective *technique* in changing attitudes, it remains true that the *teacher* must also fill the bill as an acceptable prestige agent to function other than negativistically in these fields. This involves an emotional rapport (often technically, a transference), as all psychoanalysis tends to show. Learning, here, is distinctly socio-psychological.

The list of pupil-to-teacher responses could probably become all but indefinite. They are seen to fall mainly into categories of affectional rapport on the one hand and self-feelings (status) on the other; if a third were differentiated, it would be in terms of dependence and independence.

There is a sociology of classroom situations. Here is either an in-group with an outsider arbitrarily placed in control of them or a single in-group for whom the teacher is the natural leader. He is apt to be an outsider and enemy, due to the displaced father rebellion, to his own repressive rôle as disciplinarian, as watchdog on the lookout for mistakes, cheating, or delinquency, and as top sergeant relentlessly holding the student to the task of learning meaningless abstractions by rote. In that case, in the elementary- and high-school levels, an enemy morality, at least among a subgroup, grows up towards the teachers. It is a feather in one's cap to hoodwink him or one is a hero to oppose him. The attitude is expressed crudely on the deportment level rather than on intellectual levels. One plays hero to, and gains status in the eyes of, the group (or subgroups of it) by being a bad boy for the teacher and status with the other boys is of primary importance. Stimuli *intended* to entrench responses in geography and arithmetic verbalization have really entrenched response tendencies in quite other fields of behavior. Thus do the content, method, and personnel of our educational system get a distant reflection in crime, juvenile delinquency, and personality maladjustment.

But even at the university level, sooner or later, the teacher is either accepted or rejected by persons, by subgroups, or by the group as a whole. Here, oftener though not always, the rebellion is in intellectual dissension rather than bad deportment. Not until the students themselves have outgrown their infantilism somewhat—in the graduate seminars—is the man's contribution divorced from his person and received on its own merits.

Thus, it usually becomes necessary for a teacher, even a venerated grand old man of the faculty, sooner or later to "define the situation" as to who is in control, intellectually or even in actual discipline, the teacher or the class. There are many ways of doing this. It may be done by making conformity the way of prudence, through bestowing zeros and cuts. It may be done by singling out the worst member and making the teacher and the rest of the class one in their opposite identification to the scapegoat, who is, perhaps, sent from the lecture or whose wisecrack is reversed to his own chagrin. This is a matter for artistry and good nature, however, since too ruthless a treatment will enlist the group sympathies the wrong way. Again, it may be done, if the professor is big enough not to take himself too seriously, by joining with the class when the joke is on him or by deliberately playing up his own idiosyncrasies for the combined (a completed in-group) delectation. This too requires artistry, for, having got a communality in the orientation towards his ridiculous aspects, he must not lose it in shifting over to his more dignified participations. There was a secondary teacher who, by continuing to sit without a quiver on the tack which had been placed in his chair and subjecting the perpetrator, whom he had detected by give-away behavior to a thorough and good natured grilling on the day's assignment, won an unquestioned leadership of an erstwhile incorrigible grouping and smoothed out wonderfully the "learning process" for that particular rŏomful.

In several aspects of pedagogy, qualities of leadership, well-integrated personality, and social sense are more important than knowledge, beyond certain limits, of content; and we have noticed striking instances where men having the former conducted better classes, not forgetting what the student got out of them, than those who, lacking some of these things, were much better grounded in the field, even prominent because of research, publication, or official connection, which should give us reason to reappraise our present emphasis on research in selecting that part of our university personnel whose chief objective task is teaching.

There is (perhaps, rather, there should be) a swift moving shifting of social rôles, of social selves, by both teacher and class. Now he is off his dignity and at one with a group totality in the enjoyment of an amusing sidelight or in profession of ignorance before a complex problem ramifying into many fields; now with a finality in which acceptance is implicit he dogmatizes

one of the few items in our store of knowledge worthy of such finality; now, his sarcasm bites and stings to opposition and independence; now, gently and kindly, he links arms with his students and considers together the rightness or wrongness of this *mos majorum*, the appropriateness of that institution; now they are working together with no superposition or subordination in the solution of a new problem; and so on and on. A score of changes of rôle in one class session are successively and concurrently carried on and maintained, depending upon the shift in the content, the nature of the group, and the necessity, by phrase or glance or gesture, of tempering the individual stimulus. Needless to say, the perfectly conducted class has not yet come within the writer's ken.

The factors considered in this paper are elusive, some of them scarcely verbalizable, but the teacher-pupil relationships contain a wealth of sociological and psychological material available to ready observation, susceptible even to some degree of controlled experimentation and calling for understanding and adjustment while we do little or nothing with them.

Neither can we do much with it, especially towards adjusting them, until our teachers have a thorough knowledge of sociology, psychology, and the functional aspects of cultural anthropology, a knowledge of what may appropriately be called "socio-psychology," and until more attention is paid to the personality integration of teachers and administrators themselves. There are all sorts of "give-aways" of the major complexes and the more serious distortions of the personality in written papers, classroom recitation and deportment, and playground behavior. If we had a teaching staff trained to detect them, distortion of the personality could be apprehended and checked in its incipiency instead of being further distorted at the hands of teacher or class. The school, coupled with the juvenile courts and bureaus of children's guidance, could eventually carry us far towards that Utopia in which there are neither defectives, deranged, nor delinquents. Such a goal may be centuries hence and doubtless depends upon all the multiplicity of biological, economic, and social measures projected for its attainment. But an important first step is a more vital integration of the contributions of psychology, psychoanalysis, anthropology, and sociology; and a second step is the so much called-for use by pedagogy of the product of that synthesis.

However, these applications may or may not be worked out; it remains that learning, at least in humans, is not a psychological process simply, but is complicated by many sociological factors.

VIII. METHOD AND THE INTEGRATION OF PERSONALITY[17]

PHILIP W. L. COX

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Education itself may be said to consist in helping pupils to set up for themselves objectives which are dynamic, reasonable, and worth while, and in helping them to attain these objectives. In this, it is the dramatic antithesis of conventional class procedures—even of the best of them.

For in them, the curriculum is itself the end of education. Pupils are taught Latin in order that they may know Latin; they are taught mathematics and science and homemaking in order that they may know mathematics and science and homemaking. Whether or not these knowledges are related to any objectives which pupils may have set up for themselves and which are for them dynamic or reasonable or worth while, is seldom—very, very seldom—taken to be significant.

We give verbal acceptance to the seven objectives of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education, to Inglis's three aims, or to some other formulation of purposes and functions of the secondary school. We do, indeed, make earnest and successful attempts to introduce into our school environments many stimulations and practices by which these aims may be realized. But in our classroom methods, the educational progress of children, if any, is largely a by-product of our "teaching." Sometimes children progress in spite of "teaching." Too often, indeed, the educative process is so distorted and perverted as a result of conventional lesson preparation and recitation methods that grave harm is done. Stubbornness, day-dreaming, truancy, and inferiority complexes develop, in part at least, from strict insistence on "mastery," "nagging," and school failure.

It is just the blind acceptance of folk ways that impels us teachers to permit such undesirable conditions to continue. It

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[17] *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Vol. IV, No. 6, February, 1930, pp. 339–346.

is our inherited faith in the power of the schools and of subjects to benefit children who are kept from being lazy, put through their paces, driven to master lessons. As we teachers ourselves grasp the significance of more humane and emotionally justifiable methods and as we become confident of their application we are happy and eager to undertake them.

The methodology of helping children to set up objectives which are for them dynamic, reasonable, and worth while, and of helping them to attain these objectives contains little that is of intrinsic difficulty. It does demand, however, that pupils shall not all perform the same tasks on the same day, for objectives will differ as individual children differ. It does require objectives that are of more inherent significance than getting good marks or avoiding disagreeable comments by the teacher; propulsive, inherently satisfying objectives are necessary.

Even for those pupils who seem to move and live and have their being in teacher approvals and honor rolls and high marks, the conventional system is harmful. For they are accepting an artificial world that has no counterpart in reality anywhere except in other academic schoolrooms. They are thus divorced from reality. There often result serious maladjustments when these boys and girls emerge from their hothouse school world and deal with men and women and youths who will not accept docility and mechanical efficiency as the equivalent of, or as a substitute for, initiative, self-reliance, and resourcefulness.

As a matter of fact, we know too little of the relation between school success and life success to justify us in being very positive in our school requirements. So many school failures and unschooled persons have succeeded in all phases of social life, and so many valedictorians have failed in life that we must hesitate to identify academic improvement with education.

Our measures of improvement themselves are open to question. Even if they were really adequate, however, they would show little to give us assurance.

Too often, we high-school people, especially those of us who teach academic subjects, live in a world of ghosts and mysticism. Our conventional practices are based on a premise that has never been honestly examined. The assumption behind our academic curriculum is that the mastery of geometry, Latin, English literature, or chemistry is of positive benefit to all who obtain it.

Because we do blindly accept the assumption of inevitability and beneficence of the high-school curriculum, we focus our constructive efforts on the improvement of curriculum organization and methodology in order to improve pupils' control of subject matter. And we devise measures on the basis of which we pronounce method A superior to method B, or curriculum organization I superior to curriculum organization II. We seem not to care that children retain little of what we so meticulously teach and test and teach again, and what they so painfully and joylessly learn to recite. It does not often disturb us that college students so seldom continue Latin, mathematics, and formal English beyond the point of prescription. It is no affair of ours apparently if our graduates seldom read any Latin or French, or Tennyson, or history, or solve mathematics problems after all the hours of work they and we have expended on these subjects.[18]

Perhaps, we have never cared enough about these conditions to know of their existence or to pay much attention to them now when they are pointed out. Let us review briefly some facts that are at present available.

Are children improved in school skills by school learning? Recent investigations in achievements in written English—reported by Leonard in his article, "Practice Exercises," in the March, 1930 issue of the *Journal of Educational Research* [Vol. XXI, No. 3, pp. 186–190]—indicate that pupils' out-of-school English usages are not affected by high-school instruction and that the best seventh-grade pupils use quite as good English as the best twelfth-grade pupils! Some years ago Brown found that in Latin translation the best pupils made little or no progress from the tenth to the twelfth grades. Even in algebra and modern languages increasing mastery of the average pupil depends quite as much on the elimination of those who have not mastered the techniques as on the growth in power of those who continue.

In the 1928 Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education are several studies which show how unfounded is the assumption that "standards" of achievement are related to quality of teaching or even to the subjects studied. Terman in summarizing these investigations says: "One of these fails to find any statistically significant difference between the subject-

[18] Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1927, No. 16, "The Reading of Modern Foreign Languages," pp. 28–32.

matter achievement of pupils taught by 'best' teachers and the achievement of those taught by 'poorest' teachers. Other investigations have shown that achievement is affected to an astonishingly small extent by size of class or by the use of widely different methods of instruction. Thus it seems to make little difference in ultimate achievement whether a pupil is taught phonics or not; whether he is taught reading by the word or the sentence method, or by some other method; whether he is taught spelling as a separate subject or not; or whether 12 per cent or 25 per cent of the total school time is given to arithmetic . . . "

If these conclusions are sound what is the inference? The control of subject matter and the ability to do certain work, say of the ninth grade, or of the freshman year of the college, depend less upon the subject matter that has been mastered (or the class methods that have been used) than they do upon general intellectual ability and continuing life interests.

Is the mastery of conventional high-school subject matter essential for college success? Proctor has shown conclusively, for the colleges which he studied, that no high-school subject beyond ninth-grade English is regularly enough used by college students to justify its inclusion as a prescription for college admittance.[19] In Wellesley, which requires four years of high-school Latin for admission, only ten per cent of the students continue their Latin.[20] At Harvard, of the 839 members of the class of 1931, 19 "concentrated" in Latin and 30 in mathematics, as against 151 in economics, 121 in English, and 87 in history.[21]

In spite of the discovery by Odell, Whitman, and others that the measurement of scholastic achievement, whether by teachers' marks, by objective tests, or by college-admission examinations, has scarcely better prognostic value even for scholastic success in college than have pure guesses, colleges continue to lean on this broken reed. Even though Fleming has shown that, next to "general intelligence" and silent reading ability, the dynamic personal qualities—industry, persistence, desire to excel, energy, and emotional stability—are of primary importance for educational success, academic college-admission committees continue

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[19] *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. XV, No. 2, February, 1927, pp. 87–92.

[20] T. H. Briggs, in address at Secondary Group Meeting, Teachers College, October 21, 1929.

[21] Harvard Alumni Bulletin, December 13, 1928, p. 346.

to pin their faith on scholastic marks rather than on these socially significant characteristics.

Do high-school academic subjects result in life enthusiasms? In the recent modern-language investigation, letters were sent to many high-school graduates who had studied modern foreign languages. The great majority were glad that they had studied foreign languages; but painfully few were able to assert that they had read any foreign literature in the original since completing their school studies.[22] In Latin, mathematics, and the English classics, the situation must be even more discouraging. Though we have no actual data on which to base this statement, common observation and the testimony of librarians justify it. Indeed, teachers of these subjects alone seem to retain any familiarity with high-school subject matter, and it is often embarrassing to them to reply to questions regarding present enthusiasms and growths even in their own subject fields.

Progressive Practices Are Promising; But They Must Have as a Unifying Philosophy the Importance of the Integration of Pupil Personality

Since our "teach-and-test" program is obviously carrying us around in a circle and getting us exactly nowhere, may we not frankly recognize that pupils get their own education from their environments? If we do so recognize the challenge, our methodology must be directed to the orientation of pupils in their environments and to their enthusiasms and competences to deal with the factors and forces thereof. In other words, our methods must aim primarily at the integration of pupils' personalities.

We have little to lose and a world to gain by modifying our methodology in terms of human behavior and attitudes rather than in terms of "mastery," marks, and examination passing. If, in the light of our present positive knowledge of the futility of teaching verbal facts and abstract skills, we schoolmen cannot reconstruct our practices in accordance with human needs and possibilities, then we are indeed incompetents at whom the generations to come must look with amazement.

It is not, however, a change in general procedure that is required; rather it is a revolutionary change in viewpoint,

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[22] Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 16, 1927, "The Reading of Modern Foreign Languages," pp. 28–31.

purpose, and emphasis. There is room enough within most modern methods for this revision without losing whatever advantages they may possess as organizations of procedure.

Modern Methods in the Light of Personal Fulfillment

Lesson-preparation-and-recitation. This method ought not perhaps to be included among "modern" methods. It is, nevertheless, the "type" which is most common at the present time. And it may be consistent with the new purpose of education.

The recitation mode bases its procedures on the assumption that pupils have their lessons prepared before the class meets. The teacher then has the pupils recite what they have learned. He plans to accomplish by this means several outcomes. By having his pupils recite he hopes to test their preparation to discover pupils' difficulties to be cleared up, to familiarize them with the topics or processes involved, to reward pupils who have learned their lessons well or made outstanding contributions, and to stimulate pupils to further efforts.

The general shortcoming of the typical recitation is its artificiality. Pupils are expected to answer questions, give explanations, and demonstrate solutions, not because the teacher or his fellow pupils are looking to him for information, but because they are alert to discover him making a mistake in what they all know quite as well as, often better than, the poor victim who is reciting. There is, therefore, inherent in the formal recitation a condition which tends to estrange many pupils and teachers, pupils and subjects, and fellow members of the same class. Some pupils do, indeed, respond to this mode eagerly; they like its definiteness; they crave the rewards for docility and adhesive memories. Nevertheless, they are the very pupils most in danger of maladjustment in a world of real responsibilities calling for initiative and self-reliance.

The lesson-preparation-and-recitation mode must, therefore, be enriched by supplementary assignments and diversified projects so that pupils will look within themselves quite as often as in textbooks to discover the appropriate responses. There will be fewer true-false tests and arbitrary rights and wrongs. Rewards will go to those who act independently as well as to those who give verbal memorized answers. For to the significant questions of life, there are no *right or final answers;* there are only honest and well-thought-out tentative conclusions.

The socialized recitation and project plans. In these methods, the teacher endeavors to reproduce the learning situations typical of social life. Motive is recognized as "half the battle." Hence, the whole class plan is an attempt to lead pupils to undertake eagerly, either as individuals or as groups, the solution of some challenging problem, the creation of some reality, the control of some procedure, the appreciation of some meaningful or significant condition.

If we accept Kilpatrick's criteria of the true project—that it shall involve wholehearted purposing, planning, execution, and evaluation—it is evident that the socialized recitation practically always implies the existence of a project. In other words, the socialized recitation is a normal and desirable method for the group formulation of purposes and plans and for the evaluation of their execution. In such meetings, the teacher counts as one person—a person more experienced than his fellows, to be sure, and hence, whose opinion may be entitled to more respect than theirs. But he does not settle things out of hand for the class; if he is wise, he may occasionally permit, even encourage, the class to outvote him. In such class meetings, the right ways or right decisions are not the teacher's ends; the honest effort to *discover* what is right or best is of supreme importance. Wrong decisions will quickly show themselves up. Majority prejudices will have brief but vain triumphs. Pupils will act against their own better judgment and regret it; they will sulk and find it does not pay; they will abuse their leadership and neglect their responsibilities and suffer the punishments which such dereliction of duty brings upon them.

How shall we judge the value of such procedure? By true-false and multiple-choice tests? Absurd! By their analogy to desirable life situations? This is better, but may be challenged. By seeing the school situation not as like life but as life itself? Surely. The project may thus be self-evaluated.

This basis of values does not preclude objective judgments, though it does make them more difficult to secure. We must first seek tests or measures of social adequacy and then apply them to large numbers of pupils before and after a considerable period of time in which project and socialization have been the predominant methods. As a control, we may utilize similar groups taught by conventional methods.

Such studies have been made. Pickett studied general science in a vocational school. In a four-year high school Frederick studied biology; Hurd, physics; and Kelly, history. Always the traits allied to the objectives of education have shown greater improvement under the purposing plan than under conventional methods. Sometimes, the fact and skill control has been quite as great under the project plan as under conventional methods. The preponderance of evidence at present is, however, that if we want a youngster to control abstract facts and processes for examination purposes at the end of the course or topic, we had better depend on testing, teaching, testing again and adapting instruction, and teaching again, *ad nauseam.* But we have no evidence that, at the end of six months or six years, he will control these facts and skills any better than one who had less mastery at the end of the course . . .

Individual methods. The old commercial-college plan, which makes it possible for students to cover ground at different rates according to time and effort spent and which adjusts the exercises for different abilities, was rediscovered a few years ago and renamed "The Dalton Plan." As originally heralded it *caught on* wonderfully well in ground-covering schools, particularly in Europe, where, as Kilpatrick has pointed out, the completion of units of work in preparation for examinations is even more prevalent than in America.

It has the very real advantage of putting responsibility for the completion of work "up to" each pupil. The teacher cannot pass or fail a pupil on the basis of mere opinion. When the pupil has completed the assigned work, he submits the outcome to the teacher who credits him with the fulfillment of the required work. As operated in some schools, the contracts have demanded such a high degree of reading ability, organizing and abstracting capacity, and interest in traditional culture, that many pupils have been unable or unwilling to complete their assignments. In more humane and democratic schools, however, the gradients of increasing difficulty and abstractness have been adapted to the social and biological inheritances of children. In such schools, the method has lent itself to a true education in responsibility, to the attainment of greater self-confidence, and to the pursuit of happiness.

Somewhat allied to this ground-covering individual plan is that of goals-mastery, best known as the Winnetka method. The

Courtis drill exercises also exemplify this plan. Generous shares of each school day are allotted to socialized, experimental education in which spontaneity, pupil enthusiasms, and active, eager participation are stressed. At other times, pupils work individually on the mastery of skills and informations for which there seems to be some "scientific" justification.

Pupils thus know the goals which they must achieve and may have the same attitude towards their work as a golfer who wishes to "break a hundred." Pupils who attain these goals by means of hard work or native aptitude are freed from a part of the whole of their daily "stints." Hence, they are encouraged to engage for even more of their time in undertakings which imply purposing, planning, executing, and evaluating.

The unit mastery plans. The best known of these methods are the Morrison unit technique, and Miller's Wisconsin contracts. These units differ from projects in that they are teacher-controlled. They have a concrete and definite character, but they are so organized as to result more specifically in the formulation of principles of knowledge, or the development of more tangible appreciations, habits, and skills. In the Miller plan, school marks are assigned on the basis of progressively difficult contracts: "fair" for the minimum, "good" for the next level, and "excellent" for the highest level. Motivation and careful preparation of the class by the teacher precede each assigned unit.

Individual mastery of these assignments is insisted upon. The methods of procedure, the rate of work, and the level of achievement are adapted, however, to the needs and capacities of individual pupils.

While many pupils find in these units high degrees of self-expression and eager pursuit of knowledge and mastery, the all-important matter of continuing attitudes is lost in the mists of uncertainty. They resist superimposition and uniformity.

In an excellent high school in which the Morrison technique is successfully used, one teacher was an outstanding success in the preparation-test-teach-retest-adapt instruction teach-again program; another teacher just could not use the technique adequately. He started to teach for one objective and soon found himself and his pupils chasing half a dozen interesting but elusive goals. He himself was very humble under the criticism which came to him; he felt that he merited it. He was a mediocre teacher; as a technician, a failure!

At the end of the summer vacation, one of these two teachers had received over thirty letters from pupils who wished to tell of something they had seen, of collections they were making, of interesting reading they were doing. They asked questions, they advanced hypotheses, they sought advice.

No, it was not the excellent teacher cited above who got these letters; his work had been done, his pupils had mastered their subject matter and probably thanked a kind Providence that they would not have to see, hear, or know anything more of it as long as they lived. It was the "failure," who had given so little of organization and mastery and so much of kindliness and enthusiasm, whose pupils went on with their questions and searchings for answers. Truly the last may be first and the first last when life values are substituted for scholastic values.

Education is not something to be got and certified, and stamped "educated." It is rather a preparation and a prophecy. It is a stimulus, a momentum. That person is educated who is still curious, eager, alert, and growing at thirty, at forty, at fifty, and at sixty.

Hence, education does not consist of, and cannot be measured by, what a boy or girl knows or can do on a certain day in June of his or her senior year in high school—or at any other particular moment. Education consists of his or her will to do, to be, and to control. It depends on his or her readiness to use the tools and procedures with which he or she has practised in connection with school and affiliated education institutions. For if the mind-set and self-confidence are right, the individual will go right on learning throughout life.

Let our methodology be that of the Danish Folk High School. Let us first be sure of our own enthusiasms for what we would teach. Then with our own personality let us endeavor to enliven our pupils before we attempt to enlighten them. Let us help each child to find a task, to evolve a plan for performing his task, and then permit him freedom to work out his own salvation.

If by our methods we can lead youths to enjoy learning, if the adventure of discovery has an appeal, then will education continue and be coterminous with life.

Chapter XII

Child Guidance

I. INTRODUCTION

Perhaps the most active interest manifested by sociologists in recent years has been in the field of mental hygiene, its sociological significance, and its relation to the problem of child guidance in the schools.

The articles in this chapter, carefully selected from a vast amount of material on the subject, give an adequate presentation of the whole problem of child guidance in the school, considered from the sociological point of view.

II. MENTAL HYGIENE'S CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION[1]

Harvey W. Zorbaugh

The writer was talking some weeks ago with the representative of a social agency in a western city which was engaged in a study of the "unemployable"—the unemployable being defined for the purpose of the study as men and women within the ages demanded by industry and without gross physical defects who failed to hold jobs in spite of repeated efforts of social agencies to place them. The representative of the social agency making the study said: "Our findings ought to be of interest to the public schools. This group, for the most part, are physically and mentally adequate enough to find and hold jobs. They are unemployable largely because of their attitudes towards society. In the majority of cases these attitudes can be traced to their first contacts with an institution representative of society, the public school. Their answers to questions dealing with their schooling reveal that most of them disliked school, had difficulty

[1] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 6, February, 1932, pp. 325–333.

in school, were in trouble with the school authorities, and left school—as soon as they could get out—with a resentment towards the school and towards authority in general. If the schools do not of their own accord wake up to their responsibility for these misfits, and accept the responsibility for them, there are a lot of us who are intelligent citizens and taxpayers who are damn well going to see to it that they are forced to!"

Those who can't or won't meet the demands of adult life constitute the greatest problem of our civilization. Some indication of their numbers is given by the report of the White House Conference that there are 500,000 individuals in our prisons, hospitals for mental disease, almshouses, and institutions for defectives. Every year there are 70,000 persons admitted for the first time to hospitals for the mentally diseased and more than 300,000 persons committed to prison; and for every individual committed there are several at large who are unadjusted to the complex social and industrial conditions of modern life. The unemployable and dependent are in the spotlight at present because of the unemployment situation incident upon the depression. But the delinquent, criminal, and the mentally unstable constitute the groups of major social concern. Our crime bill last year was at least three and one-half billion dollars—twice the Federal income tax, and nearly twice the total cost of public education. Our hospitals for the mentally unstable are full to overflowing, and it is estimated that of those children in the State of New York now under sixteen years of age who live to be sixty, one in ten will at some time during his life suffer a temporarily disabling mental breakdown, and one in twenty will occupy a bed in a hospital for the mentally unsound.

The penitentiary and the psychopathic hospital may seem remote from the public school, but we are accumulating facts about the childhood of maladjusted adults that make them seem not so remote. Our crime commissions are discovering that a large part of crime is committed by a relatively small proportion of criminals who are repeated offenders. These repeated offenders were for the most part known as recidivists in adolescence by the juvenile court. Their first delinquencies were typically truancy from school. The majority of them were considered problems in school. Again, the majority of the patients who fill the beds in our psychopathic hospitals were recognized as unstable or "different" personalities in adolescence, and their

histories reveal a succession of difficulties of adjustment extending back into early childhood.

The great majority of the maladjusted adults were problems in childhood. All of them were school children. Many of them were recognized as problems by the school. What happened to them in school? Yourman's article in *The Journal of Educational Sociology* [which appears in full, later in this chapter], contains the answer to this question. His answer may be pointed by a story here. A boy in a midwestern city was in constant difficulty with his teachers, was frequently a truant, and was finally committed to a disciplinary school. The disciplinary school was a much better school than the public school in which he had been. The teachers did not resent him. They were sympathetic and understood him. He was happy, took an interest in his school work, made a quick adjustment, and in a few months was paroled. When it was known that he was to be paroled the child guidance clinic, to which he had been referred for study, got in touch with his old school to which he must return, explained his problem, and talked with the teacher of the grade into which he was to go as to how he should be handled. Principal and teachers shook their heads. He was "incorrigible." He returned to his old school. In a few weeks he was in difficulty again. He was reported as a trouble maker and as defiant of the school authorities. He went back to the clinic of his own accord to talk over his difficulties with his friend, the psychiatrist. The psychiatrist asked him what the trouble was. The boy said the school wouldn't give him a new deal, treated him just as they did before he was put away; it was no use trying, he wished he could go back to the disciplinary school. The psychiatrist said: "Well, son, you had better run away again." The boy ran away, was recommitted for the period of his schooling, and ultimately made a good adjustment.

The problem child whose behavior makes him a disturbing factor in the classroom is typically suppressed or eliminated; the problem child whose behavior is not a disturbing factor in the classroom is not recognized as a problem or is ignored. Let no one think these attitudes are characteristic only of the worst of our schools. A boy was referred to the Clinic for the Social Adjustment of the Gifted at New York University as a behavior problem. He was attending one of the most famous experimental schools in America where he was in difficulty with most of

his teachers and failing miserably in spite of a very high I.Q. The Clinic's social worker, as part of the study of the boy's social background, visited the school and talked to the principal. As soon as the boy's name was mentioned the principal became emotional. "You need not tell me what that boy needs. He needs a thrashing and I'd give it to him if I dared. The trouble with that boy is that he has the intelligence of an adult with the emotions of a child." The social worker replied that the Clinic saw the problem in the same light, and that between the school and the Clinic a solution to the boy's difficulties should be found. At which the principal exclaimed: "Madam, this is an experimental school, and we have no time to bother with problem children."

It is interesting to speculate as to how long the intelligent public will tolerate this attitude—particularly as the mental-hygiene movement is aggressively carrying the case to the public. Whether the school has a responsibility for these problem children depends, however, upon whether their problems are educational or medical. A prominent Chicagoan, addressing a service club, recently stated: "If you find a delinquent Italian boy in Chicago look for a defective germ plasm in Sicily"; and not long since a Chicago judge sentenced a boy to an operation "to remove his criminal instinct." Up to a short time ago the majority of the students of delinquency were inclined to attribute delinquent behavior to some constitutional factor—heredity, physical inferiority, inadequate intelligence, or an unstable nervous system. One physician went so far as to assert that if Congress would appropriate the money to remove all the focal infections found in children we could shortly tear down our reform schools and prisons.

Carefully controlled studies, such as those of Slawson,[2] have eliminated one constitutional factor after another as a possible explanation of delinquency. Meanwhile, Shaw's studies under the Behavior Research Fund in Chicago have adduced evidence to show that delinquency is to be explained largely in terms of the cultural organization of those communities from which delinquents come.[3] Delinquent behavior, like any other behavior, is

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[2] Slawson, John, "The Delinquent Boy," R. G. Badger, Boston, 1926, viii + 477 pages.

[3] Shaw, Clifford, "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency." National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, "Report on the Causes of Crime," Volume II.

a pattern of reaction to the child's social experience, to the values of his social world. Indeed, Dr. R. R. Williams, psychiatrist at the Children's Village, has said that the greatest need of the older boys committed to that institution is a socially acceptable set of values.

Delinquency, clearly, is an educational rather than a medical problem. We cannot speak with equal confidence as to mental instability. Whether constitutional differences in the organization of the nervous system are involved is uncertain; but mental hygienists are agreed that the majority of personalities that break under strain, break as a result of unfortunate emotional attitudes. These unfortunate emotional attitudes, like all attitudes, again are learned and are the products of experience. Mental instability is certainly as much an educational as a medical problem. The trend from institutional psychiatry to habit clinics and child guidance clinics reflects this fact.

If the social solution of adult maladjustment lies in a preventative educational program rather than in medicine, the schools are faced with a responsibility which they will be forced to accept, a responsibility for the education of the child's personality as well as for the education of his body and mind, a responsibility for the child's emotional habits as well as for his mental and manual skills. We are prone to believe that children will outgrow undesirable emotional traits. That this is not true is convincingly shown by a study by Dr. Smiley Blanton of the emotional habits of high-school and university students. Of the randomly selected high-school students studied, fully half, though perhaps doing good work, had emotional conflicts and personality difficulties that must certainly interfere with their success in life. Of one thousand randomly selected university juniors and seniors, again fully half had emotional difficulties great enough to keep them from realizing their greatest potentialities, and ten per cent had such serious maladjustments as to warp their lives, and in many cases cause serious mental breakdowns. Education of the emotions must replace the haphazard emotional development of the past. Before the schools can accept this responsibility, however, there must come sweeping changes in our philosophies of education, administrative attitudes, and teacher training and personnel.

Two conflicting philosophies dominate education today: the philosophy of education as discipline, and the philosophy of education as self-development. The philosophy of education as

discipline, characteristic of the old school, emphasizes the disciplinary values, mental and moral, that derive from the mastery of subject matter, centers the educational process about the curriculum, and measures the success of the educational process in terms of the amount of information the pupil has learned. In recent years concessions have been made to the utilitarians in the so-called "socialization" of the curriculum. There has been less parsing of sentences and bounding of States, more interpretative reading and study of subways. But mastery remains the holy grail of the old school. On the other hand, the philosophy of education as self-development, characteristic of the new or progressive school, emphasizes the developmental values that are derived from self-expression, centers the educational process about the child, and measures the success of the educational process in terms of what the child has created. It has written a magna charta of childhood around the word freedom.

The virtues of these two philosophies of education have been widely heralded by their protagonists; their dangers, particularly as viewed by the mental hygienist, not so widely. Education conceived as discipline holds up to the child a predetermined pattern of experience. The child conforms or is eliminated. For those who cannot or will not conform—and most of the latter are numbered among the former—the process of elimination involves a crippling sense of frustration and defeat that leaves its scars upon the adult personality. Yet this philosophy of education is far from dead. A prominent educator, in a recent discussion of juvenile delinquency, declared: "We need more iron in education." The great majority of our public schools, explicitly or implicitly, proceed from this philosophy.

Viewing the havoc wrought by the old schools we are likely to hail the apostle of the new school as the educational messiah. Certainly the mental hygienist would admit that from self-expression and creation are derived stabilizing life satisfactions that are the very essence of mental health; and that self-mastery, which is the basis of emotional maturity, is more likely to be achieved through experience of freedom than through conquering multiplication tables. But it is a fair question whether in their sectarian zeal many of the new schools have not carried their philosophy too far, have not held the child's unique potentialities

too sacred, have not allowed the child's pursuit of self-expression to warp his estimate of himself and blind him to the implications of the fact that he must live in a social world. Certainly clinical experience with the products of certain progressive schools would make us wonder whether child-centered schools may not be creating self-centered children.

There is a third philosophy slowly working its way into educational practice, the philosophy of education as adjustment. This philosophy is neither curriculum centered nor child centered, but life centered. It views education as a process of learning to live and getting along with others. So far as discipline, knowledge, and skill contribute to this process, they are good. So far as freedom and creation contribute to this process they are good. But education so conceived is more concerned with the child's personality than with his mind or his talents, more interested in his emotional attitudes than in his abilities. It sees education as a process of socialization, and the school's function as one of continual guidance. It would measure its success solely in terms of the effectiveness of the personalities of the children who have grown up in its schools. Education conceived as adjustment, combining the virtues of old and new schools with values of its own, promises a working philosophy that will make it possible for our schools to accept the responsibility that is undoubtedly theirs.

Certain administrative attitudes also stand in the way of the schools' meeting their social obligation for the problem child. Education in a democracy stresses equality of opportunity. Equality of opportunity has too frequently been interpreted as offering all children the same sort of education, in the same amounts, and at the same cost per pupil. Every proposal for special education has been decried on the ground that it involved an expenditure of funds out of line with public policy in that it meant spending more money on the education of one child than on the education of another. We are being forced, however, to a realization of the fact that equal opportunity so interpreted means only equal opportunity to fail. Real equality of opportunity, equal opportunity to succeed within the limits of the child's natural endowments, must inevitably involve varying cost per pupil according to the individual child's potentialities and handicaps.

Finally, if the schools are to face their obligation for the problem child there must be radical changes in the selection and training of the teacher. There are many teachers in the classrooms of our schools, and many more prospective teachers in our training schools, whose personalities are so conflicted or inadequate that they are potential sources of infection to the children entrusted to their care. We have ample evidence to show that there is an appreciable relationship between the personality of the teacher and the number of behavior problems developing among her pupils. We would not hesitate to say to a teacher found to have tuberculosis: "You must leave the classroom because you are a potential source of infection to your pupils." Equally we should not hesitate to exclude from the classroom teachers whose unhealed personal problems cannot but cause problems in their pupils. Training schools must take the position now being taken by the Newark Normal School, that when they recommend a teacher they recommend her first as a personality with whom it is safe for children to live, and only secondarily as the master of a subject matter and the techniques for its teaching.

In the training of all teachers we must emphasize the whole child as a developing organism learning under the teacher's tutelage to live and get along with others, and preparing to accept the responsibilities of adult life which can only be borne by persons who are socially adequate and emotionally mature. This means not merely courses in mental hygiene, but a point of view and a background of knowledge which shall be effectively integrated with the student-teacher's practice teaching.

When our public schools, having recognized the prevention of maladjustment to be an educational problem and having accepted the responsibility this recognition implies, provide children with an education adapted to their individual needs and directed towards their successful social adjustment, it is likely that fewer adults will face life with bewilderment or resentment, that there will be empty beds in our hospitals for the insane, and empty cells in our prisons.

III. THE DEPARTMENT OF CHILD GUIDANCE OF THE NEWARK PUBLIC SCHOOLS[4]

BRUCE B. ROBINSON

In 1918 the Newark public schools organized a special department known as the "Psycho-Educational Clinic." The Clinic, its personnel consisting of two psychologists and one clerk, served the public schools through the mental testing of certain problem children and by the identifying of those pupils whose poor learning ability made it necessary for them to be educated through the medium of special classes. This Clinic was highly centralized and with its small personnel was able to do no more than to meet the emergency cases which usually arose in connection with delinquent or classroom-disturbing behavior.

In 1923 there was organized under the county the Essex County Juvenile Clinic with Dr. James S. Plant as director. The primary purpose of this county clinic was to give psychiatric service to the juvenile court. Clinical service was also extended to social agencies and to the public schools of the county. The public schools of the city of Newark took advantage of this clinical opportunity and the number of cases referred to this county clinic increased rapidly from year to year. The clinic also served the school system of other municipalities of the county.

With the increasing recognition by the Newark schoolmen of the value of such clinical service it was decided by the Board of Education to organize, within the school system of Newark, a department to give such psychiatric clinical service. It was decided by the Board that the director of the new department should be a psychiatrist and one trained in child guidance clinics. The director was appointed in February 1926 and to him was delegated the responsibility of planning the organization of the department, working out with the school executives the policies of the department, setting up the requirements for personnel, and selecting and recommending psychiatric social workers and psychologists who fulfilled the requirements. In March 1926 the head visiting teacher was appointed together with one psychologist and one visiting teacher. Little clinical

[4] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 6, February, 1932, pp. 359-367.

work was attempted during the first five months of the Clinic's operation, the time being devoted to developing organization and policies and to acquainting the director and the head visiting teacher with the social resources of Newark, with the institutions of the city, county, and State, and with the organization and personnel of the public-school system.

The original budget of the department was approximately $35,000 and the personnel on duty with the department at the beginning of the fall term included the director, the head psychologist, the head visiting teacher, two assistant psychologists, four visiting teachers, and two clerks. For the year (1931–1932) the budget was approximately $66,000 and the personnel included four psychologists, thirteen visiting teachers, and five clerks. It is estimated that an adequate staff for this school system of 80,000 pupils would include two psychiatrists, twenty-five visiting teachers, and seven psychologists.

One of the first-adopted policies of the department was to put the emphasis upon work with children in the kindergarten and primary grades. It was felt that early recognition and treatment of behavior disorders and of scholastic difficulty was necessary if the greatest benefit to the child and to the school was to be derived from clinic operation. With younger children better results could be secured in treatment with the investment of less time and thus more pupils could receive the benefit of clinic operation. During the first two years of the department's existence over sixty per cent of the cases handled were less than nine years of age. The high schools, on the other hand, have received practically no service from the department. One senior high school has on its staff a full-time psychiatric social worker called "school counselor." This social worker acts along the lines of visiting-teacher work but has in addition responsibility for educational and vocational guidance.

The director of the department in addition to his executive responsibilities serves as psychiatrist. Psychiatric examinations are made as part of full clinic studies. The psychiatrist also serves in a consultant capacity to the visiting teachers and to the psychologists on cases that he himself has not examined. The psychiatrist is also a consultant in neurology to the schools' department of health education. In this capacity he sees all cases of epilepsy and chorea. The psychiatrist gives physical examinations to those cases handled by the department that are

less than eleven years of age. Experience indicates that better contact is made by the psychiatrist with these younger patients if the physical examination begins the interview rather than a period of discussion in the psychiatrist's office—the latter procedure being too reminiscent apparently of disciplinary appearances in the school office.

In the typical child guidance clinic every case handled by the department receives full clinic service; that is, a psychiatrist of the clinic sees every case with the result that the number of cases to be handled by the clinic is limited by the number of cases that the psychiatrist can examine. With a clientele of 80,000 pupils such intensive service was regarded as impractical. To give increased service a visiting-teacher organization was adopted. Under such organization the visiting teachers of the department are assigned to two schools each and have offices in those schools. Problem children recognized by those schools are referred directly to the visiting teacher and not to the department office. It is for the visiting teacher to decide whether the case will be accepted and the type of service which will be given to the case. It is the experience of the department that a well-trained psychiatric social worker experienced in work in the schools can handle two thirds of her cases without the need of full clinic study. Most of these visiting-teacher cases do receive psychological examinations because of the importance in all school cases of proper scholastic adjustment. Another procedure which allows the department to handle a larger number of cases is the preparation of a summary type of social history. Social histories are usually from two to five pages in length. It will be recognized that only an experienced worker who has practised the art can safely and adequately summarize in so few pages the mass of information secured at the home and at the school. The requirements for a visiting teacher are: college graduation, experience in either teaching or in social work, completion of a course in psychiatric social work, and a type of personality consistent with success in psychiatric social work in a school system. Staff meetings on cases studied are held at the request of the visiting teacher and are always attended by the principal and teachers from that school. These staff meetings may be held at the central office or at the school.

The psychologists are also given a great deal of independent responsibility in their work. The requirements for clinical

psychologist in the department of child guidance are: college graduation, a master's degree in clinical psychology, and one year of clinical experience under supervision. The schools of the city are divided among the four psychologists of the department and each is responsible for the development of as adequate a service as possible to the schools assigned to her. The psychologist must work out a program of testing in the schools, must select cases to be tested, and the basis of limiting intake, since the department can give little more than half the psychological service which the schools require. The psychologist is also responsible for the report to the school of the findings and for the working out of proper treatment procedures. She must know thoroughly the resources of the individual schools as well as of the school system so that her recommendations may be possible of fulfillment. She must arrange staff meetings for the discussion of individual cases and certain typical cases, and for the purpose of instructing the school faculties in the full utilization of the psychological service of the department. Psychological testing is carried on both at the school and at the department offices. Types of cases to be referred to the psychologist are outlined in a pamphlet furnished to the teachers.

The department carries on no adequate program in educational and vocational guidance since it is felt that individual studies along clinical lines for the purpose of educational and vocational guidance should await the development in the school of the necessary guidance procedure and courses; e.g., courses which acquaint all of the students in eighth grade with the types of courses offered in high school and vocational school, the basis for deciding which course a student should accept, and other courses for "orientation in industry."

Group tests in the Newark public schools are given by the department of reference and research. In addition to the usual use of such tests by the schools, the department of child guidance uses these tests for selecting those pupils in the primary grades who need individual psychological examinations, either because special class placement is indicated or because there is a marked discrepancy between ability as indicated by the group test and the child's classroom accomplishment.

One of the opportunities and responsibilities of the department is found in the study of those factors which are productive of distress to large groups of the school population, and in the

reporting of those factors to the proper administrative officers. The department reports, for example, such observation as that over seventy per cent of cases of truancy referred for clinic study are seriously maladjusted in grade and that both treatment and prevention of such cases calls for the providing of an academic program which supplies to such students interest, success, and steady progress through the grades. Another such recommendation would be based upon the finding of many children whose school difficulties are complicated by some special scholastic defect, as in reading, and whose treatment calls for regular and adequate tutoring service in the schools. The responsibility of the department in this connection is for the reporting of clinical findings and for a statement of group needs as seen from clinic experience and not at all for any recommendation as to the administrative or educational procedure to be adopted for the meeting of such group needs.

The department feels that it is important that the psychiatric and psychological work being carried on in the schools should be regarded as only a part of the mental-hygiene program of the school system. The mental-hygiene program of the schools is a responsibility, not of the Department of Child Guidance, but of all school executives and all classroom teachers. The mental-hygiene program must include consideration of those pupils who have become seriously maladjusted during, or because of, their school experience, but the mental-hygiene program is concerned much more with the problem of furnishing healthful, day-to-day experience to a whole school population. The mental-hygiene program attempts to work out for our pupils a school experience conducive to the best personality development. Discipline is a mental-hygiene problem. Discouragement, failure, school work which is not made interesting, and school activities which do not seem worth while to the pupil, are mental-hygiene problems, and the elimination of these problems is a part of the schools' mental-hygiene program.

The finest mental-hygiene development in the past six years in the Newark schools has not been the organization of a department for psychiatric-psychological service, but the construction and adoption by the schools of a new primary curriculum which recognizes the pupil's right to, and need of, work suited to his ability, interesting work, and a classroom atmosphere of freedom and activity. Under this new program, so valuable for mental

health, no child can fail of promotion in the first grade. (Past averages for first-grade failure have run from twenty-five to thirty per cent.) The prevention of that amount of crippling at school entrance is a major mental-hygiene accomplishment. It is only through the working out of such items in a mental-hygiene program that public-school education can grow away from a consideration of only scholastic work and develop a recognition that education has a primary interest in personality development, and a realization of the responsibility which rests upon the public schools as the largest, most important mental-hygiene agency in the community.

DEPARTMENT OF CHILD GUIDANCE STATISTICAL REPORT

TABLE I

Visiting Teacher Service 1930–1931

Cases carried over from last year	605
New cases	510
Cases under treatment during the year	1115
Cases closed during June 1931	609
Average number of cases handled by each visiting teacher per month	58
Interviews with parents	3046
Interviews with principals	1007
Interviews with vice principals	539
Interviews with teachers	6252
Interviews with children	5191
Interviews with others	2091
Group conferences with teachers	100
Group conferences with parents	46

Figures do not include those short service cases which are handled through a brief contact with parent or teacher, but which are a valuable part of the department's service to the schools.

TABLE II

Psychological Service 1930–1931

Total Number of Individual Examinations Per Type

	1930–31	*(1929–30)*
Psychological	1332	(1014)
Attendance department	286	(225)
Visiting teacher	270	(399)
Full study	89	(152)
Total	1977	(1790)

TABLE III

Distribution According to Grade

Grade	Psychological		Attendance		V. T.—Full Service		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Kg	28	2.1	0	0	22	6 1	50	2.5
I	403	30.3	3	1 0	48	13.4	454	23.0
II	325	24.4	10	3 5	35	9 7	370	18.7
III	197	14.8	31	11 0	42	11 7	270	13.7
IV	124	9.3	49	17 1	48	13.4	221	11.2
V	69	5.2	51	17 8	44	12 3	164	8.3
VI	42	3.2	66	23 0	38	10 6	146	7.4
VII	26	2 0	37	12 9	45	12 5	108	5.5
VIII	12	.9	18	6 3	21	5 0	51	2.6
H. S	10	7	14	4 9	10	2 8	34	1.7
Special	33	2 4	0	0	6	1 7	39	2.0
Binet	3	2	3	1 0	...	.	6	.3
Ungraded	9	.7	4	1 4		...	13	.7
None	51	3 8				....	51	2 6
	1332		286		359		1977	

TABLE IV

Distribution According to I. Q.

I. Q.	Psychological		Attendance		V. T.—Full Service		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
49	46	3.5	3	1 0	2	.5	51	2.6
50–69	309	23 2	58	20 3	24	6 7	301	19.8
70–84	630	47 3	112	39.2	81	23 6	823	41.6
85–94	227	17 0	72	25 2	79	22 0	378	10 1
95–104	82	6 0	23	8 0	77	21 4	182	9 2
105–114	28	2 0	10	3 5	58	16 2	96	4 8
115–124	6	.5	7	2.4	27	7 5	40	2.0
125	4	.3	1	.3	11	3 0	16	.8
	1332		286		359		1977	

TABLE V

Distribution by Sex

	Per Cent
Boys	68
Girls	32

TABLE VI
Recommendations

Exclusion	25
State institution	12
Institutional class at 18th Avenue	22
Binet class	579
Special opportunity class	105
Slow section	691
Average section	387
Bright section	124
Vocational school	66
Continuation school	49
High school	4
Work	28
Special help	46
School for crippled	16
School for deaf	6
School for blind	2
Sight conservation	10
Speech class	6
Special schools for boys	5
Total	2112

IV. CHILDREN IDENTIFIED BY THEIR TEACHERS AS PROBLEMS[5]

JULIUS YOURMAN

What are the characteristics of a "problem" child in school? What criteria do teachers use in evaluating the adjustment of children in their classes? Why do teachers consider certain types of behavior less desirable and more serious than others? In an attempt to secure answers to these and related questions, a study of maladjustment in the elementary schools of New York City was conducted.[6] Some of the findings, as they relate to the identification of children as "problems," are here presented.

Teachers in alternate grades of twelve representative elementary schools were asked, at the end of a term, to designate the two children in each of their classes whom they considered to be outstanding behavior (not academic) problems. They

[5] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 6, February, 1932, pp. 334–343.

[6] Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation—Yourman, Julius—"Children With Problems, A Mental Hygiene Study of Maladjustment in the Elementary Schools of New York City," New York University School of Education, 1932.

reported two hundred children. The teachers were then asked to describe as concretely as possible the specific behaviors which had led them to designate these children as problems. Even a superficial reading of the resultant behavior pictures indicated that the children designated by their teachers as behavior problems had this in common—they evinced in the classroom aggressive, disturbing forms of behavior that upset the classroom routine, made them difficult to teach, and made it difficult to teach other children.

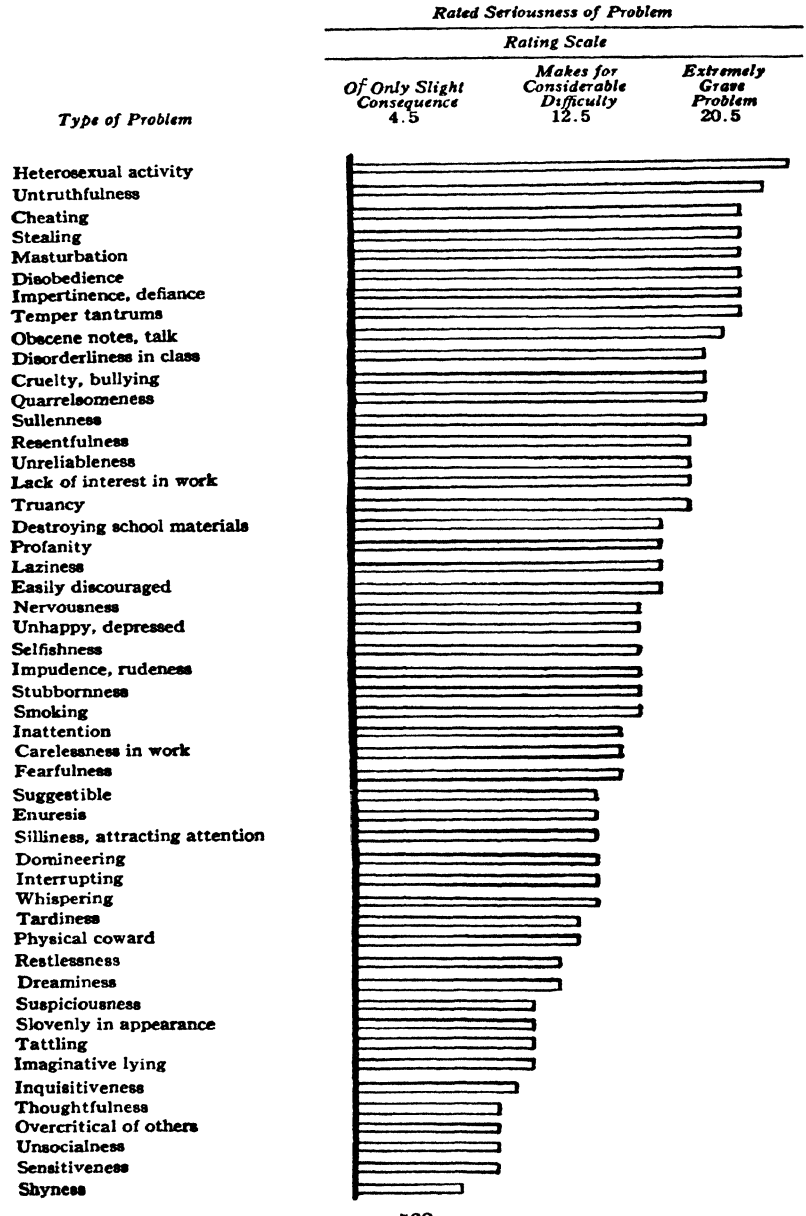
The next step in the study was an attempt to discover the criteria against which teachers judge children to be behavior problems. With this end in view teachers were asked to indicate on the Wickman rating scale of teachers' attitudes towards children's behavior how serious they considered various forms of behavior when they discovered them to be characteristic of children in their classes.[7] The judgments of the teachers of a typical elementary school, as revealed by this scale, are given in the chart on page 568.

Study of the chart reveals (the findings of this study are consistent from school to school and with Wickman's earlier study of the attitudes of five hundred teachers) that teachers consider two sorts of behavior to constitute a serious problem—behavior which violates moral standards, and behavior which violates regulations of the school or disturbs the classroom situation; both aggressive types of behavior. The teachers' designation of individual children as problems was highly consistent with the criteria of judgment so established. Almost without exception the children designated as problems exhibited one or more of the types of behavior adjudged by the teachers as constituting a grave problem.

A third step in the study consisted of comparing the children identified as problems with a cross section of the school population. The results of this comparison as illustrated by the findings in one elementary school will be briefly presented. Four fifth grades were selected as constituting such a representative cross section (there is not space here to discuss the criteria employed in this selection). The problem children were then

[7] For a discussion of the construction, reliability, and interpretation of this scale, *see* Wickman, E. K., "Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes," Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, New York, 1929.

TEACHERS' RATINGS ON THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS IN CHILDREN



compared with the nonproblem children as to the following factors: intelligence (individual Binets), age-grade placement (school records), social economic status (Sims score card), emotional stability (Thurstone mental-hygiene inventory), recreational and family life (schedule developed by the Committee on the Child in the Family of the White House Conference), and behavior (the Haggerty-Olsen-Wickman behavior rating scale).

The individual Binet tests revealed that the children identified as problems were a dull normal and backward group, whereas the average I.Q. of the control group of nonproblem children was 101. Seventy per cent of the problem children were retarded as against twenty-four per cent of the nonproblem children. When teachers gave detailed analyses of the behavior of problem and nonproblem children on the Haggerty-Olsen-Wickman behavior rating scale, the problem children, as compared with the nonproblem children, were rated as less intelligent, inattentive, indifferent, lazy, overactive and overtalkative, self-assertive, rude, defiant, dishonest, impatient, excitable, negativistic, and moody.

On the Thurstone inventory the responses were markedly unfavorable to the problem group on the following questions: Have you always got a square deal out of life? Do you ever feel no one understands you? Did you ever have a teacher you couldn't get along with? Do teachers tell you that you are too noisy and talk too much? Would you rather go to work now than go to school? Do people find fault with you too much? Do people say you are disobedient? Do you ever want to run away from home? Have you been punished unjustly?

The Sims score card revealed the problem children as being of lower social economic status than the nonproblem children. The White House Conference schedules revealed the problem children as coming from homes with somewhat less desirable parent-child relationships than those characterizing the homes of the nonproblem children.

The comparison of children identified by their teachers as problems with nonproblem school children shows the problem group to be dull normal in intelligence and greatly retarded educationally, to come from somewhat less desirable homes, to find school unsatisfying, to be involved in conflicts with the school and with authority generally, and to react to these conflicts

with a resistant and aggressive behavior of an antisocial type.

These findings raise two interesting questions. Are teachers failing to recognize as problems many children who are problems from the mental-hygiene point of view and who are in need of individual school treatment, but whose behavior is not disturbing to the teacher? Are the schools making problems of those children who learn with difficulty? The data of this study suggest answers to both these questions.

With reference to the first question we find that almost without exception no teacher reports as a problem a child who does not display some aggressive, disturbing sort of behavior in the classroom, and that few children are reported as merely shy, unsocial, sensitive, withdrawing, nervous, fearful, oversuggestive, or unhappy. On the Wickman scale teachers uniformly scored these traits as of relatively little consequence, though a group of mental hygienists rating behavior on the same scale scored these traits as grave problems or as making for considerable difficulty. Furthermore, the visiting teachers in the New York system reported that classroom teachers as a whole did not recognize children with withdrawing, evasive personality traits as problems.

The low intelligence of the problem group (33 per cent had I.Q.'s below 75, and less than 2 per cent tested above normal) and the excess of retardation among the problem group throw further light on this question. Blanchard found, in comparing cases referred to child guidance clinics in Philadelphia and Los Angeles with the general school population, that there was little difference in educational achievement between problem and nonproblem children. The clinic cases gave about the same percentage of retardation (35 per cent) as Strayer found to be typical of the country as a whole.[8] Gates, in an earlier study, also found little relationship between problem behavior and educational achievement.

No gifted children were identified by the teachers in this study as problems, yet Blanchard found that the gifted contributed six times as many cases to child guidance clinics as their numbers in the school population warranted. In this connection the

[8] Paynter and Blanchard, "The Educational Achievement of Problem Children," Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, New York, 1929.

results of a study at the Institute of Juvenile Research in Chicago are interesting. Levy found a marked tendency for the nature of children's behavior problems to shift with increase in intelligence, conduct problems (aggressive, antisocial behavior) being characteristic of the lower ranges of I.Q., and personality problems (withdrawing, evasive behavior) being characteristic of the higher ranges of I.Q.[9]

It would seem evident then that teachers identify as problems only those children whose behavior is aggressive and disturbing, and fail to recognize as problems (indeed, frequently consider to be well adjusted) those children whose behavior is of a withdrawing, evasive sort, though viewed with concern by mental hygienists. This difference of opinion is perhaps not surprising. The quiet, sensitive, fearful child can hardly be called a *difficult* child in the classroom; quite the contrary! However, the clinician senses in this extreme behavior pattern a tendency on the part of the child to keep his conflict within himself, to stay with it, and to intensify it. He knows that this child will seek less and less of the companionship of others and, gradually, will find himself alone against the world unless he is helped. In the light of its importance in the future life of the child, this is a very serious behavior pattern; on the basis of the difficulty it causes the teacher in the classroom, it is relatively unimportant.

The teacher's responsibility for group academic progress makes "conduct" problems more obvious and of more immediate importance than the "personality" problems of children. In practice, the teacher's professional success is based on two factors: group academic achievement and control of the class. It is expedient, therefore, to give special attention to those who interfere with either goal and to consider them as problems. Under these conditions it becomes very clear why children who have difficulty in learning and those who interfere with classroom procedure are recognized as frustrations and annoyances to the teacher and to the class, and why, occasionally, these problems become personal as well as professional difficulties to be surmounted. Similarly, the noninterfering child who is too timid to disobey presents no pressing problem to the teacher, and

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[9] Levy, John, "Quantitative Study of Relationship Between Intelligence and Economic Status as Factors in the Etiology of Children's Behavior Problems," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, I, 2, January, 1931.

frequently, even though he has real difficulty in learning, much is overlooked because of his goodness. The teacher generally identifies children as problems from the adult point of view; the clinician from the child's. The teacher selects *children who are problems;* the mental hygienist selects *children with problems.*

The second question raised by the data, "Are the schools making problems of those children who learn with difficulty," again makes it seem possible to answer in the affirmative. Of one hundred and twelve children, reported as "problems" by their teachers, nearly three quarters were below normal mentally. Nearly one third was so low mentally that special education is a necessity for their school adjustment, yet these children were competing with normal children on a carefully graded course of study devised for the normal child.

In the case histories of the 41 per cent who are in the dull-normal and borderline groups there is revealed with distressing regularity the practice of forced promotions after failure in a grade a second time, and the inevitable natural retardations every third term or so for these children who develop more slowly mentally than the normal child. Whether these cases are taken in the upper grades and traced backwards through their school history or whether beginning children are studied to determine their future possibilities, the effects of these experiences intimately integrated with the school adjustment of the child are evident. Space here permits but one elaboration of this important factor in a study of teachers' standards for evaluating the behavior of children.

The work of the 1A grade is based on reading in New York City as in practically all other cities. In a study of 1A children in Public School 210, Brooklyn, New York, it was found that first- and second-grade promotions are usually determined by reading ability.[10] In large-scale investigations in several cities it was found that 99 per cent of all first-grade failures were charged to inability to read.[11] In New York City, the non-promotion rate for the first grades in the year 1930 was about

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[10] Reed, Mary M., "An Investigation in First Grade Admission and Promotion," Teachers College Contribution to Education, No. 290. Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1927.

[11] Percival, W. P., "A Study of Causes and Subjects of School Failure," University of California Printing Office, Berkeley, 1926.

14 per cent, twice the rate of the elementary-school system.[12] This is not surprising since the ability to read demands a mental age of at least six years,[13] and "about twenty-five per cent of first-grade children are below that level of mental maturity at school entrance; indeed, many of this group are still below that level at the end of the first year of school."[14]

The mental hygienist sees the first grade as a happy introduction to coöperative activities and socialization.[15] But one fifth or more of the children who enter the elementary school face severe difficulties or inevitable failure as initial school experiences. The development, from this early failure, of hatred for reading, reading disabilities, and school maladjustment has been shown in many studies.[16] Our case studies of problem children in the first grade show that two types of reaction to unfair competition in the classroom may develop. Some children concede defeat; they refuse to take part in class work or games, they cry, and they sit very still to avoid attention which emphasizes their weaknesses. Others fight the situation. They bully, disobey, and attract attention by loud and unconventional school behavior, they steal, and they refuse to work. This behavior obscures the real reading difficulty, the teacher attends to the "conduct"

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[12] *Thirty-Second Annual Report, Superintendent of Schools*, 1929–1930, p. 559.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 64 (New York City Course of Study in Reading).

[14] Baker, H. J., "Characteristic Differences in Bright and Dull Children," Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois, 1927, p. 43.

[15] Taft, Jessie, "Relation of the School to the Mental Health of the Average Child," National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, 1928.

Dexter, Elizabeth, "Treatment of the Child Through the School Environment," National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, 1928, p. 3.

Parrott, H. S., "A Happy Introduction to School Life," *Childhood Education*, VIII, April, 1931, pp. 411–414.

[16] Meek, Lois, "A Study of Learning and Retention of Young Children," Teachers College Contribution to Education, Bureau of Publications Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1925.

Gates, A. L., "The Improvement of Reading," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927, p. 23.

Blanchard, Phyllis, "Reading Disabilities in Relation to Maladjustment," National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York, 1928.

Blanchard, Phyllis, "Attitudes and Educational Disabilities," *Mental Hygiene*, XIII, July, 1929, pp. 550–563.

Hincks, Elizabeth, "Disability in Reading and Its Relation to Personality," Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1926.

problem, and little time is left to help socialize the quiet child.

Unfortunately, of the 32 "problem" children reported from the first grade not one had been given a school intelligence test although six had been tested by a psychologist from the Department of Ungraded Classes after they had failed the grade several times. The twenty-six who were given Binet intelligence tests in connection with our study, with three exceptions, showed mental abilities too low for easy success in the grade. Because the teachers were unaware of the real abilities of these children, in many cases serious misinterpretations and harmful treatment resulted when the ability of the child was inferred from his success in reading. For the child who learns to read satisfactorily at six years of age it may be said that he is of at least normal intelligence. The converse is not always true.[17] Thus problems of emotional and physical maladjustment were called educational and mental disabilities, and vice versa.

Throughout the school program limited opportunities for really understanding children, their attitudes, their home experiences, and their real abilities, and limited opportunities for providing for every child the possibilities for a happy and successful school experience must, of necessity, affect the criteria by which teachers identify a child as a "problem." There is a persistent effort in New York City to remedy these undesirable conditions which developed unrecognized during the extension and expansion of the school system. A study of retardation has been conducted; the Bureau of Child Guidance established; special services, curricula, and classes extended; and training of teachers advanced. It may be expected that teachers will change their attitudes toward children's behavior in keeping with these changing school conditions.

Our data show that children identified as "problems," who change teachers at the end of the term, have twice the chance of being considered well adjusted, and less than half the chance of continuing as very serious "problems" the next term when they are given a different teacher. The data of the study reveal no selective factor that would make the children who continue for another term with the same teacher different from those who change teachers. The individual deviations must result from

[17] Gray, W. S., "Summary of Investigations Relating to Reading," The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1925, p. 51.

differences in standards and factors relating to the personality of the teacher.

Our case studies show how vital the judgment of the teacher is to the actual adjustment of the child. As a result of it the attitudes of other teachers, classmates, parents, and relatives towards the child are largely determined, and the child's attitudes towards people and school work are influenced. Most important is the effect of the teacher's evaluation on the child's attitude towards himself, for it becomes his chief basis of self-evaluation. By the employment of the criteria against which they are picking "problem" pupils, teachers may be developing children with problems.

V. THE EFFECT OF THE BROKEN HOME UPON THE CHILD IN SCHOOL[18]

MARIAN WENDELN CAMPBELL

There has been a general impression abroad among educators that the broken home has a definite effect upon the child's achievement in school. There has, however, been little attempt to make a scientific investigation of the situation. This report is the result of an effort to study the matter statistically.

The broken home was defined as any home where both parents were not living together with the child in a normal family relationship. The break might be due to death, divorce, desertion, or any other cause. At times, children from the homes of divorcees alone were studied, but where such was the case, the fact was so stated.

If an abnormal home relationship has a permanent effect upon the child's ability to do his work in school, this should be seen when the achievement quotients of children from such an environment are compared with the achievement quotients of children coming from a normal home relationship. Two surveys were made in the same school system to determine whether or not the child's achievement is lower if he comes from a broken home.

Statistics were compiled on all cases of boys in the seventh-grade classes of a junior high school who came from English-

[18] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 5, January, 1932, pp. 274–281.

speaking homes. Children of foreign or colored parentage were eliminated from the study, because the handicap of such an environment would be likely to affect the achievement. All boys were chosen for the study whose permanent record cards indicated that they were not living with both parents, or whose surnames were different from those of the parents. Accordingly, some of the boys having stepmothers were undoubtedly overlooked, although in some cases this was indicated on the record card. Homes in which there was a step-parent were included under the classification of broken homes because sociologists apparently consider them as coming under that category.

Of 185 homes represented, 34 proved to be broken homes. The intelligence quotients, educational quotients, and chronological ages of all these boys were available from the records of tests previously given. The average educational and intelligence quotients of the group of 151 boys from normal home relationships were determined and from these the average achievement quotient for the group was derived, using the formula $\frac{\text{E.Q.}}{\text{I.Q.}} = \text{A.Q.}$ The same procedure was followed with the group of 34 from broken homes. A comparison of the average A.Q. of this group with the average A.Q. of the group from normal homes revealed that the latter surpassed the former by .4 only.

Normal-home group:	Average I.Q.	104.2
	Average E.Q.	96 7
	Average A.Q.	92.8
Broken-home group:	Average I.Q.	102 2
	Average E.Q.	94 4
	Average A.Q.	92 4

The boys in the broken-home group were then paired with boys from the normal group according to chronological age, I.Q., and roughly, according to home conditions. That is, the assistant principal of the junior high school passed upon the home conditions of the paired cases, so that in no instance was a home of very high caliber paired with a poverty stricken home. In pairing the boys it is to be conceded that a more reliable basis of comparison is approximated, because certain variations which may cause differences in achievement are eliminated. The average I.Q.'s, E.Q.'s, and A.Q.'s of the control group of 34 were calculated, as in the groups above. The results were as indicated on page 577.

PAIRED GROUPS[19]

Normal-home group:	Average I.Q.	102.1
	Average E.Q.	98.1
	Average A.Q.	96.1
Broken-home group:	Average I.Q.	102.2
	Average E.Q.	94.4
	Average A.Q.	92.4

In this case, the average A.Q. of the group from normal homes surpassed the average A.Q. of the group from broken homes by 3.7. This difference may not be considered as significant. At least we cannot say that such a difference would indicate that the broken home has an effect upon the child's achievement in school; rather it appears that it has little such effect.

Next a study was made of the achievement of children coming from broken homes in the various sixth grades of the same city. Sixty children were reported upon by teachers as coming from broken homes. Eighty-seven cases, taken at random from the records of the same schools, formed the control group. They were compared as follows:

Normal-home group:	Average I.Q.	103 3
	Average E.Q.	104 8
	Average A.Q.	101.5
Broken-home group:	Average I.Q.	100.5
	Average E.Q.	103.0
	Average A.Q.	102.5

In this study, the broken-home group proved to have an average A.Q. exactly one point higher than that of the normal-home group. No effort was made to pair these children which may partly account for the discrepancy.

Of the cases coming from broken homes, 27 were sifted out, coming from homes where there was divorce or separation. The results are shown as follows:

Average I.Q.	100.0
Average E.Q.	104.3
Average A.Q.	104.3

[19] Detailed tables of data on paired groups are not given due to lack of space.

This gave an average A.Q. for the group of children from the homes of divorcées which was 1.8 points higher than that of the broken-home group as a whole, and 2.8 points higher than that of the control group. Hence, it may be pointed out that the school achievement of the child coming from a broken home of any type whatever apparently is not permanently affected by that fact.

It is to be taken for granted that there are factors other than the broken home which may affect the child's achievement. These may be either emotional or physical and may originate within the school or without. It is impossible to eliminate these factors from the statistics, just as it is impossible to eliminate them from the life of any one individual and to say: "This child is the direct product of a broken home."

However, the large percentage of problem children coming from broken homes, as shown in surveys from various parts of the country, indicates that there may be a relationship between the broken home and conduct disorders. Reform-school statistics will bear out this assumption. It is also confirmed by the findings of the writer in a study of 29 cases of problem girls reported upon in detail in the records of the attendance department of the public schools of a large city. Of the number, 59 per cent came from broken homes. In an additional 21 per cent of the cases, the mothers of the girls were working. The attendance supervisor from another school system of some size reported that in her estimation the home from which the mother departs early in the morning to work for the major part of the day is practically the equivalent of the broken home. If we consider this as a factor, then 80 per cent of these girls come from an abnormal home situation.

Each of the 29 cases was a behavior problem. All but two were classified as educational problems also, and upon these two no academic reports were made. The range of intelligence quotients of these children tells a part of the story. Eleven of them tested below 90; six from 90 to 110; and seven from 111 to 142. In five cases the I.Q. was not given. The largest group was below average intelligence, but it is interesting to note that the next largest group was above average intelligence. Of the seven with an I.Q. higher than 110, all were doing poorly in school work. A part of the blame for the failure of such children may be laid at the door of the school itself, but in every case here

home conditions may be pointed to as having a powerful influence.

The superintendent of a "Junior Republic" reported to the writer that between 80 and 90 per cent of the boys in his school came from broken homes. Of 1,000 girls who were committed to the State Reform School in Eastern Pennsylvania over a five-year period, only 87 came from families in which both father and mother were living in a normal relationship to each other and to society.[20] Statistics might be quoted at length to the same purpose. The fact that so large a proportion of institutional cases comes from broken homes indicates a direct relationship between the broken home and conduct disorders.

The writer also investigated a group of 64 children in a school which is being run as a philanthropic enterprise. Results indicate that it is possible for achievement in school to be affected when the child is under the stress of a broken-home situation, but that improvement is likely when the normal home atmosphere is restored. The children in this institution live in small, attractive cottages under the loving care of educated and refined housemothers, and of a headmaster who calls each boy "son" and is never too busy to be interested in the immediate needs or desires of the individual youngster. Of the 64 boys living here, all but one come from broken homes. A survey was made to determine the educational rating of each child both before and after coming to the school. More than three fifths of these boys have shown improvement in school work after adjustment was made to the institution. Of the 64 pupils, 24 showed no reaction either up or down. Most of these were already doing average work. A few were doing good work in their previous environment, and are continuing to do the same. Only four are in the D or F class, and these four are of sufficiently low I.Q. to justify such marks in any institution. Of the 40 whose work has come up, a number have shown marked improvement. In some instances it was phenomenal. Case studies were made of 13 of the boys, and these showed even more convincingly than the statistics the importance of the home atmosphere in improvement in attitude, emotional control, conduct, etc. In every instance (with one exception) the child had been under stress due to a broken-home situation immediately before coming to the school.

[20] Ross, E. A., "Civic Sociology," World Book Company, Yonkers, N. Y., 1925, pp 107–108.

In 62 per cent of the cases, after adjustment was made to the new home, school work improved.

School marks, which are more or less unreliable as criteria, were used as the standard of measurement in the improvement of the 40 boys in this institution. But the records are at least indicative. Attention may be called to the fact that since the children came from a variety of schools, it is unlikely that the standards were higher in the original school than in the new home school in every case. Also, two of the children who are showing the greatest improvement are in the public schools of the vicinity and are being graded by different public-school teachers, which may discredit the idea that the home school marks unusually high.

Other factors which were linked up with the broken-home situation undoubtedly influenced the lives of these boys. However, the fact that 62 per cent of them showed improvement in school work when restored to the equivalent of a normal home atmosphere indicates that the boys were not living up to their possibilities in their previous surroundings and that the broken home may have a deleterious effect upon school work.

An entirely different aspect of this investigation seems to indicate that the child is not influenced academically by the broken-home situation, at least not after the acute point of the situation has been passed.

The assistant principal of a junior high school made an investigation of the permanent record cards of the 600 girls in her school, sifting out those coming from the homes of divorcées. Twenty-seven such cases were discovered. Cases of desertion and separation were included in the same category because, for the purposes of this study, conditions were the same as in divorce. Desertion is called "poor man's divorce" by social workers.

All of the 27 girls were interviewed. Information was gathered to show occupation of parent, number of years separated, and home conditions. Estimates of character and of school attitude were made, and marks or school achievement were recorded.[21] At the time of this study, only three of the 27 were reported as conduct problems and four as educational problems. The tables compiled as a result of this investigation indicate little correlation

[21] Tables giving the report on these girls are available, but are not given in full, due to lack of space.

between divorce and conduct disorders or school achievement of the child in question. It should be pointed out however, that all ratings here, except the educational, are merely personal ratings by the assistant principal, and that she may have overestimated conditions in some instances.

It is interesting too, to note that the separation of the parents in every case in this study was one of long standing. The shortest was over a period of three years. Two cases came in this classification. There were two cases of four years duration, and the rest were five years or more. Fourteen cases, or more than half, existed over a period of nine years or more. The study of these girls presents a direct contrast to the study of boys in the home school reported upon above. The fact that every child in that school had been under stress immediately before being brought to the school may have something to do with the situation. It is possible that the child may make an adjustment to the broken home, after the period of stress is over. It is apparent that this is what has happened in the cases of the survey of girls from the homes of divorcées, although we cannot be sure that the child was affected by the divorce or separation even at the time of the break.

The conclusions drawn from this group of studies may be summed up as follows:

1. As a result of the statistical study of the achievement quotients of children in the sixth and seventh grades, we may say that the broken home appears to have no effect upon the child's achievement in school when achievement is regarded as accomplishment over a period of years.

2. From the study of a group of problem cases in a large city system, we may say that there apparently is some correlation between the broken home and conduct disorders.

3. The study of 64 cases of boys in the home school seems to indicate that although the school work of a child may be affected by the broken-home situation while he is under stress, he is likely to recover when the stress is removed.

4. The survey of 27 girls from the homes of divorcées where the separation had been of long standing indicates that the average child is not affected by the broken home either in conduct or school achievement after the period of stress is passed.

VI. HOW DOES THE SCHOOL PRODUCE OR PREVENT DELINQUENCY?[22]

WILLIAM HEALY AND AUGUSTA F. BRONNER

The objective of this paper is the consideration of the relationship between school life and delinquency. One way of looking at both of these is that each represents an exceedingly important type of activity expressing needs, wants, and desires of children as they live under the conditions of modern society.

In the last three generations, one of the practical ideals of our forefathers has come to fruitful expression in the furtherance of school education for every child. So well has this ideal been realized that the student of social history can but be amazed at the extent to which the thoroughness and prolongation of public-school education has advanced in the last few decades. The school has become a vastly powerful factor in the life of childhood and youth. Next to the home, it appears as the most widely operative influence in the life of our young people. Secondary to the influences of family relationships and parental upbringing, it is the most constructive force in the formation of life's attitudes and interests.

The second mentioned social activity—really just this, though not often spoken of as such—is delinquency. Because of its extensiveness, the very frequent continuance of delinquency into criminal careers and the costliness to society of a delinquent and criminal career, delinquency is to be regarded as one of the major concerns of organized society. We need not discuss whether juvenile delinquency is or is not increasing—something very difficult to answer because of the many variables involved. The fact is that there is an immense amount of it and that among our great criminal population a very large percentage definitely began their careers with delinquency during the years they were attending school. The school had these young people largely in charge when they were developing antisocial trends. This fact on the very face of it offers a great challenge.

Our two main queries—and we raise queries rather than offer sermonizings—center about two questions: To what extent and

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[22] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 8, April, 1933, pp. 450–470.

in what ways does school life ever possibly contribute to the development of antisocial trends expressed in the form of delinquency? To what extent and by what methods can the school be an effective agent in the prevention of delinquent careers?

Before determining any reply to these inquiries we must always take due account of the fact that through its school laws society does put its hands on every child, saying to it: Come to us and over eight or ten years we will educate you, draw you forth, develop you. In the light of this seizure of the child, can responsibility in considerable measure for character and conduct formation be evaded?

Perhaps one can go back of this and ask whether in the educational organization itself, supposed to exist entirely for the child's welfare, there can occur situations which are baleful influences for any child. And if there are, is it to be conceded that the school is to be held accountable for any disadvantages that accrue to the given child? Or, more specifically, are there school situations which create or arouse the growth of antisocial attitudes, and, if so, to what extent should the school make definite attempts to avoid or to meet such situations? We have had enough experience with specific cases to realize that these questions are pertinent and vitally significant.

And to go further, since, through their training, educators would seem properly to have at their command awarenesses and understandings of conduct trends, is it integrally a part of their province to utilize such implements towards the prevention of the development of such delinquent attitudes and behavior as may be discernible? In other words, have school people any responsibility for undertaking the prevention of delinquency which does not directly arise from a school situation? Have educators obligations and duties in this matter of the prevention of delinquency, or are they merely to be considered as possessing techniques for passing on knowledge and skills? Are they to be believers in or to be concerned with the noble ideals of many of the outstanding figures in educational theory, those who accented the development of the whole child as a socialized being?

Poor Adaptation to the Curriculum

It has been very convincingly stated by several students of delinquency that school maladjustments of both upper and lower

intelligence groupings are significantly related to the growth of delinquent trends. We agree to this, but would include those children who have special disabilities for any school subjects. The reason for all this seems clear enough in the light of the situations considered below.

For the sake of logical presentation, incomplete to be sure, we may regard some types of problems as they fall in the above groupings. And all through we shall only consider the development of conduct trends which we have observed growing into full-blown delinquency. We may first review some instances where the ordered school régime penalizes certain children who present no special liabilities or who even are endowed with special assets.

It has been astonishing to us to find over the years some considerable number of very bright boys who are much more challenged by delinquent activities than by what they found to interest them in school life. Indeed, we have to confess that in some instances it has seemed to us that their skilled predatory pursuits have been much more in keeping with their intellectual status than the meager mental content offered by the school. In example, we might cite a most tragic case, finally ending in a penitentiary sentence and, perhaps fortunately, in death. We first knew him as a boy of fourteen in the fifth grade. At his court appearance, it came out that he was the leader of a group quite proficient in burglary. Because of his school retardation, the court people thought of him as being probably subnormal. Psychological tests, however, showed his mental age to be about seventeen years. His academic backwardness was the result of frequent school changes, due to his father's being a seasonal worker who had frequently to move his residence. The boy had been made to repeat grades until he, quite naturally, had completely lost interest in school. He found himself with children much younger in age and vastly younger from an intelligence standpoint. To us he made his dissatisfaction very clear, with expressed scorn of the childish material of his school books—his reader told about "blackbirds sitting in the trees." He reacted by chronic truancy and found his satisfactions in antisocial activities worthy of his mettle.

Was it necessary for such a boy, representative of a whole group of cases in our series, to be so handicapped by school changes and to be so thwarted in school satisfactions? When

his retardation first showed, could he not have received the minimum of aid that was necessary to have enabled him to maintain grade standing equivalent to his age, to say nothing of being commensurate with his outstanding capacity? Is it intelligent for a school system to have no provision for helping a student maintain himself upon his normal level even though coming from another system where the curriculum may be somewhat different? Of course, the easiest method admittedly is that of forcing the child to repeat a grade or demoting him, but it certainly is the costliest procedure.

At fourteen years, it was already too late to do much with this boy, with his long established bad attitudes towards school life. The discerning court officers found the case too difficult because there was no machinery in the schools to bridge the vast gap between his grade standing and the type of school work that might have interested and perhaps reclaimed him.

What can be accomplished when school people gain understanding and are coöperative is shown in the case of a boy nine years of age when seen by us, already the bad boy of his district in a town of moderate size. His delinquencies were of an aggressive, adventuresome type, including staying away from home long hours at night with older bad companions, some stealing, and a small amount of truancy. The case was particularly interesting because the parents were altogether of a good sort and the home, and particularly the father, had much to offer. This boy was in the fourth grade doing poor school work and it was proposed to place him in the third grade on account of this. We ascertained, however, that he was very much interested in geography, that he read much, and had some little talent for drawing. He was an energetic, active youngster, very fond of sports.

Our examination showed him to have an I.Q. of 125, with reading comprehension and information considerably above his years and his grade. His reasoning powers were particularly good. In the earlier grades, the teachers had found him somewhat troublesome on account of both his physical and intellectual activity but regarded him as likable and he did good work. To us there seemed no doubt that it was a question of challenging his interests which had within the last year turned so strongly away from school. At our suggestion, he was advanced to the fifth grade and given some special tutoring in arithmetic in which

otherwise he would be found deficient. He maintained himself readily in the higher grade and within a short time was able to break off his associations with the older dull group with whom he had been in delinquency. His drawing and reading interests were fostered and through these and the other new mental content derived from his advancement he was able to find quite sufficient satisfactions other than antisocial behavior. Succeeding years have shown an increasing stability and assumption of responsibility that was undoubtedly due more to school adjustment than any other factor.

We know full well that recognition of the needs of superendowed children has led some school systems to provide opportunities for rapid advancement or, better still, an enriched curriculum, but such wise planning is comparatively rare. Where such opportunities are not afforded, what behavior is to be expected as the normal reactive tendency of a highly endowed child in a dull school situation? Does not the child naturally turn elsewhere for mental pabulum? And if delinquency offers a greater adventure in satisfying the normal craving for new experiences, does it not represent normal behavior, unfortunately antisocial though it may be?

Delinquent behavior occurring among children who are poorly endowed intellectually is very generally recognized as being related to the mental subnormality. Indeed, the correlation between poor school achievement and truancy or other forms of misbehavior is often somewhat overstated, although it is universally true that delinquents as they appear in court show a relatively greater proportion of subnormal intelligence than appears in the general population. The general fact is so true and so understandable that no illustration need be given. The subnormal individual if left with his age group finds himself in competition completely beyond his powers; if in a special class he has the disadvantage of being rated a dullard. In either case, he may acquire a feeling of inadequacy and inferiority. Thus, many of this group find themselves without the recognition and security and satisfactions that any child needs for his personality and moral development. Failing to obtain these, nothing is more natural than that the child turn to activities that afford him satisfactions. The pleasurable returns of delinquency are very real and are measurable in concrete terms of success and achievement. That seems very plain to anybody who

delves into motivations of delinquency through getting youngsters to reveal themselves by friendly inquiries through which the child can be led to give an account of his own life situation.

It is very fortunate that the efforts of school people to develop in special classes the educational and vocational aptitudes of subnormal children include attention to their special abilities. We find very few even clearly defective children who have not some ability that rises above the general level of disability. Many investigators have shown the curious fact that a considerable proportion of delinquent defective children are distinctly hand-minded, able to comprehend concrete relationships and to work with concrete material as well as the average child of their age and sometimes better. Testing for motor skills of all kinds, such as eye-hand coördinations and for mechanical dexterity, proves the point as such abilities are found in large proportion among the subnormal delinquents who have come to our attention.

The late Judge Cabot of the Boston Juvenile Court became so impressed by the validity of these findings and by the commonsense values of ascertaining special utilizable abilities that he strongly emphasized the social import of this matter in his daily work and in his presentations of juvenile-court ideals. Therefore, psychological examination of a subnormal delinquent should consist of more than giving him an intelligence quotient; whenever possible special abilities should be ascertained and the findings made known to school authorities who might respond by utilizing these abilities for the production of greater school achievement and satisfaction. We can attest, as can many others in this field, that work with subnormal delinquents on the basis of developing their special abilities has been a saving grace for them, developing interests, achievements, and superiorities that in many cases have been able to outweigh the pleasurable activities that had been begun in the field of antisocial conduct.

The child with special disabilities for any of the school subjects is much less understood as a case of delinquency with definite causations in academic maladjustment. Most important for school success in modern life, with the subordination of manual accomplishments and arts to facility with abstractions and symbols, is the ability to read well. This leads to the fact that reading disability brings in its train a host of failures and the

consequent development of unfortunate emotional attitudes, whether the disability be with the mechanics or with the comprehension of reading. Just now in a few centers in this country there is a lively awakening to the extreme importance of reading disability and the necessity of special remedial training. Its relationship to antisocial conduct can be readily understood. We have first-hand data in certain cases studied in our clinic.

A juvenile-court boy of eleven years appeared before us with a very usual story. He with his companions had been stealing to their own advantage, even breaking into a warehouse and taking bicycles, air rifles, and other articles tempting to young lads. Besides this, he was reported to us as being irritable and troublesome in school. He was being tried in the fifth grade but was doing so poorly that there was no hope of his passing. School achievement tests for us showed arithmetic was of a good quality for his grade; spelling, much below grade; and reading no better than third grade with a vocabulary of an eight-year level. In spite of being penalized so greatly for his lack of facility with language, he obtained an I.Q. of 106; he succeeded on as many tests of the fourteen-year level as he did on the ten-year group of tests, and, indeed, passed two of the sixteen-year tests. His powers of reasoning and generalization were distinctly superior. If his vocabulary and reading powers were even on a twelve-year basis, his intelligence quotient would have been ten points or more higher, and his I.Q. would have classified him as distinctly superior. The boy was keen enough to attempt substitution of words in passages which he attempted to read. This constituted a sort of cheating which we found spread occasionally to his performance on other tests. He assumed an unpleasantly bold and self-confident air by way of compensation for his disability and finally admitted boastfully that he frequently tried cheating. His attitude towards school found expression in distinct hatred. "All kids hate school." But before our interviews were finished, he demonstrated that he really liked arithmetic; he showed evident pleasure in answering arithmetical questions and in rapid work with simple arithmetic problems. His rich phantasy life centered very extensively about the adventures of cowboys and the gangsters, acquaintance with which he derived from the movies. He told of daydreaming much about these movies when he was in school.

Here is a case where the development of a delinquent career is imminent, with every proof that one fundamental basis for it lies in school dissatisfaction because there has been no recognition of his special disability. Bright as he undoubtedly is, he is already retarded one grade in school and has reached the fifth grade without even having received any aid for his main trouble. Is there any doubt that success of remedial efforts by the probation officer will depend mostly upon remedial education in the school?

We have known numerous instances where school people with a flair for constructive character and personality development have taken in hand some boy or girl who has already shown delinquent tendencies. And often the results have been marvelously good. Various techniques and adaptations have been utilized, too varied to enumerate. The common device of utilizing some little executive ability that the child has sometimes works well, as when a boy is made a monitor or an assistant or given special office work by the principal. The game is to give the child status and recognition as well as to occupy him in jobs that he can perform well. Or what can be done occasionally is illustrated by the case of a boy, seventeen years old, who had been engaged in very serious delinquency with companions. This boy was in high school but had an I.Q. of only 83 with, however, comparatively better capacities for arithmetical work, etc., that he was taking in the commercial course. On account of his companionship, his difficulty with keeping up with the class, and his ready satisfactions which he could obtain outside the schoolroom through his physical activity, we felt that he was a bad prospect unless some one could give him much stimulation and personal help. The athletic coach took this case on as his own job and has made a wonderful success of it through utilizing the boy's athletic prowess, keeping him in line with teamwork and good sportsmanship, and inducing him to work harder at school subjects in order to retain his enviable position on the school teams. This is a case, of course, where a very special ability for other than curricular activities was taken advantage of by a man who showed fine spirit in wanting to save a boy.

In passing, one should think earnestly about school dissatisfactions as they are related to truancy because in the evolution of many delinquent and criminal careers truancy stands out as the earliest manifestation. Unwarranted absence from school has from the start an antisocial savor. The truant child feels himself

a little criminal and by this same token appears to be very readily drawn into other forms of delinquency. This may not be so true of country truancy with the boys going on the proverbial fishing excursion. But certainly in the city, the truant, with unoccupied time on his hands and often joining with other truants, is prone to have uppermost in his mind the idea of other escapades or deviltries—raiding the five- and ten-cent store or market wagons or trucks. The prevalence of such beginnings makes a perfect truth of the adage: "Truancy is the kindergarten of crime."

It thus comes about that one of the greatest possible preventives of the development of a criminal career is to be found in study of the causes of the earliest manifestations of truancy with attempt at remedy of the causes.

The Material of Thought Life

With the upbuilding of good citizenship in mind, an oft-recurring question with us is what can the school be expected to offer the child. Can he be offered material that intrigues him to take over from the schoolroom mental interests that become part of his daily thought life? In other words, should the school make a profound attempt to give the child something to live by? For the sake of our American civilization, we are deeply concerned about this matter because it is very evident that in homes poor from a cultural standpoint there is little or nothing given the child to dwell on with satisfaction, whether for consciously directed thinking or for phantasy life. The child is going to obtain mental food from somewhere and a vastly important question is whether he is to be persuasively offered it by the school. Those who think of the school teacher's job as confined to drilling the pupil in the necessary techniques of the three R's or to impart information on history and geography, all of which has so little to do with everyday living that the child takes no vital interest in it, forget that normal mental activity inevitably must find material for itself.

It is extremely seldom that our records of delinquents, which reveal so much of the inner world of childhood, show the slightest indication of any commanding interests based on material derived from the schoolroom. Fifty years ago this might not have been true, but at present the school is in deadly competition with the activities of the street, with the radio, movies, and the news-

papers. And from all these other sources the child naturally seizes upon the crudely dramatic and the lurid, both usually unwholesome. A vast number of homes are totally unfitted and unequipped to offset this and the net result spells menace to good personality development and to our whole civilization. What part can or should the school play in forefending the disasters of character development that through such weaknesses in the child's environment are constantly occurring and that are bound to occur?

An illustration of the meaningfulness of this whole matter of thought life is shown by the case of a ten-year-old boy who appeared in court for a number of delinquencies, including several times breaking into a schoolhouse with companions. We sized him up as being an attractive, alert child, intense, dynamic, rather aggressive, with an I.Q. of 97. He was the child of immigrant parents who had not been well educated themselves, although in the family there were some scholars. The whole scheme of American life was a mystery to the father; he frankly stated that he had given up making any attempt to solve it. He wanted everything good for the boy, but when the child came rushing home with a description of some exciting news the father felt that the boy's interests were so remote from that of his parents that they just could not understand him or deal with him. His father commented very strongly on the fact that the boy gained none of his interests from school life, his mental curiosity was not in the least satisfied by what he learned at school. From the school itself we heard that the boy was good in content studies, ranking very high in geography, but that he had so much else on his mind that he did not accomplish much in his other subjects, and so he was scheduled to repeat the fourth grade. On his part, the father wanted to offer this boy lively mental interests and conceived the idea that since Americans seem to be largely educated through reading newspapers, he would afford him that opportunity. He regularly bought two papers a day for him.

From studying the boy's mental life ourselves we found that what he had absorbed from these newspapers was largely unwholesome. At this time the famous Gerald Chapman case was prominently played up in the headlines and long versions of it appeared in the columns. The boy was full of it and with his companions had organized a little gang who played what they

called the "Chapman game." As a matter of fact, it was because the police followed one boy leading another whose hands were joined together with handcuffs that the hangout of this crowd was found and the "swag" discovered. The gang met there not only to enjoy the possession of their booty, but also to discuss the rights and wrongs of Chapman's swinging for his crimes.

It is most significant that this boy when removed to another environment that offered him an entirely different type of mental content immediately became engrossed equally by it and ceased his delinquent conduct. A report the following year stated that his change in behavior was nothing short of miraculous.

This extraordinary instance gives very plain indication of what is going on with many children and our query is whether the school is playing the part it should. This boy with his imaginativeness, inquisitiveness, and overflow of energy, all of a very normal boyish sort, merely represents in somewhat more aggressive form what is frequently to be found. There are a great number of others who, even though expressing themselves in more passive ways, are receiving the content of their ideational life from equally undesirable sources which the school curriculum does little or nothing to offset or combat.

Physical Handicaps as Related to the School Situation

Even in the school systems where good physical examinations are undertaken and treatment instituted, any handicap is practically always considered merely in terms of academic performance. We find very little attention is paid to physical conditions as they may be related to personality difficulties which often loom large in the school situation and sometimes definitely tend to engender delinquent behavior. A host of cases might be cited in point, with great variations of the actual physical findings. In the limited space at our disposal, it seems necessary only to mention very few cases for the purpose of emphasizing the main generalization.

Handicaps that lead the pupil to be teased by his school-fellows create the outstanding situations that we have known to be related to delinquency. In a number of instances when a boy was cross-eyed he found the jeering of his comrades quite intolerable. Extremely difficult delinquent cases have been based on this. The child in his more protected environment before he went to school was able to support himself without delinquent

behavior, but after a year or more of trial in school life became extremely recalcitrant because he felt himself rejected by his fellows. One boy of particularly good physique became a most aggressive fighter against his teachers and others, and rapidly became a notorious delinquent. Another truanted as much as possible and, being of a quieter type, shunned all except a delinquent group in which he felt accepted. His career from a delinquency standpoint was very checkered until he was a young adolescent and an operation remedied his difficulties. Then, through other satisfactions being offered, he ceased his antisocial activities. Previously, the school could have had full cognizance of the significance of the main source of his difficulties, but did nothing to understand the whole picture and valuable years were lost, with no little expense to society.

The terrible social handicap of stuttering with its very plain relationship, in some cases, to the development of a delinquent career has repeatedly been dwelled on by a number of those working in this field and need not here be more than barely mentioned.

Much less well known are the variabilities in auditory powers caused by ear diseases. In one of the most marked cases of this that we have followed, expert opinion and careful observation proved that the difficulty lay in the fact that the boy's hearing powers were very considerably lessened at times by atmospheric dampness. The boy himself in his younger years hardly knew what was the matter with him. His teachers, not suspecting an ear disease because of his periods of normal hearing, attributed his troubles to character defects. His inadequacy to meet the school situation led, through the constant blaming of the boy, to an immense sense of inferiority and inadequacy that has followed him through to young adult life, where he still remains, through patterns of behavior long established, an individual easily succumbing to temptations towards delinquency.

The prescription of the school physician sometimes shows utter lack of comprehension of its implications for behavior tendencies. An extreme case of this is that of a boy who was brought to our Chicago clinic as being one of the most expert young burglars and "second-story operators" in the city. At about thirteen, found by the school doctor to have a heart lesion, he had been ruled out from attending his classes because he would have to climb two flights of stairs. The tragic joke of

it was that he speedily found himself an adept in climbing fire escapes and getting over transoms. He became a nimble and quick-witted burglar—totally disregarding the physician's advice. As we saw him a couple of years later he had apparently not harmed his cardiac functions in the least by his lively criminal activities.

Being so small sized that it is impossible to compete satisfactorily with his schoolfellows on the playground, together with being given nicknames that cause a sense of inferiority, leads some boys to compensate by delinquent behavior which brings a sense of adequacy and success. Very small youngsters find themselves, as in "Oliver Twist," quite deft in petty larcenies and at picking pockets. Some are quite proud of such compensatory achievements.

Just as real is the case of the immensely oversized boy who dislikes so terribly to associate with vastly smaller children of his own age group. Many times we have seen this as a factor with the boy seeking and finding satisfactions in adventuresome delinquencies.

What can be done about such matters? Is it not the place of the school, as part of our general social organization, to be as understanding and helpful as possible through realization of all that is implied in school maladjustments that are the result of physical conditions? The whole situation of the individual can be thought through in the light of natural urges for recognition, for satisfactory response, and the probability of compensatory behavior as related to feelings of inferiority. Is it not within the province of principals, teachers, and school nurses to take cognizance of all this and to offer some specially adapted treatment?

Inimical School Companionships

Perhaps it might be thought that the school is not highly responsible for the influence of children upon each other, but, as we insist, the school is forcing such companionship. Prior to school age, intelligent parents generally know something of their child's companionships. When society to a considerable degree takes in charge the child's life, he is almost always thrown with others about whom the guardians of the child know little or nothing. Does not, then, the young life become very considerably

a matter for oversight by the school people? If children are thrown together from widely different standards of culture and upbringing, should there not be great care to prevent harm being done? We could offer hundreds of cases in which delinquency contagion has been the result of school companionship, and in not a few cases the troubles have arisen within the area of immediate school contacts.

It may easily be imagined that most of this delinquent contagion is related to sex misconduct. We can omit the rarer cases of other types of delinquent contagion to discuss unfortunate sex communications and sex experiences that take place in unsupervised playgrounds or toilets.

Of course it is very difficult for school people to know what is going on *sub rosa*, and it is not altogether clear to what extent responsibility can be taken for poor companionship formed in school life but which is carried beyond school bounds. But it is sometimes obvious that a considerable negligence has existed. One of the worst crowd situations that we ever unearthed involved children of both sexes from a very reputable school. They met in a club-room which they had themselves secured and which was the center for many stealing and sex activities. As we probed into the situation, it became plain that if the janitor had informed the headmaster, a very good man, of what he knew about the delinquent trends of certain three or four leading spirits in this mess, the whole affair which persisted over a long time and involved many children could have been prevented. Thus, some primary responsibility lay clearly on the shoulders of the school management.

To picture what may or may not be accomplished in accordance with different attitudes taken by those in charge of schools, we might contrast two large high schools. In both of them there arose a most unfortunate wholesale sex situation as a result of long-standing contagion. In one case, a very intelligent boy with a deep conflict about the whole matter revealed to us what he claimed were the actual facts. The head of the school refused to make any inquiry when we informed him, stating that he disbelieved it, that the boy was a liar, and so on. It was only when the parents of the boy, to whom we reported, went, after a period of indecision, to the parents of other boys and girls, that the truth came to light. It was a small town and the principal received much public censure because it was shown that the

school itself was the center of the sexual communications, and that this should have been easily discernible.

An entirely different attitude and procedure obtained in another school system where the whole school body immediately took responsibility for what was going on after they found out about it from us. With the aid of parents, new adjustments for the children, and much personal help, an equally bad case was quickly cleared up with no expulsions.

It seems certain that some school people, like some parents, do not want to face the difficulties of reality. Still others are willing to believe the facts but seem helpless or unwilling to accept any obligation in the matter. However, we know by experience that when there is willingness to face the truth, and there is some understanding of causations combined with good executive ability, the school organization is very well fitted to accomplish abidingly good results in even such difficult situations as we have mentioned.

Emotional Life of the Child as Related to School and Delinquency

There is every evidence that in some cases emotional hurts occurring in school life play an important part in developing delinquent trends. So far as delinquency is concerned, the reactive behavior may vary greatly in directness; occasionally it is very apparent. One boy with whom we have been struggling had an immensely strong feeling of having been unjustly treated by his school teachers. And this feeling on his part had been carried over to all authority outside the home. He maintained that after some truancy on his part, the teacher promised him that if he made good in a disciplinary school for a period of three months, he could return to his regular class in good standing. His record for this period was satisfactory and for some months afterward, but still no reinstatement occurred. He began to spread his grievances to his boy friends, some of whom felt they too had been betrayed by teachers. We discerned from several of them how a powerful antisocial attitude grew. Their immediate expression of this was in entering the school building at night and under our boy's leadership stealing the possessions of this particular teacher. It was revenge upon her for having been untruthful to him, the boy told us.

In tracing back the career of a very difficult lad, a boy who had been in an excessive amount of delinquency, we found the start

in truancy began when the boy, who had very little ear or voice for music, was forced to sing in front of the class which ridiculed him, inside and outside the classroom. Circumstances—the family moved just after this—made it possible for him to be successfully truant for about a year. Does a teacher realize what she may be doing to a boy when she offers him up for ridicule that will not end, as she might well suppose, with the classroom exercises?

Or we might tell of another boy whose tremendous recalcitrancy owed its origin to the teacher's comment, "What's the matter with your mother that you come to school smelling like this?" There was friction at home, the alcoholic father was verbally abusive to the mother and this boy took her part and was her favorite. The boy felt that she was having "a raw deal" and regarded the teacher's remark as immensely unfair criticism. The boy was in constant trouble in school and became delinquent outside until he grew older and was able to leave school and shift for himself, when, under guidance, he became an independent nondelinquent adolescent. While he was in school, we never were able to overcome his critical attitude towards teachers, which was based on this unfair criticism of his mother.

Teachers' dislikes and prejudices, which, after all, are only a projection upon the pupil of their own personality difficulties, play no inconsiderable part in determining children's behavior. Enough has been written on this subject to make it quite clear; it is so much the theme of the psychoanalysts that some of them express the belief that it is necessary for good management of the classroom that teachers have psychoanalytic insight into their own problems. (Barbara Low's "Psychoanalysis in Education" and Zachry's "Personality Adjustments of School Children" may be referred to for special material on this subject.)

A very subtle point concerning teachers' attitudes is brought out but not satisfactorily explained in its etiological significances in a notable chapter of Hartshorne and May's "Studies in Deceit." Here it is unequivocally shown that cheating under some teachers is endemic, regularly occurring with different groups of pupils. Another point is that the overstressing of some values is destructive to the child. We can give in illustration the case of a boy who on account of his family's laxity was frequently tardy; so much was made of it that he reacted by truancy which led him into further delinquency.

Arbitrary discipline is experienced by children, naturally, with great dissatisfaction. It may be due to the fact that a teacher or a principal is pathologically irritable or high tempered or has an inordinate desire for power, itself dependent on subtle facts, such as an underlying sense of inferiority. "I hate school; I hate school," said a boy of twelve to us who was on the verge of becoming an out-and-out delinquent unless something could be done for him. In working with this case we found that he was an extremely industrious lad who voluntarily spent his spare time in a warehouse where he was very highly regarded by a group of good fellows who were really giving him apprenticeship training. The fault, we found, was on the part of the school—an impatient teacher did not know how to build up constructively the boy's attitudes in favor of the school, the hot-tempered principal jerked him about and punished him.

In such cases it is the child's feeling of insecurity, of being rejected, and his need for recognition—all representing fundamental urges—that underlie the misbehavior.

Another group of problems due to emotional attitude we have seen arising from the *social* situation which pupils find in school. There are many variations here, too, but examples are to be seen in the several cases of high-school girls who have stolen in order to keep up appearances as good as the others of the group. This very evident matter of social competition and possible deep-lying feeling of social inferiority has in some schools been well taken care of through consideration of such matter as clothes and spending money by parent-teacher associations.

Conclusion

The school is a social agency that, perhaps unfortunately, does not have to sell itself. The law compels attendance of every child, and in the minds of many that is all there is to it. And some think that aiming at arousal of interests is soft pedagogy. How can you create character if you make school subjects easy, they ask, but the true psychology of human beings makes the matter appear the other way around. If genuinely interested, a child puts forth greater effort and struggle. And is it not possible to make difficult tasks interesting enough to put the child on his mettle? Real interest in school work will ever be one of the greatest preventives of delinquency. Efforts made in some centers, as in Newark under the leadership of Plant and

Robinson, to keep the child actively participating and to save him from unfortunate emotional attitudes through not having him feel himself a failure are bound to show results.

When it comes to the question of the school's obligations to consider the child's emotional life as part and parcel of the school program, we can hardly agree with Judd who seems to believe, as expressed in Embree's "Prospecting for Heaven," that the emotional development of the child is not essentially the business of the school. We discern in delinquent behavior the building up of antisocial conduct upon bases of emotional maladjustments. The school is the one organization that has a chance to know these and to do something constructively to prevent disaster. The school where there is understanding, willingness, and good judgment can do much by itself. In severer cases it can work with organizations, whatever their name may be, that act in the capacity of a juvenile protective association. It should, wherever practicable, utilize a guidance center where children's problems are thoroughly studied.

The White House Conference papers contain some pungent statements bearing upon the relationship between school life and delinquency. The fundamental philosophy of the school as a social activity is considered; it is a regulation of society for introduction of a child into social living. Hence, the primary question should not always be, "What does the child learn in school?" but, rather, "How does the child feel because of school?" Finding out how a child is feeling because of school leads to ascertainment of how he may succeed in this important realm of socialized living. The symbol in all its drama of social duties and privileges has a greater significance than being a mere dispenser of academic education.

VII. THE COMMUNITY LOOKS AT THE SCHOOL[23]

RHEA KAY BOARDMAN

More and more the eyes of the community are turned toward the school for help. During the past winter, food, clothing, and medical care have been freely dispensed. This demand has been necessary to supervise the distribution of these services. The closing of this school year has not ended this service and, if the

[23] *National Education Association, Addresses and Proceedings*, Vol. LXX, 1932, pp. 330–332.

prophecy of authorities is correct, next winter will find the school increasingly involved in this type of amelioration.

Children come to school harassed by the conflicts within the home. There is barely enough in the family budget to make ends meet with the father unemployed. Perhaps the mother has taken up the burden to earn in a woman's way and is trying to keep the family together. Perhaps there is no one working at all and the family have had to appeal to the community for aid. We cannot minimize what these experiences do to a family group which has previously been self-supporting. There were children in New York City last winter who disliked to go home after school because the school building was the only warm place they knew except the movies and the lack of money forbade admission to the latter.

The statistics of the Children's Bureau state that malnutrition increased in one health center in New York City in 1928 from 18 per cent to 60 per cent. A state-wide survey in Pennsylvania shows an increase of from 10 per cent to 15 per cent. We cannot estimate what this will mean to the school when we consider the "whole child." Undoubtedly there will be fewer promotions and the teacher will feel that her energies are wasted, especially if she considers academic progress as her measure of success.

In one school system a large number of boys and girls over eighteen have applied for readmission to the school. They secured their working papers several years ago when work was plentiful and now, finding themselves without employment, ask to be readmitted to the junior high school. In some cases they were allowed to return and the teacher found herself with a very different distribution of ages than she had ever taught in one class. These older boys and girls are returning to us for further training. Will we see through the maze of irritations and annoyances and help them by being friendly, understanding advisers? Perhaps they will be more ready than ever before to accept our advice and plan with us.

Do we understand the social background of our pupils? Do we realize that social adjustment involves two parties—the child and the society to which he must adjust? It has been said that no society is too illiterate to have a culture of its own. We can never hope to give our students the assistance they need without knowing what they are adjusting to outside of the classroom. Dr. John Levy, professor of Columbia University, states:

"Children of similar physical and mental constitutions develop different degrees of disturbance as a result of the specific society in which they happen to be born." Clifford Shaw has pointed out that it is more normal for a child in a "gang" in Chicago to have a court experience than not.

Home visiting under right conditions brings one in touch with the parents and is most enlightening. One may get a fairly good idea of the school without ever entering the door of the building, by listening to the reports of the parents and children concerning their school.

Do you encourage these mothers to visit schools? Perhaps they cannot understand our language but they can understand the friendliness of a handshake and a smile. They will become our most ardent supporters if they can see what we are doing in our classrooms. The problem of the foreign-born would be greatly lessened if the parents felt free to visit us and to talk to the child intelligently when he brings home reports about the teacher.

You may ask, "When would we ever have time to teach if we did all of this?" My answer is that there are many principals and teachers who are doing this and they are not the ones who leave work undone. To follow out this program one must have a "social attitude," a constructive, intellectual, social curiosity, and a desire to help. Such a teacher will have more school visitors, more boys and girls who stay voluntarily after school for help, but she will also have less behavior problems to settle. It is the latter that saps our vitality and makes us old beyond our years.

Social agencies, churches, parents, and children realize that the school is a strategic factor in this inevitable readjustment of national forces. School buildings are increasingly to become community centers where topics of general importance may be discussed, where neighborhood projects may be planned and carried out. Naturally the principals and teachers will play a large part in this socialized program. Physicians, nurses, psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers in general frankly admit that the school faculty is indispensable in the successful treatment of unadjustment and effective coördination of social interests. It often takes an emergency to break down social and educational barriers. If this crisis brings about a better working relationship between the community and the school, if it throws the emphasis of education upon socialization in its

broader sense, then the school of the future will assume its proper place as a functioning, far-sighted social institution in the community.

VIII. PUPIL ADJUSTMENT IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL[24]

WILLIAM C. REAVIS

. . . To accomplish the desired end, progress must be made along the following lines:

1. *The determination of educational status.* By educational status is meant the inherent possibilities of the pupil as a subject for education. Unless the school is able to appraise the possibilities of the pupil and to evaluate the conditions which will bring about his greatest development, it cannot competently discharge the function for which it receives support. Many factors and conditions may hinder the determination of an individual's educational status, but the fact cannot be offered as an alibi on the part of the school for its failure to acquire the knowledge and understanding of the individual essential to the making of an intelligent adjustment. With the educational status of a pupil known, it is possible for the school to direct development skillfully and with relative certainty, but with educational status unknown, the predicament of both school and pupil is obviously that of the blind trying to lead the blind.

After accepting a pupil as a subject for education, the first task of the school is to ascertain his true educational status as promptly as possible. This means that it must appraise the pupil's mental capacity, ascertain his pedagogical history, and acquire an understanding of his personality and the factors which have moulded it. The school may then undertake to offer counsel and guidance to the pupil and to direct his development.

. . . .

2. *Sensitiveness to the symptoms of maladjustment.* The nature of the relationship between the pupil and the school is in no small measure responsible for the failure of the school often to sense the character of the changes which are actually occurring in the pupil. Mass teaching tends to shift the focus of the teacher's attention from the individual to the group. As a

[24] *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Vol. V, No. 5, January, 1931, pp. 290–294.

result teachers may be sentient to the progress of the group and at the same time insentient to the changes in an individual member of the group. Failure to sense an individual's condition may prove serious to the one concerned. Time is an important matter in the determination of failure and success. Inability on the part of the school to recognize a symptom at a critical period may result in the serious maladjustment, failure, and ultimate elimination of a pupil.

It is necessary to increase the sensitiveness of the school to the changes which occur in the individual pupils. The desired result can be accomplished by shortening the interval between periodic appraisals of pupil progress. The monthly or bimonthly period is too long to permit the timely discovery of changes in progress. Unless the individual receives guidance and help when difficulties are first encountered the final result may be disastrous. Weekly appraisals should therefore be made as a means of preventing serious maladjustment and failure in individual cases. If the symptoms of maladjustment are discovered in an individual through the weekly inventory, principal and parent should receive notice of the fact, if the teacher is powerless to give specific help.

Specific reports need not be made for every pupil in the school. Only those who require diagnostic and remedial consideration and those who need the stimulus of approval or disapproval should be made the subjects of written record. The record should be more than a statement of personal opinion. It should contain a frank report of the facts observed, the symptoms evidenced, the diagnosis of causes—if such is possible—and the remedies tried—if such have been undertaken. Inability or neglect to follow the procedure indicated may result in failure to sense the symptoms of maladjustment, to discover the causes of unsatisfactory progress, to undertake corrective or remedial measures, and to render professional service to the pupil.

3. *Educational diagnosis.* Educational diagnosis is the process of collecting, analyzing, and evaluating educational facts for the purpose of ascertaining and determining their bearing on the progress of a pupil in school. It may be carried out crudely or skillfully, but it must be carried out if the school adjusts its individual pupils to the work provided. The success of the school in the final analysis will depend very largely on the character of the educational diagnoses which it is able to make.

The skill of the educator must be comparable with that of the physician. He should be able to make a true diagnosis of his individual pupils. The methods he must employ are in many respects similar to those used by the physician; namely, observation, refined measurement, interrogation, and historical investigation.

(a) *Observation.* The power of observation of many educators has been allowed to atrophy from disuse. Teachers tend to devote too much of their classroom time to formal questioning about text material. They fail to observe the study habits of their pupils. As a result they do not know whether or not their pupils as individuals (1) employ effective habits of application and attention, (2) use their time wisely, (3) analyze and organize skillfully, (4) discriminate keenly, (5) attack problems independently, (6) work systematically, etc. They do not discover the personal difficulties of their pupils and as a result they accentuate rather than relieve maladjustment. The teacher, like the physician, must develop the power to make precise observations of the classroom performances of pupils to the end that exact diagnosis of learning difficulties may be made.

(b) *Refined measurement.* Just as the invention and refinement of measuring instruments, such as the compound microscope, thermometer, stethoscope, electro-cardiograph, baumonometer, etc., raised the practice of medicine to the level of a science, so the improvement of tests and examinations has made possible in education the more exact measurement of pupil ability and performance. The appraisal of the work of pupils by objective methods makes possible the diagnosis of abilities and disabilities and the adjustment of pupils to the work of the school and vice versa.

. . . .

(c) *Interrogation and self-diagnosis.* With the findings reported in the previous section known, the principal or a teacher in the capacity of counselor engages the pupil under consideration in friendly conference. Questions are asked and answers are given. It is discovered that the pupil possesses an antipathy towards school caused by his lack of success and an attempt on the part of parents and a teacher in an earlier grade to enforce the wearing of improperly fitted lenses. The advantage of a correct fitting of glasses is pointed out, the nature of the present

school difficulties are explained, the personal assets of the pupil are appraised, and the means of regaining the grade standing desired are discussed.

. . . .

(d) *Case history.* In serious cases of maladjustment, the causes may lie concealed in the pupil's history. Well-intentioned mistakes of parents or teachers, family heritage, environmental influences may be responsible for present difficulties which handicap the individual and retard his progress. The successful diagnosis of such a case may require an examination of the entire previous history and information available regarding the pupil. The procedure employed has been designated in medicine, law, and social service as the case method. It applies equally effectively in the diagnostic study of problem pupils in school.

The employment of the case method in educational diagnosis necessitates the systematic recording of the significant facts in the life of the individual pupil. Period reports which can be interpreted should be made and filed as a part of the pupil's school history. Significant personal data may be secured at the time of admission to school and test records can be filed in a pocket-folder in which a cumulative history of the pupil can be acquired without the labor of transcribing data.

4. *Remedial treatment.* The end of diagnosis is always the application of appropriate remedial treatment. In practice, however, treatment often precedes diagnosis. The results in such instances are always uncertain. The physician who treats a patient without first diagnosing the case would be rated by the medical profession as a "quack." In education the same procedure would probably be excused on the ground of "bad pedagogy." It is malpractice in medicine or in education to treat without diagnosis, unless the treatment is undertaken for the purpose of experimentation and the outcome is known in advance to augur no serious harm to the subject of the experiment.

For convenience of study, remedial cases may be classified according to the major causes of maladjustment; namely, (1) ineffective habits of work; (2) personality difficulties; (3) deficiencies in previous training; (4) physical difficulties; (5) mental disabilities; and (6) psychophysical defects. The classification makes possible (1) the adoption of a definite terminology which will enable teachers and administrative officers

better to understand their common problems; (2) a program of training in the identification of causes and appropriate kinds of treatment; (3) the utilization of strong teachers in the training of the entire staff through successful case studies related to the major types.

Scientific remedial treatment is made possible only through scientific diagnosis. Similarly, the development of measures designed to prevent maladjustment are dependent on successful early diagnosis. In the latter field there is a science in the making in education as well as in medicine. Some of the greatest achievements of medical science have been in the preventive field. The challenge to the educator to prevent as well as to treat the mental ills of pupils is just as strong as the challenge to the physician to prevent and cure physical ills. The road to success in either case is to be found in the mastery of the process of diagnosis which makes possible successful adjustment through preventive and remedial measures. Such service must become a vital part of the work of the modern secondary school if the confidence and support of those who entrust their children to its care are to be retained.

IX. GUIDANCE IN THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL[25]

JAMES GLASS

The junior high school organization is considered best fitted for the development of a guidance program. The outline and suggestions which follow cover the three junior high years. It will also be observed that the plans presented are more comprehensive than will be practicable with the present lack of teachers who have given special attention to guidance. So important is this matter, however, that the introduction of a guidance program should not be postponed, and the duty of the teachers is to make the necessary preparation, even while carrying a regular teaching program, to make themselves gradually capable leaders in this work.

While a guidance program seems to fit best the junior high years and the junior high organization, such a program is needed also in a four-year high school, and guidance should not terminate with the end of the ninth year. It may be found even more

[25] *The High School Teacher*, Vol. V, No. 2, Feb., 1929, pp. 43 and 61.

desirable to include the consideration of vocations, guidance in social matters, and help toward the choice of further preparation in the upper years of the high school than in the lower years. In fact, some of the most notable guidance work that has been accomplished has been with older pupils. The following outline is offered in the belief that it will prove suggestive for planning guidance in whatever years of the high school it may be accomplished. The department insists that every school shall make at least some beginning in guidance. If that is done, each school with an incomplete program of guidance will within a few years find ways to expand it to reasonable adequacy.

A fully organized program of guidance comprehends three types: (1) instructional or classroom guidance, (2) homeroom or extra-curricular guidance, (3) administrative or individual guidance.

Instructional or Classroom Guidance

Organized as a course of study, educational and vocational guidance may be divided into three consecutive year-units of instruction for the junior high school period:

(1) First year. *Orientation in the junior high school:* getting acquainted with the junior high school; the pupil finding his own conscious adjustment to a strange school organization; how it differs from the elementary school; the work common to all and the work adapted to each; what the junior high school is planned to do for the pupil; what the pupil is to do in it and how to do this work successfully; the qualities of the successful worker—a sound mind in a sound body, the right attitude, self-measurement and self-improvement; choosing the first elective, how to make it what it means, and how to check it.

(2) Second year. *General survey of vocations:* a survey study of the world of work and the chief vocational fields of agriculture and allied vocations, business and commerce, industries and manufactures, learned and technical professions, homemaking and allied vocational occupations; the nature of the work, the requirements, and the rewards of each main vocational field; the conditions of work offered in each vocational field; personal qualities demanded for success in each; training required for the various occupational levels in each; choosing a vocational field, generally not specifically; and checking the educational choice in the light of vocational aims.

(3) Third year. *General survey of educational opportunities:* the educational possibilities in senior high school, continuation school, evening school, college, university, and professional school; the parallel nature of educational and vocational levels; motivating all educational progress in secondary and higher education by revealing the connection between education and vocational success and promotion; relating school and life; articulating each pupil's specific educational program with a general vocational aim; inaugurating a specific study of individual, educational and vocational programs for more detailed investigation in senior high school.

Homeroom Guidance

Homeroom or extra-curricular guidance provides for the organization of personal, social, civic, and moral guidance. In this second phase of an organized guidance program each junior high school teacher participates as a homeroom teacher or as a sponsor of some extra-curricular activity. The general practice in junior high schools is to set aside one period a week for homeroom guidance. In case homeroom teachers are required also . . . as instructors in educational and vocational guidance, a second period a week should be set aside for the first type of classroom instruction in guidance.

The homeroom program of guidance may comprise the following activities:

(1) *Personal guidance of individual pupils by personal conference:* diagnosing individual differences of personality and environment; stimulating the strengthening of right habits and attitudes; making the pupil aware of wrong conditions in personal traits and habits of work and leisure, and planning remedial control with the pupil; enlisting the coöperation and follow-up service of home, school counselor, visiting teacher, and nurse.

(2) *Social guidance of homeroom class:* by teacher and pupil discussion, in homeroom period, of class interests and problems; homeroom teacher's personal appeals to class; creating and maintaining the honor of the homeroom; establishing homeroom standards in conduct, courtesy, school service, and scholarship; the upbuilding of an active spirit of social coöperation.

(3) *Direction of pupil cooperative government* and class participation in all homeroom and school community activities and interests; organizing the homeroom with pupil officers; training

these officers in the discharge of their duties; enlisting the coöperation of officer and non-officer groups; directing homeroom class programs; stimulating homeroom class discussions on personal and class problems.

(4) *Coöperation with classroom teachers* in maintenance of standards of scholarship and conduct, to the end of employing homeroom class honor as an incentive to achievement.

(5) *Coöperation with guidance classroom teacher* in educational and vocational guidance; supplementing this instruction with discussions in the homeroom of the values of reliable educational and vocational information.

(6) *Coöperation with administrative guidance staff* in recommending specific cases of the homeroom class for individual adjustment; supplying individual case information known only by homeroom teachers; enlisting the aid of all guidance agencies in the protection of the welfare of each individual pupil.

(7) *Thrift education:* teaching pupils the economical use of school and personal supplies; maintaining right conditions of homeroom housekeeping; observing safety-first and sanitary conditions in personal, homeroom, school, and community relations; school banking under homeroom management.

(8) *Class bulletin board:* utilizing it for homeroom and school guidance objectives and projects; employing the weekly homeroom period for announcements of concern to pupils; enlisting their coöperation in making reports and records in cases where data should come from pupils; thereby creating a respect for the systematic control and operation of their school life.

Administrative Guidance

This type of guidance comprises the leadership of the principal in his associated guidance staff. Frequently in small schools the principal must be the administrative leader of the guidance program and also the classroom instructor of guidance. This plan affords the principal opportunity for contact with all pupils on the most vital problems of their school careers, viz., their questions of educational choice, vocational goals, and educational preparation.

In larger schools administrative guidance comprises a guidance staff which provides inspirational and administrative leadership and executes the administrative details of the guidance program. The staff is directed by the principal or an associate delegated by

him; it includes also counselors, visiting teachers, girls' and boys' advisers, guidance classroom teachers and frequently the school nurse, director of school research, and director of tests and measurements. It is the practice to hold stated meetings of the staff at which problems relating to the guidance program are discussed and plans are formulated for development of the various fields of guidance. These conferences are the clearing house for all problems of individual adjustment where definite assignments are made to individual members of the staff to investigate and assist in pupil problems of adjustment.

X. JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CRIME PREVENTION[26]

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

The growing seriousness of the crime problem in the United States has focused the attention of the educated public from time to time upon the possibility of a more fundamental and more systematic attack upon the underlying causes of crime than has yet been attempted, and these later formulations of the problem of crime prevention and of basic crime-prevention programs are closely related to the whole problem of dealing with juvenile delinquency.

The groundwork for this type of attack has now been prepared through the acquisition of important knowledge as to the origins of crime made available through recent scientific studies:[27] first, that the origins of criminal careers are to be found in the social reactions of childhood and adolescence; and second, that the concentration of delinquents and criminals is to be found in typical, interstitial areas which are the characteristic breeding places of gangs, delinquency, and crime.[28]

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[26] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 8, April, 1933, pp. 500–509.

[27] *See* bibliography at end of Thrasher's, "The Gang," fourth printing, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1933, under the captions: "Sociology of the Gang," "Materials for the Study of the Gang," "Ecology of the Gang," "Gang and Delinquency," and "Treatment of the Gang and Its Members"—especially titles by Shaw, Crime Commission of the State of New York, Farrell, Illinois Crime Survey, Landesco, Glueck, Thomas, National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Lawes, Shulman, and Thrasher.

[28] Both these generalizations are well illustrated by the findings presented in Thrasher's, "The Gang."

These two outstanding generalizations, based as they are upon well-authenticated facts, clearly indicate the point of attack for a major crime-prevention program; namely, the behavior problems of childhood and adolescence and the malfunctioning of social institutions in the crime-producing areas. How may a practicable program of crime prevention which strikes in a basic way at underlying causes be formulated?

The problem is primarily one of dealing with social influences affecting predelinquents or potential delinquents in these areas of deterioration in such a way as to assure the development of wholesome personality and good citizenship. It involves many factors and many techniques, but the fundamental problem is one of synthesis of all methods which are known to be essential so as to deal consistently and completely with the total situation in a given delinquency area. This involves an inescapable program of social planning which is clearly suggested by any careful sociological study.

Yet, criminologists, persons with legal training, educators, and recreational and social workers in general have failed to grasp the fundamental principle of crime prevention; viz., the necessity for a definitely organized and thoroughgoing preventive program in the local community from which the bulk of delinquents and criminals are produced. Apparently they have possessed in general neither the technical knowledge nor the inclination to enable them to promote the concentration of local responsibility, the cooperation of local agencies, and the integration of local services which are essential to such a program.

The gang is clearly a symptom of community disorganization.[29] The gang, along with other personal and social factors in the interstitial (crime-producing) area, plays an important part in the demoralization of youth and the facilitation of delinquency and crime. The solution of the gang problem, however, is intimately and inextricably bound up with the whole question of crime prevention as applied to all factors contributing to delinquency in such an area.

From our own analysis of the gang and of juvenile delinquency in relation to crime in "The Gang," as well as upon the basis of

[29] *See* also Thrasher, "The Gang as a Symptom of Community Disorganization," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, XI, 1926, pp. 3–21, and Landesco, John, "Crime and the Failure of Institutions in Chicago's Immigrant Areas," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIII, 1932, pp. 238–248.

the results of more recent studies by the author and by Shaw, Landesco, Shulman, Glueck, and others, the essential elements of a crime-prevention program for a local community appear to be as follows:

I. The general purpose

To achieve a comprehensive, systematic, and integrated social program for the incorporation of *all* children in the delinquency area, especially *all* the maladjusted and those likely to become delinquents, into activities, groups, and organizations providing for their leisure-time interests as well as all other normal needs.

II. Means to the achievement of this purpose

1. Concentration of responsibility for crime prevention for the local delinquency area in question (a problem of community organization).
2. Research to procure essential facts and keep them up-to-date as a basis for an initial and a progressively developing crime-prevention program.
3. Utilization of services of and coöperation among all preventive agencies existing in the given community (a problem of community organization).
4. Application of the preventive program *systematically* to all children in the delinquency area of the local community.
5. Creation of new agencies, if necessary, to supplement existing social organization when and at what points definite needs are discovered which cannot be met by existing facilities (a problem of community organization).

The nature of the program indicated in the above statement of the purpose of crime prevention (I) seems at first glance to contain no elements of novelty. And indeed its subsidiary techniques are the well-known services of the behavior and guidance clinic, the family caseworking agency, the recreational organization, the educational institution, etc. Yet such a program represents a radical departure from the methods of social work and community organization as now conceived. The elements of novelty, as contemplated here, which hold real promise of effective crime prevention, lie in the direction of *community reorganization* (based upon research), rather than the proposal primarily of new methods of dealing with children either individually or in groups. The new approach is indicated in the five methods of procedure set forth above as means to the achievement of the general purpose of crime prevention. Curiously enough not one of the elements in this five-point program has been put into effective operation in a crime-producing area, except in certain exceptional instances to be noted below.

The cardinal first step in crime prevention is concentration of responsibility for a definite and systematic program in a definite and adequate social instrumentality which will be charged with crime prevention as its sole function. It is obvious that no traditional social agency as now constituted is fitted for such a task. Yet it is equally clear that many existing social agencies must play important parts in carrying out such a program. The instrumentality, therefore, which assumes this vital community function must be one which lends itself readily to securing the coöperation of all community institutions and organizations.

It has been suggested[30] that the local council of social agencies serving the delinquency area for which the crime-prevention program is being formulated should logically assume this responsibility since such a council is representative of most of the agencies which must coöperate in putting such a program into practical operation. This could be accomplished through the creation of a committee or section of the council which would employ a qualified executive with a small but capable staff for performing the essential crime-prevention functions.

The following brief outline of a crime-prevention program for a local council of social agencies, based upon an actual community study, may be presented as an example:[31]

I. Proposed organization of a citizenship section of the X....Council of Social Agencies
   1. To be known as citizenship section, emphasizing only positive aspects of the work and avoiding use of words "crime prevention."
   2. To be composed of representatives of various social agencies whose cooperation is essential to success of the program.
   3. Small active executive committee to be chosen from the section.
   4. Selection of qualified executive and adequate staff.

II. Extent and location of such a program
   1. Program to concentrate on definite area or areas characterized by high delinquency rates.

[30] Crime Commission of New York State, "Crime and the Community, A Study of Trends in Crime Prevention," J. B. Lyon Company, New York, 1930.

[31] As a result of the author's studies of delinquency in a local area in New York City, he prepared such a crime-prevention program at the request of the local Council of Social Agencies. This was presented to the Council in the spring of 1931, but could not be developed at that time chiefly because of lack of funds for even a modest financing. During 1932, however, the crime-prevention program for this Council was again taken up by Harry M. Shulman, formerly research director of the New York State Crime Commission, in an effort to develop a practical community program.

2. First steps to be considered exploratory and experimental.

III. Functions of citizenship program

1. Research function
   (a) What data are necessary?
      (1) Basic census data on all families in every block in area in question.
      (2) Recreational and other contacts of children.
      (3) Data basic to detection of potential delinquents—from interviews and records of schools, social agencies, police courts, etc.
      (4) Data on all demoralizing influences in area.
   (b) How can such data be collected?
      (1) Family data on all cases contributed by all social agencies (including schools) working in area.
      (2) Securing complete list of families with agency contacts from Social-Service Exchange.
      (3) House-to-house canvass to obtain data on families not represented by above.
      (4) Contribution of all data by social agencies where a crime-prevention problem is indicated.
      (5) Contribution by agencies of data on community resources and demoralizing influences.
      (6) Special investigations by staff.
2. Function of clearance and exchange
   (a) Maintenance of continuing file of basic census data on each social block, indicating removals of old families and new data on incoming families.
   (b) Case file for each block containing detailed histories of families likely to produce delinquents and of critical cases being given special attention or care by staff.
   (c) Continuing file on all demoralizing influences—persons, groups, and institutions.
3. The function of integrated services
   (a) Concentration upon children and young people, singly or in groups (such as gangs), found not to be reached or not effectively incorporated into existing wholesome social structures.
      (1) Children in school who have problems outside of school hours.
      (2) Children not in school and unemployed, or children employed who have special adjustment problems.
   (b) Integration of services of varied social agencies to meet individual needs of individual problem children or groups of children in which delinquency develops (such as gangs), the program for each to be fitted to the needs of that case.
   (c) In cases of failure by one agency or set of agencies, a new alignment of services and a new plan.
4. The casework function
   Mobilization of casework agencies for specialized and difficult cases.
5. The function of promoting new or supplementary services or agencies to deal with problems which cannot be handled by existing facilities.

It is not at all certain that an agency representative of the local council of social agencies (within which local jealousies may be disruptive) is the best or only instrumentality for concentrating responsibility for crime prevention in a local community. An effective program of crime prevention, although limited in its scope, has been developed by the Bureau of Crime Prevention of the New York City Police Department. Under the leadership of Deputy Police Commissioner Henrietta Additon, a social worker of distinction, the Bureau has developed its work to high standards of excellence and has secured the active coöperation of practically all the preventive agencies of the community whose services it must use.

The Police Department's records of arrests of juveniles show 7,114 in 1930 and 6,322 in 1931, a decrease of 792 or 11 per cent in the two years of the Crime Prevention Bureau's service.

Its object is to cut off crime and suppress vice at their sources through the prevention of juvenile delinquency. This is accomplished through specially trained officers, men and women, who study environmental factors in the various neighborhoods of the city, and become personally acquainted with the boys and girls in those neighborhoods and their special needs. The Bureau works with all the agencies and clubs in the city who deal with boys and girls under 21 years of age, and with other welfare and health societies which are in a position to help in family adjustments and provide medical care. A large recreational program has been developed to furnish proper leisure-time occupation.[32]

In some communities the local council of social agencies may not be in a position to take the initiative in organizing a crime-prevention program or financing it. In others, no effective local council may exist. In such cases it is quite reasonable to suppose that any agency which has a fundamental stake in crime prevention, such as a recreational group, the public school, the juvenile court, or the police department, or a committee representing a combination of such agencies may take the initiative in developing a crime-prevention program in which the coöperation of all essential agencies can be enlisted. It has been suggested[33] that the so-called "probation" committees, composed of volunteers working under the guidance of county probation officers in Illinois, might well be used as "crime-prevention

[32] "Crime Prevention in New York City," *Social Hygiene News*, VII, 1932, p. 2.

[33] Palmer, Maude G., "Needed: Crime Prevention Committees," *Welfare Bulletin* (Illinois Department of Public Welfare), August, 1932, p. 5.

committees." A Crime Prevention Committee, composed of officers of the Richmond Recreation Association, the judge of the juvenile court, and two assistant school superintendents, has functioned in the development of a crime-prevention program for that city. A committee of the National Probation Association[34] is devoting itself to a study of the relations between the schools and the juvenile court with the possibility of developing a more adequate program of crime prevention under the joint leadership of these agencies. The public-school system in any community in the interest of the adequate performance of its own educational functions is in an especially strategic position to undertake, without fear or favor, the development of a crime-prevention program which shall enlist the interest and coöperation of all the social agencies of the community.[35]

We have discussed the first element in the five-point program of crime prevention; namely, the concentration of responsibility for the function of crime prevention. The second point is no less important: that the program must be based upon social research rather than the superficial type of survey often employed by social agencies. No adequate program can be formulated or carried on without definite knowledge of facts regarding the children of the area and their problems and the social influences which play upon them. With few exceptions[36] social agencies do not know the communities to which they minister with any degree of thoroughness, and unfortunately they do not ordinarily keep their records in such a way as to enable them to evaluate their own work effectively. They know their own methods, but they are inclined to be "institutionally minded" and they find difficulty in visualizing the community and its problems as a whole and their own proper functions in the larger situation.[37]

[34] Under the chairmanship of Dean Justin Miller of the Law School of Duke University.

[35] As yet school authorities have not sensed the problem in any broad or comprehensive way.

[36] The Bowling Green Settlement of Lower Manhattan, New York City (now discontinued because of shifting population), presents a striking exception. This institution maintained a remarkable research department which was in possession of up-to-date data on all families in its area and on its relations to them at any given moment.

[37] *See* Thrasher, Frederic M., "The Boys' Club Study of New York University" and other articles in a special issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, September, 1932, dealing with the problem of social research as related to the evaluation of the work of institutions.

The social agencies often know certain phases of their community backgrounds very intimately and separate agencies see one problem or another very vividly. The point is, however, that there is no synthesis of essential knowledge without genuine research and that there can be no adequate basis for a thoroughgoing crime-prevention program without knowledge which is systematic, organized, and complete. This is particularly pertinent in dealing with the problem of delinquency, because it is just the child who is missed by the methods of the ordinary leisure-time program, or who drops out of the wholesome group or institution, or who is shunted from one agency to another without any consistent plan for his adjustment or attempt at follow-up who so often is the predelinquent or the candidate for a criminal career.

In one area of the Lower West Side of Manhattan in New York City, recreational workers connected with Greenwich House, a social settlement noted for its innovations in dealing with young people, came to believe that the "tough" boys were not utilizing the facilities of the settlement. This was corroborated by an important piece of research into the social changes of the area, which was under way at the time.[38] As a result, during 1931 and 1932 there was formulated and put into operation a block-recreation plan whose basic purpose was to develop wholesome spare-time activities in every block under adequate leadership by means of the establishment of block clubrooms and associated activities.[39] This project as it has grown, has developed records on all families in each of the blocks where clubrooms have been established. The program is designed to reach the potential delinquents in each block in a systematic way and is in effect a crime-prevention program, although it does not include all the essential points enumerated above. It necessarily depends, however, for its ultimate success upon data provided by continuing and systematic social research.

The third point in the crime-prevention program involves the integration of services of all appropriate agencies with reference to each individual case involving a child, a family, or a gang, and with reference to controlling every demoralizing influence in the local community. This is well exemplified in the work of the Crime Prevention Bureau of New York City, which utilizes every resource of the community in preparing and carrying out its plan to meet the requirements of each individual case.

The fourth point involves the application of the preventive program *systematically* to *all* children in the delinquency area of

[38] Under the direction of Dr. Caroline Ware.

[39] This project was sponsored by the Council of Lower West Side Social Agencies, of which the author is chairman, through its recreation committee.

the local community. At the present writing no crime-prevention agency has been able to carry out this procedure. Yet it is an essential element in any program of effective crime prevention and it is a relatively simple matter when once the problem is understood and an adequate crime-prevention agency is established. It is assumed that the delinquency area, which breeds crime, has been definitely delimited.[40] This at once reduces the size of the juvenile population which must be dealt with by excluding the nondelinquency areas. Delinquency areas are usually districts of congested population with high ratios of children in the general population. The problem now becomes one of sifting out those cases which we have called "predelinquents," that is, children who by virtue of behavior problems already manifested or conditions in their biological or social backgrounds are likely to become delinquents. Truants from school and very young delinquents, adolescents who are first offenders, children with a record of delinquency in their immediate families, children living in blocks with excessively high delinquency rates, nondelinquents associated with delinquent gangs, etc., are cases in point. With the development of research and the availability of numerous records bearing upon the beginnings of criminal careers, we shall undoubtedly eventually possess definite indices which will enable us to predict with some degree of precision what children are most likely to become delinquents.[41] At present, we are in possession of sufficient knowledge to enable us to bring a crime-prevention program within the limits of practicability by the process of sifting indicated above and the concentration of effort upon critical cases. When we say that our program must be applied systematically to all children in the delinquency area, we mean that all children must be considered in the sifting process which will rule out the majority—those who are functioning within an adequate social framework—and leave a considerable residuum of potential criminals whose problems must be dealt with. The emphasis here is upon a systematic approach to the problem which foregoes the hit-or-miss procedure of the average agency

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[40] The methods of delimiting delinquency areas have already been well established by the work of Clifford R. Shaw and others who have delimited the delinquency areas for many American cities.

[41] The methods worked out by Glueck and by Burgess and Tibbets in predicting the violation of parole give promise in this direction.

of the so-called character-building type and pursues a method designed to catch all the potential delinquents in the area and especially to forestall the overlooking of any critical cases.

The final procedure in the five-point program for the prevention of crime is the creation of new agencies where existing facilities are demonstrated to be inadequate (by research based on special investigation and experience).

The possibility of such a basic program of crime prevention becomes more sure as the logic of our knowledge of the problem of the gang and of crime becomes more inescapable. Social planning becomes more and more inevitable as pragmatic tests are applied to our present disorganized social structure. There is no panacea for the solution of the gang problem and its related problem of crime. The market for crime must be considered as well as the supply of criminals, and this is still another problem. In dealing with the gangster and the criminal we have spent far too much thought and money upon how to repress the finished product of the delinquent career. Economy demands that the emphasis be shifted to the problem of prevention which attacks the roots of crime in those areas of the community which are known to be crime-breeding centers.

Important progress in the prevention of disease and the promotion of public health has come about as the result of various health (disease-prevention) demonstrations such as the Social Unit Experiment in Cincinnati, Ohio, and other health demonstrations financed by contributions from foundations and public-spirited citizens. Similarly, the time is ripe for adequately financed citizenship (crime-prevention) demonstrations which shall be carried on experimentally over a period of years in various parts of the country. Thus principles of crime prevention can be established and the resulting prophylaxis for crime can be more widely applied by public and private agencies.

Chapter XIII

The School Organization

I. SOCIOLOGICAL BASIS OF SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION

The central theme of discussion in education in the twentieth century has been the problem of an activity program in the schools. The necessity for discarding the inadequate educational practices of the past, in which the mastery of a body of subject matter seemed to be the chief desideratum, is by now well recognized. Present educational efforts are directed toward a more effective school procedure which will take cognizance of social changes and increasingly complex social needs. This has been the aim not only of educational philosophers and educational psychologists, but also of sociologists and social workers who have been concerned directly with social behavior. The whole discussion of the socialized recitation and the project method has been centered around this theme. The efforts at education readjustment have been concentrated upon an activity program which seeks to make the practices of school not only a part of life outside of the school, but coterminous with it. All have been interested in and have emphasized different aspects of the same problem; all aim at the prevention of the sterility and formality characteristic of former school practice.

While the effect of this development has been a greatly-improved school practice, it has, at the same time, placed great emphasis upon habit formation as the function of the school. Moreover, since it is difficult to deal with habits

in the life outside of school, the principal concern has been to make the school as life-like as possible so that habits developed in the school would prevail in life situations. As a result, the emphasis has been placed upon a very limited type of habits and mainly those based upon activities within the schoolroom. While the purpose has been to prepare the child for life outside of the school, the actual practice has been to bring social activities of the community into the school and to emphasize habit formation as the main function of instruction. This inadequacy of educational practice was expressed by the Committee on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in their report ("Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," Bureau of Education, 1918, Bulletin No. 35, p. 11), as follows:

> Education must be conceived as a process of growth. Only when so conceived and so conducted can it become a preparation for life. In so far as this principle has been ignored, formalism and sterility have resulted.
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> For example, civic education too often has begun with topics remote from the pupil's experience and interest. Reacting against this formalism, *some would have pupils study only those activities they can engage in while young. This extreme, however, is neither necessary or desirable.* Pupils should be led to respond to present duties and, at the same time, their interest should be aroused in adult life. With this interest as a basis, they should be helped to acquire the habits, the insight, and ideals that will enable them to meet the duties and responsibilities of later life. Similarly in home-making education, to neglect present duties and responsibilities toward the family of which the pupil is a member, is to court moral insincerity and jeopardize future right conduct. With present duties as a point of departure, home-making education should arouse an interest in future home-making activities and with this interest as a basis give the training necessary.

Educators have become conscious of the need for a closer contact with the outside world, but this contact has limited

itself mainly to contact with the family, and furthermore, to such contacts as have interfered with the smooth working of the school in its efforts to achieve instruction. Efforts have been made to effect this contact by means of the visiting teacher. The visiting teacher has become a permanent institution in the school and an indispensable one, but her work has been limited to problem children. That is, she has been rightly concerned with children that have failed for one reason or another to make their school adjustments, and of course their social adjustments, but it has been because of the failure to make school adjustments that the visiting teacher has come into being. In our discussion of the various aspects of the curriculum we have not been concerned with the problem child in school. Rather, we have been concerned with a school program directed toward the whole body of students in their relation to the social groups outside of the school. We are interested in the adaptation of the child to the social life, and are seeking to see the whole child as a functioning unit in the community and to provide through his schooling, for more adequate adaptation. This sort of program will assist in the adjustment of the problem child, but will not displace the visiting teacher.

Our thesis is that the relating of the school activities to life outside of the school must hinge upon the character of the school and classroom organization. This does not mean that subject matter and method are not important, but when subject matter and method are unrelated to the social needs of the child, effective school work becomes impossible. Also, a failure to observe the principles underlying method results in the failure of the school as a social institution. The main aspect of the curriculum to be relied upon in adjusting the school to life is the organization in the classroom and the school as a whole. It is in the organization of the children for activities outside of the school in which socialization will take place, and in which

the activities of the schoolroom will become meaningful to the child in social terms.

In recent years, educators, in the determination of school practices, have become increasingly conscious of the need for taking the cue from the children themselves and have devised many plans for utilizing children's motives and abilities. From the point of view of the sociologist, these attempts have been directed toward a smoother working of the school and toward the fulfillment of the prescribed minimum curriculum. It has, to be sure, been hoped that in doing this the pupils would acquire capacities for social adjustment. However, the contact with the social life has often failed; and while these contacts have helped to realize the school's aim in the acquisition of the subject matter of the curriculum, the activities have had little relation to the practices characteristic of the child in his various social groups.

The most common form of school organization, designed to promote pupil participation and pupil activity, has been the school city or school state. This type of organization has assumed various forms. The usual method of procedure is to have the pupil organization conform to the pattern of a city or state government with all the officers and social forms characteristic of these civic bodies: the governor or mayor at the head, the legislature or council, the court, the police, and all the rest. Some have modified the organization and used only a part of the machinery of government, but in each case the same principle is involved. This type of organization is no longer in great favor, partly because of the breakdown of these patterns in city government itself and their replacement by the commission form of government and the city manager, and partly because of the failure of the plan itself.

The chief defect of the school city has been its unreality, a condition always quite obvious to the children. The

activities and functions of the children are more properly those of adults and do not belong to children. They are activities which the majority of the children will never be called upon to perform, and even in the case of those few who, later in life, will assume such responsibilities, the time is so far away that the unreality of the position is apparent. Furthermore, the actual responsibility for legislative and executive functions in the school belongs to the teaching staff, and to pretend to abrogate it, while actually retaining it, makes the whole process appear ridiculous. Children entered into "self-government" half-heartedly, often contemptuously or jocosely, and the resultant failure was the only possible outcome.

Strangely enough, a form of this organization has been vigorously revived in recent years in connection with the safety campaigns, and many schools, in an effort to impress lessons of safety, have instituted the traffic court to try traffic offenders. A further development along the same line was the creation of traffic squads "to regulate traffic"; in some communities children have even been given insignia by the chief of police and have been permitted to direct traffic at school crossings. Both of these plans have very largely been abandoned for different reasons. The traffic courts proved farcical and defeated their own purpose. Moreover, in most states, if not in all, the plan of making "traffic policemen" out of children is illegal. Furthermore, the school board would be responsible for an accident occurring to a school child performing any such function. The plans do show, however, that educators are earnestly seeking ways, although often blindly, of giving children an opportunity to participate in civic action, as a means of training for citizenship.

The most elaborate type of school organization has been that proposed for the junior high school; while it is not characteristic of all the so-called junior high schools, still,

it has been used in many of them, as well as in senior high schools. A variety of activities are included in the plan, such as the control of corridors, the control of tardiness and of absences, the direction of assemblies, the organization and control of "extra-curricular" activities, the conducting of recitations in the classrooms, the direction of play groups, and many other similar activities in the school. These activities are kept within the abilities, experiences, and interests of the children, and as far as they go, they are in line with sociological demands. They are, however, limited to the activities of the school. The principle involved is to bring life activities into the school and provide for pupil participation. In so far as the school can be made a cross section of life, this principle serves the function of social adjustment. The school, however, can never be more than a small vertical section of life, and therefore this principle is inadequate for the social purposes of school education.

There are a number of principles which the educator must consider in the organization of the activities of children in relation to their social adjustment. We will present some of them here in detail.

1. *Children Must Have the Opportunity of Assuming Responsibility for Social Tasks Within Their Experiences*

This principle has been suggested in the preceding discussion and little elaboration is needed here. If children are to be educated to participate in social groups, direction and discussion are needed. This opportunity for participation cannot be left to chance; the child cannot face our modern complex society without actual experience. Besides, since the primary object of education is social adjustment, this function should not be delayed until after the school career. The child must not study about social adjustment and be left to make his own social adjustments.

Problems for him are likely to arise as he participates, and his education will be effective only to the extent that, by proper direction, he can be led to solve them wisely, as they arise.

2. *The Responsibility Must Be Delegated to Children and They Must Be Held Responsible for Performance*

The method characteristic of school education in the past has been primarily that of assigning tasks of textbook learning, and the job of the teacher was to see that the tasks were learned. At the present time, no completely satisfactory method has been determined upon, although various ambitious attempts have been made. The project method represents one such attempt. Under this method, the child is required to find his own problems and solve them. The principle we have stated above goes still further, and requires that the child have responsibility of leadership and coöperation in the problems of social adjustment both in and outside of school, and that he be led to have the feeling of responsibility and the pleasure of performance.

3. *The Types of Activity Must Follow Patterns Operative in the Social Life*

The tendency has been to limit the education of children to the school and the social patterns of the school. This practice has been sufficiently criticized by all recent writers in education. Our problem is to provide a technique that will overcome this difficulty. Thrasher, in his study of gangs, has presented us with the best body of data on the effectiveness of education when social patterns are followed, and also data that will be suggestive to the educator in working out his technique.

4. *The Activities Should Involve the Development of Controls of Behavior Outside As Well As Inside the Schoolroom*

This principle strikes at the weakness of the school as a social and educational institution. While we have developed the theory of the school as an agency of social adjustment, as an institution that will provide one with the habits, knowledges, and attitudes essential to the social life, we have evolved no practical conclusions. We have never, in any systematic way, provided for the development of social capacities, nor measured the results of education in social terms. Sociology places its emphasis primarily upon these outcomes and seeks to measure results accordingly.

5. *The Outcomes Should Be Education in Social Skills, Practices and Ideals*

This principle does not imply that knowledge about social behavior is adequate; for this reason, we place the emphasis upon the ideals and practices that will function in social groups, namely, those attitudes that will function in the family, the neighborhood, and other similar organizations.

6. *The School and Classroom Organization Must Provide Opportunity for the Operation of Conflicts, Coöperation, and Leadership in Social Groups*

We have already discussed these social processes in the chapter on method. However, we have re-stated these principles at this point, because of the fact that, while they govern the selection of subject matter and the determination of method, they serve primarily as guides in determining the character and function of the school organization. We wish now to show how the organization of the children

of the school and classroom may provide the basis for the realization of these social principles.

The first problem in the social emphasis of education is the development of social attitudes in the pupils themselves; that is, the development of the concept of the social function of the school. This may be done by eliminating the notion that the children come to school primarily for the learning of lessons in the conventional subjects, and by substituting the concept that children come to school to learn how to live outside of the school. For example, they should be fully aware that they come to school to learn to be healthy, to acquire civic practices, to participate actively in home betterment, to learn to participate in groups, to utilize leisure properly, and the like. They should be taught to regard the school subjects merely as a means, and only one of the means to the ultimate end of education. We do not imply that this revolution in attitude would take place at once in the pupils, but that the teachers should start out deliberately to build this attitude into the lives and practices of the children. This attitude is more or less vaguely felt by teachers generally, but they have not attempted to build it into the minds of the children. No adequate school organization can be realized except as the children themselves become progressively conscious of the purpose that the school should serve in their lives.

The next attitude to build into the lives and practices of the children is that the realization of school purposes is their problem, as well as the problem of the school and the teaching staff. The teachers are mere leaders and helpers in the realization of the pupils' aims and purposes. This point of view, of course, is one that can be attained only gradually, as it means a transformation of long-cherished school attitudes and practices. It also will be progressively realized as the organization of children is developed. An

organization, therefore, should include all of the children in the room, if it is a room organization, and all the children in the school, if the organization is designed for the school. Recognition should be in terms of achievement in social service and individual improvement.

The principles here indicated are highly important and need emphasis because of the frequency with which they have been violated. A case in point is that of the Health Crusaders, a plan of organization for the promotion of health practices, based upon mediæval and outworn conceptions long since discarded in the social organization. It was a type of organization that violated the most fundamental principles of education and social adjustment, but fortunately, it is seldom heard of today except in backward communities. More recently, we have had proposed the Knighthood of Youth (patterned somewhat after the Health Crusaders), and designed to instill civic practices. This organization likewise reflects mediævalism and has no application in modern life. No doubt, as intelligent consideration is given to the function and purpose of school and classroom organization in the achievement of social ends, it will eventually disappear.

The study of gangs, the most natural form of children's organizations, throws much light upon our problem. The gang grows out of common interests, albeit anti-social in character. It makes effective use of conflict and coöperation and develops skilled leadership. It develops courtesy among members, ability to subordinate self-interest to the welfare of the group, keenness in solving problems, and ability to carry difficult projects to successful achievement. All this is done without adult guidance and in the face of adult and police opposition. It would require ingenuity on the part of educators to provide opportunity for the exercise of the same type of skill, to give the same chance for leadership, and to develop similar ability in the solution

of problems that would promote the individual and social welfare. It is, however, precisely because such opportunity is not provided that these gangs outside of school develop. The problem of the school is to provide a substitute for those gang activities in which youth may exercise its skill, have the thrill of solving real problems and contributing to the social welfare. The object of the school and classroom organization is to provide this opportunity.

We wish to present types of organizations that have been worked out, which meet, in part at least, the type of organization suggested by the principles so far discussed. One such organization was worked out in the experimental school of the Harris Teachers College in St. Louis. To give the children opportunity for active coöperation in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the school and community, each room above the fourth grade was organized into a school improvement society. The room selected a president, vice-president, a secretary, and as many committees as the children deemed necessary to carry on the work they considered worth while. In the beginning, they selected committees on regularity and punctuality of pupils, on the care of books, new pupils, yards and basements, streets, stairs and corridors, school studies, and safety. A meeting was held in each room once a week at which the elected chairman presided. The meeting was concerned with the discussion of matters in which the children were interested and with plans for the work that was to be carried out. They heard the reports of committees, discussed them, and decided what to do.

With this beginning, the work of the children progressed until they engaged in studies of accidents, the health conditions of the city and of the children, ways of improving the health and accident situation in the schools, in the homes, and in the community, and all other problems that came within their experience. The committee not only

made studies of existing conditions, but prepared plans for improvement wherever and whenever that was possible. With the advice and leadership of the school staff, then, these children were actually engaging in civic functions of first importance, and incidentally acquiring social knowledge and capacity for social adjustment and social service.

This type of organization has been still further extended, always with excellent results. In St. Louis it was an important factor in reducing accidents and improving the health of children.[1] In Public School 106, New York, in an Italian district, the children, through their organization, visited the homes and explained to Italian-speaking parents how they could help the school in improving the health of the community. They thus aided in bringing about a marked improvement in practice. In the Eighteenth Avenue School, Newark, the committees inspect for cleanliness and health practices, and engage in an extensive variety of school and social activities outside of the school.

In each of these, and in many other examples that could be cited, children have demonstrated their ability to initiate, within their own experiences, serious projects relating to the welfare of the community and to carry them to a successful conclusion, at the same time acquiring social skill and intelligence about their duties as citizens. Such activities have, moreover, been a desirable substitute for predatory gangs and activities of an anti-social character.

Numerous other examples might be cited to show how children have been organized for the purposes of participating in the life and direction of school activities, but these will suffice as illustrations. Our purpose has been primarily to show that education is a matter of personal growth, directed toward wider and larger participation in social activities outside of the schoolroom, and that this

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[1] Payne, E. George, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin 32, 1922.

personal growth can be promoted only by participation in the types of activities present in the groups of the community. The mere learning of lessons assigned by teachers, however profitable they may be in themselves, are not adequate for this purpose.

II. EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES: TWO GUIDING PRINCIPLES[2]

ELBERT K. FRETWELL

It needs to be recognized in the beginning that what is extracurricular in one school may be curricular in another. Thus, in one school the newspaper may be independent of any course in English and in another it may be the product of one or more courses in English. One school may have a wide variety of athletic teams with no real program of health and physical education, while another school may develop its athletics as a real part of the program of physical education. In many schools dramatic clubs are really extracurricular, while in other schools courses in dramatics and the study and production of plays may be regularly accredited. Glee Clubs, choruses, orchestras, and bands exist in some high schools that have no music department, and in other schools these musical activities are regularly accredited toward graduation. The extracurricular in one school may be curricular in another, and the reverse is likewise true.

In the old-style high school there were really two schools in one: one "school" composed of the various curricula set up by the faculty and another "school" representing various interests for pupils and some teachers, which existed quite independently of the curricula. It would seem reasonable to say that the more progressive the school, the more difficult it is to say where the curricular leaves off and the extracurricular begins. High schools, and especially junior high schools, are certainly moving in the direction of a very close and vital connection between curricular and extracurricular activities. In the present state of many people's thinking, if the activity is a curricular one, a course of study can be made out for it. Probably no one would

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[2] *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Vol. IV, No. 5, January, 1930, pp. 304–308.

undertake to make up a course of study for a student-teacher council that really participates in the government of the school.

In thinking of the extracurricular activities, two theses may be of some help in clarifying our thinking. The first of these is: It is the business of the school to organize the whole educational situation in the school so that there is a favorable opportunity for everybody, teachers as well as pupils, to practise the qualities of a good citizen here and now with the results satisfying to themselves. It is practice with satisfying results that makes for perfection. Practising must be done with satisfaction to the ones doing the practising. Otherwise, just as soon as they have an opportunity, they will quit this kind of practising. These pupils in our schools are citizens here and now with rights, duties, privileges, and obligations. The best proof that they will be good citizens tomorrow is that they are good citizens today. It is necessary to begin with them where they are. Yesterday is gone and tomorrow has not arrived, so begin with them now. Likewise, begin with them *where they are.* Probably any considerable number of people would have great difficulty in agreeing as to just what are the desirable qualities of a good citizen. I have in mind such qualities as initiative and the desire to act for the good of the group, ability to coöperate and the desire to do it, the ability to lead or to follow a leader of their own choice, and intelligent obedience to authority. Knowledge about such qualities is important, but the fundamental thing is that these young people shall practise these qualities here and now with the results satisfying to themselves. It is the business of the school so to organize itself that there is a favorable opportunity for such practice.

In the extracurricular field, as usually understood, there can be a most favorable opportunity for pupils to practise the qualities of a good citizen here and now with satisfaction to themselves in participating in the government of the school. This participation often includes such activities as:

a. Homeroom organization and activities.
b. Class organization—freshman, sophomore, junior, senior.
c. Student-teacher council.
d. Study halls, in so far as pupils participate in their government.
e. The library, in respect to the pupil's share in its control.
f. Athletic associations.
g. State and local contests—academic and athletic.
h. Inter- and intra-school sports and contests.

i. School and athletic insignia.
j. Traffic, including receiving and directing visitors.
k. Extracurricular finances.
l. A point system for stimulating, guiding, and, if necessary, limiting pupil participation in extracurricular activities.
m. The pupil record of extracurricular activities.
n. Discipline, including pupil courts.

A second thesis may be worthy of consideration: Wherever possible extracurricular should grow out of curricular activities and return to them to enrich them. I have in mind such activities as:

a. Clubs.
b. The assembly.
c. Special celebrations.
d. Commencement.
e. School publications—newspaper, magazine, annual, handbook.
f. Music activities, such as glee clubs, choruses, choirs, orchestras, bands.
g. Dramatics.
h. Debating.
i. Excursions.
j. Thrift and the school bank.

In accordance with this thesis, a short-story club should grow out of an interest aroused in the course in English. The members would be those who are particularly interested in short stories and who want to carry short-story work further than the regular course of study permits. The assembly and celebration of special days, such as Thanksgiving, should grow out of the life of the school, and should not, as a rule, be made up of something brought in from the outside. We shall, some day, make common practice of what some schools are already doing in that the commencement exercises will be the culmination of worth-while, interesting activities that have been carried on by the members of the graduating class through their whole life in school. School publications, such as the newspaper, for example, will grow out of courses in newspaper writing. In the time and effort involved, publishing a school paper probably goes beyond what would be required of students in any course of study as the majority of schools now understand it. Music activities will be a part of and grow out of courses in music. Singing in assembly or a glee club or band concert for a meeting of the Teachers' Association may be an extracurricular activity, but it can and should be of such a nature as to grow out of and return to the regular work

in music. Dramatics will free itself ultimately from being a money-making activity and come to be primarily an educative experience for those participating. We may even get rid of this artificial thing called "the senior play." Not that we shall not have a play at commencement time or at any other time, but that the commencement play, for example, will be the culmination of the best efforts of those who, in the high-school course, have been interested in dramatics and dramatic clubs. Debating now usually exists just for a selected few and these debators have as their chief activity the meeting of corresponding teams from other schools. Such contests can be decidedly interesting and worth while. However, debating can and should become an activity in which there is wide participation, just as there is in any athletic sport. In the debating class or club there should be much discussion involving wide participation and the discussions should be on subjects of importance to people doing the discussing. The debating team could be selected just as are the players for next Saturday's game, only a few days at most before the contest. The emphasis should be on intramural instead of interscholastic debating. Incidentally, this is the best way to develop a real debating team. Excursions as a means of carrying further classroom instruction and arousing new interests and multiplying pupil and teacher experiences should be a vital part of many phases of school instruction. The possibilities of this field have by no means been realized by the majority of our schools. Thrift, as generally understood, means saving money. Thrift, likewise, should apply to time, energy, and the emotions. Many schools are arranging the situation so that pupils budget their time and energy as well as their finances. The whole point here is that such activities as have just been cited should be vitally rooted in the curriculum, and, in so far as they exist separately, should grow out of it and return to it to enrich it. The more progressive the school, the more nearly this idea can be realized here and now.

Some additional activities need serious consideration, such as the National Honor Society in senior high schools and the Junior Honor Society in elementary schools. In spite of the great progress that has been made, all of us in our schools have something yet to learn of the value of focusing approval on worthwhile activities as a means of developing these activities through social approvals. We need to pay more attention to the positive,

instead of so much attention to the negative; more approval on what to do, rather than denunciation of what not to do.

The problem of fraternities and sororities has been the subject of much State legislation and court action. Historically, we have this problem with us as a result of our unthinking imitation of colleges, and likewise, as a result of the fact that some schools, probably in the present and certainly in the past, have neglected to develop a constructive program of social activities.

Everyday school manners have become a problem of increasing importance with the growth of our high schools. Teachers, as a result of the fact that they are older, have had a greater opportunity than their pupils to practise the fine art of being courteous. Of course, teachers can and should be more courteous to the pupils than the pupils can possibly be to each other or to the teacher. The pupils simply have not had as long a time to learn how. The study of manners may be an extracurricular activity carried on in the homeroom period, or, as is sometimes the case, in a particular club, but it should grow out of the whole social organization of the school: in classroom, corridor, gymnasium, playing field, and everywhere that two or more people come together. Desirable practices in this field should grow out of the whole life of the school.

Parties, as generally understood, are from the pupils' point of view, an eminently desirable activity. It is the business of the school to enable pupils to participate more intelligently and more happily in school, class, and club parties. Such activities are desirable for immediate as well as deferred values. Pupils are going to participate in such activities whether the school likes it or not, and it is the business of the school to teach directly and indirectly how to make these activities both more worth while and more interesting here and now.

There are whole groups of supplementary educational agencies that have a national existence, independent of the school, and which have very definite appeal, usually a very worth-while appeal, to pupils of junior- and senior-high-school age. These supplementary educational agencies include such organizations as: Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, Hi-Y, Girl Reserves, and Junior Red Cross. It is the business of the school to develop a constructive program as to what shall be or shall not be the relation of the school to these agencies. Such activities as have been enumerated can have a definite and positive contribution

to make to the education of young people. The plan of self-activity, as developed by the Boy Scouts, for example, is worthy of the study of all school leaders.

These pupils in our schools are citizens of the school. Knowledge in and of itself is of great importance, but knowledge alone is not sufficient to ensure right action. It is the particular virtue of extracurricular activities that they can furnish a favorable opportunity here and now for pupils to understand and to practise with satisfaction to themselves qualities of a good citizen. Wherever possible, both for the good of the school as an institution and for the good of the pupils themselves, extracurricular activities should grow out of curricular activities and return to them to enrich them. It is the privilege, the opportunity, and the necessity of the school to develop and supervise a constructive program for the guidance of these activities here and now.

III. THE EVALUATION OF STUDENT ACTIVITIES[3]

PHILIP W. L. COX

Despite the general acceptance of student activities as legitimate and significant aspects of the high-school's educational program, frequently there is lacking adequate perspective in their direction or philosophically justifiable standards for their evaluation. So far as "scientific" evaluations have gone, they have, in every case known to the writer, been invalidated by the assumption that a transfer of training to other more or less desirable forms of behavior must exist.

Until and unless the formal curriculum can be conceived as an instrument, not as an end, of education, it is futile to judge of the beneficial or deleterious effects of football or debating on pupils by scrutinizing the grades they make in Latin or mathematics. If we were sure that Latin or mathematics makes for adequate civic participation, for home improvement, for significant leisure-time enjoyments, it might be conceivable that the pupils who are active in the school's student life would show greater or less improvement in the behaviors which would characterize successful Latin students. But to assume that dramatics and orchestra are valueless because pupils who engage in these activities do not know Latin grammar or historical dates or atomic weights would

[3] *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Vol. IV, No. 5, January, 1930, pp. 265–269.

be ridiculous if our "educational scientists" ever reflected on the assumptions which presumably underlie their investigations.

Each type of student activity—almost every example of student activity—must be self-evaluated. Is it life? Is it spontaneous? Does it affect wholesome, human relationships in school and out? If the activity in question does reproduce typical desirable situations of general social living, if pupils do engage in it purposefully and wholeheartedly, and if it does affect human relationships wholesomely, then it is justified in and of itself. Whether the pupils so engaged do or do not succeed in academic studies, brush their teeth, or impress their teachers as "improving"—these are very minor and insignificant considerations. It would be precisely as valid to judge the value and success of Latin by measuring the health habits and social competency of Latin students as compared with these traits in non-Latin students.

Koos[1] cites as steps already taken towards evaluation:

1. The beliefs of discriminating educational workers.
2. The opinions of participants.
3. The extent and nature of pupil participation.
4. The relationship between participation and scholarship.
5. Physical condition and training for citizenship.

Koos himself comes close to the position that the writer would take when he asserts at the end of his article that "In some respects these extracurricular activities have an advantage over the usual curriculum content in that they are partially self-evaluative." That is, they are self-evaluated to the extent that they are (1) spontaneous; (2) that they represent extraschool life.

Living is educative; it is education. It is going on twenty-four hours a day and three hundred sixty-five days a year. The school is a controlled environment in which more direction and encouragement can be given to the practices of living than can be given in less formal (but potentially no less educative) places, such as the street corner, the pool room, the drug store, the vacant lot, or in the family, the library, the Scout troop, and the church.

While the first three and the fifth of the steps taken towards evaluation, cited by Koos, are more nearly valid than is the

[1] National Society for the Study of Education, Twenty-fifth *Yearbook*, Part II, 1926, "Extra-Curricular Activities," Chapter XX.

fourth, they too are open to serious objections. Few educational workers are sufficiently discriminating to be free from scholastic prejudices and the preconception that docility is a fundamental civic attitude and behavior. Of the extent and nature of participation, an interesting status study may be made, but it would contain nothing within itself that would tell whether much or little, or a wide or narrow range of participation is desirable. The physical condition and citizenship qualities of participants and nonparticipants depend on so many factors other than school activities, that they are quite inadequate criteria.

The most hopeful lead of those listed by Koos is, perhaps, number three: the opinions of the participants. This basis at least avoids to some extent the primary difficulty which adults find in an effort to evaluate behavior outcomes. Adult *mores* and approvals may sometimes be potent. To the pupils themselves, however, the good esteem of their fellows, the judgments of their peers, the applause of their immediate "galleries," are much more significant.

Clyde B. Moore of Cornell University has sought to discover the qualities of effective junior-high-school citizenship by asking each of the pupils to describe the "best all-round junior-high-school citizen" in his homeroom.[5] While there may be considerable internal evidence that the pupils in answering had some thought of what Mr. Moore or their teachers might wish included in the descriptions, the results are on the whole pretty reasonable.

An evaluation of pupils by their fellows is, of course, partial. Pupils often know little of their companions' home lives, church lives, or even vacation lives in a suburban community. Hence, in the study referred to, out of 842 traits mentioned, only 28 referred directly to the home (*see* table on page 640).

What Recognition Should the School Accord to Successful Participants in Student Activities?

In the Winfield, Kansas, High School, each student partaking in an activity is graded A, B, or C. If he gains as many as eighty credit points during his high-school career, he is given one of the sixteen points necessary for graduation. Of twenty high

[5] Moore, Clyde B., "Junior High School Citizens," *Elementary School Journal*, XXVIII, 1, September, 1927.

TRAITS SELECTED WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SCHOOL

	Grade VII		Grade VIII		Grade IX		
Traits	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Boys*	*Girls*	Total
Active in school affairs, takes part in assemblies, promotes club activities, member of student council, good speaker	5	7	15	17	7	8	59
Good behavior, quiet in hall, keeps healthy, obedient, orderly, careful of public property, works quietly	21	29	56	51	23	17	197
Cheerful, does not become angry, likable	7	1	6	6	9	8	37
Courteous, clean, helps new pupils, kind, neat, not vulgar	16	23	42	59	29	21	190
Cooperative, tries to make class better, takes part in discussions, affiliates with coöperative organizations, such as the Boy Scouts	7	6	24	55	16	16	124
Studious, industrious, attends to own affairs, punctual, does homework, on honor roll, gets good marks, does not waste time	21	25	34	39	31	16	166
Trustworthy, self-reliant, good initiative, leadership, takes responsibility, thrifty, honest, honorable	17	7	12	22	6	5	69
Total	94	98	189	249	121	91	842

schools in which some school credit is allowed towards graduation for student activities, fifteen principals said that the practice had a wholesome effect on their schools, two said that it did not, and four did not answer. Thirteen said that the system of granting such recognition should be retained, two said it should be curtailed, and five did not answer.

According to the New Hampshire Program of Studies of 1919, all studies were grouped—A, B, and C types. Type A included school lessons calling for lesson preparation and recitation; type B were home and leisure-time activities; type C included school student activities. Credit towards graduation could be earned by an approved balancing of the three types of activities in accordance with the plan of any one of the nine curricula proposed.

At Bridgeport, Connecticut, High School, the diploma given at graduation indicates each outstanding achievement of each pupil in the school's civic, athletic, and cultural life.

In many schools and in some colleges the transfer credentials provide spaces for reports on the activities in which students have engaged successfully. Indeed, progressive colleges now call for this information from the high schools in addition to reports on school work, test records, and the rest. A few of the most intelligently selective colleges (e.g., Dartmouth, Antioch) give quite as much weight to personality ratings as to courses completed and marks received.

Junior high schools very often follow the Scout plan, first instituted at Blewett Junior High School of St. Louis, of graded insignia which pupils may earn through civic and extraclass participations. Athletic insignia have long had a very important place in the lives of high-school pupils. Citizenship, debating, and other nonscholastic activities are sometimes recognized in high schools by pins, keys, or letters. Indeed, the National Honor Society, though it vastly overemphasizes scholastic standing in its eligibility rules, gives a somewhat grudging recognition to the social aims of education.

In a broad sense, these awards and credits are all evaluations of the worth of the student activities. Obviously, our schools have far to go before official extrinsic rewards to socially active, artistically enthusiastic, executively efficient members of the student body are as adequate as those given to academically superior youths. Fortunately, however, student activities are usually intrinsically satisfying; hence, school official approvals are necessary.

Degrees and Types of Recognition Should Vary with the Degree of Official Sponsorship and Regulation

Based on the amount and quality of oversight given by the school faculty, there are three general types of student organizations which may be distinguished:

A. Those not directly sponsored by the school such as
   1. Fraternities, cliques, and gangs.
   2. Dance orchestras, Sunday-school classes, and church choirs.
   3. Boy and Girl Scouts, Red Cross, and Y.M.C.A. (except as the school does promote formal sponsorship).

B. Those sponsored by the school in "activity periods," lunch hours, after school, or on Saturdays (frequently "chartered" by the student

council), e. g., nature clubs, hiking clubs, editorial boards, debating societies, athletic teams, playground activities, dramatic clubs, glee clubs, orchestras, and the like. Sometimes the Hi-Y, Girl Reserves, and Junior Red Cross are included in this list.

C. Those actually accepted as a part of the program of studies, and, hence, not in any true sense to be considered "extracurricular," e. g., classes in journalism, in drama, in debate, in chorus, in orchestra, in physical education, in civic activities, etc.

The same pupils may, of course, engage in some forms of activity under all three classifications. They may be in a class in orchestra, play in a "school band," and belong to a Sunday-school orchestra or one which plays for dances. In fact, Superintendent Dodd of Freeport, Long Island, has found positive correlations not only among these three groups of social activities but also between total activities engaged in and scholarship ratings.

It seems probable that the same dynamic drive and abundant energy that leads youths to engage with adequacy in the many phases of active participatory living leads by and large to scholastic superiority. The school, nevertheless, may reasonably grant its special approvals to those successes that are most nearly allied to its own educational program. It thus often grants graduation credits for type C, citizenship or student-activity insignia for type B, and general approval for some aspects of type A.

Adequate Formal Evaluation Awaits General Recognition of Education as a Life Process

Education, broadly conceived, takes place as truly in one type of activity as in the other. If school recognition is to accord with educational progress of the individual some formal awards must be made either for the specific desirable activities wherever and however engaged in, or for the character modifications regardless of how they are made.

In the school which may express this new conception, diplomas (as we now know them) will be unimportant. Intrinsic rewards for contributions to the common weal—public office, leadership, and responsibility—will have permanent places.

In such a school, the diploma will be subordinated to a completion certificate that will contain an estimate of the capacity and habits of each student in the fields of endurance, distractibility, fatigue, regularity; it will record his reactions to intellectual, athletic, and social competitions, to

responsibility, discouragement, and criticism; and it will note his emotional controls, his self-reliance, and self-direction, or his dependence and inferiority.

Teaching, medicine, law, engineering, farming, homemaking, and all other significant vocations require the very same qualities that make for successful home membership and for successful civic adjustment. In all important fields of human activities there are needed men and women who can get along with each other, and with their superiors and subordinates; men and women who can stand ridicule and criticism; who can persevere in the face of jealousy and friction; who will not wilt under discouragement, nor flare up in anger and pitch their jobs. In fact, the whole complex of vocational knowledge and skills, of civic information, and of household arts form a relatively small part of the value of a person on the job, in the home, in his neighborhood, or in his larger community. More important characteristics are his temperamental attributes, native and acquired.[6]

The school that is courageous enough and resourceful enough to give formal recognition to the prominence of these qualities will most adequately evaluate the truly educational activities of its pupils, whether these activities be classified as curricular, "extracurricular," or extraschool. The school itself will thus become articulated with life itself.

IV. THE NEW HOME ROOM[7]

K. C. Friedman

Like other institutions, the school is constantly engaged in the process of evolution. There are always additions, modifications, and substitutions to the educational system as a whole and to all the different units of which it is composed.

The home room, for one, came into existence in most schools for purely administrative reasons.[8] It was a convenient place for someone to assume responsibility for the conduct, study, attendance, and general attitude of pupils during the day. Here a group of pupils would gather every day so that this function could be carried out.

Now, however, school officials are beginning to realize the vast possibilities beyond those of administrative character that this period holds. Most of these administrative duties may be carried out by the pupil organization of the room, leaving the teacher free to deal with more important problems.

[6] Cox, P. W. L., "Creative School Control," Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1927, p. 305.

[7] *The High School Teacher*, Vol. VII, No. 10, December, 1931, pp. 384–385.

[8] Cockrell, E. T., "The Home Room Period," from the *Junior High School Clearing House*, Vol. II, Oct., 1923, pp. 11–15.

As a part of the educational system, it is just as logical to expect the home room to contribute toward the achievement of the seven cardinal aims of education as well as any other department of the school. These seven aims are citizenship, command of fundamental processes, health, worthy use of leisure, worthy home membership, vocation, and ethical character.

To take up the more specific aims of the home room, Corrigan's[9] Detroit objectives, based on the objectives of education, can be cited:

1. To furnish opportunity for pupil participation in the administration of affairs concerning pupils. Parliamentary organization in the home room is a good means for carrying out this function.
2. To emphasize and capitalize upon the worthy achievements of boys and girls. More is achieved by finding a good point and then helping it grow than by looking only for mistakes. Short talks commending winning teams, high scholarship, and acts of service will encourage students on to higher levels.
3. To clear up pupil's difficulties. The home room period in Detroit comes first in the morning and so pupils may clear up with their teachers their difficulties from the previous day or problems they have in mind for their work for that day.
4. To start the pupils happily on the day's journey. A word of encouragement, a joke, or a song are suggested as mere items which may start the pupils off in a pleasant mood.
5. To teach citizenship and to train character.

Douglass[10] considers guidance the chief function of the home room. The teacher should offer disciplinary, social, educational, vocational, and avocational guidance. She must aid the students in selecting their studies, stimulate the laggard to greater effort, cultivate the right attitude toward school work, and advise in matters of conduct.

In the opinion of Cockrell[11] the home room is an excellent place to meet the problems of adolescence. Here is a "period of stubbornness, violent passion, diffidence, unattractiveness, sensitiveness, rebellion against restraint, first urge of sex attraction, and an age of excessive energy. Truancy, slovenliness, disrespect, over-dressing, excessive dancing, and over-indulgence in

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[9] Corrigan, E. J., "The Home Room," from *School Review*, Vol. XXXVIII, April, 1930, pp. 300–307.

[10] Douglass, Aubrey, "Secondary Education," Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1927, pp. 621ff.

[11] Cockrell, E. T., "The Home Room Period," from *The Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Vol. II, Oct., 1923, pp. 11–15.

many directions find expression to a distressing extent at this period.

"The formation of moral character is of tremendous importance throughout the school age, but the adolescent period is especially fraught with possibilities."

Here are set up some objectives. The next step is to suggest means for carrying them out. It is advisable for each school to plan a definite supervisory program for achieving these ends so that there will be some organization of efforts as well as efficiency in action.

The school supervisor should conduct the usual visitation in the home room just as in regular classes and he or she should bring the work of this department before group conferences and teachers' meetings.

But there are more specific means than these. In the first place, the nature of the home room varies with the school age and social experience of the pupils and so programs must be adapted to the different levels of the school system. In the elementary school, suggests Terry,[12] the first task of the students is to learn the fundamental elements of small group life in the home room. In junior high school, seventh grade home rooms should be organized similar to those of the upper elementary grades in order that the change in social experience may be gradual. The increasing maturity of the pupils makes it desirable that the group concern itself more and more with its relation to the school as a whole.

Ninth graders should be prepared for the more elaborate social life of the senior high school. And seniors in high school should have an opportunity to be acquainted whether by class discussions, lectures, or other media with college and university life. Thus here is a means to avoid the abrupt break between units of the school system.

Parliamentary organization of the students is another means of meeting the objectives. The home room as a miniature society is well adapted to this purpose. Students can select their officers and the school can work out a system of student government headed by a council. This organization can care for details such as school banking, roll call and subscription campaigns that would otherwise require the teacher's time.

[12] Terry, Paul W., "Supervising Extra-Curricular Activities," McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1930, p. 140.

Excellent opportunity is thus provided for learning the fundamentals of leadership. The public opinion of the group can formulate laws for its guidance in problems of conduct.

It is not essential that this same organization meet every day for there are a host of various clubs that students can form to meet their interests. Perhaps once a week an entire school assembly can be held.

A suggested program is as follows: Monday, group parliamentary organization; Tuesday, club meeting; Wednesday, parliamentary organization; Thursday, club meeting; Friday, school assembly.

Holmes Junior High School of Philadelphia has its different clubs,[13] 100 in number, which meet every Monday, Wednesday and Friday during an extra period added to the day. On the third Wednesday of every month, the students are dismissed while a teachers' meeting is held, and on the fourth Wednesday private student conferences are held.

Teachers do not necessarily have to wait until registration time to offer students guidance. They should always be ready to counsel any students in need and should even have conferences with those who do not ask for any assistance. A testing program will be valuable in this connection. Intelligence, special aptitude, vocational interest, and trade tests can be used to a distinct advantage in a guidance program.

There are many topics worth class discussion for the parliamentary organization or club meetings that will very well aid in carrying out the functions of the home room. Some suggested topics are how to study, how to use the library, thrift, vocations, manners, personal efficiency, health habits, dress, current events, the significance of special occasions of the year, hobbies, ethics, tardiness, school activities and problems, value of going to college, books, magazine and newspaper articles, dancing, school songs and yells, school creed, school courses, and tardiness.

There should also be "lessons" on leadership, service, courtesy, coöperation, reliability, self-control, honesty, and other qualities composing good citizenship. One means of making such discussions more interesting is to study men who have achieved and why they have achieved, leading up to the values of these qualities.

[13] Lyman, R. L., "Guidance Program of the Holmes Junior High School," from *School Review*, Vol. XXXII, Feb., 1924, pp. 93–105.

Tulsa High School has a definite core content for each of the four years of high school:[14]

Freshmen—study 154 page manual of administration, study manners for boys and girls.

Sophomores—study vocations in Tulsa, manners, personal efficiency, analysis of habits of behavior, consider personal traits making for success in the temporary choice of vocation by the student.

Juniors—survey of the world's great inventions and discoveries which have contributed to man's happiness and success, appropriate dress and behavior for social functions.

Seniors—study makers of the world's greatest ideals in various channels of society, the ethics of business and professional life.

At Langley Junior-Senior High School of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, when a single topic is to be discussed by a meeting of a number of rooms, mimeographed sheets of suggestions are often prepared and distributed before the meeting, for forethought. Following is such a copy of questions used in a discussion of scholarship:

1. What do you think of a thorough mastery of one's mother tongue as a mark of high school scholarship? Do you think it is essential? How may it be obtained?
2. What about the power of expressing oneself clearly, forcibly and promptly?
3. Who is most likely to attain to great scholarship, the poor boy, the wealthy boy, or the boy in medium circumstances?
4. Is a high degree of scholarship always, sometimes, or never possible to those who cannot go to high school or college?
5. What means did Abraham Lincoln use to acquire his scholarship? Would he have been a better scholar under more favorable conditions?
6. What nations of antiquity had a high reputation for the scholarship of their people?
7. What would you do if you were President of Mexico to put some Mexican names on the world's roll of fame? What must our government, our mayor, our council, and our school board do to keep the standard of scholarship high?

Corrigan, whose objectives of the home room have already been discussed, offers the procedure for a sample "lesson" plan on tardiness:

1. What are the reasons for tardiness?
2. Classify them as to the fault of the pupil, parents, or external forces such as rain or illness.

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[14] Prunty, Merle, "Local Practices in Tulsa High School," from Twenty-fifth *Yearbook*, Part II, National Society for Study of Education, pp. 188–190.

3. How can they be eliminated?
4. What are the consequences of tardiness?
5. How can everyone be prompt?
6. What are some devices to eliminate tardiness? A contest between boys and girls or between home rooms is suggested.

There are also certain special problems that should be taken up. One is the selection of competent leaders. Terry[15] suggests means for aiding students to choose good leaders. First of all, the choice of leaders should be lifted above the personal level by the teacher emphasizing its significance from the social point of view and elaborating on the value of competent officers. Pupils then should be forewarned against the common weaknesses of people in choosing officers, such as the tendency to vote on the basis of repellent or attractive qualities of the individual which have no bearing on his ability for the office.

Pupils should give thoughtful attention to the general traits of personality which are desirable in officers and to the records of candidates for office. And, lastly, they should consider additional qualities desirable for the office. For instance, the treasurer should at least be interested in the administration of finances and should know elementary forms of accounting as well as have a reputation for precision, neatness, and punctuality in paper work.

Training the leaders for their offices is also essential. One of the most simple ways of accomplishing this is by giving each newly elected officer a detailed list of his duties. Assistance in leadership may be obtained also from published materials on the subject. Leaders' classes can be formed to meet during home room period to work out problems of management.

One of the most important problems of all is that of educating the teacher for her responsibility. Many teachers are not adapted to this type of work. They should be required to spend as much time and as definite attention to this phase of their day's work as to any other. The home room should be taken up for discussion at teachers' meetings.

Its success demands a teacher who can stimulate the energies of pupils to give full scope to their talents. She must have a sympathetic understanding of boys and girls and the ability to be informally friendly with them; she must have tact in directing

[15] Terry, Paul W., "Supervising Extra-Curricular Activities," McGraw Hill Book Co., New York, 1930, page 371.

the selection of activities and the choice of participants without the suggestion of interference or dominance; she must be patient and allow for certain failures of the group; and she must allow a democratic spirit to prevail.

The deficiency that certain teachers lack in the "where" and the "why" of the social program can be made up through a study of philosophy, social sciences, and psychology for a general background, and more specific courses in the psychology of adolescence, vocational and educational guidance, extracurricular activities, physical education, journalism, dramatics, debate, public speaking, and many others.

V. NEW EMPHASIS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION[16]

Tendencies in the Organization of Extra-Curricular Activities

JOSEPH ROEMER

It is rather interesting, in beginning a consideration of the extra-curricular phases of our schools, to turn back and search for the origin of this work. Extra-curricular activities were in existence hundreds of years before the Christian era, or in other words, as early as schools and colleges, themselves, existed. In the earliest days of Athens, students were engaged in practically all the forms of extra-curricular activities that occupy their attention today. To be sure, these activities were differently organized, but they were sufficiently similar to the ones existing at present to be readily recognized by the student of education.

For example, after the organization of the University in Athens, we find in connection with it practically everything in the way of student activities that can be found in the modern university today. When the ships came in to bring the students from foreign ports in the days when Athens was famous as an educational center, the old students would meet the ships and "rushing" took place just as it does today with the freshmen class. Grote, in his "Early History of Greece," says that sometimes even after much persuasion a young man might refuse to go with the particular crowd or gang that was "rushing" him and that he would, as a consequence, be kidnapped and kept in hiding and confinement until he was willing to come to terms. In general,

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[16] *Peabody Journal of Education*, Vol. IX, No. 5, March, 1932, pp. 286–291.

the same kinds of hazing and the same kinds of student pranks which we find in this country today in colleges and secondary schools were being practiced many years ago in ancient Athens.

One of the most interesting and most important things is the fact that the instructor in those early times was never concerned with anything that the boys did or with the activities in which they engaged. The teacher felt that his one problem and his one duty was to teach and to lecture to the students in a classroom or elsewhere. He did not seem to realize that there was any need for responsibility on the part of the faculty or himself concerning the individual needs of students and the kinds of activities in which they engage. This, then, represents the first policy concerning extra-curricular activities—that of ignoring them completely.

After many years, the individual student became so important and the activities of the group so varied and powerful that faculties had to notice them. As Dean Boyd, of the University of Kentucky, has said, there grew up two institutions on every campus; one run by the faculty and another, the student guild, run by the students. In many places this second program became so important and so strong that institutions were frequently almost engulfed by the activities of the students. President Wilson, while at Princeton University, spoke, as you will recall, of the danger of the side show swallowing the big tent.

So we entered a second period in the development of the extra-curricular program, during which these non-curricular activities were recognized by faculties, and during which it became the favorite pastime of many teachers to cross their feet, as it were, on their desks and spend hours bewailing the fact that nothing worth while could go on in the higher institutions except athletics, fraternities, and all the other things that create such a "ballyhoo" on the college campus. They bewailed the passing of the good old days when students studied and scholarship was revered. This second period might be designated as one of condemnation.

Then came a third period, during which some of the leading men in the educational world concluded that if there was so much power and strength in these student activities found today in universities and secondary schools that we should harness it for good. When that conclusion was reached, the practice of recognizing and controlling the student activities in our colleges and secondary schools was inaugurated.

The emphasis in this paper is on the extra-curricular problem at the secondary school level, but it seems not amiss to preface the discussion by showing that we have not, during these past years, been conscious of the value of the activities of the students. Now, however, we are beginning to recognize the fact that there is just as much power for education in the activities of the students in the extra-curricular program of the school as there is in the curricular program. This is a strong statement and many of you may challenge it. But if it is true that the fundamental purpose of the secondary school is social and moral growth, then, we cannot deny the fact that the activity program of the school is a strong instrument for the development of the finer attributes of manhood and womanhood in the boys and girls of our secondary school. Secondary school men have about-faced, as it were, on this problem. We are encouraging activities of all kinds rather than condemning them. We are controlling them, developing them, and stimulating them in every way possible. We are building now on the principle that such activities have tremendous power within them, provided they are under the control of properly constituted authorities.

Following are some of the tendencies in the program of extra-curricular activities as it is working itself out in the secondary school. In the first place, we are recognizing the activities and placing them in the daily schedule. It is doubtful whether any principal can run a modern secondary school, and have his program accepted by students of education, who does not place in the daily schedule an activities period which recognizes and provides for the whole extra-curricular program of the school. When the pupils see their activities included in the daily schedule they have genuine respect for them. They naturally conclude that if they were not worth carrying they would not be in the schedule. A few years ago, activities groups met before school, at the lunch hour, or after school, in the afternoon or evening. Any activity that was not included in the recitation program was cared for at some time that did not conflict with the academic routine of the school. Now, we are beginning to see that the activities period is fundamentally a recreational period, that it should be placed somewhere in the regular schedule, and that it should break the program so that after one, two or three periods of intensive study and recitation, an interval of diversion is possible.

The practice of giving extra-curricula activities a regular place in the program has, in turn, made necessary the use of special record and report forms. Ten years ago you could scarcely have found in a high school any kind of an office record relating to the extra-curricular activities of the students, while today in almost any standard high school you will find that the principal has provided office records and is keeping up with the activities program of his school just as carefully as he is keeping up with the curricular program.

Perhaps one of the finest tendencies in this general field is the intracurriculum idea. This means a constant inter-play of influence between the curricular and non-curricular forces of the school. There is, in other words, more and more a tendency to link the extra-curricular work in the school with the regular curricular program, and to relate them in every way possible. For example, a French club, properly organized and conducted should very materially increase the interest and outcome achieved in the regular French class; or a radio club should be tremendously helpful in the field of physics. We are trying to work out the rather fundamental idea that the clubs and other extra-curricular activities of the school should in every way be co-ordinated with the curricular side of the program, and thus enrich and strengthen it.

There is, also, a strong tendency in the direction of demanding special training for teachers who are to direct student activities. A recent examination of nine different teacher application blanks from various schools in the southern region showed that eight of the nine contained a question relating to the preparation of the teacher for supervising or sponsoring extra-curricular activities. Many of the best teacher training institutions are already facing the fact that they must give their prospective teachers specific training that will enable them to take an active and effective part in the extra-curricular program of the high schools in which they are to teach.

Another phase of the extra-curricular program that is demanding a great deal of attention is the matter of finance and accounting. Some atrocious things have happened in secondary schools during the past years in the handling of money coming from student activities. It is little short of criminal to allow a high school boy or girl to practice loose, slipshod methods of handling money. Not that the amount of money thus lost is so vital to

the program. The really serious aspect of the problem lies in the effect that such practices have on the morals of high school pupils. There is a strong tendency today among secondary school principals to centralize all the finances of the school under one person and through a system of requisitions and vouchers, handle extra-curricular finances in the same business-like way that the regular school expenditures are cared for.

The next question is that of athletic abuses. One might venture the statement that any time an athletic abuse is found in a secondary school it is due to the fact that there is not a well organized, well balanced, well proportioned activities program in that school. If all of the stored-up energy in a group of adolescent boys and girls is released only once a week at a football game, for example, it is not improbable that there will be an explosion every time a game is played. According to the newer viewpoint, the way to handle this situation is not to control the students by absolute and rigid regulations, but by a competitive program. A competitive program means a varied, full, intensive program of all kinds of activities. If there are provided a large number of various kinds of musical organizations, a full club program, all kinds of high school publications, home-room programs, and the many other forms of activities possible in a secondary school, abuses will rarely occur when an important basketball or football game is played.

Another tendency that is rather common in the field of extra-curricular activities is to provide for what may be called a system of checks and balances. Many institutions on the high school level are balancing their programs through the organization of their activities into majors and minors, with a fixed number of points for each of them. For example, the captain of the football team may earn ten points; a member of this team, three points; the editor of the *Annual*, ten points; and members of the *Annual* staff, three, five, or some other number of points. After each activity has been assigned a number of points and majors and minors have been arranged, the provision is usually made that no student may carry more than one major activity during any semester. A rule of this kind automatically distributes the activities of the students and acts as a protection to the over-social or the over-ambitious young man or young woman. Of course in the smaller institutions this is a rather difficult thing to do. It quite often happens in such a high school that one boy is

captain of the football team, captain of the basketball team, and captain of the swimming team; and to remove him from the captaincy of either of these activities would mean a second-rate rather than a first-rate team. Even in the small school, however, the principal who employs such a plan is certainly more to be praised than the one who encourages over-emphasis on extra-curricular activities by a single individual.

There has been talk for a great many years about supervision, but usually it has referred to supervision of the traditional class-room activities. Today, you will frequently see mentioned in the literature the supervision of inter-curricular or extra-curricular activities, and even now there are a goodly number of secondary schools in America that have a full-time director of extra-curricular activities. In one of the large high schools in New York City there is one man giving his entire time to the direction of all kinds of student activities. From his office he works with captains and with chairmen of various groups and as earnestly directs the extra-curricular program of that great high school of about five thousand students as the principal down the hall directs the curricular activities of the same institution.

There is a very strong tendency among the secondary school men to attack this problem of extra-curricular activities in a more scientific way. They have arrived at the place where they are convinced that there is real and lasting value to be derived from them. They are no longer trying to convince themselves and others that these activities should have a place in the regular schedule; they are taking that for granted. In the next few years there will be some genuine research done in the field, research of the kind that has long been done in the curricular field. In the future we are not going to be satisfied to remain passive and to hope that certain moral outcomes will result from participation in specific extra-curricular activities; we are going to know what these outcomes are.

Summary

In the growth and development of extra-curricular activities in the high school there is a growing tendency: to place an "activities period" in the regular daily schedule; to evolve a permanent system of office records and reports; to devise means of measuring the "outcomes" of the program; to organize a graded course of activities that will "lead on" from grade to

grade; to stabilize the program by articulating it with the curricular life of the school; to insist on teachers having definite and specific training in sponsoring the various pupil activities; to centralize all matters of finance through a system of internal accounting under one person, by means of a budget; to eliminate "athletic abuses" by reducing all the major sports *through competition* to their rightful place in the program; to organize supervisory programs as in curricula activities; to devise a system of "checks and balances" through some kind of a "point scale" whereby *balance* and *moderation* may be secured in pupil participation; to require certain "credit for graduation" thus insuring a minimum social and moral training for all pupils; to employ "directors" of extra-curricular activities; to do guidance through the extra-curricular activities; and to initiate some research work in the solution of many of the problems.

VI. THE STUDENTS' PART IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION[17]

Edgar M. Draper and Philomena Hynes

It is inherent in every type or plan of government that there be some central organization about which the system may revolve. The voice of the people is not the voice of God, in the government of the school any more than it is in the government of the state. There must always be a group of officials to initiate and solve problems of state and to care for the needs of the population. Also, in the secondary school, there must be a central organ of government whose members are elected by their fellow students. The name of this organization does not matter but it is vital that it should exist and function in every program of student government.

Through this student agency the principal, faculty, and students may assemble to discuss mutual problems. Thus, faculty and students understand each other's problems and both may coöperate in solving them. Through the student council, the members of the faculty are given an adequate instrument with which to propagandize necessary ideals of conduct and types of procedure which they wish to foster and receive suggestions from the students regarding past, present, and future methods of handling school affairs.

[17] *School Executives Magazine*, Vol. XLIX, No. 8, April, 1930, pp. 361–363.

By initiating new projects, the student council is able to create school spirit and to stimulate a spirit of loyalty and fellowship among the students. It can build up a standard of conduct by placing certain practices in the realms of ostracism. Very often the council rewards participants in the extra-class activities with merit keys and letters. Undoubtedly this has a tremendous effect in developing social efficiency. The schools must do everything possible today to make future citizens public-minded. They must feel their responsibility to their groups. Through the council the students are constantly thinking of the welfare of their fellow students. Concentrated attention to this point will certainly make future citizens conscious of their responsibilities and duties to their neighbors in the community, to the nation, and to the world at large. This develops the foundation for a constructive procedure of future national government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Influence on Conduct

The student council can, through its relations with the home rooms and extra-class activities, very definitely affect the conduct of the student citizens. Often, it cares for disciplinary cases and adjudicates them. The home room is also the basis for the formation of the council and is an important factor in disseminating the opinions of the council.

The school council is a potent factor in developing leadership. Its members must be able to influence their colleagues and fellow students. If properly directed and guided, true leaders may be developed who will strive for justice and social efficiency in the school. Through the various committees and divisions of the council, the child is introduced in a small way to the complexity of modern life.

Investigation shows that the student council is the dominant agent in the larger school. Of the 153 schools that answered the question, "What type of government do you operate under?" 75.6 per cent (118) were operating under the plan of a student council. The next popular central organ was the school cabinet with five plus per cent (8). This form is very similar to the school council, and, for the purposes of this study, it may be assumed that 83.6 per cent of the schools were operating under a plan in which a student council was the dominant organ of student coöperation. The studies made of the schools revealed the following types of legislative organization:

TYPES OF LEGISLATIVE ORGANIZATION

Enrolment	*0–150*	*150–500*	*500–1000*	*Over 1000*	*Not Given*	*Total*
Student Council...	1	16	35	66	1	118
School Cabinet....	..	..	4	4	..	8
Leaders' Club.....	..	1	2	3	..	6
Class Organization.	..	..	1	4	..	5

The methods of election to this central agency, as reported by one hundred and eleven schools, are as follows:

Elected by the student body	49
Elected by home rooms	36
Elected by classes	19
Presidents of organizations composed council	1
Representatives chosen by the extra-class groups	5
Officers of associated student body composed council	5

Ninety-seven, or seventy per cent of the schools reporting, indicated that the student council was regarded as the legislative body in the school while twenty-three or 16.5 per cent, stated that it had no legislative duties. There were one hundred and fifty-three schools which reported on the particular functions of their student councils and these reports are of significance in a discussion of this problem.

	Yes	*No*
Council developing school policies	111	22
Council controlling discipline of school	46	62
Council preparing assembly programs	62	62
Council controlling extra-class activities	59	46
Council controlling school finances (E. C. A.)	21	68

These answers indicate that, in general, students are being consulted by many administrators in the development of school policies affecting student relations, developing assembly programs and in the organization of the extra-curricular activities but that they are given very little voice in matters of discipline and student body finance. One hundred and twenty-seven of these schools answered that the wishes of the principal and his faculty are supreme and the students have not been delegated final authority in any of these matters. Complete "student government" is not a fact in the United States in any large measure.

Types of Student Councils

The study indicated that there are at least fourteen types of the student council in this country. These may briefly be summarized as follows:

A council composed of representatives from the extra-class activities and the classes. In this case, representatives are selected from the three or four classes in the school and the more important extra-curricular activities.

A council composed of officers of the student body, officers of the clubs in the school, and class representatives. The new feature in this organization is that almost every important extra-curricular activity has a club which develops its policy and the officers of these clubs are represented on the council by the secretary.

A council composed of presidents of clubs and the senior class editor of the paper, athletic captains, student body, and faculty representatives.

A council composed of the principal, officers, and ex-officers of the student body, and home room representatives.

A council composed of home room representatives, editor of the school paper, and the athletic commissioner.

A council composed of home room representatives and representatives from the various classes.

A council composed of home room representatives, officers of the student body, committee chairmen, faculty advisers, school treasurer, and the principal.

A council composed entirely of home room delegates.

A council composed entirely of representatives from the various classes.

A council composed of class representatives, faculty representatives, and the principal.

A council composed of home room representatives, student cabinet, presidents of boys' and girls' clubs, and delegates from the faculty.

A council made up of a house of representatives, selected from all the classes, and an executive council, composed of delegates from the English classes only. These meet separately and at times consider school policies in a joint session.

A council composed of the board of control, home room representatives, faculty delegates, and student body officers.

A council composed according to the commissioner plan, with a mayor, three boy commissioners, and a girl commissioner selected from the school at large.

Experimental Stage

The data secured from a questionnaire sent to a very carefully-selected group of high schools may be summarized as follows:

It is safe to assume that most of the larger high schools in the United States are experimenting with a form of student council. In many of the small high schools, the students are participating through the student body organizations although a number of very small high schools are attempting to adapt the council to the needs of their school.

It is apparent that the development of the student council is still in the experimental stage and that out of the types listed in the study, several will impress the readers as being particularly valuable in the large high school organization and one or two as worthy of consideration in the small high school. In the next few years, as more information is secured regarding the success of certain types of council organization, it is probable that a

greater amount of standardization will be noted in this movement in both large and small high schools.

The response from high school principals both as regards amount of material sent and care in preparation of this material, indicated very definitely that the problem of the student council is one which is uppermost in the thinking of high school executives at the present time.

Types of Student Government

The material for this study was secured through an analysis of a large number of student body constitutions of schools located in every section of the United States. There are so many ramifications of the student government organization that the following types were selected as indicative of the dominant trends in its development:

Direct Representative Type
Senate Type
City Government Plan
Extra-Class Activity and Home Room Type
Executive Board
P.T.A. Classes and Extra-Class Activity
Assembly-Council Type
National Type

Direct Representation

The direct representative form of government is probably the simplest form in use in the secondary school at the present time. The students with the advice of the principal, hold a nominating convention two weeks before the end of the second semester. At this time, candidates for the office of student body president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer, together with five candidates for the student council, are nominated. After the candidates' names have been approved by the scholastic committee, a regular election is held.

The officers of the associated student body, together with representatives of the extra-curricular activities, five councilmen, and the principal, form the personnel of the student council. This body prepares all assembly programs, controls extra-class activities, studies student needs, and suggests possible legislation to the student association although discipline is in the hands of the principal alone. This type of student government is probably best fitted to the smaller high school because of its simplicity of organization.

The Senate Type

Under the senate plan, the principal appoints the treasurer from among the members of the faculty, and a representative from the student body to aid the faculty treasurer. These two officers are ex-officio members of the senate. The student body in an annual election elects the president and vice-president of the associated student body. Both of these officers are ex-officio members of the senate. The presidents of the various extra-class activities represent their clubs in the senate.

The senate, through its various members, studies the current problems confronting the school and makes laws concerning student conduct. These laws are then submitted to the principal, who either ratifies or vetoes them. After a bill has received the approval of the principal it is presented to the student body in three different association meetings. In the third meeting, the associated student body votes on the issue. If they favor the bill it then becomes a law. Thus, the students in an organization of this kind have a vital part in government.

City Government Plan

In the school city, the student body, either through a nominating convention, primaries, or by petition, nominates candidates for the positions of aldermen and mayor. In the general election, then, which is held twice a year, one mayor and six aldermen are elected for a semester. Very often voting machines, such as are used in the regular city elections, are employed. The oath of office is taken by every member of the school city.

The city council, made up of the mayor and aldermen, the girls' and boys' advisers, and the faculty treasurer, meets after the first six weeks' examinations and appoints the various managers of the working committees. These committees include uniform dress, conduct, traffic, good of the school, extra-curricular activities, and so on. The managers of these various committees, upon call, report to the city council their findings and suggestions.

Home Room Plan

In the extra-curricular activity and home room type of student government, the entire student body is grouped according to abilities and interests into home room groups. One member

of the faculty is appointed to each home room. The home room under this plan is considered the unit of local government. It elects officers to execute the various functions. The board of control is the central unit of government. It is composed of one representative from each home room and three faculty members who are elected by the home rooms, together with representatives from the inter-club council.

The purpose of the inter-club council is to consider the eligibility of clubs, to sanction every club's social program, and to legislate all club activities. Each club in the school sends a representative to the club council, and two faculty members are appointed by the principal. The inter-club council at one of its meetings appoints a delegate to the board of control.

The Executive Board Type

Every student in the school is represented in the executive board type of student participation in school government. This board meets once a week and makes laws regulating the conduct of students, the activity of the various clubs, and determines the position of the associated student body on various political questions.

Under this system all faculty sponsors for the various clubs form a board of sponsors. They develop and correlate the various club programs. From their number they elect two members to act on the executive board. The treasurers of the various extra-curricular activities form the board of treasurers. Their books are audited every month by a faculty auditor. The board of treasurers elects one of its members to the executive board.

The home room is the source of government. It elects the president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer of the associated student body. It also sends delegates to all clubs in the school. The presidents of all extra-class activities then, together with the officers of the student body, are ex-officio members of the student council. The presidents of the four classes are also ex-officio members of the council.

P. T. A. Type

An interesting feature in this plan is the presence of the P. T. A. The parents are divided in the various classes in which

their children are enrolled. Then they elect a delegate to the student council. In an organization of this type there is a very definite linking of the community affairs with school affairs. There is an advantage in this, in that the community is more interested in the school, but on the other hand, it is likely to break the morale of the community toward the school by introducing community factions into school control.

All legislation passed by the student council must be approved by the principal. It is then submitted to every home room. Majority votes make it law.

Assembly Council Type

The organization of a student government of this type is regulated by the student body, home room, extra-class activities, and classes. A new feature of this plan, however, is the representative assembly which is composed of one student from each home room. This representative assembly then elects twelve of its number to the student council. Five teachers are appointed to the student council by the principal.

National Type

In the national type of student government, there are three divisions: legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative department is composed of a senate and a house of representatives. All legislation begins in the house of representatives and is then sent to the senate. The senate is composed of one officer from each extra-class activity.

The executive department is composed of a president and a vice-president. Both these officers must be members of the senior class. The president appoints six students to serve on his cabinet. This cabinet is purely an advisory agency. The judicial department is composed of five members of the supreme court and three members of the district court. These judges are appointed by the president with the approval of the senate. Every action passed by any of the three departments of government is subject to the approval of the principal.

VII. SOCIAL-DISTANCE CHANGES IN EDUCATIONAL PROCEDURE[18]

EMORY S. BOGARDUS

An examination of the literature that appeared in 1929 in educational sociology reveals interesting trends from the social-distance viewpoint.[19] Both the books and articles in the journals show several different movements. A tentative fivefold classification may be made.

1. There is the problem of social distance between teacher and pupil. Wherever education is formal, impersonal, "intellectual," a pouring-in process, lecturing, fault-finding, or "hard-boiled," social distance usually exists between the teacher and her pupils. The trend towards educating the whole child, towards training the affective as well as the cognitive phases of the child's personality, however, is making good headway.

John Dewey's idea of making the school a miniature society in order that the child may be trained in an environment similar to, although on a higher cultural level than the real society of the work-a-day world that the child must ultimately face, is now being carried one step further.[20] Teachers are being trained to see the child in all his real environments, such as home, neighborhood, religious, and so on. The child is no longer being taught as an individual extracted for six hours or so a day from his regular daily environment, but in the light of the social situations in which he spends most of his time.[21] He is not taught mathematics as an isolated individual or as a group of individuals but as a growing young person in a particular social world. To the extent that the teacher enters into the child's world of problems, and teaches the child with all these problems in mind, to that degree social distance between teacher and pupil is shortened and

[18] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 8, April, 1930, pp. 497–502.

[19] These developments did not necessarily originate during 1929; they were products of forces at work during the past several years.

[20] Dewey, John, "General Principles of Educational Articulation," *School and Society*, March 30, 1929, pp. 399–406.

[21] Pagot, E. H., "Personality Guidance," *Education*, 1929, Vol. XLIX, pp. 391–397.

teaching efficiency thereby increased.[22] This shift in educational procedure made considerable progress in 1929.

To the extent that mass education expanded in 1929, the problem of social distance between teacher and pupil was doubtless increased. With overcrowded classes and with new kinds of routine reports to make out, the less time do teachers have to appreciate each child in the light of his or her own universe of life problems. To the degree that taxpayers are not willing to staff the schools so that teachers may have opportunities, not only to know the whole child who comes into their classrooms but to know the child's whole environment, the teacher-pupil distance remains serious. Teachers colleges have a long way to go before all graduates of each of them teach boys and girls not as pupils in schools but as human products of particular social environments.[23] But progress on the whole was evidently made in 1929 towards the shortening of teacher-pupil distance.

2. A closely related trend is the cutting down of teacher-parent distance. While the parent-teacher associations, despite their ups and downs, are creating a better understanding (at least many of them are doing so), there still is plenty of distance between their two constituent elements. While it is true that only a small percentage of either teachers or parents in most school districts enthusiastically participate in the associations, mutual understanding is being developed—at least of each other's peculiarities.

A more important movement is found in the increased interest which many teachers are taking in the home-life conditions of the pupils. While much good results when the parent comes to the school, a greater understanding takes place when the teacher is invited to or contacts the home. Conditions are more informal and consequently distances are shortened more easily. Contacts of a more personal nature are possible.[24]

Then of course there is the growth that has occurred in the visiting-teacher movement. The result is a shortening of the school-home distance. Parents see the school in a new light and

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[22] "Social-Civic Education" number, *Los Angeles School Journal*, January 7, 1929.

[23] Boynton, F. D., "Education: What Program? What Price?" *School and Society*, March 2, 1929, pp. 269–275.

[24] Bradford, Mrs. Hugh, "The Training of Leaders in Parent-Teacher Work," *School Life*, January, 1930, pp. 81, 82.

begin to understand its purposes better. Instead of the neighborhood coming to the school, the latter goes into the neighborhood and makes simple, informal, helpful contacts with parents and other home members. By taking education to the gathering places of adults, distance is overcome.

Perhaps the year which has recently ended has made its greatest stride in lessening school-neighborhood distance through the remarkable growth of the adult-education movement.[25] Not only immigrants and uneducated natives, but the normal and even those above average in education come to school, with parents attending school at night in the same rooms occupied by their children in the daytime. Thus, parents who are educated along with their children, begin to view life through similar lenses. In consequence, parent-child distance shrinks.

The school is just beginning to realize that it is making a mistake in educating children faster than and hence away from their parents—that it has been a powerful instrumentality in creating parent-child distance. In 1929, an increasing number of signs were evident that educators were beginning to ask if they should not educate children and parents together, so that they might progress together in mutual understanding.[26] In so doing, increasing parent-child distance is not only halted but decrease in distance occurs because parents grow in appreciation of the educational and other life problems of their children. Not only the whole child is to be educated, but the whole family and the whole school neighborhood.[27] In consequence, teacher-parent distance and all the resultant problems tend to approach a solution.

3. Another educational problem is principal-teacher distance. The literature of 1929 shows that some attention is being given to this problem although much less than to the other questions already presented. A substitute teacher says: "Within two

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[25] It is important in this connection to note that 1929 saw the organization of a *Journal of Adult Education;* the first number appeared under date of January, 1930 (under the auspices of the American Association for Adult Education).

[26] In other words, should not the aim of education be the development of the community as a whole? *See* Snedden, David, "The Socially Efficient Community," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, April, 1929, pp. 464–470.

[27] Smith, Walter R., "The Improvement of Institutional Processes as an End of Education," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, December, 1929, pp. 218–227.

hours after I come into a school building, I can tell what the attitudes of the teachers are towards the principal." The problem is of greatest importance in school administration and procedure.

In the first place there is the behavior of the principal who deliberately aims "to drive the teacher out." Such conduct has generally been preceded by personality clashes between principal and teacher or by the incompetence of the teacher (or perhaps of the principal). By making the teacher uncomfortable enough, the principal hopes that the teacher will resign.

Then, there is the behavior of the principal who unintentionally lowers the status of the teacher. He criticizes a teacher in the presence of other teachers. By praising one teacher (unduly) in the presence of other teachers, the principal creates distance between himself and the others. Criticisms of a teacher in the presence of pupils, even though they are made silently, may give rise to principal-teacher distance. The teacher in such a case feels that her status is lowered in the eyes of her pupils, for she believes that the pupils are quick to understand what is going on. Distance is often created by the principal who changes or interferes with the classroom arrangements to which the teacher has given some time in planning. The teacher feels that she knows more in her specialty than the principal and does not like to have her plans upset.

Again, there is the behavior of the principal which lowers the esteem in which he is held by his teachers. Teachers report that their principal is not "above-board," not open or square, so often that it appears that there must be something about the work of a principal which is conducive to this type of conduct. Be that as it may, here is one of the leading factors in principal-teacher distance.

Unintentional favoritisms (as well as intentional) on the part of the principal result in principal-teacher distance. "It is all right for a principal to be seen talking confidentially with a particular teacher once in a while, but not twice in a while."[28] The principal is in danger of favoring the teachers who teach the subjects which he himself once taught. "If the principal likes music greatly, then the teachers in that field will get more help. Others will feel slighted." In these and many other indirect

[28] From an unpublished manuscript by the writer on "Principal-Teacher Distance."

ways, not always analyzed or understood, sometimes by either principal or teacher, distance unnecessarily develops and educational efficiency is hampered. The growing place that is being given courses in social psychology in teacher-training programs will help to solve this problem.

4. Another problem that is receiving increased attention is the distance found between rural and urban pupils and teachers. It is still true that city boys and girls "look down upon" the country, and that teachers grade each other upward from rural to city schools. When rural schools become consolidated and when the requirements for teaching in rural districts approximate the urban levels, the distance problems are softened. Nevertheless, the greater status that is attributed to the city gives to youth and teachers in cities a higher standing and establishes a troublesome vertical distance situation.

The current extension of urbanization into country districts is lessening the distance problems. Likewise the growth of rural educational sociology is helping to lift rural teachers and pupils to a par with their city contemporaries.[29]

5. Interschool distance due to competitive athletics and rival school spirit is being both increased and decreased. With the growth of football and of rivalry in athletic prowess, school spirit easily oversteps itself. As the enthusiasm of high-school pupils flares up and dies down quickly, so interschool distance has an artificial and passing nature. The courtesies that the spectator crowds show each other at a football contest are encouraging. Even though these courtesies are often formal and nothing more, they denote a better mutual understanding. There are many signs that school groups are beginning to recognize their common nature and interests even though they are "deadly rivals." School spirit is slowly taking on rational characteristics and becoming less mean and primitive.

While it is obvious that there are available no statistics concerning social-distance changes in the educational fields in 1929, yet there are certain signs which indicate how the wind is blowing.[30] The growth of educational sociology[31] is perhaps one of

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[29] Eaton, T. H., "What Education is Rural?" *School and Society*, January 19, 1929, pp. 75–78.

[30] Brewer, John M., "The Task of Vocational Guidance," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. XXX, 1928–29, pp. 693–702.

[31] Payne, E. George, "A Program of Educational Sociology," *The Journal*

the chief factors which accounts for the improvements taking place in the social relationships involved in the educational process. The introduction of social-casework principles is another helpful factor. The interest being shown in the life-history approach[32] is also vital in creating that understanding which cuts down social distances.

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of Educational Sociology, April, 1929, pp. 457–463; also Aspinall, R., "Some Reflections Upon the Field of Educational Sociology," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, November, 1929, pp. 186–188.

[32] "The Validity of Life Histories and Diaries," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, November, 1929, pp. 150–164.

CHAPTER XIV
Measuring the Results of Education

I. INTRODUCTION

Students of education generally agree that the most significant contribution to education in the twentieth century and perhaps in its whole history, has been the development of objective standards for the measurement of school instruction.

[During the past quarter of a century],[1] psychology has given us the intelligence and achievement tests, and these tests have been routinized to the point where they are now used in every progressive school system. Departments in the public school systems of the country have been developed for the administration and supervision of these tests in the schoolroom. Schools now not only seek to determine the native capacity of children, but to discover the achievement of the pupils in the conventional subjects, to base the instruction upon their findings, and to measure the result of progress at stated periods during the school year.

The sociologist, however, is convinced of the inadequacy of this procedure. The sociologist is concerned with the development and measurement of totally different outcomes than those developed and measured by the tools that psychology has developed. The educational sociologist, like the educational psychologist, is concerned with behavior changes. But the behavior with which the sociologist is concerned is that which relates itself to the social life. The sociologist is concerned with education as an instrument for effecting behavior changes in the individual in his social relations; that is, in his family, in his groups, in his play and recreation, and in his civic relationships,

[1] Editorial, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1927, pp iii–iv.

etc. Furthermore, the sociologist is concerned with creating community changes and community practices and methods of discovering to what extent school instruction may effect such changes. Therefore, in so far as the measurement of attainment in conventional school subjects are likewise measures of the social changes, well and good. But are they measures of the changes effected in the individual in his community relations or are they measures of changes effected in the community through education? No one knows. These tests cannot measure the most desirable changes sought through education, that is, changes in social behavior.

One of the problems of educational sociology, therefore, is to develop means for determining social changes through education, and to place the emphasis upon the subject matter of the curriculum, the method of school instruction, and the school organization for the purpose of bringing about changes in social behavior. The problem here indicated merely suggests one task of educational sociology.

The particular type of social measurement and its importance, is emphasized in the following statement:[2]

Social measurement. Education, in terms of capital investment alone, is one of America's greatest enterprises. And yet education has shown a lack of curiosity about the nature of its product that would not be tolerated for a moment in industry. One cannot conceive of a manufacturer of locomotives who was not constantly checking up on the performance of his product. But what do we know about the performance of the product of our schools?

Our educational tests are tests of verbal behavior only. They tell us little or nothing as to how the child may be expected to behave outside the school. If we are ever to evaluate the effectiveness of education in actually effecting the child's social adjustment, we must contrive devices for measuring changes, not in his verbal behavior as reflected in achievement tests, but in his total behavior in family and community. Dr. E. George Payne's experiment in the measurement of health education, in New York Public School 106, is a pioneer step in this direction.

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[2] Zorbaugh, Harvey W., *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 1, September, 1927, pp. 23–24.

The technique consisted in selecting an experimental and a control group, in contriving a scale of health practices, and rating, with the aid of trained social workers who observed the children in their homes, the children's health habits; in teaching a model health curriculum to the experimental group; and in then re-rating both control and experimental groups against the scale. While this procedure lacks the objectivity and precision of the achievement test, it yields far more significant data—a knowledge of how far instruction has carried over into social behavior. Further experiments in social measurement, which are now under way under Dr. Payne's direction, may be expected to lead to an increasingly objective technique.[3]

Other types of research might be mentioned. None would prove more significant, perhaps, than a careful study of the social performance of the products of our many types of "experimental" schools. But enough has been said to indicate the variety of research opportunities open to the educational sociologist. Educational sociology may well take a leaf from the history of educational psychology. If educational sociology is to justify itself as a university discipline and as an integral part of education, it must, like educational psychology, carve for itself a niche through productive research.

Significant progress has been made in the measurement of the results of education, as indicated in the following:[4]

The most significant measurements of the success of any educational procedure are the measurements of the effects achieved in the actual attitudes and behaviors of those instructed, in the life situations arising after an educational procedure has been carried out. This means that the results of education should be measured in the community rather than in the school. Our assumption would be, then, that the proper measurement of the success of the school in such important fields as the development of character and personality, sex instruction, and citizenship training is to be judged by the outcome in the attitudes and behaviors of its charges in life situations in and outside the school.

[3] Payne, E. George and Gebhart, John C., "Method and Measurement of Health Education," published by the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York, 1926.

[4] Research Department, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 7, March, 1928, pp. 426–427.

A further demonstration of the same method of measurement has come recently from the field of agricultural education where an investigation has been made of the carryover of the instruction in vocational agriculture into actual farming practice in the communities of Iowa. A survey of the legume acreage of "instructed" and "uninstructed" farmers over a period of seven years has been carried on in various counties, and the result has shown in a very significant way the actual effect of the instruction in vocational agriculture upon increase in the amount of legume acreage.

This aspect of the movement toward a more exact measurement of the outcomes of school instruction is still in its infancy, but there is available sufficient evidence to indicate its possibilities. While the following selections do not present the total accomplishment, they illustrate the trend in social measurement.

II. THE URGENT NEED FOR SOCIOLOGY IN EDUCATIONAL MEASUREMENTS[5]

STEPHEN G. RICH

The word "urgent" has been used in the title of this article because the problem involved here is one that, in the writer's opinion, should be solved or at least worked to a *modus vivendi* at an early date, if either sociology or measurements are to render the highest possible service to education.

The fifteen years 1912–1927 have seen the rise, the fad, the reaction, and the solid establishment of educational measurements as a part of the equipment used by professionally trained educators. The day of finding out whether a given portion of achievement can be tested objectively is past; likewise the day of testing for the sake of giving tests. Despite the persistence of examinations without norms, whether "old style" or "new style," despite the unwillingness of official examining agencies of all sorts to use actual educational measurements for promotion of pupils, etc., the use of standardized tests of achievement and of tests for general ability ("intelligence tests") as tools for solving

[5] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 2, October, 1927, pp. 86–92.

actual working problems in conducting schools, has become an accepted practice among the greater part of the more wideawake educators.

The same fifteen years have seen the rise of educational sociology as a definite field of knowledge and method of thinking within education. It is ten years since the famous "Seven Cardinal Aims" formulated in the first conveniently usable form the sociological point of view on educational purposes. Since that time, increasingly adequate statements of the sociological basis, working, and effects of education have become developed. Sociological criticism of existing courses, curricula, etc., has become so much an accepted fact that even the most reactionary committees that nominally revise curricula but actually reword the old ones give at least perfunctory lip service to some statement of educational purposes in terms of educational sociology. But it must be admitted that, by and large, educational sociology has not yet progressed to the point of being an effective determinant of educational procedure. It is doubtless in order to aid in producing such an effective use of educational sociology that *The Journal of Educational Sociology* has been established.

Up to the present time, the educational measurement workers and the educational sociologists would appear to have kept rather strictly aloof. This is not to be wondered at. Testing is, essentially, a determination of what exists, rather than of what ought to exist. Hence, since the dominant trend in school work hitherto has been and even now is the imparting of information and the training of skills, testing has been predominantly in terms of information and to a lesser degree in terms of skills. Furthermore, the personnel of the test-making and test-using educators has been most largely recruited from those whose primary interest and viewpoint is psychological rather than sociological. The interest of the test makers has been rather in what the pupil has acquired than in the values of these acquisitions; rather in determining the actual progress of typical, subnormal, or supernormal groups than in discovering whether this progress in achievement was worth having at all.

In contrast to this point of view, educational sociology has been at bottom a critical rather than a merely investigative activity. This must not be taken as even implying that investigation of fact forms a minor part of educational sociology. But the

sociologists have naturally been concerned to know what social functions have been served by the various educative activities operating under different social conditions. They have, therefore, of necessity become critical as to the validity and usefulness of various educational procedures.

The development of educational measurements in arithmetic will serve as a type case, sufficiently familiar to most workers in education to be readily appreciated, and showing the typical results of the divorcement of measurements from sociology. Courtis's Series B tests, the first tests on the mechanics of arithmetic sufficiently satisfactory to find very wide use, have justly been criticized as being more or less artificial from a social standpoint. They may, however, be further and equally justly criticized as being, even at this late date, sociologically without norms. It will be obvious to educational sociologists that at least two additions to the tables of norms are needed: two additions which there has been time to develop. One of these is a set of norms for typical adults who are successfully carrying on various types of vocational activity, such as mechanical trades, storekeeping, law, etc. The other is a set of norms for the degree of skill necessary to be reached in school in order that subsequent forgetting shall not reduce the skills below the levels needed in these vocations. Thus we might find that a successful pharmacist typically attains a skill in addition represented by a speed of 10.7 and an accuracy of 77 and that for securing this attainment as an adult, a speed of 14.2 and an accuracy of 82 need be secured in school.

Woody's tests, again, in the effort to include problems so difficult that no grade-school pupils would solve them correctly, include certain bizarre problems that are found in actual life only in the technical calculations of specialized vocations. Series A Subtraction, No. 32, which is needed only in a bank, is a case in point. Woody's norms are open to the same criticism as are those of Courtis.

In the attempt to analyze out arithmetical ability into its components, problem solving has been separated from the mechanics. Such an analysis and such a differentiation of tests is, of course, legitimate. But the educational sociologist, taking account of social needs, must insist that we use our mechanics of arithmetic in the solution of problems occurring in actual life. It is therefore desirable that the measurement of the mechanical

abilities be made, not isolated and as abstract exercises, but in such situations as to allow these abilities the type of functioning that they actually fall into under ordinary social influences.

The writer would, therefore, indicate that if arithmetic tests are to be sociologically satisfactory, they should be made to include the following features:

(1) The mechanical processes (miscalled "fundamentals" by test makers untrained in sociology) should be tested within the framework of life-situation problems.

(2) Problem solving and mechanics should be scored separately from such a test.

(3) The norms should include the two forms of goal: the adult ability necessary for social effectiveness, and the ability needed to be produced in school for the retention afterwards of this necessary adult ability.

If we undertake to make a set of tests that will conform to these criteria, the task is considerably greater than that involved in making any arithmetic tests now in general use. The test material requires several more siftings and rearrangements than have been customary; and a far larger proportion than most test makers are willing to discard will have to be eliminated. The norm-making process becomes considerably more lengthy and troublesome than that hitherto in use. There are at least two siftings necessary in addition to those generally in use. First is a sifting for sociological value: problems which may be perfectly valid, considered psychologically and statistically, will have to be discarded because they do not represent social situations or are artificial. Second, a sifting for problems which show a definite relation to the postschool development of the abilities. As between two problems of equal statistical scale value, involving addition, only, the one that is conquered in Grade 5 and always solved thereafter, will be of less usefulness in our test than one which is conquered in Grade 5, solved at the school-leaving level, but no longer solved by half the adult skilled mechanics.

Testing in arithmetic also shows lack of sociological influence in the way that fractions, both decimal and common, are dealt with. Monroe's research tests, for example, give a whole section to division of decimals by decimals. The extent to which any

testing at all on this particular set of abilities is warranted, is a matter for sociological determination. This same set of tests uses, on common fractions, certain pairs to be added, subtracted, multiplied, or divided, which are rarely met with in the social use of arithmetic.

Within the space available for an article such as this, it is, of course, not practicable to go into all the details of the sociological shortcomings of arithmetic tests; but it is hoped that both the shortcomings and an approach to a remedy have been made clear.

If we turn to fields other than arithmetic, we shall find substantially the same types of defects in practically all our existing tests; and we shall be able to apply substantially the same methods of remedy. One fact, however, differentiates a number of subjects from arithmetic. Tests in geography, history, high-school sciences and the like, suffer from the defect of being for the most part tests of information and only of information. Fortunately, most of them are avowedly informational only; unfortunately, this avowal is not given due attention by the greater part of the users of these tests. It is not relevant to do more than mention the occasional lapses from correctness in the information which is supposed to form the correct answer, found now and then in even excellent tests; nor, again, to more than note the occasional case in which an uninformed teacher questions the scoring because she does not have the correct information.[6] These are the inevitable modicum of error in all human work.

But the limitation to information means that we are testing only the smallest and least valuable social results of the instruction in question. In history, for example, the results in terms of civic attitudes and understanding of current problems, far more valuable, are not measured at all. It may be in point, for the purpose of illustrating an attempt to measure such outcomes, to cite one question from a draft test in ancient history, which the writer has seen, but which appears not yet to have been developed for use. This is a multiple-response test, with choice among four answers:

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[6] Hahn and Lackey, in their geography test, allow an answer that Canada "belongs to England" although it is a coördinate kingdom under George V. The writer has had one answer on his chemistry tests—as to ammonia from lime and a protein showing presence of nitrogen—questioned by several teachers.

The League of Delos, in its later years, was like what modern political grouping of states?

(Answers:) The United States
The League of Nations
The German Empire before 1914
The Austrian Empire

The correct answer is "the German Empire before 1914," for the League of Delos was then really an Athenian empire. The response here, though it might be the result of a memorized indoctrination, is likely in most cases to be a genuine use of historical judgment.

From this point it will be desirable to indicate what may be done in the way of applying educational sociology to testing, rather than to continue the sociological criticism of existing tests. The test makers are likely, and with some justice, to insist right here that they are bound to test within the limits of the present curriculum. Therefore, say they, we cannot choose the sociologically valid items and aspects; we must test on what is taught and on the emphases that are given.

To this the educational sociologists may properly reply that there is no need to go outside the existing curriculum and its content. Even that most formalized of all high-school subjects, physics, has, within the existing curriculum as laid down by college entrance requirements, sufficient socially justifiable material to enable quite workable tests to be made. The testers may stick to their existent curricula, but they can act in the light of sociology by choosing as test items such questions as deal with material sociologically justifiable. The writer may, without egotism, here call attention to his own chemistry tests as an attempt to do this very thing.[7] Developed in 1922 and 1923, all test material was sifted, in addition to the usual statistical placing and eliminations, once more. Only those items, which, according to what criteria were then available to the writer, served directly or indirectly towards accomplishing some one or more of the "Seven Cardinal Aims," were admitted to the definitive and published tests. Dvorak has done a similar piece of work in his general science tests.[8]

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[7] Rich, S. G., "Chemistry Tests," Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Ill., 1923.

[8] Dvorak, A., "General Science Scales," Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Ill., 1923.

Such tests, choosing material sociologically justifiable, do not of course give a representative sampling of the whole content as now taught. They do more than this: They give a representative sampling of the whole content of sociological usefulness now taught. Knowing as we do that administrators are relying in increasing numbers upon test results for diagnosis, we are justified in saying that the use of such tests enables the long delayed and badly needed application of educational sociology to actual school needs to begin. In the same way, the sociological guiding of the emphasis is begun by the use of results from such tests.

Another development, and one that should be carried much further, is to test in terms of purposes instead of in terms of subjects. In fact, this is the only type of testing of achievement that can be adequately tested where a full-fledged project curriculum is in use; for the traditional subject divisions simply do not fit. The Payne health scale is perhaps the first attempt to measure the extent to which an educational objective is achieved. Chassell and Upson's citizenship scales are another beginning in this same direction. The just criticism that these scales are too subjective and too greatly subject to error because pupils do not tell the truth as to their activities, is merely an admission that these are pioneer pieces of work rather than definite and permanent measuring instruments. The writer believes that it is possible to make what he calls "bean-spilling" tests for the attainment of these objectives: tests in which the children, without meaning to, will, as they answer, "spill the beans" by giving away what they actually do. If we know that children exaggerate their regularity in using the toothbrush, we need to devise questions which those who use this implement regularly will answer in a manner different from that of those who are careless in this health duty. Such a test may not look like or read like a health test; but it will bring out, willy-nilly, the health practices—exactly as in Army alpha the question, "the legs of a Zulu are: 2 4 6 8" brought out, willy-nilly, the range of information about human races to which the subject had been exposed.

In conclusion, the writer would state as strongly and forcibly as possible that it is his firm conviction that the actual application of educational sociology to school work will probably not be made until educational measurements are made in terms of sociology. Unless the results of school work are evaluated in sociologically valid measurements, there is little hope of securing any desirable

changes. Furthermore, the type of testing that sociological influence is likely to produce will be far more likely to win support from the unconvinced educators who still resist educational measurement than are the tests on the basis of "what is done is valid" that we now for the most part have. Thus the need for sociology in educational measurements is urgent for both testers and sociologists.

III. DETERMINING THE RESULTS OF EDUCATION[9]

E. George Payne

The educator concerned with the practical job of teaching, educating, or training the children of the community faces several problems of primary importance in the performance of his task. Two problems may be said to be fundamental; namely, the education, teaching, or instruction of the pupils of the community, and the measurement of the results of the educational process itself. Probably there is no difference of opinion as to the importance of these two tasks as fundamental problems of school keeping. There are, however, considerable differences of opinion as to what education really means and as to what should be the emphasis in determining the results of education. It is to the second of these emphases, or determining the results of education, to which we wish to address ourselves in this discussion.

However, before attempting to discuss this problem, we need to clear the ground by indicating the approach to the problem under consideration. For instance, education may be regarded as the mastery of a definite amount of subject matter. In fact that has been the general point of view and emphasis in the past. In spite of a changed educational theory and, to a considerable extent, a changed program from subject matter to activities, the emphasis has remained upon the mastery of subject matter and the measurement of the degree of the mastery of subject-matter content. An orthodox principle of teaching and of method under modern educational theory implies mastery of subject matter and school-room skills as the end of education, at least, the immediate end. This principle may be stated somewhat as follows: "By adequate testing, find out what the child knows,

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[9] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 8, April, 1928, pp. 468-476.

begin with the knowledge and skills that he has and build upon them, and at the end of an instructional period test the child to discover what progress he has made in the acquisition of knowledge and skills."

This principle underlying teaching or method implies three steps: (1) The discovery of the child's knowledge and interests; (2) the teaching of the child on the basis of his knowledge and interests; (3) the measurement of the results or his attainment of knowledge. The principle and its application in practice have notably advanced education along a number of lines. It has led us to ascertain the state of the child's knowledge before beginning the educational process. It has enormously improved the technique of procedure in the educational process itself, and finally it has resulted in very effective instruments of measurement of the results of education as sought. The achievement along this line represents the most notable progress in the history of education. It represents a definite attempt to make education scientific.

There are, however, from the sociologist's point of view certain weaknesses about this procedure. The sociologist questions the assumption that the acquisition of knowledge is education, although an essential part of the process. He conceives education as a process of making behavior changes in the individual and in the community, and does not accept the conventional practice as adequate to that end. He regards it as a weak attempt to satisfy certain school objectives which may or may not have social value. Viewed another way the sociologist looks upon education as a process of developing social controls or controls in the individual over his behavior in his relationships to the various groups in the social life. He, therefore, regards subject matter as a means to an end, and for that reason will not admit that the three steps in the educational process as they are outlined above, are adequate or even significant.

The sociologist, therefore, would state the principle and make its application in another way. He would state the principle somewhat as follows: By adequate survey, measurement, and study, both of the child and the community in which the child lives, find out the character and personality of the child, his social patterns, and his life interests, begin to make changes in his behavior in line with his social needs, by building upon or modifying his social patterns, his social heritages, his personality and

character, and at the end of an instructional period test the child and the community or groups of which he is a part to discover what changes in character, personality, social patterns, and group behavior have taken place.

This principle likewise involves three steps: (1) the discovery of the personality traits, behavior patterns, social heritages of the child and the group; (2) the instruction of the child on the basis of these characteristics and interests; (3) and the measurement of the changes in the behavior of the child and the groups of which he is a part.

The sociologist requires a totally different type of preliminary test or survey for the beginning of instruction. Professor Thrasher has adequately discussed that need in several issues of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* in which he has presented a technique for the study of the social background. The sociologist also requires an entirely different instructional technique. He requires a different kind of measurement or survey. [Since, however, an adequate treatment of this subject would demand detailed discussion, we shall not be concerned with it here.]

The crux of the matter hinges upon the sorts of changes sought through the educational process and the emphasis in the measurement of the results of the educational endeavor. Obviously, we are concerned with functional knowledge and skills, but for them to be functional is not sufficient. What functions do the knowledges and skills serve? The fundamental criterion in determining their value is that they serve the individual in his social relations outside of the schoolroom. Their use in the schoolroom is important only when viewed from the larger social outlook. In other words we are interested in the child as a member of a family, a play group, as a citizen, and as an individual that is now functioning in outside-of-school activities ninety per cent of his total time. What the child does in the schoolroom concerns us little except as it relates to his outside activities and changes them. Obviously then the only measurement that is ultimately profitable is the measurement of outside-of-school practices.

To be specific the measurement of the results of education going on in the schoolroom must find application in the behavior changes of the individual as a social unit, in so far as the measures are applied to the individual. This has been stated another way a number of times. We quote: "There are clearly two aspects of this kind of measurement. First, there may be provided stand-

ards for the measurement of achievement of the individual in his social relations, and second, measures to determine the extent to which the objective outcomes of instruction are operative in the whole community or the group."[10]

We are, however, presenting here largely the theory underlying social measurement, because we have so few examples from which to use illustrative material. We are not, however, without material. I should like to present three cases where this method has been applied to show both its possibilities and its necessity.

The first case I wish to present relates to the survey of the results accruing from the operation of a school program of education in accident prevention over a period of years. The following table measures the effectiveness of school instruction in one particular in the whole community:

ACCIDENTAL DEATHS, CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE, ST. LOUIS[11]
(DISTRIBUTION BY CAUSES)

	1917	*1918*	*1919*	*1920*	*1921*	*4 Months 1922*
Automobile	14	17	15	16	13	3
Street car	8	1	6	1	1	..
Wagon	3	2	..	..	..	..
Railroad	.	1	4	..	..	..
Burns	8	5	8	2	..	1
Firearms	4	2	3	..	..	..
Drowning	3	2	4	..	1	..
All others	10	6	9	1	1	1
Totals	50	36	49	20	16	5

This table shows a rapid decline in accidents to children of elementary-school age, in spite of the rather stationary condition of accidents in general.

The second case represents the changes effected in the practices of children in Public School 106, Manhattan. We shall present merely the changes in dietary practices to indicate the character of measurement necessary.

"The first step was to classify the diet of the children for each meal at the beginning and end of the study in two categories, 'satisfactory' and 'unsatisfactory.' These categories are determined on exactly the same basis used by the United States

[10] Contributions to Education, Vol. I, p. 164, World Book Co., Yonkers, New York, 1924.

[11] U. S. Bureau of Education Bulletin, No. 32, 1922, p. 51.

Children's Bureau in its studies in Gary, Indiana.[12] The following table indicates that roughly three-fourths of the children had an unsatisfactory diet at the beginning of the study. Indeed, the evening meal, which is the most important one of the day and the only one which the entire family have in common, was almost invariably unsatisfactory, for 93 per cent of the children reported an inadequate diet for supper. It is encouraging to note, however, that this meal showed the greatest improvement of all, for 67 per cent of the children showed the greatest improvement in the evening meal; 74 per cent were either improved or satisfactory throughout, and only 5 per cent showed worse conditions than at the beginning. A marked improvement was also shown at luncheon for over half (53 per cent) of the children had improved or remained satisfactory throughout. The change in breakfast habits is the least satisfactory. Only a third of the children (32 per cent) had improved on the inadequate breakfast noted at the beginning; altogether 57 per cent had improved or remained satisfactory throughout."[13] These results are shown in the following table:

CONDITION OF CHILDREN'S DIETARIES AT THE BEGINNING AND AT THE END OF THE STUDY

Meal	Total Children Recorded		Satisfactory Throughout		Improved		Not Improved		Worse	
	No.	*Per Cent*	*No.*	*Per Cent*	*No.*	*Per Cent*	*No.*	*Per Cent*	*No.*	*Per Cent*
Breakfast..	73	100	18	25	23	32	24	33	8	10
Luncheon..	73	100	22	30	39	53	8	11	4	5
Dinner ..	73	100	5	7	49	67	15	7	4	5

The third case represents an experiment in Public School 157, Manhattan.[14] A survey was made in October and in the following June, the first before the instructional period and the second following. The changes, therefore, represent the results of the instruction. It should be noted that experimental and controlled

[12] Payne and Schroeder, "Health and Safety in the New Curriculum," The American Viewpoint Society, New York, 1925, pp. 41–46.

[13] Payne and Gebhart, "Method and Measurement of Health Education," New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York, 1926, p. 36.

[14] Data from an unpublished thesis of Dr. Mary Best Gillis, New York University Library.

groups were taken for comparison so that the results could be scientifically determined.

Results of Underweight Survey

In October, both groups were similar as regards underweight; the experimental group having 52 per cent underweight and the controlled group 55 per cent. Over half of the pupils in each group were in this unenviable condition. In June, both groups had improved. The experimental group made the better showing with 42 per cent underweight and the controlled group followed with 46 per cent.

In October, the controlled group had 21 per cent and the experimental group had 17 per cent in the 10 per cent and more underweight section. In June, both groups had improved, the experimental group making the better showing with 12 per cent and the controlled group having 13 per cent. This was a very good showing in the experimental group which was weighted so heavily with the large section of retarded pupils.

Survey of Adenoid Condition

In October, the two groups were comparable as to adenoid condition, the experimental group having 42 per cent with the nasal obstruction, and the controlled group having 43 per cent.

In June, the experimental group had improved its condition by 33 removals, until only 27 per cent still needed surgical treatment. The controlled group had 3 removals, all institutional children, and still had 40 per cent of its pupils needing surgical treatment.

Of the 92 pupils in the experimental group recommended to go to the clinic, 33 had removals, 15 were advised by their physicians to wait until vacation for removals, and 44 refused to take any steps at all in the matter.

Of the 92 pupils in the controlled group recommended to go to the clinic, 3 institution cases had removals, but the 88 remaining cases did not even go to the clinic to confirm the removal recommendation.

Survey of Tonsil Condition

In October, the two groups were comparable as to tonsil condition; the experimental group having 39 per cent needing atten-

tion, and the controlled group having the slightly larger number of 42 per cent needing attention.

In June, the experimental group had the better showing, because 33 removals left 23 per cent with doubtful or diseased tonsils, while the controlled group had had only 1 removal, and some new cases becoming diseased during the year made their June number needing attention larger than their October number.

Of the 85 pupils in the experimental group who were urged to have tonsil removals, 33 had removals, 12 were under treatment, because their doctors advised treatment rather than removal, and 29 had done nothing.

Of the 90 cases in the controlled group, there was only one removal, an institution case, and the remaining 89 did not go to a doctor.

Survey of Tooth Condition

In October, the two groups were comparable as to tooth condition; the experimental group having 2 per cent with perfect teeth, and 98 per cent with caries. The controlled group had 4 per cent with perfect teeth and 96 per cent with caries.

In June, the experimental group had 64 per cent with perfect teeth, 22 per cent still going for treatment and 14 per cent who had done nothing to remedy the condition of their teeth. Most of these children went to a neighboring clinic which was so crowded that a child often had two weeks between visits. If anything happened the day of his appointment, such as the child's failure to attend, or the clinic's failure to reach him during the dentist's hours for work, it meant a month between visits. This made the remedying of their defective teeth a long-drawn-out procedure. The 22 per cent listed as still going had had at least one tooth finished. The controlled group had 8 per cent perfect teeth and 92 per cent with caries. The slight improvement in this group was wholly in the institution cases.

Survey of the Condition of Hair

There was practically no pediculosis in either group. There was one in each group at the beginning, but this was cleared up by the school nurse long before the end of the experiment. The girls had 100 per cent bobbed hair. It is a matter for further

investigation to ascertain the correlation between bobbed hair and lack of pediculosis.

Survey of the Eye Condition

In October, the controlled group had a better eye condition than the experimental. In June, the experimental group bettered this record, while the controlled group became worse.

The experimental group had 71 per cent with normal eyesight (eyes testing 20/20 or 20/30 on a Snellen Chart), 21 per cent with eyesight slightly impaired (eyes testing 20/40 or 20/50 on a Snellen Chart), and 8 per cent with eyesight seriously impaired (eyes testing 20/70 or 20/100 or 20/200 on a Snellen chart). The controlled group had 59 per cent normal, 27 per cent slightly impaired, and 14 per cent seriously impaired. In both groups, the slightly and seriously impaired sections were advised to consult an oculist. To these were added several from the normal sections who showed evidences of strain.

In the controlled group 199 pupils were recommended to consult an oculist and the neighboring clinics, with their addresses and hours of service, charges, etc., called to their attention. Three went, one was an institution pupil, two were incipient Boy Scouts. The majority, 196 pupils did not do anything about their eye condition. As a result, in June, we find 57 per cent with normal eyesight, 28 per cent with slightly impaired eyesight, and 15 per cent with seriously impaired eyesight.

In the experimental group, 141 pupils were recommended to see an oculist. The majority, 108 cases went, and 33 did not. Of these 108 cases, 54 pupils got glasses or got their glasses changed, 43 were told that glasses were not necessary but that treatment and hygienic measures were needed, 6 went but could not afford glasses. As a result, we find the experimental group in June having 82 per cent with normal eyesight (tested with glasses), 10 per cent slightly impaired, and 8 per cent seriously impaired. Some of these seriously impaired cases were under constant care and could never be any better; for instance, one girl had one glass eye and because of an accident the remaining eye was very weak. Another girl had to go to the oculist once a month and had been doing so since childhood.

Survey of Ear Condition

In the controlled group there was only one case of poor hearing and that child had a front seat.

In the experimental group there were three cases. One was a chronic ear infection which was under constant medical care. The other two could not be helped much except to give them front seats.

Survey of Foot Condition

In the experimental group, in October, there were 13 per cent of the children with foot defects, mostly weak arch conditions. One had an enlarged bunion caused by short shoes, and one had a stiff leg and knee. At the beginning only 2 per cent of the weak arch children wore special shoes. In June, every case of weak arches had special shoes with high-laced tops. A very definite attitude had been created concerning the deleterious effects of constantly wearing sneakers. When the children were examined in May, not one child wore sneakers.

In the controlled group, only 5 per cent of the children had weak arches at the beginning of the experiment and none of these had special shoes. At the end of the experiment, 7 per cent had weak arches and none had special shoes. On the day examined, 38 per cent of the controlled group wore sneakers.

In neither of the three cases does this statement represent the technique or the full results of the survey. We have presented three types of data to show the kinds of results in which the sociologist is interested as a result of the educational process.

IV. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THREE SCHOOL POPULATIONS[15]

VERNER MARTIN SIMS

The relative differences among the homes possessed by various social groups has long been a favorite subject for speculation, but definite and reliable information has awaited the appearance of a group instrument that would give an objective and quantitative measure of home conditions. The Sims score card for socio-economic status claims to be such an instrument. This score card, a group measure suitable for use in grades IV to XII, consists of a series of twenty-three questions relative to the cultural, social, and economic conditions of the home from

[15] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 2, October, 1928, pp. 83–91.

which the testee comes. These questions were selected from a total list of 56 such questions on the basis of:

1. The ability of the child to furnish the information.
2. The internal consistency as a part of the total series, measured by:
   a. Relatively high correlation with the total of all other questions.
   b. Relatively low degree of association with the other question.
3. The reliability as measured by the per cent of like answers given by paired siblings from the same home.
4. The per cent of the population studied that possessed the item called for in the question.

The directions for giving, the phraseology of the questions, the method of answering, supplementary questions, and the system of scoring have, through experimentation, been so worked out as to make the entire procedure objective and to reduce errors and misrepresentations to a minimum.

In another place[16] the writer has presented the socio-economic status of a selected group of occupations. The purpose of the present paper is to report in detail the results obtained from the giving of the score card to three school populations, these populations more or less representing three different communities: city, town, and country. The groups tested were: (1) 638 sixth, seventh, and eighth grade children in the city of New Haven, Connecticut; (2) 180 fifth, sixth, and seventh grade children in the town of Ruston, Louisiana; and (3) 227 fifth, sixth, and seventh grade children in the consolidated rural schools of Lincoln Parish, in Louisiana.

New Haven, a city of approximately 175,000 population, is probably slightly superior to the average industrial city because of the presence within its limits of one of the larger universities. The 638 cases were selected from the city's school population as follows: The superintendent was asked to select five schools, three of these drawing its pupils from homes which he considered representative of the average homes in the city, one drawing pupils from the very poor homes, and one drawing from the better homes of the city. In each of these five schools, one section or classroom from the sixth grade, one from the seventh, and one from the eighth were tested, each section or classroom having been recommended by the principal as representative of its particular grade. Thus the records of fifteen sections or classrooms scattered throughout the city were secured.

[16] See footnote 17, p. 692.

Ruston, Louisiana, a town of approximately 5,000 population, is, in the opinion of the writer, rather above the average Southern town. Within its limits is located one of the State colleges of Louisiana, and because of its nearness to oil and lumber resources there are found among its residents an abnormally large number of wealthy people. The town has two elementary schools for white children. The 180 cases here mentioned included all of the fifth, sixth, and seventh grade children in one of these schools and all of the fifth and seventh grade pupils in the second school that were present on the particular days that the schools were visited. In Louisiana but seven years of elementary education are maintained; consequently, here, as in New Haven, the group represents the last three years of the elementary school.

The rural school group of 227 cases constituted the entire fifth, sixth, and seventh grade population of three or four consolidated schools that are located in the parish and the fifth and sixth grade population of the fourth one. Lincoln Parish is the parish in which Ruston is located and to a certain extent is subject to the same selective conditions as the town; but in addition the group tested made up but about two thirds of the entire parish population for these three grades, the remaining one third being found in small one- and two-room schools. This rural group, then, is perhaps of a higher level than the average school community.

The economic or cultural facts called for in the several questions contained in the score card, followed by the abbreviated form which will be used to designate the question, are as follows:

Condition Called for in Question	Abbreviation
1. Presence of a telephone in the home	Telephone
2. Presence of a furnace in the home	Furnace
3. Presence of a bathroom in the home	Bath
4. Possession of a bank account in own name	Bank Acc't.
5. Father having attended college	Father College
6. Mother having attended college	Mother College
7. Father having attended high school	Father High School
8. Mother having attended high school	Mother High School
9. Mother attends lectures	Mother Lectures
10. Own room for study	Own Room
11. Private lessons in music taken	Music Lessons
12. Private lessons in dancing taken	Dancing Lessons
13. Mother belongs to clubs	Mother Clubs
14. Membership in clubs that require dues	Clubs
15. Family attends concerts	Concerts
16. Vacations spent away from home	Vacations Away

Condition Called for in Question	Abbreviation
17. Having regular dental work done	Regular Dental Work
18. Presence of servants in the home	Servants
19. Possession by the family of an automobile	Auto
20. Magazines subscribed to by the family	Magazines
21. Books possessed in the home	Books
22. Ratio of the persons per room	Room Person
23. Occupation of the father	Father's Occupation

Table I presents the percentage of each of the three populations answering each of these questions and the percentage possessing the item or condition called for in each question; part 1 presenting those questions that are dichotomous, that is, simply possessed or not possessed, part 2 presenting those where the amount of possession is a variable. The ratio of the persons to a room is secured by dividing the number of rooms the family occupies by the number of persons in the family. On the basis of the information furnished concerning the occupation of the father, the occupation is classified in one of the following groups:

Group I. Professional men, proprietors of large businesses, and high executives; also bankers, brokers, inspectors (government and railroad, but not shop inspectors).

Group II. Commercial service, clerical service, large landowners, managerial service of a lower order than in Group I, and business proprietors employing from five to ten men.

TABLE I

Part 1

	City		Town		Country	
	No. Ans.	*% Poss.*	*No. Ans.*	*% Poss.*	*No. Ans.*	*% Poss.*
1. Telephone	638	42	180	63	227	32
2. Furnace	638	48	180	01	227	02
3. Bath	635	80	180	57	227	20
4. Bank Account	632	52	180	33	227	20
5. Father College	638	11	180	25	227	18
6. Mother College	638	05	180	30	226	16
7. Father High School	638	29	180	72	225	55
8. Mother High School	638	28	180	73	224	56
9. Mother Lectures	638	18	180	33	223	21
10. Own room	638	43	180	54	227	48
11. Music Lessons	638	30	180	13	227	06
12. Dancing Lessons	638	07	180	01	227	004
13. Mother Clubs	630	35	180	38	225	22
14. Clubs	626	43	180	31	227	06
15. Concerts	630	49	180	79	227	90
16. Vacations Away	631	50	180	67	227	45
17. Regular Dental Work	624	25	180	26	227	09

PART 2

	No. Ans.	% Possessing				
		One or More All the Time	*One Part-Time*		*None*	
18. Servants						
City	631	.09	.08		.83	
Town	180	.10	.33		.57	
Country	227	.06	.15		.79	
		Two or More	*One*		*None*	
19. Auto						
City	637	07	.33		.60	
Town	180	.13	.58		.29	
Country	227	.06	.51		.43	
		Three or More	*Two*	*One*	*None*	
20. Magazines						
City	629	38	24	15	.23	
Town	180	48	19	.19	14	
Country	226	22	18	.27	.33	
		501 or More	*500–126*	*125–26*	*26–0*	
21. Books						
City	614	05	16	27	52	
Town	180	.06	.15	35	44	
Country	227	.02	.08	.27	63	
		2 01 Plus	*2.00–1.51*	*1.50–1 01*	*1 00–.51*	*50–0*
22. Room Persons						
City	634	05	13	20	53	09
Town	178	06	05	.24	58	07
Country	222	03	03	20	67	07
		Group I	*Group II*	*Group III*	*Group IV*	*Group V*
23. Father's Occupation						
City	604	12	14	27	.28	20
Town	177	.05	18	.43	.25	.09
Country	225	04	.07	.49	29	11

Group III. Artisan proprietors, petty officials, printing trades employees, skilled laborers with some managerial responsibility, shop owners, farmers and business proprietors employing one to five men.

Group IV. Skilled laborers (with exception of printers), who work for some one else, building trades, transportation

trades, manufacturing trades involving skilled labor, personal service. Small shop owners and farmers doing their own work.

Group V. Unskilled laborers, common laborers, helpers, "hands," peddlers, varied employment, vendors, tenants, unemployed (unless it represents the leisured class or retired).

Examination of Table I indicates that the town group surpassed the other two groups in percentage possessing on questions 1 (telephone), 5, 6, 7, 8 (parents' education), 9 (mother lectures), 10 (own room), 13 (mother clubs), and 16 (vacations away). The city group surpassed the other groups on questions 2 (furnace), 3 (bath), 4 (bank account), 11 (music lessons), 12 (dancing lessons) and 14 (clubs). The country group surpassed the other groups on question 15 (concert); while in the case of question 17 (dental work) the city and town group rank about the same, both surpassing the country group. In part 2 it is not so easy to decide upon the groups that surpass, but it seems that the town group surpassed the other groups on questions 18 (servants), 19 (auto), 20 (magazines), and 21 (books); while on questions 22 (room persons) and 23 (father's occupation) the town and city scored about alike, definitely surpassing the country on question 22 and perhaps being superior to this group on question 23. This last question is doubtful, however, because of the fact that occupational group III, which includes small farmers, was extremely large in the country population. In the case of group I, which includes professional men and large business men, the city surpassed the other population; but the town made up this difference on groups II and III.

The disadvantage and danger involved in using isolated items as measures of home conditions are readily seen from the material here presented. Depending upon the item used, any one of these three groups might be pronounced superior to the others. The existing differences among the homes from which these pupils come can best be shown by combining these questions into a total and comparing these totals. Elsewhere[17] the writer has described how each question in the score card is given a weighting depending upon its value as a part of the total, and how these weights are totaled and averaged to secure a measure of the socio-economic status. The possible score of an individual may range from 36 to 0.

[17] "Measurement of Socio-economic Status," Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Ill., 1928.

Table II presents the average score, the standard deviation, and the sigma of unreliability of the average of the three distributions under consideration. It will be seen that the town averaged highest, the city second, and the country lowest; but, what is even more interesting, the range of the city group was greatest, that of the town second, and the country group came last with a very narrow range. That is, in this city there is found a wide range, many extremely high ranking homes and many extremely low ranking homes; in the town this range is not so great; while in the country the range is very narrow and at the lower end of the distribution table.

That these differences are true differences so far as the groups here used are concerned is shown by the following facts. The

TABLE II

THE AVERAGE SCORE AND STANDARD DEVIATION OF EACH GROUP

	Average	*S. D.*	*% of Unreliability of Average*
City	13 56	7 02	.26
Town	16 84	6 08	.45
Country	11 16	4 48	.29

difference between the town and city averages is 2.28, while the sigma of unreliability of this difference[18] is .52; that is, the difference is more than four times the sigma of unreliability and is a true difference. The difference of 5.68 between the town and country averages is approximately eleven times its sigma of unreliability which is .53; and the difference of 2.40 between the city and country averages is more than six times the sigma of unreliability of this difference which is .39. We may conclude then that there is but slight chance of averages determined from similar groups ever overlapping.

The interpretation of these results is a delicate task. If we can assume a fair sampling from the New Haven school system, three possible explanations are presented: (1) the questions used, neither singly nor as a whole, have like significance in the three communities; (2) the schools, with a different degree of rigidness, selecting their enrollment from the total homes of the respective communities; (3) there are actual differences in the socio-economic status of the homes found in the different communities.

[18] Thorndike, E. L., "An Introduction to the Theory of Mental and Social Measurements," Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1916.

Taken singly some of the questions obviously do not have like significance in the three communities. For example, the possession of a furnace is by far a greater luxury in the southern communities than in the northern city; while, on the other hand, servants would probably be found in the homes of the South more frequently than in those of the North because of the cheapness of labor; or, the possession of a bathroom is much less expensive, and thus more within the reach of the economically poorer homes in the city and town than within the reach of those in the rural community; while concerts in the form of community productions of an amateur nature are much more frequently attended by the members of a rural community than by members of the urban community. Many of the questions, however, would seem to be indications of superior home conditions, whether possessed by the rural, town, or city community. Such questions as "Education of Parents," "Books," "Magazines," "Occupation of the Father," "Automobile," "Telephone," and others are surely significant whenever possessed. Consideration of the questions will convince one that most of the questions are indications of home background whenever possessed, and, more than this, that those that do not have like significance will tend to counterbalance each other in such manner that the total is a significant index. The advantage of the score card is just this fact that the inequalities will neutralize each other so that a high score on the score card indicates favorable home conditions wherever possessed and a low score indicates unfavorable home environment whether found in an urban or a rural community.

There certainly is little doubt as to the influence of the second possibility. There is no evidence that the same forces are causing elimination in the three communities or that these forces, whatever they may be, are of equal strength; and common sense would indicate to the contrary. The attractions of the school, the enforcement of the attendance laws, and the industrial nature of the city population favor the retention of a greater proportion of the school population throughout the elementary school; while the increased age of the city group, they being on the average one year older, and the large proportion of foreigners would tend to make the elimination greater in this group. Elsewhere[19] the writer has shown that in the smaller communities

[19] "The Selected Nature of a Particular School Population," *School Review*, May, 1928.

each succeeding grade after the fifth grade is more intelligent and comes from better homes than the preceding grade. In all probability this selection is more rigid in the rural community. In addition, the Negro population, which compares with the slum district of the city group, is not included in the town or rural group.

In the opinion of the writer the city schools most nearly represent the general population of the community in which they are located with the town schools ranking second and the country schools last. To what extent this is true one cannot say, but if it be true a fair sampling from these three communities would vary from the groups we have used as follows: (1) the difference between the city and town group would be less pronounced; (2) the difference between the town and country would be more pronounced; and (3) the difference between the city and country would also be more pronounced.

After taking into consideration the effects of this difference in the selected nature of the three school populations, are there actual differences in the socio-economic status of the communities? For the rural community as compared with both the town and city, the answer is obviously "Yes." The facts and suppositions presented above point toward even more radical differences than those shown. When we consider the town as compared with the city, the question cannot be answered. After accounting for differences in the selected nature of the respective school populations, we do not know whether the average of the city would still be below that of the town or whether it would become equal to or greater than that of the town. The writer is inclined to believe that if we exclude the Negro population there will still be found a slight difference in favor of the town. The existence within the city of very superior advantages for a small group of people and the very noticeable absence in the town of some of the luxuries of the city have a tendency to cause one to forget average conditions. The range of home conditions has been shown to be greater in the city than in the town, but it is well to note that this range is downward as well as upward, some city homes being much superior while others are much inferior to those found in the town. In comparing the two communities there is a tendency to overlook the fact that it is the possession of very superior home conditions by a small minority that gives the city its seeming advantage. The aver-

age home in a small town is little different from the average home in the city, but the chances of one's fitting in near this average are greater in the small town.

V. A MEASUREMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COLLEGE TEACHING[20]

A. O. Bowden

The Problem

What is meant by teaching? Many have held that the effectiveness of a teacher's work is measured by the amount of change brought about in the one taught. This change, of course, is internal, consisting of changed attitudes, changed beliefs. Those changes bring about a modification of the individual's activities.

This thinking, these attitudes, these beliefs are not formed in a vacuum. If accurate data is not at hand the mind creates them and proceeds to furnish material to formulate these beliefs. One's mind is never a vacuum. One's ignorance of a field of knowledge or of a subject does not prevent one from thinking nor does the mind remain empty. Rather it is filled up with preconceived notions, prejudices, and biases. Usually the more ignorant one is the surer he is that he knows what he is talking about. One's mental universe must be consistent to himself. This is the basis of mythmaking and the growth of legend. Myths are more illusory than legends and based often on imagining and daydreaming, while legends are based upon facts half or partially remembered. In legends the gaps or half remembered facts in one's mind are filled in and the continuous process of thinking goes on. It should be the purpose of all content courses, therefore, to see that sufficient facts are furnished the mind to enable it to reach correct pictures of situations and events or, rather, prevent it from filling in imaginary data which mislead reasoning. It is one of the problems of the school to fill in and orient students in the various fields.

Instruction is not a pouring in process, a filling up of the mind merely, but rather a process of substituting scientific data for preconceived and half-formed notions.

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[20] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 10, June, 1931, pp. 634–641.

The Method

In order to determine the amount of change wrought in older, mature college students, the writer set up the following techniques as an attempt to measure the amount of change that could be effected in the thinking and attitudes of a class of students in an advanced course in anthropology during the spring quarter of 1930 in New Mexico State Teachers College and in the summer quarter in San Diego State Teachers College in a course in social psychology. The classes in both institutions were composed of both men and women who had had several years teaching experience.

The list of statements and questions given below was mimeographed and a copy was given to each student to fill out at the first meeting of the class before anything was said about the outline or subject matter of the course. Nothing was said as to the purpose of the questions. No comments were made.

During the course no special attempt was made to bring the questions and statements up for discussion nor to place them boldly in relief except to marshal all the facts available relating to the ideas involved in the statements. The material covered in the course in anthropology is roughly represented in Kroeber's "Anthropology" and in consistent and well-selected readings which were assigned. The course was conducted by a combination of methods consisting of lectures, class discussions, quizzes, and papers required from time to time of the students.

The course at San Diego in social psychology covered the materials represented in Kimball Young's "Social Psychology" and an abundance of well-selected collateral readings. The method of instruction in both institutions was as nearly alike as one individual teacher could make it, save only a slight variation in materials.

On first thought, one may wonder why the same questions and statements were presented to the two classes. It will be remembered that social psychology has its foundation in the field of anthropology and much of the prejudice and bias represented by the test materials is touched in the two subjects differing only in points of attack and points of view. For example, in anthropology the topics of race, language, culture and its distribution, heredity, and the like were treated. Religions, sentiments, emotional thinking, biases, and wishful thinking were

discussed. In the course in social psychology the biological basis of human behavior, the psychology of language, personality, culture, prejudices, myths, legends, the psychology of crowds, mobs, audiences, public opinion, and propaganda were examined. For the correction of certain biases, such as race differences, the material in the field of anthropology is better suited than that found in the field of social psychology.

What is your present mental or emotional attitude towards the following questions? We are not concerned whether you can answer correctly each or any question now. We desire to know the present state of mind you have towards each. Answer without reflection. Give the first impression that comes into your mind.

1. Which do you consider the most superior race, taking into account the factors of intelligence, character, and morals?
2. Is there a correct universal standard of beauty?
3. Which is the most moral of the races? Name them in order.
4. Do you believe man descended from the monkey?
5. Is civilization a quality of mind or a condition of the quantity of ideals, beliefs, and material usable objects?
6. Does man inherit biologically his own language propensities; *i.e.*, such as an inherited tendency to speak English, German, and the like?
7. From the standpoint of universal culture which is better for mankind today, a high or a low tariff between nations?
8. Was there ever a time when human groups were in a state of nature and free from social restraint?
9. Does the individual child go through the same developmental stages which the race has followed?
10. Do you believe that no one is cultured unless he can read, write, and know literature and the classics?

This same list of questions was given at the last meeting of the class without comment, explanation, or discussion.

The data of the two sets, those given at the beginning of the course and those at the last, were tabulated.

DATA AND RESULTS

TABLE I

New Mexico State Teachers College

Case Number	*Statements Completely Changed*	*Statements Partially Changed*	*Per Cent of Change in the 10 Statements*
1. E. W. B	5	1	60
2. H. C	2	0	20
3. E. H.	7	1	80
4. C. E. H	2	2	40
5. A. W. H	3	2	50
6. E. K	2	1	30
7. C. H. L	5	0	50
8. M. Mc	1	4	50
9. I. R. M	1	2	30
10. L. W. M	2	2	40
11. J. M	4	0	40
12. N. P	5	0	50
13. E. M	5	1	60
14. C. L. R	5	0	50
15. H. M. S	3	0	30
Average	3 5	1 07	45.3

The above table does not give the specific questions on which there was change. It only points out that amount of change each of the fifteen individuals made during the course. The cases below show the specific question and how the individual answered them before and after the course in anthropology. In weighting the value of partial change it was thought best to give it an arbitrary value of one half.

CASE NUMBER 1

Before	*After*
Question Number	Question Number
1. No difference.	1. Each race thinks it is best.
2. No.	2. No.
3. Caucasian.	3. Depends upon mores.
4. Yes.	4. No.
5. Yes.	5. Yes.
6. No.	6. No.
7. High tariff.	7. Neither.
8. Yes.	8. No.
9. No.	9. No.
10. One may be cultured in other lines.	10. False.
Complete change	5 questions and statements
Partial change	1
Per cent change	60

CASE NUMBER 2

Before		*After*
Question Number		Question Number
1. White.		1. We don't know.
2. No.		2. No.
3. White.		3. Probably the English.
4. No, not exactly.		4. No, but it is unknown.
5. Yes.		5. Yes.
6. No.		6. No.
7. High.		7. High.
8. No.		8. No.
9. Yes.		9. Yes.
10. True.		10. False.

Complete change..... 2 questions and statements
Partial change..... 0
Per cent change..... 20

CASE NUMBER 3

Before		*After*
Question Number		Question Number
1. Yellow, White, Brown, Black.		1.
2. No.		2. No.
3.		3. The Chinese may be as far as living up to their morals is concerned
4. No.		4. No.
5. Both.		5. Beliefs and material culture.
6. No.		6. No.
7. Low tariff.		7.
8. I don't think so.		8. Yes.
9. Not identically.		9. Many as an individual.
10.		10. False.

Complete change..... 7 questions and statements
Partial change..... 1
Per cent change..... 80

TABLE II

SAN DIEGO STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Case Number	*Statements Completely Changed*	*Statements Partially Changed*	*Per Cent of Change in the 10 Statements*
1. A. A	7	1	75
2. B. C	4	3	55
3. B. F	4	3	55
4. B. H	5	1	55
5. B. W	3	0	30
6. G. K	6	0	60
7. C. E	5	2	60
8. D. A	5	1	55
9. F. N	3	1	35
10. F. E	2	1	25
11. G. E	2	2	30
12. G. S	3	1	35
13. K. B	7	0	70
14. M. B	5	1	55
15. M. M	3	1	35
16. N. N	6	0	60
17. R. M	4	1	45
18. R. O	7	0	70
19. R. H	2	0	20
20. S. A	7	0	70
21. S. R	1	2	20
22. T. E	4	1	45
23. T. M	6	1	65
24. W. L	3	2	40
25. W. A	3	1	35
Average	4.04	1.04	45 2

CASE NUMBER 1

Before	*After*
Question Number	Question Number
1. Caucasian, Mongolian.	1.
2. No.	2. No.
3. White.	3.
4. Yes.	4. No.
5. Quality of ideals, etc.	5. Quality of ideals, etc.
6. No.	6. No.
7. High.	7.
8. Yes.	8. No.
9. Yes.	9. No.
10. True.	10. False.

Total change..... 7 questions and statements
Partial change..... 1
Per cent change..... 65

CASE NUMBER 5

Before	*After*
Question Number	Question Number
1. White, Yellow, Black.	1. White, Yellow, Black.
2. No.	2. No.
3.	3. White.
4. No.	4. No.
5. Quantity of ideals.	5. Quantity of ideals.
6. No.	6. No.
7. Low.	7. Low.
8. No.	8. No.
9. No.	9. Yes.
10. Wrong.	10. False.
Total change	3 questions and statements
Partial change	0
Per cent change	25

TABLE III

Question Number	*Number of Students Making Complete Change*	*Number of Students Making Partial Change*
1	26	5
2	4	4
3	19	12
4	5	2
5	21	1
6	5	1
7	7	10
8	16	3
9	15	1
10	17	2

Data in this table are obtained by adding all the changes and partial changes in the two classes combined. It shows that the greatest change in attitude was in regard to superiority of races, the meaning of civilization, the nature of man in a primitive state, the recapitulation theory, and the definition of culture.

Although the data given to the two classes were different approaches to the prejudices and biases represented by the ten questions, the total amount of change in the New Mexico group and the California group was strikingly similar.

The writer does not claim that all the prejudices and biases represented by the ten questions are highly important in general, but he feels that these are common and, from a scientific standpoint, without much foundation in fact. The most he claims for this investigation is that it points to a method of measuring the amount of biases and prejudices that may be harmful. It is

possible that in any field of knowledge now taught in our colleges and high schools many erroneous beliefs are held by almost all students. These may be listed, arranged, and presented to any class in most content subjects. It may be that the elimination of such prejudices is one of the most important functions of a teacher. A method similar to this one described in this paper could be worked out and any teacher could in this way have a rough index worked out as to the effectiveness of the methods he uses in his class and the wisdom with which he selects his material of instruction.

Such subjects as physiology, hygiene, geography, history, civics, citizenship, and economics contain material which may be used to eradicate many biases and prejudices almost universally held by students. It is the duty of schools to eliminate as many of the bad kinds of prejudices as possible. Singularly enough nearly all school subjects are avenues through which these may be reached and changed without resorting to preachments and dogmatisms.

All the individuals in these two classes are advanced students, nearly ready to receive degrees. While no I. Q. ratings were available for all of them, they are rather superior in intelligence as measured by their grades in other courses. All except two have been teachers and are preparing for teaching as a life work. It seems rather bad that narrowing prejudices should exist in the minds of those who have charge of instructing the young.

VI. A DECADE OF PROGRESS IN METHODS OF MEASURING CHARACTER[21]

FRANK K. SHUTTLEWORTH

During the year of 1920 and again two years later a committee of the National Education Association canvassed the opinion of those who were interested in tests and measurements as to the possibility of objective measures of character. Replies to the first inquiry showed only a handful of hardy souls daring to be optimistic. Replies to the second inquiry two years later showed that this handful had grown to a large majority. That something happened about that time to center interest on the measurement of character is shown by the record of publications.

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[21] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 4, December, 1930, pp. 233-241.

The bibliographies of May and Hartshorne[22] which catalogue the studies more specifically concerned with measurement show three times as many publications in 1925 as in 1924 and more than six times as many in 1926 as in 1924. Indeed, the studies published in 1926, which May and Hartshorne thought worthy of citation, exceed in number all those cited as appearing prior to 1925. It is fair to say that the past ten years have witnessed not merely extraordinary interest in character measurement but also permanent achievement.

The productivity of these years, at least in terms of quantity, has been enormous. Nearly a thousand articles, monographs, and books concerned more particularly with the measurement of character have been published. If studies employing ratings and observational methods are included, the total productivity probably approaches three thousand titles. An adequate summary and evaluation of available methods for the scientific study of character would require a volume. Here only the general trends and outstanding achievements in the field of measurement will be referred to. Attention will be centered on four of the most widely used and important methods.

The first serious attempts at the study of character employed rating devices. Widely and excessively used prior to 1920, almost completely discredited by 1925, ratings have recently returned to the fold of respectability. The very earliest studies by this method were unusually substantial. Twenty-five years ago, Cattell employed ratings in the selection of leading men of science.[23] The essential elements which gave validity to his data involved the collection of ratings (a) from a large number of competent judges, (b) on a factor which was relatively objective and open to the observation of all. If subsequent investigators had tested their use of ratings by these two points, much of the later criticisms of ratings might have been avoided. The study of Webb[24] published in 1915 will repay reading even at this late date for the care with which his data were collected and for the

[22] May, M. A., and Hartshorne, H., "Personality and Character Tests," *The Psychological Bulletin*, XXIII, (1926), 395–411; XXIV (1927), 418–435; XXV (1928), 422–443; XXVI (1929), 418–444; and XXVII (1930), 485–494.

[23] Cattell, J. McKeen, "A Statistical Study of American Men of Science," D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1915.

[24] Webb, E., "Character and Intelligence," *The British Journal of Psychology*, Monograph Supplement, 1915, I, No. 3, pp. 1–99.

importance and theoretical background of the problem which he attacked. Beginning about 1918, however, caution was thrown to the winds and ratings of anything by anybody in relation to what not were reported. A committee of educators went so far as to propose seriously that character be measured by the individual's unverified estimate of himself. Then followed a series of highly critical studies of which those of Thorndike,[25] Knight,[26] and Rugg[27] were most important. The serious criticisms of ratings centered around the fallacies involved in self-rating, the tendency of the rater to record a general impression, and the unreliability of the data. These articles would have certainly marked the end of rating devices but for the fact that no other method of measurement promised to take their place.

The recent return of ratings to respectability has been due to improvements in ways of collecting such data, to supporting evidence from other measures, and to a clearer recognition of their functions and limitations. The knowledge of halo effects and of impressionistic tendencies led directly to the abandonment of devices which automatically accentuated these difficulties. The rater is no longer asked to underline *superior*, *above average*, *average*, *below average*, and *inferior* for a long list of traits. Instead, he is asked for a systematic record of what he has observed of the subject in a wide variety of defined situations. The unreliability of ratings has been compensated for by obtaining the judgments of many raters on several different forms on two or more occasions. If, in addition, ratings are obtained from several different groups as teachers, classmates, club leaders, and parents, the special prejudices of these groups tend to cancel each other with a resulting gain in validity. The use of ratings for the purpose of lending support to more objective measures in process of development has resulted in a considerable body of evidence supporting the validity of the ratings themselves.

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[25] Thorndike, E. L., "A Constant Error in Psychological Ratings," *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, IV (1920), pp. 25–29.

[26] Knight, F. B., "The Effect of the Acquaintance Factor on Personal Judgments," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIV (1923), pp. 129–142.

Knight, F. B. and Franzen, R. H., "Pitfalls in Rating Schemes," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIII (1922), pp. 204–213.

[27] Rugg, H. O., "Is the Rating of Human Character Practicable?" *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XII (1921), 425–438; XII (1921), 485–501; XIII (1922), 30–42; XIII (1922), 81–93.

The Character Education Inquiry,[28] for example, reports a correlation of .70 between a combination of teacher and pupil ratings and a pooling of a battery of objective tests. This agreement compares favorably with the agreement between two measures of reading ability or of school achievement. Finally, there has been a realization of the nature and place of ratings in a whole scheme of measuring character. It should be said emphatically that no one record, whether of conduct or of moral knowledge or of ratings, covers all of character and nothing but character. The usefulness of any kind of record depends rather on its capacity to measure some important aspect of character. Hartshorne and May[29] have demonstrated that under certain conditions ratings are as valid as measures of conduct. Moreover, ratings are especially well adapted to the measurement of reputation and of the social stimulus value or personality of the subject. The rescue of ratings from oblivion has been an important accomplishment.

One of the features of efforts to measure character during the last ten years has been the continued faith that important aspects might be amenable to pencil and paper tests. If ratings are excluded, a count of published studies shows more attention given to this approach than to all others combined. It is time to ask what this vast effort has accomplished in the way of relatively solid and permanent testing procedures. One milestone achieved, about which there can be no doubt, is the measurement of moral knowledge. The earliest studies began to appear in 1922 and were followed by a regular deluge during the next four years. The appearance of the substantial tests devised by the Character Education Inquiry in 1926[30] practically marked the end of the widespread interest in making tests for this specialized area of the field. Further refinements by the Inquiry of these measures of moral knowledge and their relation to other measures of

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[28] Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in the Organization of Character," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930.

[29] Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in Service and Self-Control," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929.

Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in the Organization of Character," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930.

[30] Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Testing the Knowledge of Right and Wrong." The Religious Education Association, Chicago, Monograph No. 1, 1927.

character have been reported this year.[31] A second specialized center of sustained effort and progress has been in the measurement of occupational preferences. Here the work of Strong[32] and Cowdery[33] promises to be of permanent worth in the field of vocational guidance. The series of studies by Thurstone[34] are directed to what is probably the next most important and difficult of testing problems—the equality of the units of measurement. Also worthy of commendation for priority of publication or relative finish of achievement are studies of Hart[35] and Watson[36] on attitudes, of Ream[37] and Manry[38] inferring interest from information of Mathews[39] on emotional stability, and of Otis[40] on suggestibility. Beyond these references, it is difficult to point to things accomplished. Since much of the author's own work has been a part of this effort to adapt pencil and paper testing to the measurement of character, he will be pardoned for the judgment that the net result has been small. His belief that important aspects of character will yield to this approach has not been diminished, but the evidence to support it is so far not available. Many factors have contributed to this result. A striking feature of the literature is the endless fertility of ingenious

[31] Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in the Organization of Character," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930.

[32] Strong, E. K., "An Interest Test for Personnel Managers," *The Journal of Personnel Research*, V (1926), pp. 194–203. (An early and representative study.)

[33] Cowdery, K. M., "Measurement of Professional Attitudes," *The Journal of Personnel Research*, V (1926), pp. 131–141. (An early and representative study.)

[34] Thurstone, L. L., "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (1928), pp. 529–554. (An early and representative study.)

[35] Hart, H., "Progress Report on Tests of Social Attitudes and Interests." University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1923, II, 4.

[36] Watson, G. B., "The Measurement of Fairmindedness," Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, Contributions to Education, No. 176, 1925.

[37] Ream, M. J., "A Social Relations Test," *The Journal of Educational Psychology*, XIII (1922), pp. 7–16.

[38] Manry, J. C., "World Citizenship," University of Iowa Studies in Character, 1927, I, No. 1.

[39] Mathews, E. A., "Study of Emotional Stability in Children," *The Journal of Delinquency*, III (1923), pp. 1–40.

[40] Otis, M. A., "A Study of Suggestibility in Children," Archives of Psychology, No. 70, 1924.

suggestions which no one, not even their sponsors, has followed up. There has been an undue preoccupation with measuring attitudes towards this or opinions about that as if the deed could be accomplished forthwith. While a score of methods of measuring attitudes are available, no one has attempted to determine the comparative reliability or validity of any of them. Essentially all of the proposed tests depend in too large a part on either the innocence or sincerity of the subjects to whom they are given. With rare exceptions, no one has determined the extent to which extraneous factors vitiate the responses. Much in extenuation of this situation might be set down, but the author prefers to let the indictment stand.

The measurement of character in terms of conduct seemed from the beginning of the testing movement to be the most important and the most difficult aspect of the problem. The literature here has been for the most part substantial and there has been a distinct tendency for investigators to build on the earlier work of others. Of special merit were the pioneer studies of Voelker[41] and Cady[42] on trustworthiness or deception, the study of Morgan and Hull on persistence,[43] and Marston's study of extraversion-introversion.[44] Yet with these forward steps available, the problem still seemed impossibly difficult. The outstanding achievements appeared in 1928 and 1929 with the publication of "Studies in Deceit" and "Studies in Service and Self-Control" by Hartshorne and May.[45] Their third volume, "Studies in the Organization of Character," reporting the interrelations of these measures of conduct with moral knowledge and reputation, has appeared [this year].[46] Since it is not our

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[41] Voelker, P. F., "The Function of Ideals and Attitudes in Social Education," Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, Contributions to Education, No. 112, 1921.

[42] Cady, V. M., "The Estimation of Juvenile Incorrigibility," *The Journal of Delinquency*, Monograph No. 2, 1923.

[43] Morgan, J. J. B., and Hull, H. L., "The Measurement of Persistence," *The Journal of Applied Psychology*, X (1926), pp. 180–187.

[44] Marston, L. R., "The Emotions of Young Children," University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1925, III, No. 3.

[45] Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in Deceit," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in Service and Self-Control," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929.

[46] Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in the Organization of Character," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1930.

purpose here to describe the detailed techniques involved, much less the findings of any study, only the important contributions of these volumes to the methodology of measuring character will be mentioned. Their first victory consisted in arranging a series of natural and yet controlled situations to which the subjects make natural and yet directed responses, the nature of which are automatically recorded. The test situations and responses, accordingly, are very close to the actual living process. In the case of deception, the natural situations are a series of examinations; yet these are so controlled that on one occasion deception is possible while on another it is not. In the case of coöperation the situations are natural but so arranged that work done for the class or for other groups is of a uniform type and automatically recorded. The development of these principles of approach and their realization in actual testing practice should be most important in stimulating extensions into other areas of conduct. The second victory of Hartshorne and May has been in the conscious use of the sampling theory of test construction. Instead of regarding a particular bit of conduct as a definitive test of a wide area of conduct tendencies, each particular bit of deceptive or coöperative conduct is regarded as a sample. This basic assumption leads at once to the testing of as large a sample as possible, to different concepts of reliability and validity, and to a theoretical framework which squares with the facts of the case.

A fourth center of interest of importance for the measurement of character may be labelled controlled observation. It attempts to approach much closer to the living process than do the tests of Hartshorne and May. Instead of creating uniform situations and modes of response according to a predetermined plan, this method selects for intensive observation such situation-response complexes already in process as may be of interest. The situation may or may not be rather well controlled but the center of interest falls on an accurate record of the behavior which is left quite free. For the most part this approach does not give measurement in the true sense but rather classifications and countings of success or failure, of positive or negative response, and the like. In their most recent bibliography May and Hartshorne have noted eleven studies employing this method. A noteworthy example is the work of Marston,[47] who in his study

[47] Marston, L. R., "The Emotions of Young Children," University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, III, No. 3, 1925.

of introversion-extraversion observed the behavior of children in a variety of controlled situations. A study by Thomas,[48] although rather far removed from character measurement, is unique for its translation of such observational data into measures of amount. It is significant that much of the best research on preschool children employs controlled observation since it points to the building of a trained personnel whose interest in the near future will undoubtedly be turned to the study of character. The students of juvenile delinquency are applying this general method to their problems with necessary modifications, since both the situations and the conducts in which they are interested are beyond control. While only rudimentary measurement is involved, no discussion of accomplishments in the measurement of character would be complete without mention of two studies, one by Healy and Bronner[49] and the other by Glueck and Glueck[50] on the after-careers of delinquents. Here the ultimate test of successful or unsuccessful adjustment to society is applied.

In summary, it may be said that the accomplishments of the last four years in methods of measuring character are five in number. First, the rescue of rating devices as useful instruments of measurement with attendant improvements in the methods of collecting such data and a clearer recognition of their function. Second, the measurement of moral knowledge. Third, a large number of ingenious suggestions, most of which need further study, for the application of paper and pencil testing to the measurement of special aspects of character. Fourth, measurement in terms of conduct especially of honesty, service, self-control, and inhibition. Fifth, development and refinement of the method of controlled observation which promises to be important in the future.

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[48] Thomas, D. S., "Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior," Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, Child Development Monograph No. 1, 1929.

[49] Healy, W., and Bronner, A., "Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking," The Macmillan Company, London, 1926.

[50] Glueck, S., and Glueck, E. T., "Five Hundred Criminal Careers," Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1930, p. 365.

VII. MEASURING THE EFFECT OF MOTION PICTURES ON THE INTELLECTUAL CONTENT OF CHILDREN[50]

GEORGE D. STODDARD

This brief report is devoted to a description of the purposes and methods utilized by P. W. Holaday,[51] under the direction of the writer, in one part of the broad inquiry into motion-picture influences. The restricted purpose was to ascertain the effect of viewing theatrical films under ordinary conditions on children's information and to analyze their comprehension and retention of material.

The original plan called for two approaches: Type X studies devoted to the measurement and analysis of what children learn from the movies, and Type Y studies which attempted to show the *change* produced by this new (movie-induced) knowledge on the general mass of information possessed by the children.

The simplest way to clarify the difference between these two approaches is to insert here a condensed version of the original scheme of attack:

Type X, Study A: The measurement of factual information gained by children from a particular film.

Aims

To discover:

1. The extent of the children's knowledge of the film.
2. The curve of forgetting with respect to this knowledge.
3. Age-level differences.
4. Mental-level differences.
5. Comparison with adult knowledge of the same film.
6. The type of knowledge most (least) often gained and retained; such as character details, episodes in love scenes, what happened to the "villain," details of setting, customs, names of actors, etc.
7. The accuracy of the knowledge gained and retained.

Method

1. Select stock types of pictures to be used as stimuli; e.g., (a) comedy-drama (love motif predominant); (b) "spook"; (c) wild west; (d) South-Sea romance; (e) slapstick comedy; (f) screen version of a classic; (g) war.

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[50] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 4, December, 1932, pp. 204–209.

[51] Holaday, P. W., "The Effect of Motion Pictures on the Intellectual Content of Children," Doctor's dissertation, University of Iowa, 1930.

2. Four or more stenographers are to take down as elaborately as possible all the factual elements in the picture and these notes are to be checked for accuracy and completeness by the research director and his assistants. Probably two viewings of each picture will be desirable.
3. From these records an objective type of information test is to be built. This is given to all the subjects the morning following the movie (without previous announcement of the test). Test items cover in detail such points as the setting, actions, results, scenes, etc., but only from the standpoint of simple content.
4. The test is repeated without warning one week and one month later.
5. All tests are scored and analyzed in accordance with the statements under "aims" above. Types of knowledge are not segregated in the test, but they are in its analysis.
6. The same subjects should be tested on several types of pictures, but with sufficient intervals between "significant" pictures to prevent any preparatory measures on their part.

Materials

1. Objective tests (to be devised): (a) Each test must fall within the reading range of the subjects.
2. Intelligence test and school records of the children.

Subjects

1. A group of at least fifty children at each age level in each age research unit. (Given the same picture and the same test, units from various sections could be combined.)
2. Suggested age levels: (a) age 8 (7½ to 8½); (b) age 12 (11½ to 12½); (c) age 16 (15½ to 16½).
3. A group of fifty adults: teachers, graduate students, parents.

Type X, Study B: The measurement of the comprehension and interpretation of a film on the part of children.

Aims

To discover:

1. The extent of the children's comprehension of the film.
2. Temporal changes in this comprehension.
3. Children's interpretation of various actions and ideas; (a) extent and kind.
4. Age-level differences.
5. Mental-level differences.
6. *Types* of interpretation: (a) similar to adults; (b) fantastic; (c) close to intent of the film (if discoverable).

Method

Same as in Study A, but test must be of a different type, and great care must be taken to secure essential agreement among adults as to what the correct (or at least common) comprehensions and interpretations are.

Type Y, Studies A and B: The measurement of changes produced in children's knowledge (including comprehension and interpretation) by films.

Aims

To discover:

1. The extent of revision of factual information in the light of the film.
2. Duration of this revision.
3. Age-level differences.
4. Mental-level differences.
5. Types of knowledge changes; e. g., in new concepts of foreigners, Hollywood, countries, customs, etc.

Method

1. A detailed analysis in advance of a film to record all possibilities for new knowledge to be gained from it.
2. A test devised related to the chief points and given to children in advance of attendance at the film. The test is not on the film content, but on the information which is likely to be affected by this known film content.
3. Attendance at the film.
4. Retest to discover changes produced: (a) next morning; (b) one week and one month later.
5. By "change" is meant: (a) new knowledge; (b) increased accuracy (or inaccuracy) in old knowledge; (c) lapse of old knowledge.
6. Illustrative types of knowledge: (a) vocabulary; (b) historical events and persons; (c) film industry and personnel; (d) ways people live; (e) geographical; (f) knowledge of validity of screen events.

In the actual prosecution of the research, certain modifications proved to be necessary. For example, it proved infeasible to test the children the day after the show and again one month later with a view to measuring the retention *from the original showing of the films.* The testing the day after tended to impress the children unduly, with the result that further tests were rendered somewhat invalid. Hence groups were matched on school grade, intelligence, and reading ability. This necessitated rather large samplings of children. In the total Iowa sampling nine hundred observers assisted in one or more of sixteen tests. Extension of the work to Ohio towns in 1930–1931 added substantially to the population, which may be said to represent adequately the large and small towns of these two States. It may be inferred that the sampling is adequate for unselected American-born, white, city school children.

It was found also that, for technical reasons, the true-false type of test does not lend itself well to a study of retention. Perhaps the most unexpected revision of all lay in the necessity

for extending the testing up to seven months later in order to carry out the curve of forgetting to points of significant drops. For certain pictures it was evident that no fixed duration of time could be counted upon to erase all mental effects. Finally, the talkies suddenly displaced the silent movies after considerable work had been done and complicated the problem of picture analysis. However, the changes necessitated in this connection may be ascribed to "an act of God."

The machinery of transforming the paper plan of research to a working system within the customary frame-work of school child and motion-picture exhibitors is not to be viewed lightly. The researcher was compelled to gain access to the films in advance of public showing in a community; to appease the theater owners; to finance children's expenditures; to secure parent and teacher coöperation; to bar automatically intergroup discussion of pictures; to gear up personnel in such a way as to extract, in one showing of a film, all the essential points of setting, plot, characters, costumes, incidents, and conversations.

Pictures were viewed in cities earlier in the booking routine or were "previewed" by special arrangement. Theater owners were cheered by the sale of strings of tickets (which were later dispensed by the researcher). In many cases admission for the children was secured for five cents. A good rapport was established with parents and teachers in the name of scientific inquiry, although few parents had any objection to movie-going. After a night showing children were examined in school early the following morning, before interchange of ideas would be likely to take place. In the matter of film analysis, the plan gradually evolved from the taking down of everything by expert stenographers to an allocation of subject-matter tasks to experienced observers. These observers often saw the picture two or three times before the notes were assembled.

Questions formulated on the basis of these data were late reviewed by the director of the project. The usual methods o determining reliability were employed and all tests were revise in the light of preliminary findings. Multiple response an completion tests were finally adopted.

Multiple response, specific item (Type X)

The actress who played the part of Betty was (1) Dolores Costell (2) Ruth Chatterton, (3) Evelyn Brent, (4) Greta Garbo, (5) Myrna Lo

Completion, specific item (Type X)

The money to start the tearoom was furnished by ————.

Multiple response, general item (Type Y)

In England, army officers are usually (1) gentlemen who joined because they needed money; (2) soldiers who were promoted for bravery; (3) soldiers promoted for having been in the army a long time; (4) gentlemen who joined because they liked the life; (5) gentlemen who were forced by the government to join the army.

Multiple-response items were answered by underlining one of the statements; completion items, by writing in the missing word or phrase.

The median reliabilities of the Iowa tests as finally administered varied from .67 to .92. They may be considered satisfactory for short tests designed for group comparisons. Attempts to secure valid and reliable essays or reports from the school children proved fruitless. It was shown that laconic "compositions" often concealed an immense amount of actual information which could be elicited by objective testing methods.

In contrast to reliability, there are no "usual" techniques for establishing the validity of a test; that is to say, the extent to which a test really measures what it purports to measure. There were not even precedents in motion-picture material, but the following devices were employed to make test performance mirror the underlying state of affairs:

1. Films were checked in such a way as to ensure a spread of questions over the entire picture.
2. At least three people observed each picture and contributed to the notes.
3. Observers read novels from which the movies had been adapted, together with appropriate works in history and geography. In special fields, university experts were consulted. (These precautions apply to the formulation of "general" or Type Y questions; *i. e.*, content which may conceivably be affected by what is seen in the movies.)
4. The place of the correct answer in multiple response questions was fixed to give a random distribution. "Trick" items were avoided.
5. Items were placed in ten categories on the basis of three judges, as follows: emotional (except fighting, mystery, romance), humorous, mysterious, revue, crime, fighting, romance, drinking, general conversation, general action. Test time in each category was closely related to the corresponding film time.

A consideration of the findings is not in order here. Suffice it to say that the specific knowledge of children and adults is greatly increased by motion pictures and that their general

information is significantly affected by what is seen in the pictures. Retention is high over the period of seven months covered in this project.

VIII. MEASURING THE INFLUENCE OF MOTION-PICTURE ATTENDANCE ON CONDUCT AND ATTITUDES[52]

FRANK K. SHUTTLEWORTH

Out of one hundred children in the junior high schools of large urban centers approximately twenty-seven attend the movies two or more times a week. Seven go three or more times and two go four or more times a week. What are the movies doing to the conduct and attitudes of these children?

When this question was originally raised by the Motion Picture Research Council, the experimentalists at once proposed the following procedure: First, select two large groups of children alike in as many respects as possible, one to act as a control and the other as an experimental group. Second, measure both groups by some objective test of conduct or attitude. Third, subject the experimental group to a motion picture which contains promise of influencing the measured conduct or attitude. Fourth, remeasure both groups and see if the scores of the experimental group have changed more than could be accounted for by chance. The studies by Thurstone of the influence of specific movies on specific attitudes constitute an excellent example of the precision of this approach. Given adequate tests and care in handling the actual execution of the experiments, it is obvious that the results are clear and unambiguous: exposure to specific movies either does or does not change specific attitudes.

It was equally obvious, however, that such an approach would fall short of meeting the real issue. The complaint against the movies is not that specific films influence specific conducts and attitudes, but rather that the general run of movies has a generally unfavorable influence. To test the influence of the general run or of a random sample of movies is something very different from testing the influence of a specific movie which has been selected primarily because it promised to exert a certain influence. Fur-

[52] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 4, December, 1932, pp. 216–219.

ther, to measure generally unfavorable or favorable influences would require an enormous range of tests in a field where adequate tests are few and far between. The study conducted by Professor Mark May and the writer was an attempt, in part, to solve these difficulties.

Our procedure involved three steps. First, the selection of groups of children who go to movies frequently and groups who go infrequently. Second, the equating of these selected groups for as many other factors as possible. Third, the comparison of the selected frequent and infrequent movie attenders on a wide variety of tests of conduct and attitude. All told 516 frequent and 543 infrequent movie-goers were selected for study from among nearly 6,000 children in grades five to nine. These selections were based on the children's own report of their movie habits. The reliability of these reports is at least .60 and possibly .70. Throughout, the two groups were equated for sex, age, school grade, intelligence, and socio-economic educational home backgrounds. The first comparisons between movie- and non-movie-goers employed the conduct, reputation, moral knowledge, and attitude test-data collected by the Character Education Inquiry.[53] Here 102 frequent and 101 infrequent movie attenders selected from among nearly one thousand children were studied intensively. Specially constructed attitude tests were given to 106 movie- and 102 nonmovie-goers and a revision of these tests was given to 308 movie- and 340 nonmovie-goers under conditions which led the children to believe that their responses were anonymous. The revised attitude tests contained 343 test elements which were designed to measure the influence of seventy-one carefully defined attitudes. The test elements consisted of true-false statements, multiple-choice questions, and a wide variety of other devices for eliciting attitudes. The evidence is that children's responses to such questions are to a substantial degree their own independent answers. The analysis of the attitude tests was in terms of the individual test elements. While the reliability of a single test question is not high, averaging only .34, several questions were directed towards each attitude, large numbers of children were involved, and the contrasts between the movie and nonmovie children are extreme.

[53] Hartshorne, H., and May, M. A., "Studies in Deceit," 1928; "Studies in Service and Self-Control," 1929; and "Studies in the Organization of Character," 1930; The Macmillan Company, New York.

These procedures yield about a hundred reliable or nearly reliable differences between frequent and infrequent movie attenders which may be grouped into thirty-seven tendencies. With few exceptions the frequent movie-goers make a poorer showing on the conduct tests and display less desirable attitudes than do the nonmovie-goers. The nature of the differences, however, makes it very doubtful whether they can be attributed with any assurance to the influence of the movies. Only four of the thirty-seven tendencies can be traced directly to the movies, while twenty-four may be attributed in part to selective factors. For example, the movie children tend to affirm while the non-movie children tend to deny the following statements: Most policemen torture and mistreat those suspected of crime; few criminals escape their just punishment; most Spaniards are impractical, romantic, and love makers; few Russians are kind and generous. Examples of differences which are probably due in part to selective factors are the following: Movie children receive poorer deportment and scholastic marks and are less interested in school; they are less coöperative, less emotionally stable, less honest in school situations while equally honest out of school; they are more interested in cheap reading, in dances, in a thrill, and in fine clothes; they appear to lack inner resources for keeping themselves busy and entertained. Such children would naturally gravitate to the movies. On the other hand, children who are interested in their school work, who are practical and serious minded, and who are busy with other activities simply do not care about the movies. We fully anticipated that such selective factors would be involved. The point of these examples, however, is that diligent search for differences which could be attributed to the movies was meagerly rewarded, while a systematic study of the data of the Character Education Inquiry in which we hardly expected to find differences has revealed many which appear to be due to selection. Instead of measuring the influence of the movies, our results serve almost as well to define the characteristics of children who are attracted by the movies. Probably excessive movie attendance serves to stimulate and aggravate these characteristics, but whether this factor or the factor of selection is more important cannot be determined.

Chapter XV

Sociological Research and Education

I. RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY[1]

E. George Payne

Educational sociology had its beginnings like psychology, educational psychology and some other subjects, in philosophical discussions. It is only within recent years and following the scientific development of sociology that educational sociology has attempted to free itself from the philosophical bias and to develop a body of scientific data upon which to base principles and conclusions. Our purpose in this article is to present as adequate a picture as possible of the research completed and under way in the field of educational sociology. It will be out of these researches that a body of facts will come, if at all, for intelligent educational reconstruction.

We shall discuss: first, the character of research completed and under way; second, the trends that this research is taking, and third, the fields in which research is needed. The consideration of these aspects of the problem will require an examination of the major investigations completed, the important studies under way, and the techniques used in the investigations so far projected.[2]

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[1] *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. XXV, Nos. 4–5, April, May, 1932, pp. 239–252.

[2] The method of gathering the data of this study was first by means of a letter addressed to members of the American Association of Educational Sociologists asking for facts on the following topics:

Title of research
Person by whom research is carried on
Institutional connection
Statement of the problem
Discussion of method or techniques used
Summary of findings
Further research projects under way

(*Footnote continued on page 720.*)

The types of research completed and under way may be roughly divided into two classes: first, factors in the social life affecting educational procedure, and second, factors within the school organization itself which have a sociological bearing and significance. Under the first category there are several types of studies which require consideration and these may be grouped under three heads as follows:

Group I

A. Studies in social backgrounds.
B. Studies in various aspects of public health, in their sociological and educational significance.
C. Studies of social institutions and forms of anti-social behavior in their relation to the problem of education.

The second type of studies includes researches into:

Group II

A. The maladjustment of gifted children.
B. Problems of school administration and supervision.
C. Problems of educational institutions.
D. Problems of the curriculum.
E. Problems of method.

Group I-A

Perhaps the most important groups of studies in educational sociology are those being carried on by Professor Thrasher[3] of New York University in social backgrounds. A variety of separate projects connected with these studies are being undertaken such as special studies of:

Fundamental research needed in the field of educational sociology
Remarks

The second method was by studying researches published and the third was by studying unpublished researches not reported by those to whom the letter was addressed, that is, the unpublished studies were examined so far as they were available.

[3] Professor Frederic M. Thrasher, New York University, is directing a number of projects, now in progress, in connection with The Boys' Club Study which is being financed by the Bureau of Social Hygiene, New York City.

1. Truancy.
2. Delinquency.
3. Religious education.
4. Commercialized recreation.
5. The public library.
6. Social settlements.
7. Social backgrounds of the Italian school child.
8. Educative influence in a social block.
9. Social cost accounting.
10. Organization of the local community, etc.

Professor Thrasher says of his researches:

One of the major difficulties in such studies is the fact that human behavior results from a great variety of factors which together must be responsible for the behavior and problems of the child. It is necessary, therefore, to investigate not merely the influence of a given institution but in connection with such investigation to study all of the other social forces in the child's community and social world which may determine his behavior, and this is an exceedingly difficult if not well nigh impossible procedure. Here, then, is a very important field for scientific research.

The variety of factors which condition and determine the conduct and character of children is indicated by a sociological study being carried on in connection with the investigation of the effects of a large boys' club in New York City. The methods of the study will be presented briefly here to indicate the necessity of dealing with a variety of divergent factors in order to understand the processes of character education and to measure character building agencies and institutions in the life of the child.

The study in question has been set up in order to determine the effects of a large boy's club upon its members and, incidentally, upon the community itself. The club, which is housed in a $759,000 plant, equipped with gymnasium, swimming pool, game rooms, individual meeting rooms, cafeteria and other facilities, provides for 6,000 boys. It is located in what may be called an interstitial community. The assumption is that a boys' club prevents such problem behavior as truancy and delinquency, and this particular club was placed in this section because these problems were found to be acute there.

In such a study it is necessary to use the comparative method. In the first place, the types of boys and their backgrounds, who are being influenced by the club, must be discovered, in order to determine whether the club is reaching the type of boy whose conduct needs most to be improved. Secondly, it is necessary to compare club boys with non-club boys to see if the same types of boys in the club become less problems, after participating in club activities, than those outside. In the third place, the boys who join the club must be compared with themselves before and after they join to determine whether or not, other things being equal, their conduct improves with participation in club activities.

The scientific methods employed in this study may be summarized under three headings: (1) The ecological method, which is a study of the distribu-

tion of various types of boys and the characteristics of their social backgrounds in the area of study.

(2) The statistical method, which counts various types of boys and the characteristics which they display, in order to discover indexes and correlations and to indicate causal factors.

(3) The case study method, which attempts to investigate the whole boy in his total situation as a person, in order to determine all the factors which play upon him and to give a basis for an analysis of his conduct in terms of the causes involved.

The importance of the study of the total situation within which the boys and the club function is emphasized in order to understand the varied influences which affect the boy, in addition to the influence of the boys' club itself. The study is primarily an investigation of the whole boy in his total situation.

One phase of the ecological approach is the development of maps. The area of total study, which has been determined by the distribution of boys' club members, includes a population of approximately 300,000 people who live in approximately 170 city blocks, or 17 sanitary districts (the sanitary district is the United States population census tract). A large base map is being developed, showing the distribution of various factors influencing boys in the total area of study. This makes it possible to compare changes in truancy and delinquency rates as they are more or less affected by the boys' club's areas of greatest influence.

For the purpose of establishing more definite control groups and the possibility of a more intensive study of the social backgrounds of boys' club members and non-club boys, an area of intensive study has been established, including three sanitary districts of ten blocks each, making thirty city blocks, with an approximate population of 60,000 people or 10,000 families. The attempt is being made to account for every boy in the district of intensive study, in order to see what is happening to boys who are not in the boys' club, as well as to those who are. In this way, control groups are established among boys coming from the same social background who are members and non-members of the club.

Another method of the study is the analysis of the social block which is a sort of sociological X-ray. The social block is made up of one block, including the two opposite sides of the same street, since the interaction takes place back and forth across the street rather than across the back yard. Each block is studied as a separate unit for later comparison with other blocks. The distribution of the various types of boys is indicated on large block maps to reveal ecological correlations. For example, boys' club members, truants, non-members, delinquents, high school boys, employed boys and so on are spotted by individual tenements. In the same way, the distribution of characteristics of the boys' families are also plotted by tenement to establish indexes of morale, economic class, social level, social efficiency and so on, for families of club boys, as compared with non-club boys. For example, such factors as nationality, telephones in the home, registered voters, citizenship, agency contacts, occupations, mobility, housing, rentals paid, and so on are brought together for each family and tenement.

The study is really an investigation of the anatomy of society studied histologically. The blocks are thoroughly analyzed, both statistically and

ecologically yet the statistical and ecological methods are in themselves inadequate and incomplete. They must be supplemented by case studies and intimate documents bearing upon the life of persons, groups and institutions within the block, or which touch the lives of people dwelling within the given local area.

Case studies of 60 boys from various parts of the area with different types of problems have been completed. Some of these boys are boys' club members and others are non-members. The methods used in these case studies are those that have been developed in behavior clinics and include the medical and physical approach, the psychometric and psychiatric examination, and the sociological investigation. The basic method here is the comparison of problem boys, both members and non-members of the club, in the same social environment, by carefully building up complete records of their behaviors and their backgrounds and analyzing the whole boy in his total situation to see what differences are introduced by participation in the boys' club activities.

A new method developed in the Boys' Club Study is the use of superior boys in research. The superior boys are being studied in the same way as the problem boys, using all the methods of the standard case study and building up a complete record in order to analyze the factors in the superior boys' success, particularly those which are contributed by the boys' club itself. The superior boys have been selected on the basis of sociological criteria rather than psychological, namely, the success of the boy in his social group.

The superior boys are used in observing their own community and in describing their social worlds and the local groups, institutions, and customs with which they come into contact. This has been deemed to be a superior method because it gets at the boy's own interpretations of the life and value in his own social environment rather than that imposed by an outsider who goes in as a research investigator.

It is hoped to determine, by the use of these methods, the sort of influence exerted by such an agency as a boys' club in preventing problem behavior and in functioning as a character building institution. The methods of investigation, however, are more widely applicable than to a boys' club and can be used in studying the influence of other institutions and groups. Such studies as this may be regarded as indispensable in developing and understanding the problems of education.

In connection with the Boys' Club Study, several community studies are under way which will indicate the interrelationships of the various educational organizations and processes in given areas. One of these studies is concerned with adult education, another with social conflicts arising with reference to school community relations and so on.

A special committee of the National Probation Association has been organized under the chairmanship of Dean Justin Miller of the Law School of Duke University to study the relations between the school and the juvenile court.

Group I-B

The second type of study under the first category is that relating to public health, carried out either by, or under the direction of, the writer. The most important of these were studies made in school communities of Public Schools No. 106 and No. 157, Manhattan and were designed to determine community practices relating to health, and the extent to which community practices might be modified by school instruction. The first of these studies involved the social measurement of a school program.[4] A second group of studies relates to health backgrounds. One of these researches presents an analytical and statistical examination of mortality in twenty-one sanitary districts in negro Harlem and the educational problems involved.[5] These studies illustrate the type of investigation with which we are concerned.

Group I-C

Under this group may be listed several studies of significance. First is a study by Thrasher to determine the effects of motion pictures upon delinquency.[6] The methods used are descriptive, ecological, statistical, and case studies with particular emphasis upon the controlled interview.

Peters[7] has under way a study to determine the relation of the movies to the mores. This is a quantitative study of the amount and direction of divergence of activities portrayed in commercial motion pictures from approved standards of morality in respect to the four elements of the moral code. An elaborate set of scales has been built up for quantitatively measuring the mores on the one hand and the content of motion pictures on the other hand and for expressing in quantitative terms the amount

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[4] Payne and Gebhart, "Method and Measurement of Health Education," Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, New York, 1926.

[5] Nathan, Winfred B., "A Study of Health Conditions, in Harlem, New York, Based on a Full Five Years Mortality Record, With Implications for Health Education," Doctor's dissertation, New York University, 1930.

[6] Thrasher, Frederic M., "The Effect of Motion Pictures Upon Delinquency." Now in progress. Further information may be obtained from Professor Thrasher, New York University.

[7] A study in progress under the direction of Professor C. C. Peters, Pennsylvania State College.

of divergence between them. Approvals have been measured in some fifteen type-groups, and about 250 motion pictures have been rated. This is the first time that quantitative methods have been applied to the measurement of the mores.

Bowden[8] has completed a study in method not unlike the one undertaken by Peters. He has constructed and administered a test for magic in the common population of the United States, contacting the parents of sixth grade pupils in thirteen states. The study is largely statistical.

Group II-A

Of the studies centering around the school may be included a group of researches under the direction of Zorbaugh[9] on the maladjustment of gifted children. Clinical methods are used in which the sociologist, the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the physician and the case worker come together to determine the nature and causes of the maladjustment of the children under examination, and to place each person in a social situation for purposes of effecting adjustment.[10] Careful records are kept of each step in the procedure with the expectation that ultimately a body of scientific data pertinent to child guidance and data of supreme importance in the development of educational sociology will be available. Simple case studies have been made of maladjusted children by Peters[11] and Reavis.[12]

Fairchild[13] investigated conduct habits of Boy Scouts in a study authorized and supported by the National Council of Boy Scouts of America. He selected ten communities at random, scattered over the country, and attempted first, a statistical study on the basis of juvenile court records to determine the relative frequency of delinquency among scouts and non-scouts,

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[8] Bowden, A. O., State Teachers College, Silver City, New Mexico. Study completed in 1931. Unpublished.

[9] Zorbaugh, Harvey W., New York University. Unpublished.

[10] Watson, Maud E., "Emotional Factors in the Lives of Parents Which Affect the Behavior of Children," Doctor's dissertation, New York University, 1930. This has now been published by F. F. Crofts and Company, New York, 1932.

[11] Unpublished materials. C. C. Peters, Pennsylvania State College.

[12] Reavis, W. C., "Pupil Adjustment," D. C. Heath and Company, New York, 1926, p. 348.

[13] Fairchild, H. P., "Conduct Habits of Boy Scouts," Boy Scouts of America, New York, 1931, p. 81.

and second, a personal study of 100 boys in each community, divided into four groups of 25 to each group as follows: (a.) scouts with a delinquency record; (b.) non-scouts with a delinquency record; (c.) scouts without a delinquency record; and (d.) non-scouts without a delinquency record.

The purpose of the study is to furnish data to the scout organization itself which will serve as a basis for either the reinforcement of present methods and policies or the adoption of promising modifications.

Thomas[14] has conducted an extensive research study on "techniques for the study of child behavior." She places the emphasis upon the need of techniques for recording behavior objectively and the method is to split up behavior into certain elements which can be recorded reliably and objectively and which can be related to the whole. This technique requires the tracing of the progress of the given child over a given period of time, indicating contacts with things and persons. Records are in terms of gross activity and time spent on various types of activities, social and material. The method of recording the behavior responses, including conversation, is through the use of a stenographer concealed behind a screen. The value of Dr. Thomas's work lies in its contribution to an objective technique for the study of social behavior.

Group II-B

In the field of administration and supervision there are occasional studies, the most noteworthy of which is that made by Counts[15] in Chicago. Counts made a careful study of the social forces in Chicago which affect the operation of the schools. He points out not only the difficulties but the failures of school administration in that city because of inadequate attention to these social forces operating in the social process. The method used in this study was the historical, that is, consultation of documents, and the interview. The material was treated analytically and descriptively.

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[14] Thomas, Dorothy S., "Some New Techniques for Studying Social Behavior," Bureau of Publications of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1929, p. 213.

[15] Counts, George S., "Schools and Society in Chicago," Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, 1928.

Group II-C

Researches into the growth and change of educational institutions are not numerous but one investigation of this type, undertaken by Chapin,[16] is worthy of presentation. It is concerned with cycles of growth in a university with reference to differences of structure (tensions, imbalances, trends, etc.) at different periods of the growth cycle. Some suggestion of the techniques to be used are outlined in the author's study[17] where political institutions are analyzed.

Group II-D

Perhaps the most widespread interest in research is in the curriculum including extra-curricular activities. Chapin is doing some outstanding work in this field. The details of two of his researches follow: I,[18] *Statement of problem:* to survey the facts of student extra-curricular activity in a state university. Methods and techniques used were those of collecting the facts by schedule, questionnaire and interview as well as by consulting records of student organizations. *Summary of findings:* Extra-curricular activities at the University of Minnesota. Extra-curricular campus organizations active in 1925 numbered 300, while 233 others had "died" in the period 1887–1925. Students participating numbered 4,637. Upper classmen were more active than under classmen, and women were more active than men. About 33 per cent participated in religious activities, with increasing proportion from freshmen to senior years. Slightly more than one-third earned money while in school. One-third of the students did not participate in activities at all, while 40 per cent participated in two or more activities. Period of greatest activity was senior year. Honor students participated in more activities than other students. Extensive and intensive participation were positively correlated. Students in five or more activities showed higher academic achievement than those

[16] Chapin, F. Stuart, *School and Society*, XXIII, February, 1926, pp. 212–216.

[17] Chapin, F. Stuart, "Cultural Change," Century Company, New York, 1928.

[18] Chapin, F. Stuart, and Mehus, O. M., "Extra-Curricular Activities at the University of Minnesota," University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1929.

in two or three, and the latter were higher than non-participants. Students in intellectual activities, achieved better than those in social or athletic activities. There seemed to be a carryover from student to community activities in later life, both as regards type and number. Majority of alumni (63.6 per cent) considered extra-curricular activities to have equal or greater value than classroom work requiring the same amount of time. II, *Summary of findings:*[19] Extra-curricular activities of college students, a study in college leadership. A study of data pertaining to 250 young women, members of the senior class of Smith College. The study included: (1) extra-curricular activities, (2) academic grades, and (3) the physical condition of each student. Each student was given a certain number of points for each of these items, and correlations were made between them. The correlation between (1) and (2) was plus .402, between (1) and (3) plus .160, and between (2) and (3) plus .209. It was thus found that the more active students are the better scholastic students. It was also found that the persons who were active in many things were more intensely active in several things than persons with fewer activities.

Loftus[20] carried out under the direction of the writer, studies in the field of the curriculum. Assuming the validity of the major objectives of health, accident and fire prevention, worthy home membership, vocational insight and guidance, citizenship, thrift, desirable use of leisure time, ethical character, and command of the fundamental processes as representing fields of experience in which every normal individual is constantly called upon to participate, the experiment attempted to find out whether such a curriculum is feasible in a typical large overcrowded elementary school in New York City.

The steps in the experiment were:

A. A survey of the needs, interests, and educational assets of the children and the community.
B. The adoption of a number of specific objectives under each of the major objectives to meet the conditions revealed in the survey.

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[19] See *School and Society*, February, 1926, pp. 212–216.

[20] Loftus, John J., formerly Principal of P.S. 80, Brooklyn, now District Superintendent of Schools, New York City. For further information see the thesis of Dr. Loftus, written at New York University.

C. A survey and evaluation of all the classroom activities set up to attain these specific objectives.
D. A similar survey of the larger school activities under each of the specific objectives.
E. A tabulation and ranking of all the devices reported in the plan books of 63 teachers to attain these objectives.
F. Evidence to show the democratic coöperation of the teachers, the children, and the community in building the projects curriculum together with suggestions for extending the curriculum to cover a larger field. Among the interesting features is a community definition of citizenship involving the school objectives and worked out by the local chamber of commerce. Another is a character report constructed by teachers and pupils in which pupils set their own goals, indicate progress, and are rated by the parents as well as by teachers. It is interesting to note that the correlation between teachers' and pupils' judgments of conduct is .78.

The numerous changes in behavior in the pupils and the community seem to justify the conclusion that a project curriculum is feasible in the public elementary schools.

A study of considerable importance made by Douglass[21] deals with the factors conditioning high-school students. The hypothesis upon which the investigation proceeded is as follows: The work the child does in school is conditioned by factors outside of the school. The school cannot function properly unless these factors are known as to type, extent, and their influence upon the work the child does in school. Two hundred and seventy-nine pupils from grades seven to twelve, inclusive, drawn from a zigzag area which conforms very closely to the banking area and the commercial area of the community were included in the study which extended over a period of five months.

I. Findings were determined by
   1. Group-study schedules of (a) the child, (b) the father, and (c) the mother.
   2. Leisure-time questionnaire of (a) the child as to (1) waking hours, (2) hours under the influence of the school, (3) how he spends his time outside school

[21] Douglass, Harvey, "Factors Conditioning High School Students," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 8, April, 1929, pp. 492–495.

hours each day of the week, and (4) how the child spends Saturdays and Sundays.
3. Schedules on physical environmental conditions in the home.
4. Questionnaires on how the vacation was spent.

II. Sources of information
1. Schedules.
2. Questionnaires.
3. Visits.
4. Interviews.

III. Checks upon the material collected
1. Signatures of parents or guardian.
2. Visits and interviews with the child and the parent in school, at home, upon the street, and at times when they were not aware that a check was being made.

IV. Tabulation of data
1. Comparison with marks received in school as shown by:
a. Record of school marks.
b. Data collected.
2. Material for the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades was tabulated separately from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades.

Group II-E

In the field of method comparatively little has been done, but Stalcup[22] has carried out some research which is highly suggestive of future possibilities. He has completed a study of conflict, coöperation, and leadership in their relationship to the sociological bases of methods of teaching. The problem as stated consisted of two parts: first, the historical, being a study of the sociological literature on the nature, types, and significance of conflict, coöperation, and leadership; second, which represented the field work in the study, was on the nature, types and social significance of conflict, coöperation, and leadership in the school by the use of a diary in the hands of a "participating observer" to discover the extent to which conflict, coöperation, and leader-

[22] Stalcup, Benjamin F., "A Study of Conflict, Coöperation and Leadership in Their Relationship to the Sociological Bases of Method and Teaching." Doctor's dissertation, New York University, 1927.

ship existed and were made use of by the school in the teaching process.

In this study the data of the field work were obtained by the use of a diary in the hands of a "participating observer." The "participating observer," a member of the group, makes observations and keeps the record. This method of gathering data has been little used.

The discussion of the problem of needed research in the field of educational sociology is exceedingly difficult because of the mass of material to be condensed into so limited a space. As a matter of fact the mere enumeration of topics would require more space than we have at our disposal. We have just begun research into social backgrounds for purposes of making an educational procedure more intelligent and this work should be continued on a larger and more extended scale. Also, studies in administration, supervision, curriculum, school organization and measurement demand the attention of sociologists. Much work has been done in these various fields but their social aspects have scarcely been touched. Perhaps a listing of some specific fields which need research will have to suffice. Some of these are:

1. The relation of education to the problem of community health.
2. The relation of standardized curricula, school activities and method instruction to variations in local communities.
3. The education of cultural and racial minorities.
4. The school use of community resources.
5. The use by the community of school resources.
6. The control of education by social forces in the community.
7. The use of leisure time in relation to the school.
8. The relation of the school to crime prevention.
9. The sociological significance of various curricular changes in the recent past.
10. The sociological determination of curricular requirements by special studies of community needs.

The purpose in this presentation of researches in educational sociology has been to indicate the high spots in research by giving concrete examples of different types of research completed or in process. No effort has been made either to indicate all researches undertaken or to describe, completely, those presented.

It is clearly evident that a group of educational sociologists are working earnestly to make of their chosen field a science and, through their research, to gather data and make their methods objective. What is not evident from the data here presented, but is important, is the trend of educational sociology in the past few years that has indicated an increased tendency toward objectivity, toward refinement of method in accordance with scientific techniques and towards a definition of problems in terms of the measurement of the results of educational processes for social efficiency. In general, there has been a decline in the uncritical use of old-fashioned questionnaires and in the choice of subjects of research projects involved in the use of purely secondary sources. The tendency has been, moreover, away from opinion towards fact, and there has been a definite move to discard naïve methods in favor of controlled and validified techniques, and, furthermore, away from the bookish type of study toward the more vital topics involved in education.

The trend has been in the direction of regarding educational sociology as belonging to the field of sociology rather than to education, and to use the better techniques of the sociologist in educational research. The research, also, fortunately, has not been limited strictly to the field of school education, but has more and more extended to the sphere of nonschool educational agencies and the influence of social backgrounds in the development of personality, always, of course, with the thought in mind of the relation of these agencies and backgrounds to the school and its problems.

A survey of the researches in educational sociology in the past decade promises a marked development in the future and a contribution to education of the most significant kind.

II. THE STUDY OF THE TOTAL SITUATION[23]

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

A study of the total situation in relation to the child and the school is an important part of any program of research proposed for educational sociology. No basic understanding of either child or school is possible in a great city like New York, for

[23] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 8, April, 1928, pp. 477–490.

example, without a thorough investigation of neighborhoods, local communities, larger communities, boroughs, and metropolitan districts as wholes. The school and its problems represent simply one phase of the life of society, which is composed of a complex of interdependent and interacting persons, groups, and institutions—mutually influencing, conditioning, and determining one another. No one phase can be explained without reference to the whole (past as well as present), any more than any organ of the human body can have significance without its being studied with reference to the whole organism. No pathological factor in a situation, moreover, can be understood without reference to the normal, and, on the other hand, the mechanisms of normal functioning are illumined by a study of the pathological. The child, like the school, is also a function of all his groups and each of these in turn finds its meaning in its larger relationships.

The Community Case Study

The department of educational sociology of New York University plans to develop a research program for the study of the total situation with reference to the social backgrounds of the school child and the school. It is proposed to use the metropolitan district of New York City as a laboratory for such studies and to concentrate upon the local community as the unit for special investigation of social backgrounds. By developing the community case study, it is anticipated that light will be thrown upon all those complex and contradictory social processes and patterns that constitute the conditioning factors of the child and the school, and that in this way a contribution may be made to the solution of school problems and the development of more effective educational procedures.

Such a study will be committed to no special method or technique.[24] All the methods employed in social science—such as case studies, surveys, map studies, and statistics—will be used to build up ultimately as complete a picture of the development, structure, and present functioning of each community as desir-

[24] For an account of a forthcoming study of the various sociological techniques, see *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 8, April, 1928, p. 517. See also *Proceedings of American Sociological Society*, sections on methods of social research, and Payne, E. George, "Principles of Educational Sociology: An Outline," New York University Press, New York, 1928, Chs. v, vi, and xvii.

able. In carrying out these methods it is expected to use such techniques as: the perusal of previous studies along this line and other literature dealing with the subject; the consultation of private and official records, documents, and statistics; the taking of a census; the preparation of block and neighborhood studies; interviewing; the procuring of life-history documents; and the study of persons through clinics. In this way it will be possible to show the interrelations of persons, groups, and institutions in the total community situation and to depict the relations of the community to other areas and to the larger social organization.

It is eventually contemplated to make periodic re-studies of these local communities so that ultimately a *series* of pictures may be obtained to indicate the nature of the growth and decline of communities and the changes taking place in the various areas. Such studies will throw light upon the basic factors of social change in the urban community and will reveal the ways in which school problems are affected by such change.

The comparison of the various communities with one another with respect to points of likeness and difference will be one of the most fruitful outcomes of such a study. These comparisons will indicate how the same factor varies in different situations and will suggest clues for the development of monographic studies of special problems with reference to larger territories. Ultimately, also, the mosaic of community studies will illumine the processes occurring in Greater New York and in the metropolitan district as a whole.

Such a study may be formulated for the local community in certain general divisions:[25]

I. The ecological approach—distribution
II. The natural history of the community—development
III. Groups and institutions—organization
IV. Interacting personalities—leadership
V. Interaction and mobility—processes
VI. Problems of the community—applications

This paper will treat the first three divisions.

I. *The Ecological Approach—Distribution*

Human ecology is the study of society in its distributive aspects. The botanist concerns himself in part with plant

[25] Not presented as exhaustive.

ecology. In his field studies he marks off certain natural areas which are characterized by typical plant forms. Each plant species in a forest, meadow, marsh, or stream occupies its niche by virtue of its accommodations to all the other species. Areas of characterization in nature are marked by boundaries, more or less definite, and there are also interstitial areas and zones of transition. The student of human ecology likewise investigates the natural areas of the human community which come to be differentiated in the course of its development by processes (among others) of competition and segregation somewhat analagous to similar processes in the plant community.[26]

It is proposed to make an ecological study of the local communities of Greater New York and the metropolitan district for the purpose of describing the social backgrounds of the school child and the school. In suggesting this procedure the department of educational sociology of New York University recognizes a considerable task which may well spread itself over a series of years and which will certainly require the united wisdom and effort of a large number of interested persons, groups, and institutions both public and private.[27] Beginnings must be made, however, and plans for the future development of such research must be suggested, even though the task at the outset may seem large or formidable.

The immediate plan of the department is to make an experimental study of the Lower West Side of Manhattan with particular reference to the Greenwich Village area. The purpose of this study is to work out methods which may be tested with reference to their availability for further research. The reasons for the

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[26] For illuminating discussions of human ecology, the following sources are suggested: McKenzie, R. D., "The Scope of Human Ecology," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, X (1926), pp. 316–23; Park, R. E., Burgess, E. W., *et al.*, "The City" and Burgess, E. W., editor, "The Urban Community."

For various types of ecological studies already completed see MacKenzie, R. D., "The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in Columbus, Ohio"; Anderson, Nels, "The Hobo"; Reckless, Walter C., "Natural History of Vice Areas in Chicago," (manuscript); Wirth, Louis, "The Ghetto" (manuscript); Thrasher, Frederic M., "The Gang," and Zorbaugh, Harvey W., "The Near North Side" (Chicago); "A Study in Cultural Disorganization" (to be published).

[27] The importance of coöperation and the integration of research was indicated in the department of Research Projects and Methods in Educational Sociology in *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, February, 1928, pp. 353–360.

choice of this area are practical; viz., the availability of the area to the New York University School of Education, whose faculty and students will participate in the project; the interest and coöperation in such an enterprise already manifested by local persons and agencies; and finally the requests and plans of various social agencies for actual studies in the district.

The problem of defining the local community in the city has never been fully stated and no sure criteria have been established for determining where one local community leaves off and another begins. Several methods of defining a community may be tentatively suggested:

(1) The presence of natural or technic barriers such as bodies of water, ravines, heights, railroad yards, industrial properties, traffic streets, elevated tracks, etc., which may indicate boundaries.

(2) The dominance of a particular type of race, nationality, social class, or culture group, such as an immigrant colony (area of first or second settlement), a Black Belt, a slum, a restricted residential area, a vice district, a rooming-house section, an artists' colony, etc., may determine the limits of a community.

(3) The presence and reach of community organizations, such as civic or service clubs, neighborhood associations, business men's organizations, etc., may indicate the extent of community solidarity.

(4) The presence or evidence of common enterprises which may indicate the limits of the reach of community spirit or morale.

(5) The extent of awareness on the part of residents that they live in a certain community and their pride and loyalty to it may indicate the limits of its influence.

The accuracy of a community defined by means of the above criteria may be tested further by studies of rentals, land values, uses of buildings, zoning restrictions, and so on.

The Development of a Base Map

After a local community has once been defined and accepted as a unit for immediate study, the next step is the construction of a map showing the distribution of basic data which may be regarded as important for the further study of the social phenomena which may be discovered in the area.[28] Such a map in

[28] Compare Young, Erle F., "The Social Base Map," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, IX, (January-February, 1925), pp. 202–6. A study of the maps of the community as research resources should be undertaken. Three graduate students are engaged in projects of this sort at New York University; one on the changing map of Long Island; one on historical maps of New York as research resources, and another on current maps of Manhattan

itself, however, will contribute to the student's knowledge of the community. It is an open question as to how much material can be included on a social base map, and the answer will probably depend in part upon the use to which the map is to be put. Here the distinction must be made between maps for display of certain distinct factors and their correlations and maps whose primary value lies in their usefulness for research and reference. Both types of maps need to be developed in the study of the local community; a whole series of display maps will be required to present vividly social data and their correlations, while one or two large-scale maps of the research type may suffice for reference purposes.

The base map should probably include topographic outlines of the land; bodies of water; the street pattern (in detail or in general outline); transportation facilities; parks, cemeteries, playgrounds, and athletic fields; railroad, industrial, and business properties; racial and nationality distribution; and perhaps economic levels. This list may be modified, of course, for specific purposes. The problem is not to put too much on the map so as to obscure the special data which is later to be superimposed and for which the basic material is to form a significant background. For the basic material to accomplish its purpose, which is to make the special data more significant, it will probably be desirable to have it put on more or less as a shadow background, while the special data stands out in some bold color.[29] Another problem is to put the basic data on in such form that it will be readily interpretable.

Certain base maps may possibly omit some of the data suggested above, and upon others it will be found desirable to include in addition some of such factors as important buildings, schools, churches, community centers, types of housing, official zones, population density, rentals and land values, and other institutions.

The Aërial Map

The development of aërial photography has opened up new possibilities for sociological maps. This applies not only to the

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as research resources. A form has been devised for recording this map data. *See* Payne, E. George, "Principles of Educational Sociology: An Outline," New York University Press, New York, 1928, pp. 61–63.

[29] This method was used in constructing the map of Chicago's gang land. *See* Thrasher, Frederic M., "The Gang" (map in back of book).

base map, but to other types of social maps as well. A new map of Manhattan, for example, has been perfected[30] on a scale of 200 feet to the inch, which shows every roof in the Borough and other interesting details which enable the observer to visualize the city as it is. The generally used line maps have certain advantages, of course, in the charting of social data, but there is a certain inaccuracy of detail in the map and a certain lack of sense of reality on the part of the observer which does not characterize the perfected aërial map.

The interpretation of the aërial map presents an interesting problem, aside from any data which may be superimposed upon it. Each photograph is taken from directly overhead, which gives the plan view in accurate proportions. Tenement districts are quickly recognized because tenements in Manhattan have been built for years with 25 to 50 feet frontages and deep on the lot with airways between for light and ventilation. Loft and manufacturing districts may be recognized in contrast with tenement areas because the average loft structure covers the larger part of the ground areas, while airways are not used because of the loft space and the use of forced air and artificial lights. Churches, government buildings, parks, tanks, docks, yards, and so on are easily recognized because of their peculiar configurations from above. Tall building areas may be perceived without difficulty because (since all the photographs were taken at approximately the same time of day) the shadows give a fairly accurate index for building height.

This type of perfected aërial map is very different from the ordinary aërial view of a community: first, because it looks straight down on the landscape and shows everything that a line map shows, but in its true proportions; secondly, because it is a large-scale map (200 feet to the inch), thus making it possible

[30] By the Hamilton Aërial Maps, 101 Park Avenue, New York. The aërial map of Manhattan was produced by a special aërial photographic equipment by two men—one the pilot, the other the photographer—who flew back and forth over the island making a series of overlapping photographs much in the same way as one would mow a lawn. They flew at an altitude of 8,000 feet and took over 500 exposures, all of which were assembled together as one composite mosaic map. This large map, which used 1,000 square feet of special aërial film, was again divided into 31 community maps of Manhattan, each covering a territory of one square mile. Each community map contains 20 separate photographic prints so carefully and accurately joined that it is almost impossible to see the sutures.

to chart a great deal more data than can be put on line maps, very few of which are available at less than 600 feet to the inch; and in the third place because it is a house-number map, making it possible to locate data without looking up house numbers in a special guide.

The more one studies such a map the more interesting it becomes and the more possibilities present themselves for social studies in connection with it. Curious vestigial remains are observable in some sections, reminding one of the useless structures of the human body which indicate one time functioning organs. There is, for example, the remnant of an extinct street indicated within blocks by the oblique position of certain buildings which would be entirely unsuspected by the passerby. Other conformations of structures reveal what were probably old farm lines. Running tracks and handball courts are discernible on the roofs of some of the buildings, while hidden gardens and trees appear often where least expected. New buildings may be discovered by the new types of architecture represented in their construction—such as the offset structures discernible from above. The white gravelled roofs of new apartments are also in evidence.

Work-Sheet Block Charts

The immediate use to which the aërial map will be put in the community study project under consideration will be for the making of block charts. Each block in the area will be cut out and pasted on a work sheet. One investigator will take this as a guide and make a study of that particular block, gathering a variety of information such as height of building, use of building, type of business, ownership of business, nationality of residents, length of residence, rent per room, and so on. This can be definitely related to the block map by numbering each building. These block charts will constitute as a whole a master map from which any type of factor may be derived for the construction of maps for basic material, research, or display. A large number of students and some volunteers will be enlisted in the block-chart project, and it is anticipated that the basic material for the Greenwich Village community study will be available in a comparatively short time.

The Research Map

Further experimentation will be undertaken with the aërial map to test its usefulness both for research and display purposes. The possibility of having it printed in a light gray for a shadow-background base map will be investigated. The superimposition of black and white lines, stippling, cross-hatching, and other effects as well as the use of colors will be considered. It will be used for the construction of a research map, employing the Russell Sage Foundation map symbols,[31] each of which represents some particular type of agency or institution, such as poolroom, gambling den, church, hospital, school, filling station, theater, etc. In setting up this scheme of symbols, careful search was made for precedent in the use of particular symbols, and in preliminary stages the series was submitted widely for criticisms in order to test the appropriateness of the devices selected. The advantages of the symbols are the ease with which they can be affixed to the map (since they are printed on gummed paper), and the graphic representation of the institution indicated, which makes it easy to interpret (for example, a bowling alley is represented by means of a ten pin and a ball).[32]

An indication of how this map is to be constructed may be given by a reference to churches. The average church occupies considerable ground space so that it is possible on a research map to place the symbol indicating the kind of church it is and still have room for data showing the number of parishioners, the date of its organization, and so on. One careful glance at the map will tell a great deal about the institution and will also reveal considerable information as to its social backgrounds. The same procedure will be followed with reference to schools and other agencies. Not only can races and nationalities be indicated by studying and mapping census and other figures with reference to the residences of foreign stocks, but much will be revealed by charting institutions, societies, etc., by race and nationality; while the dates of their organization and changes in their member-

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[31] These symbols are printed in three sizes (½, ⅜, and ¼ inch) and are published by the Publication Department, Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22d Street, New York.

[32] *See* also Schmid, Calvin F., "Notes on Two Multiple-Variable Spot Maps," *Social Forces*, March, 1928, p. 378 ff.

ship statistics will indicate trends in the movement from one community to another of certain elements in the population.

What an Ecological Study Should Include

An indication as to what an ecological study should include may be given in summary form as follows (details omitted):

I. The delimitation of natural areas on the basis of the following tentative list of possible types of characterization:

1. Race, nationality, and religion.[33]
2. Uses of land and buildings; railroad and other commercial properties; industrial, business, residential, governmental, cemeterial, and recreational properties.[34]
3. Types of residential housing: including old and new law tenements, rentals, congestion per room, etc.
4. Density of population: per acre and per square mile.[33]
5. Economic levels: based on study of incomes, rentals, etc.[35]
6. Occupations: such as laborers, factory workers, longshoremen, professional persons, etc.
7. Cultural criteria, such as pathological conditions (vice, crime, etc.), Bohemian manner of life (as in artists' colony), "bright-lights" area (such as theater center), recreational interests, etc.
8. Is this an interstitial area? (spatial).
9. Is this an area in transition? (temporal).
10. What is the spatial plan of organization of a community; e.g., center-peripheral or radial-axis? Gridiron or radiating street plan?

II. Distribution of groups and institutions: such as churches, schools, pool-rooms, clubs, gangs, night clubs, etc.

III. Distribution of the membership or clientèle of various institutions.

IV. Nature and distribution of facilities for communication, including:

1. A study of communication and transportation facilities—numbers, use, distribution, etc.
2. Situation with reference to isolation
   a. Extent of segregation.
   b. Physical isolation.
   c. Technic isolation.
   d. Linguistic isolation.
   e. Cultural isolation.

[33] *See*, for example, Laidlaw, Walter, "The Statistical Sources for Demographic Studies of Greater New York," 1920 (based on U. S. Census figures for 1920).

[34] *See*, for example, "Use District Map," 1927 (zoning maps), published by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, City of New York.

[35] *See*, for example, the market area studies such as those of the New York Telephone Company, New York newspapers, and the "Survey of the New York Market" conducted by the New York University Bureau of Business Research for the Daily Advertisers' Managers Association, 1923.

3. Situation with reference to social contacts
   a. Range and intensity of social contacts.
   b. Nature and types of contacts, for example, of the school child.
4. Extent and variety of social worlds.

The study of the social background of a person, a group, or an institution is significant not only from the standpoint of the personal, group, or institutional elements in the social environment, but also merely from the standpoint of the technic outlay and arrangement of elements such as these which are so vividly indicated on the aërial map. The presence of roofs for the play of children is significant in understanding the life of the boys of Greenwich Village; the absence of roofs for play of children is significant in explaining the activities of the boys of Red Hook.[36] Hide-out places along the docks, ravines, and gullies, railroads, "prairies," canals, etc., are very important in conditioning the recreational life and determining the play problems of children in various American cities. A focus of streets may mean a focus of play activities and furthermore in some cases a focus of demoralization.

Technic factors are important in their effects upon communication and social contact within groups and among groups and communities. Spatial isolation resultant from actual segregation in which purely technic factors often play an important part (as in Red Hook) produces cultural stagnation and vitally influences the solution of many social and school problems. Racial, nationality, and class contacts have their outcomes determined by ecological factors. There are, for example, in Chicago two types of Negro neighborhood: the adjusted, where there is a heterogeneous population of white and black (spatial intermingling), and the unadjusted where solidly black neighborhoods are contiguous to homogeneous white areas.[37] Social, political, and racial frontiers are determined by ecological factors in the community situation, as is indicated in the intramural frontiers, interstitial areas, and zones of transition in almost every American industrial city. In Chicago the fact that the Black Belt Negroes had to pass through Irish territory on their way to work in the stockyards was an important element in the race riots of 1919.

[36] Crime Commission of New York State, "A Study of Delinquency in a District of Kings County by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime" (1927), p. 11.

[37] Chicago Commission on Race Relations, "The Negro in Chicago," p. 108.

All these factors give an added impetus and significance to map studies.

II. *The Natural History of the Community—Development*

The genetic approach to the study of the community needs no defense. It is a cardinal method of science. The processes of growth and differentiation of parts which take place within the community are somewhat analagous in principle to those that occur in the development of an organism[38] or of a plant community.[39] In the human, as in the plant community, each ecological area has a natural history of its own. Investigation reveals the phenomena of invasion and succession and changing life conditions bring changes in ecological arrangement and dominance. The general assumption of science is that changes once understood may be predictable. It is essential, therefore, to study communities genetically and developmentally, investigating their origins and tracing the courses of their development and the differentiation of their areas and structures. By this method the natural histories of communities may be described and compared with one another in the search for general principles of community development. It is obvious that progress along this line will facilitate community organization and city planning.

The first step in the study of the natural history of a community is to survey and examine extant historical sources bearing upon the development of the community in question. The following types of initial sources may be suggested for obtaining this kind of data: public libraries, state and local historical societies, records of local clubs and voluntary associations, public records, files of newspapers, and interviews with old residents. Considerable material of this sort is already available for the study of the natural history of Greenwich Village and the Lower West Side in the New York project.

This type of study should cover in part the following points (details omitted):[40]

I. Changes in geographic setting
   1. Topography (original)—bodies of water, highlands, lowlands
   2. Changes in topography and how accomplished
   3. Changes in other geographic controls, hinterlands

[38] See the work of Prof. C. M. Child of the University of Chicago.
[39] See the work of the plant ecologists.
[40] Not presented as exhaustive.

4. Changes in relations to surrounding communities
5. Changes in natural resources

II. First settlement and early beginnings
1. Reasons for settlement
2. Reasons for growth
3. Source of settlements
4. Early activities—political, industrial, etc.

III. Cycles of change (effects of new factors)
1. Introduction of new industries; occupational changes
2. Transportation changes and their effects
3. Changes in land values, rentals, taxes, etc.
4. Governmental and political changes (e.g., city manager)
5. Expansions in business and industry
6. Racial and nationality invasions, successions, and segregations

IV. Changes in groups and institutions: inception, development, decline, obsolescence, and disappearance of groups and institutions

V. Changes in leadership: persons and types

VI. Population changes: extension, expansion, concentration, decentralization, shifts, migrations, conurbations, etc.

VII. Rate of growth and decline
1. Vital statistics
2. Booms and depressions
3. Points of culmination and climax

III. *Groups and Institutions—Organization*

The first step in the study of groups and institutions in a local community is a survey culminating in a map study which will show the location and distribution of the groups and institutions in relation to the basic ecological factors already being plotted for the community as a whole. A study of the recreational facilities of the Lower West Side of Manhattan is being undertaken, for example, by the Lower West Side Council of Social Agencies in coöperation with the department of educational sociology of New York University. It is proposed to plot all agencies of recreation, noncommercialized (both public and private) and commercialized, on a map of the area. The data for such a map will be obtained from personal observation, from the membership files of the Lower West Side Council, from the Directory of Social Agencies, and from the license records of the City of New York which show the locations and types of commercialized recreation. These will be checked so far as possible by block studies.

A second step in the survey will be to send out to recreational agencies a preliminary questionnaire which has been tentatively drawn up to cover the following points (details omitted):

I. What recreational facilities now exist?
II. Types of recreational activities and programs now employed?
III. What is the character of present clientèle?
IV. To what extent are present facilities adequate?
V. In what ways are your neighborhoods changing?
VI. What are the outstanding needs of your community?

Facts obtained by means of questionnaires will be supplemented by personal interviews and inspection of the records of recreational agencies where feasible. Students will undertake rather elaborate case studies of some recreational institutions[41] by means of personal observation, analysis of records and membership, and interviews with personnel and clients. One of these case studies, for example, which will include an institutional life history, will be made of a coöperating social settlement under the direction of the Welfare Council of the city which is undertaking a study of settlements for the United Neighborhood Houses of New York.

Other institutional case studies will be made of schools and churches. Among the *groups* of which case studies will be procured are those both of the formal and informal types. These will include gangs,[42] clubs, secret societies, neighborhood associations, professional and business men's organizations, etc. The methods will include participation by observers so far as possible, interviews, the obtaining of personal documents and life histories, and the study of records and statistics already available. Traditions, customs, and attitudes of the people of the area will be indicated by the studies of family and other intimate group life which will be undertaken.

A part of the technique of the case studies of groups and institutions will involve the mapping of members or patrons. This was done with very interesting results for some of the dance halls of Chicago by a young sociologist who was at one time a dance-hall "bouncer" and at another a police official. The mapping of the clientèle of schools, churches, settlements, and so on, will indicate a great deal about the social backgrounds of the persons

[41] *See* Payne, E. George, "Principles of Educational Sociology: An Outline," New York University Press, Washington Square, New York, 1928, pp. 54–61, for specimen outlines of schedules for studying an institution.

[42] The methods to be used in this intimate first-hand observational study are indicated in part in an article by the author of this paper on "How to Study the Boys' Gang in the Open" in the January issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* (1928), pp. 244–255.

with whom these institutions deal, the relations of transportation, rents, and prosperity to their problems, and the extent to which they are reaching certain classes or groups. By mapping the membership of a certain church, for example, it may be found that this church, which was organized in 1820 but which has hardly 100 members at the present time, is really an interstate institution, since its members have all moved far beyond the confines of Greenwich Village and for that reason it is practically maintained on a mission basis.

The above discussion has presented some phases of the community case study in each of three general divisions: the ecological approach (distribution); the natural history of the community (development); and the study of groups and institutions (organization). This presentation does not purport to be exhaustive in any sense, but simply suggests tentatively some of the possibilities of background studies which will be explored in the Lower West Side study to be undertaken by the department of educational sociology of New York University in coöperation with a number of persons and other agencies.[42a]

III. CASE STUDIES IN THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY[43]

R. L. Whitley

The influence of institutions may be observed by the manner in which they express themselves in the life organization of their participants—by the way in which the values they represent are reflected in the attitudes and behaviors of their members. This influence can be observed by a careful study of overt behavior which is definitely associated with participation in institutional relationships; or by an inquiry into the participant's scheme of life, his attitudes, his experience as he reacts to it, noting at what points the influence of the institution enters; or by recording his behavior in the institution and elsewhere and determining the extent to which it follows definitions laid down in the institutional pattern.

The institution has a definite policy and a definite scheme of relationships for putting this policy into operation.[44] Its

[42a] The first of these studies now being completed by C. Glenn Swanson.

[43] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 1, September, 1932, pp. 17–30.

[44] For a definition of the institution, *see* Summer, William Graham, "Folkways," Ginn and Company, Boston, 1907.

effectiveness is determined by the extent to which its functionaries and its program are able to impart its patterns of behavior to its participants. To measure its effectiveness other influences which are likely to accomplish the same results must be understood and accounted for. Adequate data upon influences which are likely to contradict institutional definitions must also be available. To determine the influence of a school or of a boys' club upon the behavior of its charges, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of what it hopes to accomplish, of the nature of the charges for whom it is responsible, and of its influence in relation to the other influences which are playing upon its participants. It is also necessary to describe the methods used by school or club in imparting a scheme of life, and to record concretely how these methods function in the social situations involving its participants.

The person[15] brings to the institution a definite equipment, in the way of intelligence, temperament, physical constitution, attitudes, habits, a philosophy of life, which it must recognize, and which will condition the extent to which its influence can be made effective. He also brings a body of experiences which have formulated themselves into ways of behaving and which have already selected from the environment numbers of stimuli to which he is responsive. Moreover, he already has status in a number of groups, in some of which his rôle is satisfying, while in others it may be unpleasant. His behavior in one group, therefore, cannot be understood except in terms of his behavior in a variety of other groups. The extent to which he becomes a real participant in the activities of the institution will be determined by the extent to which he feels impelled to belong there. If the institution touches but lightly his interests and wishes, if it cannot make a direct and personal appeal to him, it is not expected that it will modify his attitudes or behavior to any extent.

The person moves in two kinds of situations: those which are selected for him and those which he selects for himself. The school is representative of the first type; the boys' club ordinarily represents the second. Every boy under a certain age must attend school; boys in areas served by boys' clubs may choose whether or not they will be members of a club, of a gang, or of

[15] The term *person* has a technical meaning; viz., the individual in his social relationship or "the individual plus status."

neither. The success of the school in its task can be determined to some extent by objective achievement tests and by an observation of the behavior of the child in his group life. It expects, among other things, stereotyped forms of behavior; it imparts a definite content in its curriculum. The boys' club, on the other hand, looks for its end products in terms of *attitudes and of behavior*, which may be determined, but which are not so tangible as some of the more obvious results of schooling.

The fundamental relationship in which ideas, knowledge, and attitudes develop is a social situation in which personalities are interacting with each other. In such situations the individual may or may not wish to achieve a satisfactory status, but in any event, attitudes and the behaviors of other people are constantly stimulating him and provoking responses.

His responses in any situation are conditioned by his ability, by his emotional equipment, by his physical constitution, by attitudes and habits already formed, and by wishes already functioning.

The question of the effect of a boys' club on a given boy, then, is bound up with determining what his equipment is; with knowing his previous and present groups and the past and present influences conditioning him; and with a study of his attitudes, his habits, his wishes, and his rôles in his social milieu. What was he when he entered the club situation? What changes have occurred in his behavior since then? Have these changes in behavior been due to the club or to other influences in the community?

The answers to these questions involve a complete study of the whole person in the total range of his experiences in his social world. This purpose the case study attempts to accomplish. The case method is in part descriptive; the person is described as accurately as existing techniques permit by the physician, the psychiatrist, the psychologist; he is described also by those who have known him in his social situations; furthermore, he describes himself and his experiences. Upon the basis of this information he is studied as completely as possible in relation to his social backgrounds. The case study emphasizes the process by which the person has become what he is, and is therefore interested in behavior sequences and trends rather than the mere aggregation of facts about him. Rather than merely stating what his physical constitution or level of intelligence is, for example, this

method attempts to describe how his equipment, physical or mental, has defined him in relation to his fellows, has created a rôle for him, has conditioned his responses in his social groups.

Some of the situations and influences in the community which may contribute to the development of attitudes on the part of the boy are the family, the school, the boys' club, the motion picture, play groups, gangs, members of the opposite sex, newspapers, radios, the church, policemen, older boys, neighborhood gossip and opinion, social workers, burlesques, penny arcades, prostitutes, criminals, pool halls, taxi dance halls, novels, magazines, institutions for delinquents, other nationality and racial groups, courts, probation officers, speakeasies, etc. The problem of determining the extent to which any one of a number of such influences has entered the life of the person demands an approach that studies his total situation rather than any given segment of it. This point of view is fundamental, not only to valid case-study method, but to the science of sociology itself.

Having the above considerations in mind, it was the writer's task to study a group of about 60 problem boys to determine the effects of the program of a boys' club unit upon them.[46] It was felt that studies of such boys who had been club members would reveal how the club actually functioned with reference to the truant, the delinquent, or the otherwise unadjusted boy. All the boys studied intensively lived in the area served by one club unit; they had been defined at one time or another as problems by the school or as delinquents by the courts; for purposes of study access was had to them through educational or correctional institutions. They ranged in age from about twelve to seventeen years. The problems for which they were treated ranged, in seriousness, from disobedience in the classroom to the possession of firearms and to robbery. The studies made of them brought to light other problems as serious as those for which they had originally been dealt with. About one half of them had boys' club experience, and half of them had not.

Information about these boys was secured from the boys themselves, their teachers, their associates, their siblings, their

[46] A number of additional case studies of problem boys and their brothers from a boys' club area—some members, some nonmembers of the club—have been made available through the coöperation of the Crime Commission of New York State.

parents, social workers, public-school records, the records of organizations which had served them or their families,[47] probation officers, etc.

The boys were studied in several types of situations. About fifteen of them were observed in their family groups, several of them over a period of a year or more; they all sat for several interviews in which information was solicited concerning their backgrounds and attitudes; the writer studied two groups of them personally in the boys' club where practically all their juvenile male associates from the block where they lived were organized into the club situation; several of them were subjected to study in behavior clinics; many of them were observed in a variety of school situations such as the classroom, the pupil-teacher situation, play situation, the shop (wood and metal work), the assembly period, the physical-exercise period, the disciplinary situation, and in a variety of informal groupings. A number of them were observed in their play activities on the street, in their gang groups, in the writer's home, in the motion-picture theater, and in a number of groupings in different parts of the city outside their own neighborhoods. The effort was made to observe the boys in as many natural groupings as possible where they were free to initiate their own activities largely unimpeded by the adult world.

Exhaustive studies were made of several boys to determine in detail their personalities and their social situations in order to discover the ways in which the boys' club had influenced them and in which they had reacted to its program. These studies were designed also to determine how other institutional and group definitions were imparted to them.

Each boy was given one, and several boys were given more than one physical examination. Practically all of the boys were given the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Intelligence tests,[48] and more than half of them were given the Stenquist Mechanical Aptitude test.[49] A few of the boys were given psy-

[47] Names of the families of all the boys were cleared through the Social Service Exchange.

[48] *See* Terman, Lewis M., "The Measurement of Intelligence," Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1916.

[49] *See* Stenquist, J. L., "Measurements of Mechanical Ability," Columbia Contribution to Education, New York, 1923; also, "Stenquist Assembling Tests of General Mechanical Ability," Description and Manual of Directions, C. H. Stollting Co., Chicago, 1922.

chiatric interviews by qualified psychiatrists in child guidance clinics and hospitals. The writer used the Woodworth-Matthews Psychoneurotic Inventory[50] as a guide to one phase of the interviews with most of the boys, because it covered a wide range of attitudes which might be highly charged emotionally and, hence, significant in understanding their behavior. It was felt that such an approach would be more satisfactory than an unguided interview in which the writer or a psychiatrist followed his own "hunches."

The interviews with the boys to secure from them information relating to their general experience and attitudes was guided by a schedule which itemized the pertinent backgrounds. More than half of the boys were interviewed concerning their motion-picture experiences. Several boys sat in interviews on more than a dozen different occasions.[51]

The observations of the boys were guided by schedules which the writer prepared.[52] The records of the behavior of the boys observed were written in detail and concretely as soon as possible after the observations were made. The writer was able to record most of what was said in an interview, with a typewriter which he used during the interview period.

The writer experimented with a "controlled-observer" technique in the school situation but found it unfitted to the task at hand. He had several observers reporting simultaneously on the behavior of the same boy, noting the occurrence and recurrence of rigidly defined behavior acts by means of checks on a hand chart. This technique, which was interesting from the standpoint of a methodology, did not yield sufficient information about a boy, however, to make its continuance advisable. Time and resources were lacking to work out norms or to gather a sufficient number of observations on each boy and on the group as a whole to justify statistical tabulation. Furthermore, the boys resented being observed in this manner, and registered such opposition that it was apparent that the observers were recording the responses of the boys to themselves rather than their responses

[50] A discussion of this inventory may be had in Slawson, John, "The Delinquent Boy" (Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, New York, 1926).

[51] For a more detailed discussion of the interview method as used by the writer, *see* his "Interviewing the Problem Boy," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, October and November, 1931.

[52] *See* "The Observation of the Problem Boy," *Ibid.*, February, 1930.

to each other and to the school personnel. Another difficulty of this method was to record acts sufficiently significant for behavior and personality diagnosis.

Every effort was made to make the case studies of the boys comparable with each other. It was not possible to give intelligence tests and to administer the psychoneurotic interviews to all of them, because of the practical difficulties encountered, because boys dropped out of school during the course of the study, and because of the time limitations of the study itself. Sufficient information was secured about each boy, however, to give a definite idea of the extent to which the boys' club had entered into his experiences, to compare his background with that of nonmembers, and to see the boys' club in relation to the other influences to which he was subject.

An effort was made to check the accuracy of the statements given by the boys by comparing their statements with statements of others about them, by comparing statements about an identical experience given by the same boy at different times (internal consistency), and by comparing his statement with records of various institutions. More important than factual accuracy, however, is the fact that the boy's statement of his experiences and attitudes represents his response to his social world. If a boys' club member conceived of himself as a gangster, sex offender, pickpocket, or some other undesirable social type, and recounted experiences in keeping with this rôle, it was at once evident that the boys' club had not altered undesirable attitudes. If, on the other hand, his conception of himself and his reaction to his environment were consistent with approved social definitions and specifically with definitions observed to be imparted as a result of participation in the club, it was clear that he had been influenced desirably.

It has been indicated above that the case study is in part descriptive. Another important characteristic of the method is its analytical approach to its synthesized data. The analysis of the behavior of a given boy with reference to the influence of the boys' club on his behavior has been effected in several ways. Analysis is made by logical inference, by noting related sequences in behavior and the point at which the boys' club influence enters these sequences, by noting the extent to which the boy is a product of other influences, etc. The following formulations of essential organization of data are suggestive of the method employed:

1. A statement as to whether the boy had physical or intellectual limitations which would interfere with the influence of the club by creating a special rôle for him.

2. A statement of emotional conflicts which might militate against the influence of the club: such emotional problems as fear of the boys in the neighborhood where the club was located; decided emotional instability making it impossible for him to associate at all satisfactorily with other boys; a lack of emotional attachments which the club could utilize in developing loyalties to social values; etc.

3. A determination of his interests and wishes and whether they centered in the program of the club or in activities not related to it.

4. A determination of the groups vital to the boy in which he desired status, and the patterns of behavior in evidence in such groups. This involves a knowledge as to whether any group vital to the boy participated in the program of the club or carried on its activities outside the club.

5. A statement of groups to which he had been responsive in the past, and of the patterns of behavior in evidence in such groups.

6. A statement of the habits which he had worked out as a result of his experience, such as habits of regularity, industry, respect for other people's rights, respect for accepted social symbols in his community; habits as evidenced by his conception of the values in question as well as by his behavior towards them. Some boys, for instance, habitually play truant, steal, engage in depredations on property, openly flaunt themselves in the face of adult authority, while others do not. Some boys consistently adjust themselves to the requirements imposed in the school, in their families, in the boys' club, etc., while others do not. Some boys give a verbal statement of attitudes perfectly consistent with accepted social values in the community; some boys express attitudes which are at variance with the social code at many points.

7. A statement of the extent to which a boy has participated in the program of the club, of the respects in which the club interests him, of the extent to which he values his status in that group, of the extent to which he accepts club definitions as his own definitions of the situation.

8. A statement of any changes in behavior and attitudes which seem to have been associated with participation in the program of the club and the process involved in such changes, or the extent to which the boy's reaction patterns remain the same although he participates in the program of the club.

9. A statement of the reasons, as given by the boy himself, as to why he does not participate in the program of the club.

10. A statement of the agencies in the community which have brought to the boy's attention the program of the club and of methods used by any persons or groups to invite his participation in the club, and his response to these efforts.

11. A statement of the attitudes assumed towards the club by the groups most vital to him, such as the family, the gang, other groups which the boy respects, etc.

12. A comparison of the boys' club experiences of the boy with his other experiences.

13. A comparison of the stated attitudes, behaviors, abilities, physical constitutions, temperament, social backgrounds of boys by pairs properly equated, one of whom is a member of the club, one of whom is not.
14. A statement of the methods used by the club for enlisting the boy's interest in its program, for developing traits of character, for changing his behavior, and for communicating to him community values, and a statement of his responses to these methods.

It is a relatively simple matter, by the use of such processes of inference as are outlined above, to determine whether or not a boy's attitudes and behavior patterns correspond with the requirements laid down by the club. It is a much more difficult matter to determine whether or not this is to be attributed to the influence of the club. The answer to such a question is probably the greatest strength of the case-study method, for it attempts to describe the boy in all of the relationships in which he moves, and it lays a sound foundation of interrelated facts for determining by logical analysis the relative importance of the various influences to which he has been subjected. A method which does not get complete data on single cases cannot adequately describe the complex social situations within which boys move and, therefore, cannot provide the groundwork for logical inferences with regard to effective influences.

Attitude scales, paper-and-pencil tests, psychoneurotic inventories, intelligence tests, and statistical associations, when used as numerical indices of personality, throw but scant, and, at best, indirect light on questions relating to *process* as distinguished from an accretion of facts; such methods reveal the association of phenomena but do not indicate how and why the phenomena are associated. Measurement presupposes units which are fixed and unchanging, which do not vary with the situation, but remain constant. It is this variable aspect of social behavior, its disposition to change in response to impinging stimuli, that makes quantitative measurement so difficult. Since behavior is changeable and dynamic, is responsive to changing situations, a method of study is demanded which recognizes it as such and which makes an effort to describe it as it reacts to complex and changing stimuli. Quantitative measurement of behavior is valuable and revealing, but it cannot perform the functions of complete description and analysis of social phenomena.

By process we mean a series of related changes (sequences) occurring in a series of related situations, any one change being explained in terms of preceding changes and in terms of the

situations in which they occurred. Process as referring to persons means related changes in attitudes and behavior (behavior sequences), one change growing out of those preceding and behavior at any one state in the sequence being determined by preceding changes in preceding situations which have defined the relationships of the person to the situation in question. Intelligence of a given kind, for instance, may place the person in any one of a number of processes, depending upon the situations in which it is defined and upon how the person reacts to these situations. We expect to find the relationship between mental defect and delinquency not by stating that some delinquents are morons (for many are not), but by describing the manner by which mental defect limits the ability of the person to respond in his groups, the definitions of this limited or inadequate response by the groups in question, and the rôle created by the defect for the person concerned—the rôle of the person being defined in terms of the behavior of his groups towards him and of his conception of himself in relation to these groups as well as in terms of his overt behavior towards them.

The case-study method by recognizing this variable aspect of social behavior, by picturing completely the person in his social backgrounds, using every method that promises knowledge about him, is adequate in studying personal behavior in enabling us both to see a person as he *is* at a given moment in time and space, and in enabling us to see the process by which he arrived at what he is—the influences which, at various points in his life, developed attitudes on his part that further conditioned his responses to his world of experience.

The criticism has been made that the case-study method is not *scientific*.[53] Critics complain that because the sociologist cannot manipulate human behavior as machines, chemicals, and the phenomena of the physical world can be manipulated, that because he cannot predict mathematically and invariably human behavior, he is not a scientist. It should be pointed out, however, that human personalities are fundamentally different from the phenomena of the physical world even though compounded of

[53] Pearson, Karl, in his "Grammar of Science" (Walter Scott, London, 1892), looks upon science as method. It has been defined by others, however, as a body of phenomena, the behavior of which can be predicted with mathematical certainty; or as the method which can predict with mathematical certainty the phenomena with which it deals.

elements most of which can be analyzed in the laboratory. The ability to reason, to modify responses extensively, to use a language, to handle abstract ideas, to conceptualize experience, to remember and anticipate experiences not immediate to the senses are distinctly human phenomena which clearly differentiate human behavior from other types. These peculiarities of human reactions suggest that, if we are to have an adequate method for the study of social behavior, it must be adapted to the peculiarities of a great part of its data which cannot be measured in quantitative terms.

The point needs to be made that the sociologist is dealing primarily not with organic phenomena, but with *social phenomena.* The behavior of the person as an organism can be profitably approached by comparing it with behavior in the animal world. But in the respects noted above social behavior is different from animal behavior. These differences[54] between human and other phenomena demand a method, therefore, which essays to *study human behavior as human behavior and not as something else.* Even in biology, however, where remarkable progress has been made in a description of organic phenomena the latest judgment is that the organism must be studied as a whole and that separate unit causes are by no means fully explanatory. The case-study method utilizes every technique likely to reveal pertinent data about the human personality as such, attempts to learn as much about the person as possible, and having done this, to give some order and meaning to the materials gathered.[55]

Case Studies of Truants

In order to achieve the valuable insights into mechanisms of behavior in relation to the boys' club made possible only through the case-study method, investigations of nine truant boys were made by Ethel Reed Jasspon, a staff member of the Boys' Club

[54] This distinction is clearly put by Briffault, Robert, in "Evolution of Human Species," *Scientia,* June, 1927. The article also appears in "The Making of Man," Modern Library, New York, 1931, edited by U. F. Calverton.

[55] A more detailed discussion of the various approaches utilized by the case-study method of the analysis of qualitative material, and of other contributions which the case study may make in research may be found in the writer's "The Case-Study as a Method of Research," *Social Forces,* May, 1932.

Study. These studies included physical examination, psychiatric interview, a battery of psychological tests, and a social case history. The boys' club history of each case has been followed up over a period of three years. To indicate the vast amount of data which must be obtained in the development of adequate case studies, it may be pointed out that the summaries of these nine cases require 354 typewritten pages.

Case Studies of Superior Boys[56]

Case studies of a number of superior boys have been completed using methods comparable with those described above so far as applicable to this type of boy.

In selecting boys for this study the criteria of superiority adopted have been sociological—his rôle in the group, etc.—rather than physical or psychological. A boy was regarded as superior because he occupied a position of leadership in some phase of the life of his own juvenile community. His reputation among adults in his social world was also considered. Some of the characteristics considered singly or in combination as qualifying a boy as superior were energy and initiative, fine personality, popularity among his peers, demonstrated ability in athletics, leadership in dramatic, literary, or other activities at school or in recreation centers, and reputation for reliability and general ability among adults, including parents, teachers, and recreation leaders. In addition the boys were observed before being selected for this work in recreational situations where they had a chance to display their ability to express themselves, and to interpret their own observations to members of their own group.[57]

Just as in the study of problem boys, case studies have revealed the mechanisms making for truancy and delinquency in relation to boys' club influence; so in the case of superior boys, insights have been obtained as to the factors and influences contributing to such superiority in relation to the effect of boys' club participation or its absence.

It is obvious that a study of boys' club contacts in the full setting of social, physical, and psychological backgrounds made possible by the case-study approach is far more revealing as to

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[56] Under the supervision of the director of the Boys' Club Study. For a full account of the use of the superior boy in this study, *see* Thrasher, Frederic M., "Social Attitudes of Superior Boys in an Interstitial Community," contained in "Social Attitudes," Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931, edited by Kimball Young.

[57] "Social Attitudes," Henry Holt and Company, NewYork, 1931, (edited by Kimball Young) pp. 239–240.

the underlying explanation of boys' club influence or its absence than any other type of investigation. The limitations of the method for purposes of generalization upon large numbers of cases, however, are also apparent; hence, the problem of the measurement of influence necessitates the use of all other available methods of social research, such as statistical and ecological methods and related and subsidiary studies, which can be employed concomitantly to throw light upon the problems indicated.

IV. THE STATISTICAL ASPECTS OF THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY[58]

JANET FOWLER NELSON

That statistics has become an invaluable tool in social research is being increasingly recognized. "Occasionally one hears protest from those who do not fully understand its nature or its inevitableness. And far too seldom there is raised a feeble cry against its misapplication."[59] Indeed it is this latter point which has perhaps induced the most bitter controversy. The literature is full of pseudo-statistics: *pseudo* in the sense that statistical methods and formulae have been employed in the treatment of data of doubtful value, of data lacking genuine quantitativeness; in the sense that the premises on which the statistical formulae have been constructed have not been fulfilled; in the sense that glaring misinterpretation and exaggeration of the meaningfulness of the results has been indulged in. As Dorothy S. Thomas points out, the strength of the statistical method lies in the fact that it devises and prescribes units of measurement which presuppose that the data must be quantitative and objective. It is limited, however, by the security and genuine quantitativeness of the data themselves and both statistical manipulation and subsequent interpretation of results depend upon the rigid assumptions on the basis of which the formulae were originally devised. However, in turning to statistics one must recognize that the investigator is accepting merely a substitute for experiment. "Although never giving the certainty that results from

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[58] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 1, September, 1932, pp. 31–42.

[59] Ross, Frank A., "On Generalization from Limited Social Data," *Social Forces*, X, October, 1931, p. 32 ff.

perfectly controlled experiment, it is a method which provides a basis for evaluating relationships objectively."[60] Moreover, statistics as such is primarily interested in variation. The data must be variable and must be collective since the value of the method lies in its capacity to indicate trends, tendencies, and relationships. The statistical method also has an important descriptive function and is indispensable in practical program planning.

We are primarily concerned here with the statistical aspects of the Boys' Club Study. How many statistics help to answer the questions of the investigation and what is its relation to the other aspects of the research?

One of the major methods of the Boys' Club Study as a whole includes the extensive development of descriptive studies of the boys' club area and its inhabitants, involving the use of life histories and behavior documents with particular reference to the individual's activities in the club and his reactions to the club. Obviously, these materials are exceedingly important and throw a great deal of light on the adjustment processes. They indicate at what points changes in behavior occur, and what forces seem to be determinants of these changes. But they yield no objective measurement of influence. Nevertheless, these materials are rich; they should lead to important inferences and further hypotheses.

The preceding method must go hand in hand with the statistical approach, wherein simple indices, based on representative samplings of the group under consideration, are evolved which give a more objective, if more limited approach to the measurement of influence. In so far as the data are sound and the methods of analysis adequate, this aspect of the research is of equal importance with that of the case study and the simple verifiable results obtained stand on their own merits. The statistical treatment of the data of the Boys' Club Study indicates differences (in measurable, verifiable, and objective terms) between the boys' club group and the community as a whole. It also is concerned with descriptive and characteristic differences of groups within the boys' club.

The statistical method has been used in many of the minor studies included in the whole research program of the Boys'

[60] Thomas Dorothy Swaine, "Statistics in Social Research," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXV, No. 1, pp. 1–17.

Club Study. But except for the studies of truancy and delinquency, and of the public library, which are discussed elsewhere, there may be said to be three major statistical phases of the investigation:

1. The statistical analysis of a boys' club (intensive) area in terms of basic sociological data, controlling factors of truancy, delinquency, and boys' club membership. This study is based primarily on State census material (1925, corrected as of 1929).

2. A comparative study of delinquents and nondelinquents in terms of intelligence and emotional stability. This study, psychostatistical in method, by using the same instruments of measurement as did Slawson[61] in his study of delinquents, makes possible a comparison of delinquent boys (Slawson) with nondelinquents living in a high-rate delinquency area (boys' club area); it also compares boys' club and eligible but non-boys' club groups.

3. Membership study of the same boys' club unit. This, by far the most elaborate of the three projects, uses the Hollerith system to study, from the opening of this unit for approximately three and one-half years, membership, turnover, and club activities in relation to correlative social and economic factors, other community contacts including school and job, and truancy and delinquency.

1. *The Statistical Analysis of the Boys' Club (Intensive) Area*

In setting up this analysis of census material, boys' club membership, and truancy and delinquency records, it was necessary first to determine the basic groups involved; *i.e.*, basic for purposes of description and comparison. Since the primary consideration was the boys' club, these groups easily divided into families of boys' club members, families of eligible but non-boy's club members, other families and individuals in the community. Truancy and delinquency, our only available objective indices of antisocial behavior, were studied in terms of their incidence in the community as a whole, and in boys' club versus non-boys' club groups.

Our next problem was to determine exactly what social and economic factors, both in terms of their own incidence and in terms of possible interrelationships, were available for statistical analysis. Basic information on the State census slips included

[61] Slawson, John, "The Delinquent Boy," Richard G. Badger, Boston, 1926.

data on individuals in each family unit in terms of: (a) nationality, (b) years in the United States, (c) citizenship, (d) size of family, (e) size of household, (f) age, (g) occupation. These, then, were the factors studied, and, except for tabulation by individuals in terms of an age distribution of all boys from six to sixteen, the family was considered the unit of tabulation. Such were the data which were available. The next question concerned itself with its adequacy and representativeness.

This was peculiarly important for this study for although boys' club membership, truancy, and delinquency records were accepted as fairly objective evidence, we were aware of the limitations of the State census material. It has been repeatedly pointed out that this material is insecure, although our house-to-house check in the fall of 1929 probably reduces this source of error. Checking our figures on total population against an unemployment census we find that our records are probably based on about 78 per cent of the total population. However, despite the adequacy of the size of our sample, we had no assurance of random sampling. The usual assumption in cases such as this is that if omissions have been random and have affected all groups similarly, results are not thereby distorted. Fortunately, however, it was possible to a certain extent to check this assumption. We possessed all truancy and delinquency records as of 1929–1930. Of these families, some appeared among the census slips; some did not, even though we knew they should have been included. The latter, then, were located and surveyed individually for certain basic census information as of 1929 and boys' club membership status. This "missed" group of truants and delinquents was then compared with those originally appearing in our census records. We were able to conclude that on the whole the two groups did not greatly differ in terms of census data, although there was the suspicion that the broken home (no father) and possibly, as a result, illegal work during school hours or definite neglect (data from truancy records) were possible selective factors operating against inclusion in our original census material. If this conclusion is applied to all "missed" families, results must be interpreted with this limitation in mind.

Another particularly important problem to be considered is the control of dates. In order to keep this constant it was necessary to study all data as of one year; namely, 1929. As

has been previously noted, the census material was checked by house-to-house canvass in the fall of 1929, and appropriate changes and additions were noted. Truancy and delinquency records were used as of 1929–1930, using the boys' club membership year beginning in September as the basis for selection. The 1929–1930 boys' club membership was considered basic. Membership during preceding years was taken into account only in so far as the 1929–1930 group had been club members 1, 2, or 3 years previously, plus an additional group of nonmembers labeled simply "previous members of club."

The statistical treatment of the data must next be considered. Here, as is almost always true, the more simple the procedure, the more meaningful are the results in that complicated methods of examining the incidence and possible relationships of various factors sometimes involve one in hazardous assumptions and procedure. The census data lent themselves primarily to a description of the area and to the detection of possible differences existing between families of boys' club members (1-, 2-, or 3-year status), previous boys' club members, truants and delinquents also classified by boys' club or nonclub status, and eligible but nonmembers. Results, therefore, were presented in terms of the incidence of various factors in these four major groups, in terms of simple distributions, and either in terms of per cent incidence or average incidence depending upon the type of data treated. Appropriate measures of variations and of probable error have been computed when indicated. This study is based on records of 6,744 families and of 4,440 boys between the ages of six and sixteen.

The first part of the report deals with an analysis of club membership (1-, 2-, or 3-year status, as well as previous membership in the club) in terms of total boy population. It also is concerned with the relative number of families of boys' club members in the community. Truancy and delinquency records are analyzed in relation to membership and nonmembership. Age distributions of all males in the community between the ages of six and sixteen are presented, classified appropriately by membership status as well as by truancy and delinquency records.

The rest of this study is devoted to a statistical description of the community, and, within the community group as a whole, to a comparison of families of boys' club members, previous boys' club members, eligible but nonmembers, and truant and

delinquent groups in terms of the following factors: (1) birthplace of head of family; (2) recency of immigration; (3) citizenship status; (4) size of household; (5) size of immediate family; (6) occupational status of heads of families in terms of wages, also by classification of jobs; and (7) broken homes.

2. *A Comparative Study of Delinquents and Nondelinquents*

The second major statistical project, in this instance psychostatistical, is a duplication in methods and measuring instruments of part of Slawson's study of the male juvenile delinquent.[62] It is based on intelligence-test records (National Intelligence Test, Forms A and B) and Woodworth-Matthews Psycho-Neurotic Inventory scores of some 800 boys contacted in the fall of 1929 through schools located in the area of this boys' club unit. Without specific reference to the boys' club it was possible actually to examine a large group of boys some of whom were, some of whom were not, members of the club unit and to make appropriate comparisons. Results of this comparison are, of course, primarily descriptive in character. The data is presented in terms of distributions, measures of central tendency, and of variation of test scores with particular reference to significant differences. Perhaps more important are the comparisons we are enabled to make not only with so-called unselected cases—*i.e.*, the groups on which standardization was originally established—but also with Slawson's results. In other words, we examined nondelinquents, *but* they were nondelinquents living in a community which contributes heavily to juvenile delinquency and also a community about which a great deal of correlative descriptive material is available. In the discussion of our findings and in our comparison, factors of age, nationality, and social status were either controlled or evaluated with established norms as well as with Slawson's results. An extension of the study without reference to Slawson's work consisted of a study of educational achievement ratings of the same boys in connection with which the whole problem of grade placement and the psychological implications involved were analyzed. Supplementing this study of the boys in a school situation is a minor

[62] John Slawson, *op. cit.*

study of teachers' attitudes. Wickman's[63] rating scales were employed, and his results used for purposes of comparison.

3. *Membership Study of a Local Boys' Club Unit*

The third and certainly the most elaborate and inclusive of the statistical studies makes use of the Hollerith system to classify, sort, tabulate, and correlate all available data obtained from records and investigations of all members of this boys' club unit for three and one-half years. It may be fairly said that its major emphasis is an analysis of membership, but membership in both its positive and negative aspects; membership in relation to club activities, to age, to factors of nationality, economic and social status; to problems of truancy and delinquency; and to the interrelationship of various of these factors.

The Hollerith project makes use of a statistical record card (a 45-column punch card) for each boy on which is indicated all available information concerning each boy who has been a member of the boys' club during any one of the four years of the Boys' Club Study program. By a mechanical process these cards are then sorted, classified, and counted for any given factor or combination of factors. All cases, some 12,450 in number, are represented by separate cards. (The scope of the project is indicated by the fact that there are over 125,000 slips pertaining to one boys' club unit alone and possibly four times that number in supplementary files.) The major problem involved, however, has been so to code and record the data that dates may be held constant and all correlative material may be examined as of any given year. In other words we have been interested not only in cumulative records of truancy and delinquency within the club but in their relation to membership status as of each of our four years; in the same way we needed records not only of gross participation in one or more club activities, but participation for any given year or years. Similarly with other types of data, since inherent in this study, has been an effort to facilitate comparative studies of the total boys' club situation from year to year, as well as to study cumulative materials of a permanent club membership group.

On the Hollerith card each column or group of columns is reserved for recording a certain type of data. There are 35 such

[63] Wickman, E. K., "Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes," The Commonwealth Fund, New York, 1928.

items, records on each of which must be coded so as to be mutually exclusive. There are 10 punches in each column plus an X, Y device which can be used as a stop check, which may thus increase the number of possible mutually exclusive classifications to twelve.

The examination of all possible records to determine uniform availability, feasibility of use, and meaningfulness of results, preliminary to the actual set-up of the study, was in itself a major prospect. The subsequent filing and alphabetizing was second only from the standpoint of time consumption to the coding of the data, both of which processes were tremendous clerical undertakings.[64] Even after the preliminary examination of the data, actual handling of the raw material revealed so many flaws that plans were repeatedly discarded and new ones set up. Insecurity of original data, repeated factors of selection operating in its original gathering, even the question of confusion of boys' names—all contributed to the problem. "Thus, the present Hollerith schedule . . . is a result not only of thorough planning but also of an exhaustive amount of actual work."[65]

In the item-by-item description of the set-up used on the Hollerith card which follows it will be noted that frequently the same type of record, year by year, is not necessarily recorded on adjacent columns as might be expected. This merely reflects one of the practical difficulties encountered. The card had to be so constructed that part of it could be used as a master form for punching additional cards in anticipation of separate studies which did not necessarily need all the correlative data or by virtue of their own construction were limited to a study of a specific year or years. Obviously, this alignment of columns in no way affects the results obtained in this major study, although confusion in coding had to be guarded against.

Columns 1 through 3 indicate by code the present address of each boys' club member, thus facilitating a study of the distributive aspects of club membership and allowing for minor studies wherein correlative data is available only within defined boundaries. Column 4, in an effort to study simple mobility, indicates the number of times the family moved during the four-year

[64] The Boys' Club Study gratefully acknowledges the assistance upon these tasks of many workers provided by the Emergency Work Bureau of the Gibson Committee during 1931–1932.

[65] From a statement by Irving V. Sollins, director of the Hollerith project.

period of the study. Columns 5 and 6 indicate year of birth of the boys' club member thus enabling us to control the factor of age or to examine other constant factors in terms of age distributions. Column 7 indicates nationality of the male parent and, using the device for a stop check, indicates whether or not the mother is of the same nationality group. Column 8 records membership status (junior, intermediate, or senior and combinations of these) as of 1928–1929; column 9 similarly indicates the status of the boy in the club during 1929–1930; column 29, status as of 1927–1928; column 30, 1930–1931. Month of joining the club during each of these four years is coded in columns 33, 34.

Column 10 deals with the number of different intermediate clubs to which the boy belonged during his total affiliation with this boys' club unit.[66] The next item considers membership in intermediate clubs rated as "leading," "poor," or both. This, of course, involved a preliminary rating of intermediate clubs, based so far as possible on objective evidence. Incidentally, results based on the control of this factor may or may not substantiate the original rating. A punch in column 12 indicates whether or not a boy belonged to a dramatic club, orchestra, or any hobby club by indicating the number of such clubs to which the boy belonged during the entire period of his affiliation with the boys' club unit under consideration. (Designation of type of club is obviously not allowed for, but such contacts were so relatively few as to justify exclusion of specific designation. Our interest, almost of necessity, was limited to amount of participation. Kind of participation in what may almost be termed "extracurricular" activities—so specific and all but universal is the athletic emphasis—while certainly important in any consideration of club program, can be more profitably handled by simple hand tabulations and minor studies).

Column 13 is an exact indication of the boys' status within the boys' club library. It makes use of a rather ingenious device (based on greater or less than average time and number) for picturing not only the length of time during which the boy belonged to the library, but also the number of books drawn by the boy during the club year, 1930–1931. Lack of space pro-

[66] These clubs within the boys' club unit proper refer to the organization of the intermediate division into group clubs for purposes of athletic competition, etc.

hibited records for more than one year. The season of 1930–1931 was chosen primarily because of the availability of records from the public-library branch patronized by boys' club members of the same date. This correlative material is recorded in columns 25 and 26.

Column 14 in combination with columns 27 and 28 shows the extent (number of different kinds) of participation in physical activities at the boys' club as of 1928–1929, 1929–1930, 1930–1931. Column 15 is a count of the number of different seasons the boy attended the boys' club summer camp. The next items considered are the size of each boys' club member's family; whether one or both parents are living at home (column 16); and occupation of the head of the family of the boys' club member (column 17). Column 18 gives a summary of the boys' affiliation with other organizations outside of the boys' club; *i.e.*, with other athletic clubs, settlements, Y. M. C. A.'s, Boy Scouts, etc.

Column 19 is an attempt to study leadership in the boys' club. Here again we were involved in the question of preliminary rating, such as ratings by adult leaders and by the boys themselves. Columns 20, 21, 22, 23 note delinquency, truancy, and neglect status of the boy and of his immediate family during the four-year period from 1927 to 1931. Each column deals with this item for one year. Column 24 is a recapitulation of the total number of delinquency charges against the boy in the four years. Six columns are devoted to the study of "outs," an important group for comparative purposes. (An "out" is a boy who drops out of the boys' club. He may return at some later time or remain finally out.) Time of dropping out is considered in four columns, two are devoted to a summation of number of months "out" in the four-year period; similarly, two to number of months of total affiliation with the club. (This latter point is important for *all* members if any analysis is done on other than a crude yearly membership basis.)

Columns 39 and 40 indicate availability of additional material on individuals studied. Column 41 indicates whether or not the boy is working and allows for ample classification of his job. Column 42 based on a preliminary study designed to indicate the psychological factors involved is concerned with the boy's hobby. Column 43 indicates frequency of motion-picture attendance. Columns 44–45 by code enable selection of cases in terms of public school attended at time of joining the boys' club and also indicate acceleration or retardation of grade placement.

Thus, information is recorded so as to facilitate selection of cases on some 35 items. Tabulation and resulting distributions of data for each item are simple. Obviously, were that the only interest of the study, no such elaborate device of coding and recording would have been necessary. But it is the relationship of each of these factors to the others which indicates the necessity of a sorting and classifying process such as the Hollerith system furnishes. And it is the incidence of one or more of these factors in any given selected group—whether it be in terms of membership, delinquency, leadership, etc.—which is the basis of this study; *i.e.*, examination of data, holding constant one or several critical factors.

V. ECOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE BOYS' CLUB STUDY[67]

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

A method used to advantage in the Boys' Club Study is that which has been designated by sociologists as "ecological"—a study of society in its distributive aspects. This method has found one of its most interesting expressions in Chicago in the work of Clifford R. Shaw and his colleagues,[68] who have studied the distribution of truants, delinquents, adult offenders, etc., in relation to other social factors. The results of these studies have shown that delinquency areas in American urban communities are clearly defined as interstitial and adjacent to major commercial and industrial centers and that they have typical characteristics such as physical deterioration, declining population, low economic status, high percentages of foreign born and Negroes in the local population, relative disorganization of wholesome groups and institutions except as superimposed from

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[67] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 1, September, 1932, pp. 52–58.

[68] *See* Shaw, Clifford R., *et al.*, "Delinquency Areas; A Study of the Geographic Distribution of School Truants, Juvenile Delinquents, and Adult Offenders in Chicago," The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1929. *See* also Shaw, Clifford R., and McKay, Henry D., "Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency," Volume II, "Report on the Causes of Crime," National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement, Washington, D. C., 1932. These two volumes include the results of studies of Chicago, Philadelphia, Richmond, Birmingham, Cleveland, Denver, and Seattle. Publication of data on a number of other cities has been projected.

without, and lack of community morale with a resultant breakdown of social control. These studies suggest also that the continuity of high delinquency rates in these areas is due to the persistence of traditions of delinquency and a high degree of social contagion through informal contacts rather than to any fundamental biological or psychological traits of the populations moving in and out of these areas.

An important technique of the ecological method is the development of maps which can be used for showing the geographic distribution of various types of social facts in relation to their backgrounds and to each other. By spotting various types of data upon base maps[69] it is possible to discover graphic correlations between social facts which may suggest or test significant hypotheses with regard to causal relationships.

In the Boys' Club Study these methods have proved invaluable both in delimiting and describing the areas served by a given boys' club unit and in suggesting explanations for important problems arising in the course of the investigation. Why do boys' club members come from certain blocks or sections of the area rather than others? A glance at a carefully prepared map showing all possible social facts and facilities usually suggests the answer immediately or gives important clues for further investigation. The whole question of membership distribution and its changes from year to year can best be studied by the use of such maps. Likewise, the comparison of different groups or types of members is greatly facilitated. Marked solidarity is immediately suggested if the members of an intermediate club (a small group club within the larger unit) are drawn from a single social block (opposite sides of the street within the same block). The comparison of the distribution of boys' club members with that of truants, delinquents, adult offenders, etc., is revealing and suggests hypotheses or problems that may be followed up by means of further case, statistical, or ecological studies.

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[69] A base map is one which shows fundamental factors such as topographic outlines of land and water, street pattern, parks, railroads and embankments, business and industrial properties, etc. The amount of social data shown upon such a map will depend entirely upon the uses to which it is to be put. Base maps should be distinguished from display and research maps; display maps are designed to show up vividly graphic distributions or correlations superimposed upon the base map as a background; while research maps are constructed without reference to visualization and may include such a variety of data as to destroy their usefulness for display purposes.

An elaborate social base map was prepared for a district served by one of the boys' club units under investigation. The boundaries of this area were determined by a preliminary survey showing the neighborhoods from which the club drew the bulk of its membership. The territory to be included on the map in this particular case comprised approximately 170 city blocks. The base map was first constructed by outlining the blocks, with the boundaries of the map following the United States census population tracts, in order that statistical comparisons would be possible on the basis of census data.

The outline map completed, the next problem was to secure for this large urban area essential data which would serve as a significant background upon which other social facts pertinent to the Boys' Club Study could be superimposed. It was decided that the most useful base map for this particular boys' club area was one which should include as much significant social data as possible.

The first data to be placed upon the map after the block outlines had been completed were factors affecting mobility and isolation, such as transportation facilities and natural and artificial barriers. One of the next essentials was house numbering at the corners of each block in order to make possible the accurate spotting of cases. The corner house numbers were obtained by observation and checked by means of real-estate maps and the street (not alphabetical) telephone directories.

It was decided that 83 kinds of institutions and uses of land and buildings would be significant as a background for other data and they were placed upon the map by means of the graphic symbols developed by the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation.[70] They may be classified as shown on p. 771.

In cases where no pictorial symbols were available, circled initials of the institutions were used.[71] Vacant buildings and yards were indicated by letter symbols. Properties used entirely for business purposes were indicated by hatching; for industrial purposes, by cross-hatching; while symbols for the specific types of business or industry were superimposed upon the hatching, bringing into relief the business and industrial sections of the area.

[70] These pictorial symbols make it possible to read the map easily without memorizing an elaborate code.

[71] Sample blocks with explanations are shown in the map on page 772.

I. *Government and public services*
Governmental office
Court
Police station
Fire station
Post office
Employment office
Public bath
Comfort station

II. *Educational institutions*
School
Civic or scientific society
Library
Museum, art gallery, etc.

III. *Religious institutions*
Roman Catholic church
Greek Catholic church
Protestant church
Other Christian church
Synagogue
Meeting place (other religions)
Convent or monastery
Mission

IV. *Welfare and custodial institutions*
Social-work organization
Settlement house
Church or parish house
Day nursery
Home for children
Home for aged or infirm

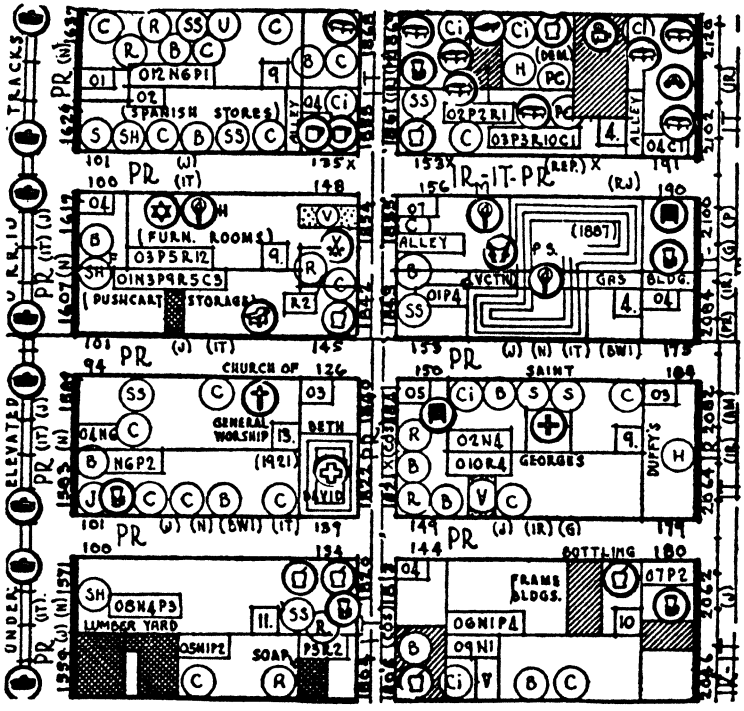
V. *Health agencies*
Hospital
Dispensary or clinic
Health or nursing center

VI. *Clubs and societies*
Private social club
Secret society or lodge
Trade union
Y.M.C.A.
Y.W.C.A.
Y.M.H.A.
Knights of Columbus
Boys' Club
Girls' Club
Political Club

VII. *Recreation facilities*
Community or social center
Assembly hall
Theater
Motion picture theater
Burlesque or vaudeville
Cabaret
Dance hall
Pool or billiard room
Shooting gallery
Athletic field
Playground
Tennis court
Hall (may be rented)
Social focus

VIII. *Business establishments*
Bank
Store
Drug store
Market
Pawnshop
Hotel
Restaurant
Lunch counter
Soda fountain
Saloon
Factory
Garage
Stable
Barber shop
Candy store
Cigar store
Real estate
Shoe shine
Undertaker
Warehouse
Second-hand store
Junkshop
Junkyard
Coalyard
Woodyard

IX. *Transportation and miscellaneous*
Railroad station
Gas tank
Gasoline stand



Section of social base map for Boys' Club Study (actual size) is shown above. Copies of the map (21 by 34 inches in size), which includes approximately 200 city blocks, are available for teaching purposes through the office of the Boys' Club Study, New York University, Washington Square, New York.

Housing is indicated for each of four parts of square block by letters and figures; e. g., O1N3P9R5C3 means 1 "old law" tenement, 3 "new law" houses, 9 private dwellings, 5 rooming houses, and 3 converted dwellings.

Population density is indicated for each square block in small square at center right end of each block; e. g., 4 in a small square means between 400 and 500 residents; 13 means between 1,300 and 1,400 residents; etc.

Nationalities both dominant and minor are indicated for each social block by letters in the street; e. g., IR-IT-PR-(RJ) means dominant nationalities in block are Irish, Italian, and Porto Rican, while Russian Jews are present, but not in large numbers.

Nongraphic Symbols are represented by letters; e. g., C—Candystore, R—real estate, B—barber shop, SS—shoe-shine shop, U—undertaker, Ci—cigar store, SH—second-hand store, H—hall for rent, etc.

A complete explanation of the map and its uses as well as a complete code of all symbols is printed on the face of each map.

Vacant ground and parks were shown by means of stippling, which made them stand out against the background of other data.

Wherever practicable the specific names of institutions with the dates of their founding were placed in close proximity to them on the map. In this way it became possible at a glance to determine when, for example, a Jewish synagogue or a Greek Orthodox church entered a certain part of the area. It became possible, also, to identify specific institutions upon which documents had been collected in the files of the study.

All data on the base map were recorded as nearly as possible as of 1931. For comparative purposes the study has access to comparable data on institutions for the same area for 1928. Social changes will be shown eventually by special maps.

The data on institutions were obtained for the map by personal door-to-door observation and in this way every address in the total area was visited. These materials were checked for inaccuracies by revisits; and additional data and checking were made possible by reference to aerial maps, real-estate maps (Land Atlas), street telephone directories, tax-assessment lists, etc.

Three other types of background data were considered important for the construction of the base map; viz., housing, population by block, and race and nationality by social block. Data on housing were obtained through the coöperation of the State Housing Department, so that it was possible to indicate for each quarter block the number of old law tenements, converted dwellings, new law tenements, private dwellings, and rooming houses. The approximate population by block was obtained from the 1930 United States Census records. Approximate racial and nationality composition of the population was secured by interviews with mail carriers and from schedules for each side of each block graciously filled in by visiting nurses covering the blocks in question. Both the dominant and minor races and nationalities in each social block were shown on the map. All three types of special data were indicated on the map by the specially adapted symbols illustrated on p. 772.[72]

[72] After all these data had been carefully drawn in India ink by an expert draftsman upon a master map of white paper mounted on linen, the map was reproduced by the photolithographic process, copyrighted, and published.

(*Footnote continued on page 774.*)

The reproduction of the base map upon a sufficiently large scale and its availability in quantities made possible the construction of hundreds of experimental spot maps upon which the superimposed data were shown in colors. Such problems were explored as the distributive relationship between boys' club members and the following factors: types of housing; racial and nationality groupings; congestion of population; presence or absence of certain types of social institutions such as poolrooms, social clubs, saloons, and other social foci; etc. Distributions of truants, juvenile delinquents, older offenders, cases of dependency, etc., were compared with each other and with the distributions of boys' club members and various types of boys' club members in order to secure more revealing pictures of the area and the relation of the boys' club to it.

In order to make a more detailed investigation of certain aspects of Boys' Club Study problems, an area of intensive study of thirty city blocks including three census tracts immediately surrounding the boys' club unit was established. For experimental and research purposes even larger scale maps were constructed for each of these three census tracts and for each social block within the area of intensive study.[73]

VI. METHODS FOR ANALYZING THE CONTENT OF MOTION PICTURES[74]

EDGAR DALE

The purpose of the study described in this report is two-fold: First, a method was devised for analyzing the content of

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The following are Social Base Maps of the *New York University Sociological Map Series:*

1. Social Base Map Local Neighborhoods (21″ × 34″), New York City, prepared under the direction of Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher, copyright 1931.
2. Simplified Social Base Map Local Neighborhoods (10½″ × 17″), New York City, prepared under the direction of Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher, copyright 1933.
3. Social Base Map Local Neighborhood (26″ × 45″), Lower West Side, New York City, prepared under the direction of C. Glenn Swanson, copyright 1932. Simplified form available (8½ × 11).
4. Social Base Map, Local Neighborhood, Township of Milburn, New Jersey, prepared under the direction of John Fox, copyright 1933.

[73] Intensive experimental studies of two social blocks were prepared, one by Harry E. Hoag and one by R. L. Whitley.

[74] *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 4, December, 1932, pp. 244–250.

motion pictures, and second, this method was used to analyze the content of typical motion pictures. It is the specific purpose of this article to describe the methods used for discovering the content of motion pictures.

A series of criticisms of and claims for theatrical motion pictures have been made which cannot be answered until studies have been made of motion-picture content. There is the charge, for example, that certain fundamental areas of human concern are not treated at all in motion pictures. It is further charged that there is preoccupation with certain areas of human living—a preoccupation which is wholly unjustified and sometimes harmful. A second type of charge is leveled at specific content within the motion picture. Some maintain that certain fine ideals of human living are consistently portrayed by current motion pictures. Others declare that the motion pictures are almost entirely preoccupied with the depiction of crime; the approval of race prejudice; the covert and sometimes explicit approval of sexual impropriety; and frequent display of vulgarity. These same persons maintain that, in general, the content of such motion pictures not only has a harmful effect upon Americans but also puts us in an unfavorable light abroad. A study of the content of motion pictures makes it possible to secure evidence on these disputed questions.

The only way we can know the effective content of a motion picture is through the responses that individuals make to it. Because of a common background of experience most individuals will react very similarly to certain images which they see on the screen. This agreement among individuals as to what they see on the screen represents the common denominator of communication. So, within certain limits, there will be a series of reactions to a screen story which differ very little among individuals. We have used the word *content*, therefore, to cover the common reactions which we should expect typical individuals to get from a motion picture. It is true that if we wished adequately to analyze all the effective content of motion pictures it would be necessary to sample progressively the reactions of all possible viewers until we had reached a point where no significantly new reactions occurred. This it was manifestly impossible to do. Highly specialized reactions to motion pictures such as might be made by a specialist in the field of photographic art are therefore not included in our study.

It is evident from the nature of the charges mentioned above that two types of analyses of content are necessary. The first is a study of the general themes or the areas in which motion pictures have been developed. The second is a type of analysis which describes verbally, with much precision and detail, the content of a motion picture. A survey of the literature quickly disclosed that this evidence had not yet been secured and that analyses of the general and specific type were necessary.

The methods used to analyze films for their general themes must depend, of course, upon the type of evidence available regarding such content. The ephemeral nature of the motion-picture film makes it impossible to view the motion pictures of past years to discover their content. In many cases the films are not available and positives would have to be printed at a cost that would be prohibitive for the purposes of this investigation.

Our source of information concerning the pictures which had been produced during these years was Harrison's Reports,[75] a reviewing service to exhibitors, which furnishes a short account of the story of the film and a statement of its probable box-office value. The accuracy of these stories was validated by comparing them with other written accounts and by verifying those accounts of motion pictures which the investigators had viewed. We decided to make our study one of the general content of 500 feature pictures produced in 1920, 1925, and 1930. This represents the total output of feature pictures released in these years by the major producing organizations.

Our next problem was to discover the classes into which these pictures might logically fall. We adopted for this purpose what might be termed a common-sense classification; in other words, a classification which is similar to that which lay adults commonly use for the description of motion pictures. Our tentative examination of the stories showed that they grouped themselves into the following classes: *crime, sex, love, mystery, war, children, history, travel, comedy,* and *social propaganda.* Subclassifications were drawn up under each of these categories; first, in order to assist the classifier; and second, in order that further data might be gathered concerning the content of the motion picture. These subclassifications were given a number and were checked in the appropriate column of the data sheet.

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[75] Harrison's Reports, 1440 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

The symbols A and B were used to designate those films where the reviewer felt that there was not only a major theme but also a strong minor theme. No attempt was made to discover the objectivity of these subclassifications.

Does this method of classification yield uniform results when utilized by trained workers? To test this out we took 100 sample reports at regular intervals from each of the three groups of 500 pictures. The reviewers were asked to use the instructions prepared and classify them according to their best judgment. We discovered that in the 1920 movies there was perfect agreement among the three readers in 87 out of 100 pictures when classified as to type; e. g., crime, sex, love, and so on. For the 1925 pictures there was perfect agreement in 86 cases out of 100, and for the 1930 pictures there was perfect agreement in 88 out of 100 pictures. This is a perfect agreement of approximately nine cases in every ten. The technique was therefore considered satisfactory for our purpose; namely, to classify motion pictures according to the main types set up by us. The evidence as to the number of pictures of each type is, therefore, indisputable within the limits given.

The analysis just described is valid for presenting the major themes or leading ideas with which motion pictures are concerned. It is not valid for answering many of the critical questions which sociologists and others are asking concerning the content of motion pictures. For this detailed analysis we viewed one hundred and fifteen motion pictures at the theater. The steps followed in this analysis were these:

1. A canvass was first made of the safeguards which are necessary to ensure fidelity of report when observers are used. Whipple's suggestions for such safeguards[76] were carefully heeded. He states[77] that "if the expectant attention is properly directed, however, the efficiency of observation is greatly increased." This precaution was observed in this fashion: First of all, the observers familiarized themselves with the story before they went to the theater. The motion-picture reviews in the daily papers usually gave such an account. Reading the story before reviewing the picture gave the investigators a frame of reference, a schematized outline which made it possible for them to grasp easily what occurred on the screen. Second, each observer

[76] *Psychological Bulletin*, XV, 7, July, 1918, pp. 217–248.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

carried a schedule of points on which to secure information. This schedule included the critical areas in which we desired information and had been worked out in coöperation with the observers. Further, three observers were used on 75 of the 115 films reviewed by this schedule.

The schedule was developed in this fashion:

All available literature dealing with favorable and unfavorable criticisms of theatrical motion pictures was read with a view of determining the positive and negative values which have been stated for such motion pictures. An analysis schedule was developed based on a classification of these possible values and detriments. The major headings in the final form of this schedule sheet are as follows:

SOCIAL VALUES IN MOTION PICTURES

I. Nature of American Life and Characters
II. Nature of Foreign Life and Characters
III. Motivation of Characters
IV. Emotion Appeals to Audience and Methods of Making Them—The "Kick" of the Movies
V. Crime, Delinquency, and Violence
VI. Relations of Sexes
VII. Military Situations
VIII. Depiction of Underprivileged Peoples
IX. Deportment, Language, Manner and Tone of Voice, Type of Dialogue and Song

Each of these categories was further subdivided. The subdivisions used for Category No. 1 follow:

I. Nature of American Life and Characters
- A. Home
- B. Education
- C. Religion
- D. Economics
- E. Agriculture
- F. Industry and commerce
- G. Civic life
- H. Recreation
- I. Social conventions
- J. Clothing conventions
- K. Narcotics and stimulants
- L. Law enforcement
- M. American men
- N. American women
- O. American youth
- P. American children

Each of these subcategories was further divided by a series of points; e. g.:

Industry and Commerce

Pay special attention to the following points:

1. The nature of the portrayal of industrial and commercial activity.
2. Goals of characters engaged in industrial activity.
3. Methods of distribution of goods.
4. Nature of portrayal of owners and workers.
5. Nature of the management of industry.

The reviewer was expected to note descriptive details in the picture which dealt with these points. It is evident that from these data we shall be able to draw inferences concerning critical questions such as these: Do theatrical motion pictures acquaint the viewers with the major problems of industry and commerce? Do they show industry as democratically or autocratically managed? Are workers shown as thoughtful, independent, and self-respecting, or as thoughtless, dependent, and obsequious? Are the problems of the coal, cotton, and wheat industry realistically portrayed or are motion pictures entirely free from problems that beset American industrial civilization?

2. Accuracy of report was further ensured by following a second warning of Whipple's; e. g.: "Whenever any interval of time elapses between the actual carrying out of observation and the recording of it by word or gesture or pen, the accuracy and completeness of the record tends to be reduced by errors of memory."[78] Each observer recorded at the theater the pertinent material which he was seeing on the screen. He occupied a seat near a light and it was possible in this way to make satisfactory notes. These notes were written up either that day or the next. Even with these precautions, minor errors were discovered. This situation was met, in part, by observing a third canon set up by Whipple: "When a number of persons report upon the same matter, those details upon which agreement appears may in general be considered as correct."[79]

An analysis of this type makes possible the answering of many important questions concerning motion-picture content. Its deficiency lies in the fact that it does not make available the total context in which each of the situations occurred. We felt,

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[78] *Psychological Bulletin*, XV, 7, July, 1918, p. 233.
[79] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

further, that we needed a number of accounts which would present almost completely the entire range of content in a motion picture in the context of the narrative itself. To that end, we secured from the producers dialogue scripts and used them in our analysis of 40 motion pictures. The script contains all the dialogue and enough of the settings and action to give each bit of dialogue its proper chronological order. The observers for these 40 motion pictures were all trained stenographers and the schedules were used as before. What the observers now did was to:

1. Familiarize themselves with the dialogue script before attending the motion picture.
2. Attend the film and take stenographic notes of all materials not included in the dialogue script. This consisted of detailed descriptions of settings, clothing worn, gestures, intonations and facial expressions of characters, approximate age, economic levels, and so on.
3. Immediately write up the picture in the form of a running narrative based upon a combination of the dialogue script and stenographic notes, every change of scene being carefully indicated. These reviews will average approximately 40 double-spaced typewritten pages each.

Of the 40 pictures thus reviewed, 27 were viewed by two or more trained observers, the remaining 13 being viewed by one trained observer who had been the research assistant throughout the entire experiment.

The final results of this investigation as far as methodology are: (1) a reliable technique for the classification of motion pictures according to major theme, (2) a schedule sheet by means of which critical information about motion pictures can be secured by trained observers, and (3) a technique for highly detailed film analysis.

The technique for evaluating motion pictures according to major theme was applied to 500 feature pictures in each of the years 1920, 1925, and 1930. The schedule sheet was applied to 75 motion pictures and their content determined through this method. And finally, a highly detailed narrative account was secured through the application of this schedule sheet to 40 additional motion pictures.

VII. SLEEP MOTILITY AS AN INDEX OF MOTION-PICTURE INFLUENCE[80]

SAMUEL RENSHAW[81]

Inertia is a property of certain aspects of human conduct just as it is a property of mass. Change of environment or occupation is often not enough to stop a process originating from some strong impression, particularly if that impression has been developed to a sort of climax, if it is colored by strong feelings, and if it has engaged the neuromuscular system for a duration that is greater than a certain minimum. It is a common observation that sleep frequently refuses to come after two hours or more spent in some intensive form of work or play which fits most or all of the above specifications. If it could be shown that the context of a motion-picture program is followed by an alteration of the normal dormition or characteristic motility pattern of a child, then sleep motility would afford one method of indicating the nature and extent of the differential effect of various kinds of motion pictures.

It must be borne in mind that a suitable apparatus and technique must be developed so that we may be sure that the effect is not an artifact from some other source. We must alter our method in the light of what experimental experience teaches until we are able to meet, with data capable of answering, all the objections which might fairly be aimed at whatever conclusions seem justifiable from the work. Concretely, we did not know in the beginning of the work what the normal sleep motility pattern was for children of various ages, for both sexes, whether the sexes differed sufficiently to take stock of it, whether diet, season of the year, diurnal activities, childish emotional upsets, etc., would alter the picture. We had to determine by experiment the facts that there are age, sex, and seasonal differences; that each child must serve as his own norm or control; and that to secure a sufficient sampling we must multiply experiments on relatively small groups and thus gain the advantages of checking

[80] Collaborating in the conduct of the experiments, the development of the methods, the computation of the data, etc., were Drs. Vernon L. Miller and Dorothy P. Marquis who held Payne Fund Fellowships, and Mrs. Eleanor H. Martin, research assistant.

[81] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 4, December, 1932, pp. 226–230.

long-section trends (as the season of the year, etc.). At the same time this procedure gave greater statistical reliability to the obtained figures.

No previous quantitative work had been done on children's sleep motility in the age range of six to eighteen years. No studies had previously sought to use measurements of sleep motility as an indirect method of determining the relative effects of different films upon different children. Those who are familiar with research will readily appreciate the many difficulties where one must shape his tools while he is using them. We had to make each separate experiment yield both cross and longitudinal section results.

Immediately the question arose: Where should we get children for our subjects? For our purposes it was necessary to have access to children where we could have control over diet, work and play activities, hours of retiring, etc. We needed also as complete medical, family, and scholastic histories as possible. It is at once clear that we could not use children at home, for several reasons. What we needed, it seemed, was some sort of an institution which yet was not an institution. This we found, thanks to the very helpful interest and coöperation of the Ohio State Bureau of Juvenile Research and its staff. There we had at hand children of both sexes of all ages from six to eighteen; we had the needed medical, psychological, and social resources, we had the children living in a regular routine of controlled diet, regular hours for eating, sleeping, bathing, play, study, small duties, etc., which was as nearly ideal as we could hope to have for the purposes of our studies. This distribution of the I.Q.'s of the 170 children who took part in our experiments was about that to be found in any average school population. The children knew they were resident at the Bureau for not more than 90 days—a period of observation and diagnosis preliminary to placement or being sent home. The Bureau is in no sense a custodial institution.

Our apparatus consisted of a polygraph, which is a paper tape recording device, driven by a synchronous motor and carrying 20 pens, each pen being moved magnetically through a circuit from a small device, called a hypnograph, mounted below the springs of each child's bed. The device was so arranged that any shift in the posture of the sleeper would interrupt the flow of current in the circuit and indite upon the tape a mark which

indicated the number of breaker points which passed a fixed brush as a result of the movement. While separate movements could be differentiated with respect to magnitude, we found that it was sufficient to regard each minute of the night as an active minute if any movement occurred within that minute. A magnetic device printed a line across the tape each minute during the stay in bed. All these children retired at 9 and arose at 6.

We established the fact that under our conditions 15 successive nights were sufficient to give a stable norm for each child, particularly if the children were given the same bed each night and were permitted to sleep in the beds from three to five nights before any records were taken. They were told very little about the experiments except that they were to go right to sleep as they would naturally, and that by good coöperation they would be rewarded by some visits to the movies. The novelty wore off in a few days and no difference was noted by the assistant, in constant nightly attendance and observation, between the sleep patterns of those who knew they were sleeping in beds that recorded their movements from those children brought in new and unaware for the first few days of the experiment.

After the "normal" sleep series of 15 or more nights the children were taken to a neighborhood theater, two blocks from the Bureau, between the hours of 6.45 and 8.45 p. m. Ten different experimental groups of children, 10 to 20 in number, were taken to see from 1 to as many as 15 shows consisting of the usual newsreels, comedies, and feature pictures. These varied from the wild west to the most sophisticated dramas. The children were back and made ready for bed at 9 p. m. Our aim was to keep the movie impression as nearly like the ordinary attendance of an ordinary child as possible.

Following the movie series, a second series of "normal" nights' records were taken. Thus each experimental group slept in the beds about 50 consecutive nights. About 170 different children were used in ten experiments, during which time various groups saw 58 different motion pictures.

From the data thus secured we were able to compare the "normal" sleep pattern with that on the nights movies were seen in the evening before retiring, and the first "normal" series could be checked against the post-movie series.

Each group of children was carefully selected so as to secure 10 boys and 10 girls distributed over the age range, and so selected that about all degrees of brightness would be represented.

Several additional experiments were made. Two groups of children participated in two experimental insomnia series, during which the customary sleep ration was reduced from nine hours to six, first by late retiring (midnight) and arising at 6, and again by early rising (starting the new day at 3 a. m. and retiring at 9 p. m.). Two groups were given coffee and a well-known decaffeinated coffee with the evening meal and again a half hour before retiring and in another part of the work at both times, and the effect noted. Another group was taken for an automobile ride through the city, permitting the children to window shop, etc., for two hours at the same time as the film attendance. In all cases effort was made to keep the daily activities, the health, the diet, etc., as uniform as possible. Special study was made of the records of all children who became ill and were forced to sleep in the hospital during the course of treatment. We used these records to find out if the sleep pattern would show a change before the child showed any overt symptoms of the oncoming illness, such as fever, headache, sore throat, etc. Special study was made by Dr. Miller of the limens of critical frequency for visual flicker in about a hundred cases. These measurements were made in order to ascertain what changes in the reactance of the eye were observable in varying stages of fatigue, and to determine whether pure visual flicker could possibly serve to produce nervousness or restlessness in the children. With all these data we were in a position to differentiate the influence of the movie from other controlled variations. The analysis of the large amount of data collected in these experiments furnished us with a large number of new facts which could only be obtained because the methods we used made the intercomparisons from which they were derived possible.

Restful, recuperative sleep is a prime necessity for normal growth and development. The sleep pattern is a rather sensitive indicator of the effect of fatigue-inducing agents. Physiologically fatigue is a form of oxygen starvation, of intoxication. We believe that the apparatus and the methods developed in the course of these studies have many possibilities for use on similar and related problems which have a definite social and hygienic bearing.[82]

[82] A more complete appreciation of some of these and a more satisfactory understanding of the methods can be had from a study of the results of the work issued by the Payne Fund and the Motion Picture Research Council in a volume, "Children's Sleep," published by Macmillan and Co., New York, 1933.

VIII. RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY[83]

A. A Study of the Social Settlement

The social settlement may be regarded as an important educational agency supplementing the work of the public school particularly in the interstitial areas of great cities. It has carried on in many cases types of education for which the schools are not yet prepared. Informal education as it develops in such institutions has never been adequately studied or related to the problems of the schools.[84]

The special problems under consideration in this study were (1) the elements in neighborhood life leading towards delinquency, and (2) the nature and result of the contacts between the neighborhood boys and the settlement (Chicago Commons). Other problems were developed as this exploratory study proceeded by gathering first-hand material descriptive of life in the community.

As a method of research this written record of events corresponds to the case-work technique of the psychiatrist wherein stenographic reports are taken of long interviews with the patient in order that the observer may later interpret the subjective life of the patient from the recorded conversations. In much the same manner the sociologist has herein set out to study the boys of a foreign-speaking neighborhood by interpreting their attitudes from glimpses of their recorded speech and actions when they were together.

Abstract of Study

In the first part of the study, "Boy's Life in an Immigrant Area," only enough material has been included to describe and illustrate conditions which have long been known to exist.

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[83] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 5, January, 1930, pp. 307–312.

[84] A study entitled, "A Study of the Boys' Work Program of a Social Settlement in its Relation to Delinquency" has recently been completed by Chester C. Scott of the department of sociology of the University of Chicago. Mr. Scott has kindly contributed this statement describing the methods of his investigation.

How thoroughly revealing a boy's conversation may be at times, is shown by the following excerpt:

> Three neighborhood boys were walking together down the street when one of them was suddenly reminded of a bright idea by seeing a big truckload of coal.
>
> "You know what Mike did once when they were out of coal?" he asked. "He took a log and threw it under one of those big trucks and when the wheel ran over it, a lot of coal fell off the truck right in front of their house. That's why his Ma thinks he's smart."

If a boy's speech goes no further than to reveal to us what is expected of him, it has in so doing given us a valuable index of the neighborhood in which he lives.

The second and third parts of the study dealt with "The Police and the Boy" and "The Social Settlement and the Boy." We have included in this discussion statements made both consciously and unconsciously by the boys, the police, and the social workers of the neighborhood as they talked about each other. Nor have we failed to record also the actions of each towards the others; for boys and even social workers are capable of lisping one creed and acting out another.

This part of the study proceeded far enough to establish fairly well the difference between the formal, uncompromising rôle of the police and the contrasting, informal, intimate contacts achieved between the settlement and the boys. Through it all the conduct and activity of the boys in every case seem to be so controlled by their groups, gangs, or clubs, that exceptions to this rule can be treated as special cases with special causes attached.

We find that the active elements in each situation are hidden behind the mask of gang activity. Why these gangs or clubs are formed, how they are managed, and what determines the nature of their activity (whether delinquent or nondelinquent) are questions to be pursued further.

Special Study of Clubs

The study here turned its special attention to the boys' clubs affiliated with the settlement. The boys' work program of the settlement is largely conducted on a club basis. These clubs are natural groupings formed by the boys themselves, in many cases being actual neighborhood gangs.

Abandoning for the moment the case-study method and turning to statistics, we find that 65 per cent of the boys enrolled

at the settlement are members of some club in the house and another 20 per cent are connected with clubs (not affiliated with the settlement) which have other headquarters (hangouts) in the neighborhood.

Spot maps of the neighborhood showing the residence of the members of these clubs were used to indicate the location and distribution of the clubs throughout the neighborhood. In almost every case the clubs are definitely localized. All the members of a particular club frequently come from one city block or from one street less than a block long.

In contrast with these localized clubs is the Boy Scout troop of the settlement, the membership of which is scattered over the entire neighborhood. Conversations of the boys in the Boy Scout troop reveal the significance of this scattered membership as pictured by the ecological study. They indicate that the Scout troop is always struggling for new members. (Other clubs are closed organizations.) The troop, therefore, enlists those boys who have failed to find adjustment in their own locality with the natural play group formed there. The boys who are most loyal to the troop are the ones who feel most keenly their maladjustment to the gang which dominates their own street. These boys have personality problems. Their speech and actions show them to be individualists or the victims of cultural isolation.

In contrast with the Scout troop, the boys' clubs formed from natural (localized) play groups represent adjustment. Among these boys even delinquency means only their adjustment to the group ideals.

Records of Clubs

The attempt was first made to obtain histories of some of the club organizations written by the boys themselves. These documents, however, rarely showed more than the unfailing admiration which the boys held for physical prowess. Their histories were records of their athletic victories. There is, however, a noticeable shift of interest from athletics to social affairs in the histories of some of the senior clubs as the membership approaches later adolescence.

After obtaining the histories of some of the settlement clubs, we next attempted, with encouraging results, something akin to a stenographic report of the entire conversation during their weekly club meetings at the settlement house over a period of

time. One who is familiar with boys' clubs will of course recognize that no stenographer could possibly keep up with the animated conversation of a dozen boys all talking at once, even though her presence could be arranged without the knowledge of the boys. The best we have been able to do as yet has been for the adult leader of the club to reproduce from memory as much as possible immediately after the club meeting. We have frequently been surprised at how little of the group conversation is sometimes required to reveal the rôle which a certain individual takes in the club. The following is a short sample:

Mona, a boy fourteen years of age, large but dull and backward in school, came to the settlement house and asked if he could start a club.

"Where are your boys?" he was asked.

"I'll bring 'em in tomorrow night," he replied. "I can get a lot of kids up on our street. This guy is one of them." He pointed to a boy beside him named Joe, who nodded assent to all that Mona said.

The next evening the club met to elect officers. There were seven boys present, ranging in age from eight years up, Mona being the oldest and the largest.

"Whom do you want to nominate for president?" the adult club leader asked as the boys were seated around the room.

"I nominate Dominic Apollaro," said a ten-year-old boy.

"That ain't fair," challenged another boy, "he's your brother"

"Yea? Don't you suppose I want my brother for president of this club? Sure I do," was the response.

"So do I," shouted a second younger brother of Dominic's.

"All right," said the adult club leader, "Dominic is nominated. Who else do you want?"

There was a silence. Then Mona got up and demanded, "Why don't you guys vote for me and Joe? We got up the club."

"We don't want you," chorused the three Apollaro's.

The adult leader offered another suggestion. "If you and Mona got up the club, why don't you nominate each other?" he asked.

Joe looked at Mona and said, "That guy wants to run everything. I'm not going to nominate him."

At the same time Mona turned his back on Joe, saying. "To heck with him. I got up this club and I'm supposed to run it."

"All right, then," said Dominic, "I'll nominate Felix to run against me."

The voting was conducted and Felix elected due to Mona's antagonism to Dominic.

But the election of vice president presented a similar problem.

Dominic was nominated again by one of his younger brothers.

Mona rose to object to the nomination on the grounds that Dominic had already run for one office.

"All right," said Dominic. "I'll show you something. You and Joe run for vice president and I'll keep out of it."

The adult leader started to raise a parliamentary objection to this procedure, but Dominic was already showing Mona and Joe to the door. With

Mona safely out of the room, Dominic managed to secure a unanimous vote in favor of Joe and haughtily called Mona back to face his defeat.

"Now," said Dominic, "you wouldn't have me for president, but I wouldn't have you for vice president, either. What do you think of that?"

The election of secretary now brought Dominic and Mona up as candidates. But there was no one left to support Mona, so Dominic was easily elected by his brothers' votes.

We have on hand other scraps of conversation, likewise obtained, which seem to indicate that by pushing this method of investigation, in spite of its inadequacies, we might learn much more regarding the impulses which have been responsible for the forming of the club or gang. This is also a possible means for studying the adult club leader and the process whereby the boys and the leader come to understand each other and to some extent share their varying cultures.

In conclusion it may be stated that throughout this project, the effort has been made to apply experimentally the case-study technique to the behavior of groups and masses rather than to individuals. The results seem to promise that first-hand documents of the group conversations and activities may be as fruitful in disclosing the inner workings of the group as personal documents are in disclosing the subjective motives of the individual.

B. A Study of Problem Boys and Their Brothers[85]

The Sub-Commission on Causes of the Crime Commission of New York State has just completed and published "A Study of Problem Boys and Their Brothers." The study was made and the report written by Harry M. Shulman, research worker for the Sub-Commission under the direction of its members. Professor Raymond Moley of Columbia University acted as adviser.

In carrying out this study, the cases were selected from a section of the Lower East Side of Manhattan and from East Harlem, a section of the Upper East Side, which is also the area of the Boys' Club Study of New York University. From the cases coming to the Children's Court during 1927 from which the problem boys and their brothers were selected, there were eliminated all cases that did not fill the required specifications of the study.

"Total age range, age 10 to 17; age difference between brothers, 4 years or less. Type of offense, theft, burglary, or serious mis-

[85] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 4, December, 1929, pp. 242-246.

conduct not involving property. Length of family residence in area, 5 years or more. Out of several hundred cases originally chosen, eighty-seven cases filled the requirements of having two brothers within the proper age limits and near enough in age, one known to the court and the other not, as well as the other qualifications. These eighty-seven simmered down, by degrees, to forty pairs where the differences in behavior were clear-cut, as described by parents, teachers, case investigators, and recreation leaders. Throughout this whole process of selection, no criterion other than those originally chosen was followed save the question: Is the second brother truly nondelinquent? Temperamental qualities alone were not considered sufficient to eliminate a child from the normal group. However, truancy, gang membership, theft, incorrigibility, school misbehavior, wherever manifested, were grounds for rejection."

The following types of data were obtained on the children involved: "Chronological data, general picture of conduct, intelligence, temperament, physical condition, character, associates, interests, school history, and vocational history. The data on home and family have been subdivided as follows: home conditions, parental conditions, neighborhood conditions, and family background."

The sources utilized in gathering the data are as follows:

Mother	Principal
Father	Attendance officer
Brother	Family case agency
Sister	Child-guidance agency
Stepmother	Vocational placement agency
Aunt	Medical agency
Problem boy	Recreation worker
Nonproblem brother	Children's Court probation officer
Uncle	Children's Court mental clinic
Stepfather	Police department
School record	Crime Commission psychologist
Male teacher	Field investigator
Woman teacher	Physician
Neighbor	Institution cottage father
Court probation officer	Institution official
Other relative	Institution psychologist

The general method of the study was one of comparison of the problem boys and their nonproblem blood brothers with reference both to personality traits and environmental factors.

The findings of the Commission, which are of genuine interest to persons working in the field of education, are as follows:

(1) The problem boys were, on the average, duller in intelligence than their normal brothers, the median I.Q. for the problem being 75, indicative of borderline intelligence, while the median for the normals was 86, which is indicative of dull intelligence. Thus, borderline intelligence was associated with delinquency.

(2) The problem boys were, on the average, inferior to their brothers in grasp of school subjects, their median educational quotient being 81, as compared with 92½ for the nonproblem boys. Thus, incapacity in school subjects was associated with delinquency as well as with retarded intelligence.

(3) School retardations were, on the average, 2½ times as frequent among the problem boys as among the nonproblem brothers. Thus, repeated school failure was associated with delinquency as well as with retarded intelligence.

(4) The problem boys were not only superior to their brothers in mechanical ability, but their scores were actually superior to those made by unselected New York City school children, sixty per cent of the problem boys exceeding the age medians of the latter. Thus, superior mechanical ability in an unfavorable environment was associated with delinquency.

(5) The planfulness ability of both the problem and nonproblem groups was similar, both being below the average, with quotients of 83 and 81½.

(6) The two groups were comparable in age, the median age of the problem boys being 15 years and of the nonproblem being the same.

(7) Delinquent behavior, involving property offenses, was in all instances associated with incorrigible behavior of other sorts. The young thief was socially ill in a variety of ways. Stealing was merely a symptom of graver and deeper social maladjustment.

(8) Superficial probation supervision was in most cases ineffective.

(9) Teachers paid slight attention to the individuality of their pupils, recognizing neither their vocational nor personality needs.

Recommendations are made with reference to treatment, study, prevention, schools, recreational centers, social-service agencies, children's courts, and police. The recommendations with reference to schools, which are of particular interest to teachers and school administrators, are as follows:

"Schools should utilize the superior performance ability of potential and actual delinquents by giving them education through the use of concrete materials. The potential industrial value of superior mechanical ability must be appreciated and the responsibility accepted for the industrial training of this group of children. Junior trade schools, as unsuccessfully sought by the board of education, should be established, and the support of public-minded citizens must be aroused for this program, as an integral link in the chain of delinquency prevention.

"The department of visiting teachers and the psycho-educational clinic of the board of education should have increased budgets and personnel. Money should be spent here rather

than on probationary schools which represent an obsolete punitive approach to delinquency treatment that is unnecessary with children so young as those in the public schools.

"Steps such as the limitation of initial enrollment to children mentally capable of receiving graded instruction, or the adoption of a 'constant-promotion plan,' as described in this report, or a combination of both with a trade program in the upper grades, should be undertaken to eliminate the emotional disturbances and dislike of school engendered by repeated failures.

"The causes of school behavior problems require a more adequate analysis than is possible with the present system of conduct marks. For the present praise-and-blame system of A's, B's, C's, D's, etc., must be substituted a more significant description of behavior in terms that make possible the planning of corrective personality treatment, on a basis much wider than merely that of approval or disapproval.

"Teachers should be taught, in the training schools, not only academic psychology, but a course in behavior problems which will enable them to maintain an objective and impersonal attitude towards delinquents in the classroom, instead of falling into emotional and unanalytical responses of displeasure. Teachers lacking in poise and understanding should not be assigned to schools where there are many delinquency cases."[86]

C. Study of Conduct Habits of Boy Scouts.[87]

About a year and a half ago, the National Council of the Boy Scouts of America decided that the time had come to check up definitely on their own activities to determine to what extent the Scout Movement is attaining its major objective of developing socially useful character traits in the boys who come under its influence. It was unanimously agreed that such a study must be thoroughly scientific, objective, and unbiased. This meant that the study itself must be completely detached from any Scout influence. In accordance with this principle, Professor Henry P. Fairchild, of New York University, was requested to take the direction and full responsibility of the study. Funds were secured to provide for the employment of a competent staff and

[86] Crime Commission of New York State. "A Study of Problem Boys and Their Brothers by the Sub-Commission on Causes and Effects of Crime." J. B. Lyon Company, Printers, Albany, New York, 1929, pp. 13–14.

[87] *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. II, No. 6, February, 1929, pp. 380–382.

for necessary expenses. All the executives of the Scout Organization were authorized to coöperate fully with the agents of the study in the way of supplying information and other services as desired, but no participation in the study itself by such executives was contemplated.

In accordance with this plan, about ten communities, distributed over the country, have been selected at random as samples of Scout activity. In each of these communities a twofold plan of inquiry is being carried out.

1. A purely statistical study is being made based on the Juvenile Court Records to determine the relative frequency of delinquency among Scouts and non-Scouts.

2. A personal study is being made of about one hundred boys in each community, divided into four groups, approximately twenty-five in each, as follows:

a. Scouts with a delinquency record.
b. Non-Scouts with a delinquency record.
c. Scouts without a delinquency record.
d. Non-Scouts without a delinquency record.

In the compilation of the data thus secured, a uniform schedule is being used which will serve as a basis for the final tabulations and statistical comparisons. The final conclusions as to the influence of the Scout factor on character development will be based partly upon the showing of these schedules and partly upon the intimate knowledge of the boys' characters acquired by the workers in the course of their studies. Every effort is being made to provide for the necessary allowances on account of any difference in the hereditary or environmental situations which may be discovered to exist between Scouts and non-Scouts.

The workers have been mainly recruited from the graduate schools of strategically located universities with the courteous coöperation of teachers in those Universities. In addition to the director, there is one full-time experienced social worker on the staff and one or two professional workers giving full time for limited periods.

Since the purpose of the study is to furnish data to the Scout organization itself which will serve as a basis for either the reinforcement of present methods and policies, or the adoption of promising modifications, it has not, as yet, been definitely decided whether the report or any portions of it, will be printed. The spirit of the enterprise guarantees that any partial report that may be printed will be strictly representative of the whole.