UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_148588
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 301.F491 Accession No. 22673

Author Finney, R. L. & Zeleny, L. D.

Title Introduction to Educational Sociology

This book should be returned on or before the date last marked below.

HEATH SOCIAL RELATIONS SERIES

JEROME DAVIS, *General Editor*

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. By JEROME DAVIS, Yale University, and HARRY ELMER BARNES, New School for Social Research (with L. L. BERNARD, Washington University, SEBA ELDRIDGE, University of Kansas, FRANK H. HANKINS, Smith College, ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, Yale University, and MALCOLM WILLEY, University of Minnesota).

READINGS IN SOCIOLOGY. Selected by the Authors of *An Introduction to Sociology* to supplement that volume.

IMMIGRATION AND RACE ATTITUDES. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Director of the School of Social Welfare, University of Southern California.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: MIND IN SOCIETY. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, Head of the Department of Economics and Sociology, Lucknow University, and NARENDRA NATH SEN-GUPTA, Head of the Department of Experimental Psychology, Calcutta University.

ECONOMICS AND ETHICS. By JOHN A. HOBSON, Formerly Lecturer on Economics, Oxford University.

CRIMINOLOGY. By ROBERT H. GAULT, Professor of Psychology, Northwestern University, Editor of the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology.*

THE CONCEPTS OF SOCIOLOGY. By EARLE EDWARD EUBANK, Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Cincinnati.

THE BEGINNINGS OF TO-MORROW: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE GREAT SOCIETY. By HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER, Lecturer on Social Economy, Bryn Mawr.

IMMIGRATION AND ASSIMILATION. By HANNIBAL GERALD DUNCAN, Department of Economics, Political Science, and Sociology, University of Colorado.

AN INTRODUCTION TO EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. By Ross L. FINNEY, Late Associate Professor of Educational Sociology, University of Minnesota, and LESLIE D. ZELENY, Professor of Sociology, State Teachers College, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

In Press or in Preparation

RACE RELATIONS: ADJUSTMENT OF WHITES AND NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES. By WILLIS D. WEATHERFORD, President and Professor of Applied Anthropology, Y.M.C.A. Graduate School, and CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Professor of Sociology, Fisk University.

HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT. By HARRY ELMER BARNES, New School for Social Research, and HOWARD BECKER, Smith College.

THE FAMILY. By HORNELL HART, Professor of Social Ethics, Hartford Theological Seminary.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOCIAL STATISTICS. By ROBERT MORSE WOODBURY.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION. By E. C. LINDEMAN, Chairman of the Department of Sociology, New York School of Social Work, and Lecturer, New School for Social Research.

MENTAL HYGIENE. By FRANKWOOD E. WILLIAMS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

BY

ROSS L. FINNEY, PH.D.

Associate Professor of Educational Sociology
University of Minnesota

AND

LESLIE D. ZELENY, PH.D.

Professor of Sociology, State Teachers College
St. Cloud, Minnesota



D. C. HEATH AND COMPANY

BOSTON NEW YORK CHICAGO
ATLANTA SAN FRANCISCO DALLAS
LONDON

COPYRIGHT, 1934,
BY ROSS L. FINNEY
AND LESLIE D. ZELENY

No part of the material covered by this copyright may be reproduced in any form without written permission of the publisher.

3E4

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

THIS book presents some sociological insights into problems confronting teachers and supervisors every day. Its content has been definitely influenced by a study attempting to relate sociology to the daily activities of teachers that was conducted, under the direction of the authors, by Florence Kelly Zeleny, and published in abbreviated form in the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, March, 1932. We have more than arm-chair opinion, therefore, to support our conviction that the material that is presented will be of immediate practical value to teachers, student teachers, supervisors, and students of education.

The approach to the sociological interpretation of educational problems is made through four fields of sociological study: culture, social institutions, social interaction, and social control. For convenience and clarity the book is divided into four sections: Part I, The Community and the Teacher; Part II, Social Interaction in the Classroom; Part III, Culture, Social Institutions, and Education; and Part IV, Social Control in the School. With this general plan of organization we have been able to present pertinent material bearing upon problems of the teacher in relation to the community, problems of the classroom, problems of method, problems of the curriculum, and problems of interpreting the aims of education.

The preparation of this text has confronted us with several dilemmas that have proved both perplexing and stimulating. One dilemma has arisen out of the difference in the interests and the points of view of the authors; one author is concerned chiefly with problems of educational objectives and the curriculum, the other with methods of instruction, pupil-teacher relationships, and school management; and again, one author is committed to a philosophical, the other to a scientific technique of approach.

These differing points of view have proved a stimulus to both of us; lengthy discussion has enabled us to present a

unified treatment that we hope and believe will prove valuable to our readers. It has been our constant effort to produce a textbook that would appeal to the students who read it as interesting and helpful, to the instructors who assign it as practical and relevant to the needs of teachers, and to sociologists and educators as creditable sociology and education.

We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to contemporary students in the fields of sociology and education; they have been given credit at every point possible. Our thanks are also due to the many publishers and authors who have kindly given us permission to quote copyrighted material. Individual acknowledgment has been given in the footnotes.

We also wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Miss Elizabeth Hebel for her detailed account of her teaching included in the chapter on accommodation, to Miss Grace S. Nugent for the picture of her classroom, to Florence Kelly Zeleny for her many hours of assistance with the preparation of the manuscript, to President George Selke and Professor John Talbot of the St. Cloud State Teachers College for their interest and encouragement, and to the hundreds of students at the University of Minnesota and the St. Cloud State Teachers College and the many school superintendents who have contributed material in the form of cases for study.

The questions and exercises that conclude each chapter are intentionally more numerous than can properly be assigned to each student. Instructors may select those that are desirable for general assignment; others may then be profitably assigned to committees of students for report to the class.

Ross L. Finney
Leslie D. Zeleny

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This *Introduction to Educational Sociology* was in page proof when the unfortunate death of Professor Finney was announced. No changes have been made in the preface, title page, or contents of the volume.

CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE iii

PUBLISHER'S NOTE iv

PART I. — THE COMMUNITY AND THE TEACHER

CHAPTER

I. A TYPICAL SMALL CITY 3

II. TYPICAL RURAL SOCIAL WORLDS 37

III. COMMUNITY MORES AND THE TEACHER 63

IV. THE TEACHER AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS 73

PART II. — SOCIAL INTERACTION IN THE CLASSROOM

V. THE PROBLEM OF FORMAL EDUCATION 103

VI. TEACHER-PUPIL CONFLICT 113

VII. PUPIL WITHDRAWAL FROM CONFLICT 131

VIII. ACCOMMODATION IN THE CLASSROOM 142

PART III. — CULTURE, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND EDUCATION

IX. THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF CULTURE 165

X. CULTURE AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR 176

XI. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND EDUCATION 185

XII. CULTURAL CHANGE AND THE CURRICULUM 198

XIII. CULTURAL LAGS IN EDUCATION 206

XIV. CULTURE AND STUDENT ACTIVITIES 215

PART IV. — SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE SCHOOL

XV. SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE CLASSROOM 231

XVI. SOCIOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS OF INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR . . . 267

XVII. THE CONTROL OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES 289

XVIII. SOCIAL MORALE IN THE SCHOOL 310

GLOSSARY OF SOCIOLOGICAL TERMS USED IN THE TEXT 329

A SUGGESTED LIBRARY LIST 333

INDEX 335

PART I

THE COMMUNITY AND THE TEACHER

The community is "a social unit within certain territorial boundaries, possessing a degree of functioning unity and comparative self-sufficiency." — McClenahan

CHAPTER I

A TYPICAL SMALL CITY

In order to obtain a realistic picture of the social life of a typical small city and from this picture obtain a more complete insight into the social backgrounds of the classroom, the teacher will find it helpful to study brief sociological analyses of small cities. The study of River City is here presented for that purpose.

Bird's-Eye View of River City [1]

As one passes over River City in an airplane, one sees that it lies on the west and east banks of a large river (Fig. 1). It appears to have a population of about twenty thousand. The two parts of the city are connected by two traffic bridges and one railroad bridge. The main street runs through the center of both parts of the city, but the larger part lies on the west side of the river (Figs. 1 and 3).

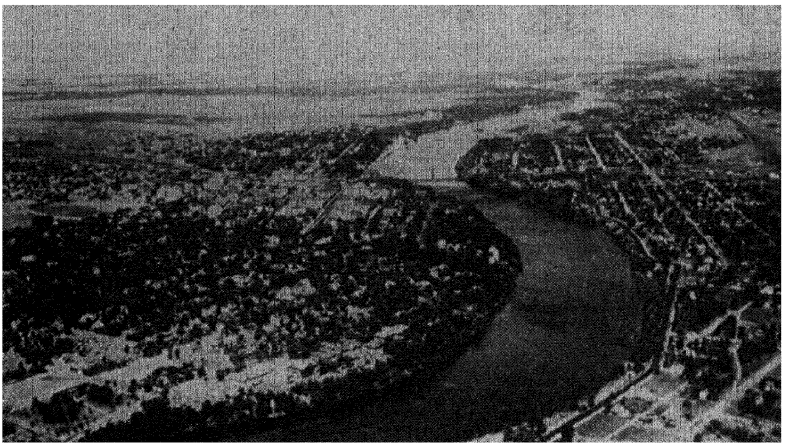
The outstanding buildings are a college, two high schools (one parochial and one public), several parochial and public elementary schools, churches ranging in size from a tiny stucco building to an immense brick and granite structure, several large stores or office buildings not over three stories high, a mill, several hotels, and a large brick and granite courthouse. On the outskirts of the city the airplane observer sees a large prison surrounded by a huge granite wall, two large hospitals, an orphanage, and many stone-polishing sheds and quarries for the extraction of stone.

Two railroad lines connect the city with the other parts

[1] The material in this chapter has been assembled from unpublished studies made, under the direction of one of the authors, in several small cities. The composite picture given here is believed to represent some of the conditions in a so-called 'typical small city.' For the sake of interest and clearness the assemblage is given the name of "River City."

of the country, and excellent automobile highways lead in all directions from the city. The environs of the city consist of beautiful farms stretching away for miles in every direction.

River City is beautiful. The river with its high banks and green islands, the shady parks and neat streets all leading toward the paved business center, create a pleasing effect. The whole picture, as one looks down from the cabin of a



Three Hawks Air Photo

FIG. 1. — BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF A TYPICAL SMALL CITY

It is the group life of such small cities that thousands of teachers must understand in order to participate intelligently in community life.

whirring airplane, is one of restfulness and quiet. The people, too, seem to move quietly about and do not appear to be interfering with one another's purposes. Motor traffic is in evidence; children are observed on the playgrounds, and there are general indications of activity, but no suggestion that there may be turmoil or struggle in the affairs going on below.

THE UNDERLYING STRUGGLE

A more careful sociological analysis of River City reveals, however, that the people spend a great deal of their time

struggling against their surroundings and struggling with one another in the quest for money and power. Frequently, some persons are found who fail in this struggle, and who may become dependent upon the charitable agencies of the city or drift about from one odd job to another or be sent to jail for some criminal offense or be committed to an institution for the feeble-minded or the insane. Of course, most of the persons in the city are considered successful, in varying degrees, in the struggle. The nature of some of the struggles is suggested by the following brief descriptions of a few of the activities of the city.

Struggle in the Stone Industry

About fifteen hundred men and their families are dependent upon the stone industry for their bread and butter. These men remove the hardest of stones from the ground, cut the stone, polish it, and letter it. The different participants in this process are cutter, rough-surfacer, polisher, blacksmith, saw-filer, engineer, truck-driver, repair man, sand-blaster, and laborer. In addition to these workers, there are office workers and managers. The wages range, in good times, from three dollars a day for the laborers to about nine dollars and fifty cents a day for the skilled workmen. Some of the men spend all day in the quarries cutting out the stone and hoisting it upon trucks; some cut the stone into smaller pieces in an atmosphere partially filled with stone dust; others stand much of the day in a fine wet mud while they operate the huge stone-polishing wheels; and still others operate pneumatic lettering and finishing chisels that vibrate vigorously against their hands and arms. During a time of depression many of these men are laid off or given work for a few days only each week. The men who are laid off may leave town, work at odd jobs, sit at home spending their meager savings and hoping for better times, or become entirely dependent upon the charitable agencies of the city.

Struggle in the Machine Shops

The workers in the machine shops are also affected directly by the changes in business activity. When they work, they usually tend some machine. The typical worker's day in the machine shop is represented by the following description made by a sociological investigator:

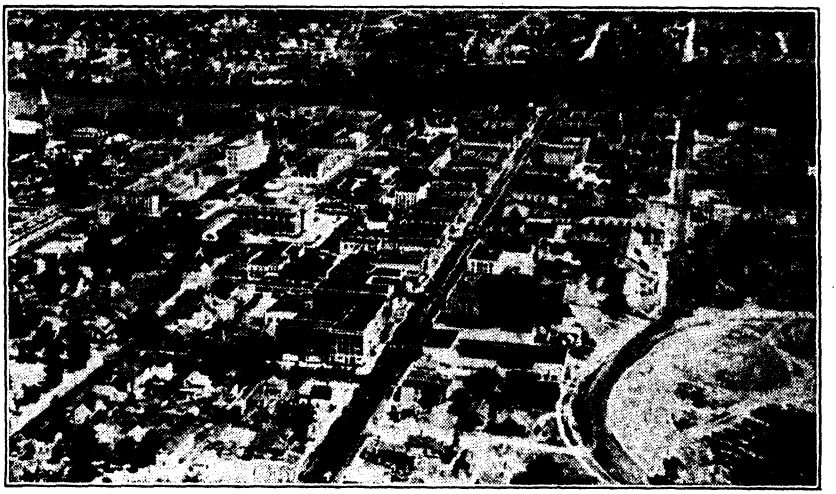
> At one machine a man was engaged in grooving the tops of automobile valves. His work consisted of picking up two valves with the left hand, placing one in a slot or vise, pushing up a lever with the right hand and holding it in place until a small wheel ground out the groove, releasing the lever and picking out the valve and dropping it into a pan at the right side. These operations were repeated 8 times per minute, 480 times an hour, 4320 times per day.

The men in the machine shops get, on the average, about fifty cents an hour when they work. It is to be observed that the opportunity for the stone-cutter and the machine-shop worker to make a living is not entirely dependent upon their merits as individuals, but also upon the general demand for the product of their labor.

Struggles among Business Men

There is also a struggle for existence among the business men, as illustrated by the struggle among the gasoline companies and their workers. Certain of the well-established stations possess good buildings, expensive equipment, and trained service men. They desire high gasoline prices in order to pay for the cost of the property and in order to pay dividends to the stockholders. Other men not established in the oil business desire to get into this business, and have taken at times, especially during depression, the opportunity to buy cheap gasoline from certain wholesale companies and dispense it from cheap service stations at low prices. This competition of the 'fly-by-night' companies has caused the 'old-line' companies to fight them and fight one another for supremacy in ways that have often led to

selling gasoline at a loss. The result of the whole procedure has been much conflict and the arousal of antagonisms. The attitude of a representative of a regular company toward



Three Hawks Air Photo

FIG. 2. — THE 'LOOP' DISTRICT OF A TYPICAL SMALL CITY

This is the center of dominance in the city. Here the struggle for life and higher social status goes on at its highest rate. Here cluster the buildings that house many of the community's social institutions: the government, the industries, the church, the school, the press, and others.

an automobile dealer who entered the gasoline business is expressed best in his own words:

> Starbuck, over there, was and still is in the business of selling cars. Now why does he have to come into the oil game? There's no money in it for either of us if he is going to sell at the price he does.
>
> Here are the tactics that I am going to use to fight him. He came meddling into our business; so why can't we meddle into his? From now on I'm knocking the —— cars the worst way I can. I'm going to get the rest of the oil-station men to do the same. You know that 75 per cent of the cars sold are usually the ones recommended by the man who drains the oil. Now, if we do that by recommending a car, what can't we do by running a car down? When we get started, Starbuck's sales are going to drop so far that it will

be no fun for him. That will be the time when he'll wish he never saw a gasoline pump. We'll fix him, all right.

The struggle for existence is keen also among other business men of the city. During the last ten years especially, the chain stores have invaded the business district. After the ten-year struggle, the chain stores in groceries, notions, and dry goods appear to outnumber the independent stores of the same kind. The technique of the chain store is that of coöperative buying, or buying in large quantities, attractive display, and selling at low prices. The technique of the independent merchant is that of appeals to home-town loyalty, a credit system instead of the cash system of the chain store, special prizes for trading at his store, and reliance upon personal acquaintance.

Results of the Struggle, Especially in Depression

That during depression periods the struggle for existence becomes more severe is evidenced by the large increase in the numbers served by the social-service agencies, the difficulties of agencies in making collections, the lowering of the credit ratings of many individuals, the removal of telephones, the larger number of unpaid rent bills, the lowering of rents and of real-estate values, and the movement for the lowering of taxes through greater economy in government.

Struggles for existence have been going on in this city since its beginning and may be expected to continue for an indefinite time in the future. The severity of the struggle depends somewhat upon the natures of the individuals, the spirit of the times, and the general economic conditions.

The American civilization tends to give highest social status to the individuals who obtain the most money in the struggle. This is not true in all civilizations; the Chinese, for example, give the highest social status to the scholar. In our society money appears to have the most influence; however, there are exceptions to this rule and some unusual persons may obtain high social status without the possession of money.

Segregation

Persons who are successful (in terms of the possession of money and the cultural objects and the prestige it can buy) in different degrees tend to live in different culture areas or culture districts, in which may be found certain differences in social life. Some of the districts in a city may be formed because of differences in nationality, race, or religion rather than of differences in socio-economic status. Whatever the cause, the result is social stratification — the creation of upper and lower classes by the presence of these easily recognized gradations. Analysis of the typical city has revealed that there are many cultural districts that are separated from one another by hills, the river, main highways, railroad yards, or industrial areas. Of course, there is much over-lapping among the areas, especially between those that are contiguous, but statistical analysis has shown that among many factors the following are found to differ: the occupational status, the types of houses, the credit rating, the land values, and certain prevailing attitudes and beliefs. Figure 3 shows some of these cultural districts.

Comparison of Two Segregated Areas

For purposes of illustration, let us compare two distinctly different areas or culture districts, which we shall call A and B. Area A is representative of the higher, not the highest, socio-economic group, and Area B is representative of the lower, not the lowest, socio-economic group.

Area A is a beautiful section; most of the avenues and many of the crossroads are paved; many oaks and elms decorate the boulevards; the land values are high; an unusually high proportion of the workers is classified in the higher business and professional groups. The people of this area live in comfortable homes (as revealed by the administration of the Chapin *Scale for Rating Living Room Equipment* [2]); they have relatively few worries about the next

[2] F. Stuart Chapin. *Scale for Rating Living Room Equipment.* Minneapolis: Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota.

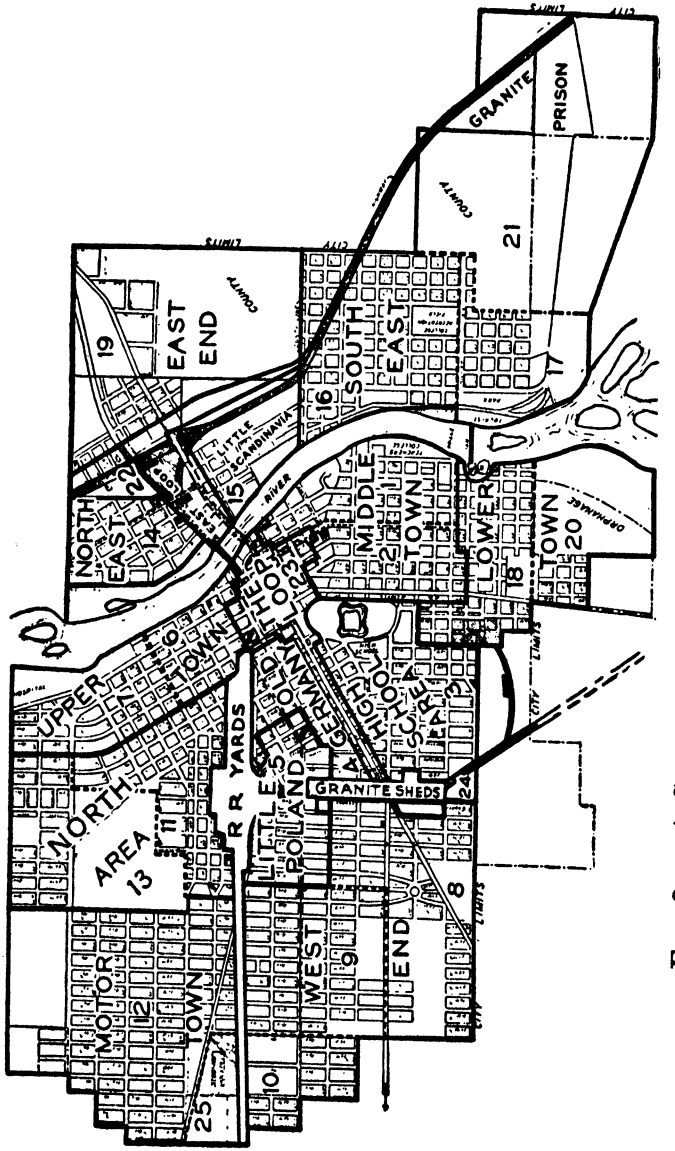


FIG. 3. — A SOCIAL BASE MAP OF A TYPICAL SMALL CITY

This shows the different culture districts of a typical small city. There are to be found many contrasts in ways of living and in attitudes toward education in different districts.

meal, drive good cars, and have money for shows, travel, and parties. The children sleep in comfortable beds, have good food, warm clothes, books and magazines, and they expect to carry their education beyond the high school. The children often spend their summer vacations in the country, at the lake, or on trips with the parents. Seldom, if ever, does a family in this area call for aid from the charitable agencies.

Just below the hill on which is situated the relatively favored Area A lies Area B, where only 7 per cent of the workers are classified in the highest occupational grouping, as compared with about 35 per cent for Area A. In Area B 36 per cent of the workers, but in Area A only about 12 per cent, are in the lowest occupational classification.[3] Area B is an area of poorly constructed houses, without pavements, sidewalks, or curbings. It has, with one exception, the poorest credit rating of any area in the city. The people in this area often wonder whether they will have food for the next meal; and they possess little money for shows, travel, or parties. The children sleep in cheap and often dirty beds, eat poor food, wear poor clothing, and have practically no books and few magazines. In the summer they stay in town and play in the vacant lots, or by the river, or sometimes on some of the public playgrounds above the hill. The parents do not expect that their children will go to college. The charitable agencies find much to do in this area.

The opinions of persons in these two areas are indicated by certain responses made by persons living in the two contrasted areas to the question, "How do you like River City?"

Responses of Men and Women in Area A

Why, River City is the only place to live — the only place. We have everything from pickles to stone.

[3] Based on an analysis of the city directory in terms of the occupational categories of the Barr Scale for Occupational Intelligence and the Taussig Industrial Classification.

River City is the busiest city of its size in the country. Many people from the smaller towns around are coming in to trade, and we also consider the fact that the college is here a great help. We're surely progressing, and I know that I'd be happy nowhere else but right here.

River City couldn't be surpassed.

Responses of Men and Women in Area B

This town is all right for rich people. They can have their parties and recreations, but what kind of recreation do we get? Don't even dare to spend twenty-five cents once a week to go to a public card party without thinking of how many things I could have bought with it.

If they'd get rid of beer, this town wouldn't be so bad, but I can scrimp and save and deny myself all the pleasures of life, and then he [the husband] takes his two weeks' wages and spends half of it on drinking.

Everything in this town is against me. I've lived here since I was a kid and look what I got for all that — not even a job. It's a hard place to get steady work. I worked for a couple of days this winter shoveling snow and that's all. The guys with the pull get all the breaks.

We've found it hard to earn bread and butter for our family, but we trust in God and our religion to help us.

Contrasts in Getting a Living

The housewives in twenty-five representative homes from each area were asked to fill out, anonymously, a questionnaire containing many inquiries about their personal life. There is every reason to believe that the responses are true. A comparison of the results suggests many differences in the culture of the two areas.

In Area B fourteen of the twenty-five wives said that their husbands worked at odd jobs or at nothing at all; in Area A all the husbands had a business, profession, or trade. In B eighteen husbands had been out of work five months or more during the last year; in A only two husbands had

been out of work five months or more. In B seventeen wives had worked for money from two to twelve months during the past year; in A ten wives had worked from three to twelve months. The wives in B who worked said that they had to support the family, but the wives in A worked for extra money or because of the illness of the husband. In B fifteen of the wives said that their children had no plans regarding what occupations they would enter, but only seven of the wives in A said that their children had not made some decision. Eleven said that their children were planning on going into business. In B fifteen of the wives said that their husbands' jobs had no future, but in A no one expressed discouragement and ten said that there was a fair outlook.

Contrasts in Home Problems

Material gathered in the same questionnaire bears upon problems in making a home. In Area B seven families numbered eight persons, but in Area A only two families numbered as many as eight persons. In B there were no houses with over six rooms; in A there were nine houses with over six rooms. Twenty wives in B said that they discussed at the family meal lack of food or unemployment; the most frequent topics at the family meal in A were the things that happened in school and the settling of plans. The most frequent methods used to settle disagreements between parents and children in B were spanking and scolding; in A the most frequent method used was reasoning. In answer to the question, "In your opinion, what is the cause of marriage?" sixteen wives in B said, "The desire to obtain more money"; but "love" was the most frequent answer given in A. Most children of the unfavored area, for lack of money, did not attend the motion pictures, but the favored attended them about twice a month. Twelve mothers in B said their children did not go to church or Sunday school at all, because they could not afford it; but eighteen mothers in A said their children went to Sunday school or church.

The mothers said, in Area B, that they very seldom played with their children, but fifteen mothers in Area A said that they played with their children frequently. Money matters were the chief source of disagreement between seventeen of the wives and their husbands in B, and eighteen of the wives in A said that they had no disagreements with their husbands. A majority of mothers in both sections were against having their children participate in petting parties.

Contrasts in Attitudes toward Education and toward Leisure

Twenty housewives from Area B said that they had never visited the school, but twenty-four in Area A had visited the school. Twenty mothers in B did not know what their children were learning in school that would help them in the use of their leisure time; the mothers in the other area offered many suggestions. None of the mothers in B were members of the Parent-Teacher Association, but eighteen mothers in A were interested members. Most of the housewives in both sections agreed that the purpose of education was to help their children make a living (Area B) or secure a good position (Area A). Only two mothers in A proffered the idea that education was to help make their children happy. The housewives in both sections agreed that reading, spelling, and arithmetic were of most value to the children and that history was of the least value. Most wives in both sections wished to give their children as much education as possible.

In Area B no mothers belonged to clubs; in Area A seventeen mothers belonged to at least one club. Twenty mothers in B attended no dances; only nine mothers or wives in Area A attended no dances. Twenty mothers in B said that they could not afford to go to church, while most mothers in A attended church because "it helps a person lead a right life." [4]

[4] The contrasting of Areas A and B in the preceding pages is based upon material collected with the assistance of Margaret Nilsen.

The Activities of Children in the Two Culture Districts

The growing children carry on their activities under the influence of the patterns of behavior established by the adults and other children in the various social worlds of the typical small city. The following paragraphs present a brief picture of some of these activities of children.

The Introduction of the Child into Contrasting Social Worlds

It is interesting to observe the contrasting types of welcome into this world that children from our two sections of the city receive.

In Area A the parents probably have been interestedly awaiting the coming of the new child for several months. During this period the mother has had appropriate medical care and observation. The other children in the family have been expecting the child's arrival and have been instructed somewhat in the physiology of the event. When the child arrives, probably at the hospital, the event is promptly chronicled in the local paper, and congratulations, greetings, and flowers are sent to the mother and child. Soon friends begin to come to the hospital and say to the mother and to one another, "Isn't it lovely!" In other words, this child is welcome.

In Area B there seems to be some doubt about the interested waiting for the child. The children in the family are less likely to be informed by the parents of the expected arrival of the child, but find out from the neighbor's children who have heard their parents gossiping about the event. The children are told that the stork has brought the baby, and enthusiasm over the arrival of the child is likely to be mild, if not lacking altogether. Such gossip as the following may be heard around the neighborhood: "Can you imagine the Joneses have another baby; isn't that awful? That man has more children than he can support now without having any more."

Two children who have been brought into the world under such different conditions and with such different welcomes will be likely to continue to grow up in different social worlds. John, born in Area A, after about ten days or more in the hospital nursery, is tucked into a carefully prepared crib at home. He is nurtured by appropriate food, with adequate medical care, and in at least a fairly helpful cultural atmosphere. There is likely to be a relatively small amount of quarrelling among the members of the family as the child grows up, although it is probably true that the parents could improve to a considerable degree the nature of the subtle family relationships.[5]

The chances are much greater that Jack, of Area B, will be born at home under rather unsanitary conditions. His bed is not so likely to be comfortable and clean; the nature of the food and personal attention he receives may be determined by tradition rather than by modern medical science. Nagging and loud complaints about food limitations, money, and unemployment may be common. His father may often be angry, disconsolate, or intoxicated. His mother is more likely than John's mother to be desperate, discouraged, and highly nervous.

Play Activities of Children from Two Different Social Worlds

The children of River City participate in many activities in their attempts to satisfy their basic desires for food, love, security, and activity. They play ball, swim, play marbles, collect stamps, collect butterflies, collect pretty stones, attend motion pictures, play dolls, skate, toboggan, ski, play tennis, play basket ball, play kitten ball, play football, take music lessons, play in the boys' band, participate in scout activities, sell newspapers, help the parents around the house, smoke cigarettes, drink beer and whiskey at 'beer farms,' and participate in the activities of gangs

[5] Blanche Weil. *Behavior of Young Children in the Same Family*, p. 23. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.

and cliques, which may consist, in part, of the building of a shack for the purpose of holding meetings of the gang. Not all the activities of the children can be given here, but an attempt will be made to indicate the nature of some of their activities, with special reference to their play groups and gangs.

A Play Group in Area B. — A student of sociology provides the following description and analysis of a play group, or gang, of small boys in Area B that she had been observing:

I made my second visit to this area on Friday evening. Accompanied by a girl friend, I walked from the bridge south on a rather poor road. Near a little green pond I met four or five boys throwing stones into the water. One boy was holding a bottle in which he had some polliwogs. I recognized one of the boys as a one-time pupil; so I did not try to hide the fact that I was from the college. My friend and I immediately became very much absorbed in the polliwogs. We told the boys that we were interested in biology and were out looking for bugs. I praised the boy who had caught the polliwogs. He immediately showed that he was pleased and offered to catch some for me if I should like them. Another boy suggested that he knew where to get some June bugs. I made use of my opportunity and told the boys they would save my life if they would catch some bugs for me. It was agreed that I was to meet them the next night. They were to catch all the bugs they could find for me, and I was to treat them all to gum, with two sticks for the one who had the most bugs. All five of the boys were very much interested. I told them that they were a pretty swell gang and suggested that we call ourselves the 'Bug Gang.' They laughed at the idea, but did not want such a 'sissy' name. I then suggested that they probably had a name for their gang already. They said they didn't, but that they were a pretty powerful bunch. I asked them what they did besides throwing stones and shooting with sling shots. One replied that they smoked. Another said that was the reason why the swamp around which we were standing had burned earlier in the spring. I asked where they got the cigarettes. They laughed and said that sometimes they had to be satisfied with leaves and that sometimes Susie's dad gave them some. I wanted to know who 'Susie' was, and I learned that each boy in the gang had a girl's name.

I asked who their leader was and found out that 'Elizabeth' was their leader. When I wanted to know which one was Elizabeth I learned that he was on the top of the hill with the rest of the gang. They were having sling-shot practice. I then suggested that we walk over to where the other boys were — maybe they could be persuaded to join the bug hunt, too. The suggestion was accepted; so we started out. On the way I suggested that perhaps we had better hurry as it was getting late, and their mothers would be looking for them. At this they all roared with laughter. One of the youngest members, aged nine, said his mother didn't care what time he got in. I believed this, as his appearance pointed strongly to the fact that his mother took little interest in him. He had on an old torn and dirty coverall, looked somewhat undernourished, needed a haircut badly, and looked as if it had been some time since he had had a bath. Another boy said that he should worry what time he got in, as his mother didn't have a rolling pin anyhow. This boy was eleven years old, very healthy looking, and was dressed in clean clothes that were somewhat mended. The other three members of the group said that they were twelve years old.

By this time we had reached the other boys. I was somewhat surprised to see that they were a little older. They ranged from thirteen to sixteen years of age. I opened the conversation by mentioning that the tops of telephone poles had been used for targets for sling-shot practice. One boy said that Elizabeth had given more than one telephone man something to do. I found Elizabeth, the gang leader, to be a very well-dressed young fellow about fifteen years of age. He was a perfect picture of health and mischief.

I asked the boys if they knew X, who, I thought, lived in Area B. At the very mention of the name they all began to laugh, and said, "His old man is crazy and he has a sister about sixteen years old in the second grade yet." They said he lived down near the dump. I was surprised to find this boy a social outcast because he was very poor and had a queer father, for three or four members of the gang looked to me as if their backgrounds were also very poor (though probably not queer). Three of the boys appeared to come from homes of thrifty laboring men, and Elizabeth and one other looked as if they might come from comfortable homes.

I began to wonder if X's family alone was what made him an

outcast. In school he was a very appreciative and willing student. He often had to miss school, but he was very willing to come early at noon and remain after school to make up the work he had missed. I felt sorry for him and spent considerable time encouraging him and helping him. He was very grateful when in penmanship class I let him use my old penmanship book instead of forcing him to buy one, as the other children had been asked to do. I believe X was very sensitive about the financial condition of his family, as he would not admit that he was unable to buy a book but said he had forgotten to get one. It was probably this feeling of inferiority on his part, as well as the condition of his family, that kept him from becoming a member of the gang.

From the discussion about X, the conversation turned toward a discussion about school. I asked these boys if they were very good at catching bugs. The idea didn't seem to appeal to these older boys. I had anticipated this, but it gave me an excuse to talk to them. They began to talk freely about certain young teachers and the tricks they played on them. The teachers they liked were those who made them learn, but also made learning interesting and let them have some fun. They didn't like the 'bossy' teachers. They disliked the teachers who couldn't keep discipline. They were referred to as 'dumb saps.' It was here that stories about spitballs, gum, etc. came in. One teacher they hated because he spent "too much time preaching."

The next night we returned to the pond where we had first met the boys who were to collect our bugs. To put them in good humor, I passed out the gum, making it clear that I was saving some to pass around on the arrival of the rest of the gang. I promised them all another stick at that time for their faithfulness and good work. The promised gum kept them from parting company with us too rapidly. I told them I wanted a cricket the worst way. Three of them plunged into the long grass and rubbish about the pond looking for crickets. The other two stood by the roadside talking to us. They told us about the fishing they had done that morning and about the pickerel they had caught. . . . It was very evident that these boys enjoyed wholesome outdoor sports, but they did not have as much opportunity as they would like to engage in them.

The chief motive of the leader in chumming with this gang seemed to be the desire to be with those whom he could dominate.

He was a little bolder and wittier than any other member of the gang. I strongly suspect that this boy would be the one to suggest that the boys do something wrong, but I believe that he would see to it that he himself did nothing that would place any blame on him. The majority of the members seemed to be very decent, well-meaning, and well-mannered young boys — but they had a leader who was constantly asking them to do the things that society objects to. It was Elizabeth who had just got through proposing that they shoot at cars. . . .

As the boys approached, I could smell cigarettes and I began teasing them about smoking. They wanted to know about the bugs and sat down beside the road to talk. This evening they seemed to be in one of those impossible moods to which boys are sometimes susceptible. I told them they were a bum gang if they did nothing but smoke cigarettes and hang along the roadside. The gang leader told me, as he pulled out another cigarette, that if we'd come down to the shack he would show me what they did. I asked them if they were the gang who had a shack along the river. I was informed that this shack was owned by the River Rats, who were a bunch of sissies. I ventured to say that they must have a good time when they invited the girls to their shack. They immediately said that they were not interested in girls and that theirs was a 'he man's gang.' They said they played strip poker in their shack, smoked, and told 'good' jokes. I asked them what some of their jokes were. One said, "Tell her that one about the bear that went over the mountain." Another, "Tell her the one about the three old maids from Canada." The boys did not tell the jokes, but I suspect they were jokes on the sex theme.

What may be some desired social changes in the light of the child's needs? The answer seems to be, "Give the child something to do." Here these boys were gathered together and riding the fence between right and wrong because there was nothing to do on the right side of the fence and because they did not wish to be on the wrong side of the fence. The boys were all hungering for an opportunity to get a taste of good wholesome sports or work, but there was nothing for them to do. It was easier for them to form undesirable habits than desirable ones.

The parents seem too anxious for the children to 'get outside.' They seem to want them to get away because they do not want the children to 'mess up' the whole place.

This experience of a young field investigator reveals that much of the leisure time of this group of boys was spent roaming about in search of adventure. There appears to be doubt regarding the positive social value of the activities, and there was evident lack of adequate provision for wise use of leisure time and for supervision of play. Strong leadership in the direction of illegal activities would probably find willing followers in these boys as time goes on.

An Older Gang. — We now turn to a description of the activities of an older gang of boys in an area similar to Area B, but with, perhaps, more opportunity for illegal activity than in Area B. The behavior patterns of this gang, which are typical of gangs of its type, may easily be developed later by the gang of young boys just studied. The following is the report of a field study made by an investigator who had known the gang for six years:

In the fall of 1926 we moved into what is known as Area B2. Shortly afterward a family moved in next to us, and I was at once attracted by the appearance of the largest boy. I thought he was one of our neighbors' sons, but I later found out that he was a nephew of theirs. His appearance suggested that he was lazy and shiftless. About a month later some of his friends started coming to his house. I knew all the boys because I had lived in River City a long time and was well acquainted with the younger fellows.

Seven young boys not over eighteen form the membership of the gang. Very seldom do the boys show up until noon. Most of their activities are carried on in the evening; so they usually sleep until late in the morning. Usually at noon they come to the leader's house and whistle to let him know that they are outside waiting. Sometimes all seven meet here and discuss their plans, and the conversation is often loud enough for me to hear.

One day I noticed that three new boys had joined the gang, and I also noticed that two of the old members had left. This I figured out was the process of weeding out those who had failed to make good. I also noticed about a week later that one of the three new members was dropped from the organization.

Occasionally another gang from the Polish settlement would

come over and mingle with the gang, but some feeling of racial antagonism was present and these meetings finally ceased.

As time went on, the gang became more closely knit together. I then knew that the organization was formed and that each member was satisfactory to the group. Without fail, every member would be present at the gang's meeting place in the evening.

The group is composed of seven members, the oldest about twenty-one and the youngest sixteen. The boys were selected by rules laid down by the leader. Every one smokes cigarettes; a few chew tobacco; three drink intoxicating liquor. At the time of organization they would have nothing to do with the opposite sex, but their ideas have since changed.

The leader's name [fictitious] is George Patta. He was born on a farm in the state. His parents were both Polish and were hard-working farmers. His father was killed in an accident, and as a result the mother went violently insane. George and his younger sister were placed in the home of an aunt where they have been residing ever since. As a result of poor training and neglect during childhood, George, the leader, has gone from good to bad.

Andy Pecks, a lad of nineteen, is next in command in the gang. He is of German descent. His father is continually getting drunk and is always beating or whipping the family. Andy never went any farther in school than the sixth grade. He is a heavy cigarette smoker and also a drinker. These patterns of behavior he undoubtedly took from his father.

Oscar Sands, a lad of eighteen, has lived in River City all his life. He has what the other members call 'a smart head.' His advice and information on various subjects are eagerly sought by the gang. He is of German descent, and although he comes from a good family, his behavior is not of the best. His parents give him anything he wants, and they have never tried to get him to go to work.

Bill and Jimmie are the silent members. They do as they are told, and most of the work falls on their shoulders. They are of Polish descent and come from a good family. Failure to get work during the depression has caused them to be more active than they used to be in the gang's affairs. Bill is eighteen, and Jimmie is sixteen.

Another member of the gang is Bill Witchen. Although not so active in the gang's activities, he is considered a good member

to have around. He is the best fighter and the toughest one in the bunch. He is eighteen years old and of German descent. Bill is a heavy cigarette smoker and drinks more than the rest. His parents have liquor at home constantly; consequently he can drink whenever he wants to.

Eddie Parks is the seventh and last member of the organization. He is of English descent and sixteen years old. His father has been a bootlegger for years and at the present time is operating a 'spiked-malt' establishment. Eddie has come into contact with a large number of people during his apprenticeship as a bartender, and as a result of his work he has started to drink.

They are all fond of athletics, and although none of them takes part in any sport, they all attend football, basketball, and baseball games. They don't believe in paying admission to these games, but they wait until an opportunity is presented to sneak in.

Another thing the boys believe in is stealing. Anything that catches their eye is bound to be missing in the morning because they believe in satisfying their desires. I have seen the leader of the gang go into a house to steal something and become surprised by the owners. He crawled out of a window upon the roof and lay there for at least an hour before the owners departed. He then completed his task of removing what he wanted. He was caught with the material he had stolen, but either the owners refused to prosecute him or his uncle, who at one time was a city official, secured his release, because nothing ever happened.

Another interest that has sprung up in the gang is the admiration for women. One of the members of the gang got acquainted with a young girl of sixteen who worked as a housemaid for a neighbor of his. He must have told the other members about her, because it wasn't long before they all took turns taking her out. She, in the meanwhile, got acquainted with another girl and the two became the gang's companions.

The leader dominates the activities of the group. With a cigarette or two he can bribe the members into doing something for him. He is also the best-looking boy and has the ability to attract the girls to the gang. Those who do not obey him are punished in some way. He has the ability to find things that may be stolen, and his influence through his uncle with the city officials makes it possible for the gang to do things and get away with them.

A conflict developed within the gang over 'moonshine' whiskey.

Eddie Parks, the son of the bootlegger, had been stealing some of his father's supply and giving it to the gang to sell. His father found out where his liquor was going and stopped the stealing. This loss of goods for sale deprived the gang of spending money for extra amusements. The gang made life miserable for Eddie because he could not get any more liquor for sale.

There was one serious conflict between this gang and the West End gang. The West End gang is made up of older and larger boys who can hold their own even with mature men. A store was robbed in the western part of the city last fall. In trying to solve the mystery, the police rounded up both gangs. Each group accused the other of robbing the store, although neither of the gangs had done this job. This led to hatred for each other, and one night at a dance hall at the Fair Grounds the two gangs met to fight it out. I haven't seen many gang fights, but this one was the most interesting and most hotly contested one I ever expect to see.

The members of the gang are very loyal to one another. If they are questioned by the police, they all answer the same way that the first one questioned does, if possible. If one member is dismissed from a basketball game for breaking in, they all go with him. Of course they all broke in anyway.

The only associates of the gang members are the girls who are willing to go out with them. At dances and at games they are always to be found by themselves, and if anyone asks them a question, they answer as briefly as possible.

For hangouts the gang uses the abandoned industrial buildings a few blocks from their homes. Here no one bothers them, and the tunnels between the buildings make secrecy easy.

The gang carries on a nice business of stealing equipment from cars that are parked outside of 'beer farms.' The stolen goods are sold to a 'fence.' The technique of stealing is for the gang to stand together in front of the car from which it is desired to steal. This is to make others feel that there is a crowd around. While everyone is standing around, one member helps himself to what he can take. . . .

On visiting Eddie Parks's 'beer farm' I made it a special point to see Eddie and to talk with him. After talking a while, I asked him if he had been having any fun lately. He answered, "Boy, did we have a party last night! I took some of Pa's whiskey and

we got a few women and went to the lake. We didn't get in until nine o'clock this morning. Boy! Was the gang ever soused!"

There are no playgrounds in Area B2. The police do not patrol this section, and it is rumored that the police protect the 'beer farms.' It is easy for boys who are seeking adventure to fall into the activities that are characteristic of this gang.

There is not much need for special comment. The study of the younger gang revealed that in their seeking for adventure they found little opportunity to satisfy their desire except through activities 'on the fence' between legal and illegal activities. The older gang, who had more experience and opportunity to develop, had achieved a pattern of behavior that might be described as delinquent. If their activities continue along the lines now developed, one may expect the boys to land in the state reformatory, unless they are protected by political influence.

The activities described are not characteristic of all groups of children and young people in the sections of the city where the gangs just described were living, but there is no doubt that the activities described, especially those of the younger group, are frequent and characteristic of many groups in the city and in other cities of a similar nature. The reports given here may be duplicated many times over with material from the research files of one of the writers. We have, for example, gangs that have been identified as follows: The Three Musketeers, The Ace-High Gang, The River Rats, The Tree-Dwellers, The Southeast Gang, The City Gang, The Shack Gang, The Unnamed Gang, etc.

The Shack Gang includes a group of about fifteen boys ranging in age from eleven to sixteen. Many of their free hours in the winter time are spent hanging about a little shack on the east edge of the river near a skating rink. This shack has a stove and the boys often sit around it, smoke 'butts,' and discuss the girls, the 'bulls,' and their teachers, in no complimentary terms. The language used by the boys is similar to that of a hard experienced man of the streets. These boys allow no one in their gang save those

who are as rough as they are. When some of the adults on top of the river bank took steps to have their hangout removed by the police, the response of the gang, plentifully sprinkled with profanity, was that they would find out who called the police and make it tough for him.

Play Groups in Area A.— In Area A there is much less unsupervised play among the younger children, and the parents there provide opportunities for wholesome recreation more frequently than in Area B or similar areas. There do not appear to be gangs engaging in bootlegging activities and in stealing to the extent that they are present in some other sections. Groups, however, are to be found among the boys about sixteen to twenty years of age who smoke, drink, 'pet,' and go on excursions with the girls. The boys in B tend to steal the money, the cigarettes, the drinks, etc., for their pleasure excursions. But the boys in A who are out for excitement of the jazz type have their own money, use their parents' drinks, their parents' cars, and take the girls to their parents' cottages (of course, the parents think that the boys are attending a dance or are at the motion picture theater).

Other Recreational Activities

River City provides in one way or another the following facilities for leisure-time activities for children. There are two theaters, the one featuring the higher-class type of show, the other, Wild West pictures. There are in and near the city three golf courses, ten dancing pavilions, sixteen playgrounds (some supervised in the summer months), one swimming beach (supervised in the summer), four athletic fields, three bowling alleys, six tennis courts, five gymnasiums, two skating rinks, two toboggan slides, seven pool halls, one public library, dozens of 'speakeasies' and 'beer farms,' and a large number of unfrequented roads used for automobile parking by the 'petters' and others during the evenings, winter and summer. Churches, about twenty in number, are well attended. The schools provide many extra

curricular activities such as athletics, dramatics, orchestras, bands, and clubs.

How Children Struggle for Social Status

Children, like adults, desire to be rated well by their associates. In order to be so rated, they must meet certain standards. These standards may vary somewhat from group to group, and they may not necessarily correlate with adult standards. Perhaps this is one reason why some adults have difficulty in understanding some children. It may be that the adults do not know that standards of behavior necessary to obtain satisfactory status in a child group may be very different from the adult standards; and the child may think that the standards of the play group or gang are much more important than the standards of the adult.

The following quotations from unpublished studies made in many different sections of River City reveal some ways by which children may obtain the social status they desire — sometimes at considerable risk to themselves:

The group in which the struggle for social status was most evident was the group near the river. They all feel that in order to be a full-fledged member of the gang they have to be able to swim across the river. If unable to swim the distance, they are outcasts socially until they have done so. Dick's brother tried to swim across, got a cramp, and perhaps would have drowned if he had not been using an inner tube for a life-preserver. This did not discourage him, and later he managed to swim the entire distance, thus regaining his status in his group.

In the gang that hangs around the confectionery store, social status seems to depend upon the number of girls a fellow takes out in a certain length of time, how much money he has, and whether or not he has a car to use.

The highest point in the social pyramid to the children is the position of leader. They attempt to obtain this position in any way that it is possible. The usual way is by fighting.

Leadership depends upon the amount of daring and proficiency shown by the individual in sports and in rock fights, etc. The

leaders are, I noted, for the most part boys who are good athletes and also who are natural leaders. A leader must have brains along with brawn. A boy who had striven for leadership in the group and failed to get it was closely observed. I asked one of the smaller boys why Bob wasn't captain of the football team the boys had last fall. He said, "Bob hasn't any brains. Louis knows what to do, but Bob always shoots off his mouth and then doesn't know what to do anyway."

Desirable social status may also be given for ability in many lines: in school, in extracurricular activities, and in athletic activities. It may be given on account of the possession of useful objects, such as knives or bicycles or cars. Status may also be given according to the rating of one's parents or the section of the city from which one comes or the nature of one's behavior.

It may often happen that the child in school will think more of what the members of the gang, who are often in the same classroom, think of him than what the teacher and the other students think of him. In cases where the standards of the gang differ much from the standards of the school, the teacher may have continual disciplinary problems on her hands unless she learns how to 'get next to' the gang. She may need to become a friend of the gang leader and solicit his help.

Types of Children That Are Liked and That Are Not Liked

The big fellow in the group is often well liked. The daring, the adventurous, the efficient, the one who coöperates, and the pleasant are all liked. The following statements from the children are suggestive:

I like to play with Dick because he fights.

I like Jim because he's a toughy.

Margaret has such nice dolls. I like her.

Dick has the nicest bow and arrow, and he lets me play with them. He's an awful nice boy.

I like to play with Nathan because he knows so many jokes.

Types of children who are not liked are the whiner, the tattletale, the tricky, the bossy, the nagging, the fearful, the sissy, the untruthful, the queer, the poor sport, and the teaser. The following statements of children are suggestive:

No good; he's nothing but a bawl baby.

I don't like to play with sissies.

I don't like to play with Bob. He's always bossing us guys around.

I don't like to play with Ted. He never tells the truth.

We don't like to have him play with us because he always tells everything to his sister.

He's so babyish, he's always crying. Nobody likes him.

The Truant

There is some truancy in River City, but not enough to constitute a serious problem. The truancy appears to be due to the lack of coöperation upon the part of the parents, and is most frequent between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. The effect of unfortunate home conditions on school attendance may be illustrated by the following cases:

The K family caused the school authorities a good deal of trouble. The second or third week of school Mr. K was sent to Fort Leavenworth for selling moonshine. Mrs. K became ill, and the children were not cared for. The two boys, under sixteen, found work in a candy shop. At this time the county child-welfare worker stepped in and sent the mother to the University Hospital and the children to the home of some relatives in the country.

Two truant boys and their widowed mother lived in an old barn. The mother paid no attention to the boys, but gave it rather to an indeterminate number of men who called at all hours. She was often away with a man for a day or two. The boys were frequently locked out and found it necessary to crawl into the barn-home through the hayloft window.

When unfortunate home conditions and pedagogical retardation are found together in the upper grades, truancy is likely to result, especially in boys.

It is not uncommon for truants to end in the juvenile court. In the 1931 report of the juvenile court the following types of cases appeared for consideration: stealing, immoral conduct, feeble-mindedness, incest, repeated stealing, and repeated immoral conduct. The judge of the court says that he believes the following are some of the causes for delinquency among the youth of the city: lack of moral standards, the disorganization of many homes, the mad desire for pleasure, the desire for pleasure coupled with the lack of funds with which to obtain that pleasure, and the lack of correlation between the teachings of the church and school and modern life.

The following case suggests in a brief way the operation of some of the causes named above:

> Mr. D, whose wife has been dead for some years, has two boys, John and Joe, who have been on probation in the juvenile court for three years. These boys are cared for by their fourteen-year-old sister, who is in the high school and is therefore away a great part of the day. The father is 'hard,' firm, and often extremely cruel to the children. Therefore, the children have no sympathetic or constructive guidance at home; instead, they run the streets looking for adventure and excitement. They have found it in stealing of various kinds. Because of the continuous lack of coöperation of the home with the court, the judge discovered that the stealing had become more serious, and it became necessary to send the boys to the state correctional school.

The Educational Significance of Such Studies

This comparative study of a fairly typical small city has revealed that the nature of the social life and the attitudes toward life are not the same in all sections of the city. In one section, for example, the husbands have relatively steady work and at least a hopeful attitude toward the future; in another section there is little steady work and an attitude of little hope for the future. Other contrasts need not be repeated here; they serve to bring out the point that a

teacher who realizes and understands some of the traits or culture patterns of the backgrounds from which her students come may deal with her students in the classroom more sympathetically and intelligently. To cite an instance, the value of such knowledge has been well demonstrated by Miss Julia Spooner in the demonstration school of the city of Portland, Oregon. She and her teachers took pains to ascertain the culture patterns in that community and to work with the parents and other existing agencies toward more desirable goals. The result has been the development of a school that is entirely worthy of being called a demonstration school for, although the children come from homes of both low and high socio-economic status, the visitor is impressed with the cordial feeling among the students and their excellent conduct. This knowledge of the means of social control used by the parents in dealing with the children, their attitudes toward life, and the economic and family problems will be helpful to the teachers in any community, for the teacher needs a sympathetic understanding of the problems of the parents and children in each of the social worlds from which her pupils come.

Having in mind the materials and the observations set forth in the preceding pages and also the sociological generalizations set forth in the concluding pages of this chapter, we may summarize as follows the more obvious implications for the teacher of the sociological approach:

1. The teacher can more fully understand the behavior of children and parents and sympathize with them in their problems when she has adequate insight into the nature of the social world of the community in which she is teaching.

2. The teacher who knows the nature of the culture of a community can more easily adjust to it in her personal life.

3. The teacher who understands the community in its details can more easily help children to make a more satisfactory adjustment to life as it is in reality.

4. The teacher can recognize the individual differences

in children that are due to differences in the cultural backgrounds from which the children come. This point of view can be of great assistance in problems of discipline.

Some Sociological Generalizations and Definitions

The concrete material obtained through the observation and analysis of typical communities and presented in this and in the following chapter provides a helpful background for the understanding of the meaning of the following sociological generalizations and definitions.

1. Human beings continually struggle with nature, with one another, and with other groups for the satisfaction of one or more of the basic social forces of hunger, love, security, and activity.[6] (See Chapter I, "The Underlying Struggle," and the four sections following.)

2. One of the results of this struggle is the segregation of persons of different interests and different socio-economic status into separate districts. This segregation throws into sharp contrast the different groups and the successful and the unsuccessful. (See Chapter I, "Segregation.")

3. Some of the causes for segregation are differences in natural ability, differences in nationality, differences in race, differences in education, differences in religion, differences in ambition, and differences in customs.

4. The social problems of poverty, crime, juvenile delinquency, unemployment, sickness, 'homelessness,' desertion, and so forth, are found more often in some culture districts than in others. This is due, in part, to the differences in socio-economic status of persons in the districts. (See Chapter I, "Comparison of Two Segregated Areas," also Chapter II, "An Agricultural World.")

5. Members of one segregated district often invade another district. Examples are attempted invasions of white residential districts by persons from another race, invasions

[6] Definitions of these and other terms used in technical senses by sociologists will be found in the Glossary.

of residential districts by business districts, and invasion by chain stores of business districts dominated by independent merchants. Invasions serve to stimulate conflicts between different groups. (See Chapter I, "Struggles among Business Men.")

6. A group consists of two or more persons in interaction and organization. (See Chapter I, "A Play Group in Area B.")

7. It is in the groups where persons come into face-to-face contact that the personality and moral ideals of individuals are influenced. (See Chapter I, "An Older Gang.")

8. Persons tend to think their own group, and its ways of doing things, is better than other groups (ethnocentrism).

9. That process by which persons learn to act together in a group is called 'socialization.' (See Chapter VIII, "Accommodation," and Chapter XVIII, "Morale.")

10. The rating given by a group to a person or another group is called 'social status.' (See Chapter I, "How Children Struggle for Social Status.")

11. The action that takes place between or among persons, groups, or groups and persons is called 'interaction.' This interaction alters the participants in the process. (See Chapter I, discussion of play groups.)

12. Interaction may be 'conflict,' which is the opposition of groups or persons to each other; or 'accommodation,' which is an identification of purposes of groups or persons.

13. Social status is often determined through social interaction. (See Chapter I, "How Children Struggle for Social Status.")

14. The difference in understanding or sympathetic understanding between persons and groups is called 'social distance.' (See Chapter II, account of the school conflict; Chapters VI, VII, and XVII on conflict and on attitudes.)

15. The sum total of the material goods, the customs, beliefs, knowledge, etc. acquired by man in his social contacts is culture. (See Chapter II, "Brief Sociological Analysis of a Rural Community.")

16. The different cultures in different culture districts account, in part, for differences in behavior between persons reared in the different culture districts.

17. In the struggle to live, the persons inhabiting a given culture district or culture area develop certain systems of behavior or institutions like the family, industry, the school, the church, recreation, etc., that are designed to satisfy one or more basic human need. The particular form that a social institution may take differs in different societies, and although many different forms may satisfy the same basic needs, it is also true that sometimes an institutional pattern that really fails to satisfy the basic needs in any adequate degree may be developed more or less by accident.

18. Cultures change, and the different aspects change at different speeds — causing some parts to lag behind other parts. This is called a 'culture lag.' Culture lags often cause social problems. For example, our economic philosophy of *laissez faire* has not changed as rapidly as have the techniques of mass manufacturing. The result is that under an uncontrolled policy of production there is produced more than the people can buy. The observed effect is unemployment and poverty in an age of high potential production. (See Chapter II, "An Agricultural World," next to last paragraph, and Chapter II, "A Mining World.")

19. Social changes in the direction of the more complete satisfaction of the basic human needs — food, love, security, and activity — may be considered 'social progress.'

20. Persons or groups are continually exercising control or restraint in order to modify the behavior, thought, or feeling of another person or another group. This is called 'social control.'

21. People usually do not think in terms of general principles and broad and liberal concepts, but in terms of the immediate interests of their particular group and of themselves. (See Chapter II, "An Agricultural World," discussion of voting.)

22. There is much poverty and near-poverty in towns,

cities, and rural districts in the United States. (See Chapter II, "An Industrial World.")

23. The typical day of the average American is filled with relatively uninteresting routine activities. (See Chapter II, "A Lumbering and Resort Town.")

24. The school is considered by parents a means of economic salvation for their children, but the children, especially in the high school, often are not much interested in the curriculum.

Questions and Exercises

1. In what ways do people struggle for a living or for a better living in a small city?
2. What are some of the results of the struggle?
3. Compare the daily life of those who live in two different culture districts. Go into detail.
4. In what ways can a school adjust to the social reality revealed by your answer to Question 3?
5. In what ways is child life influenced by the social life of adults?
6. In what ways do children struggle for higher social status?
7. What are some of the common causes of truancy in the school?
8. Select from the materials of Chapter I concrete materials illustrative of the sociological generalizations or definitions numbered 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 16, and 20.
9. In what ways can a teacher in the classroom utilize the sociological generalizations studied?
10. Into what errors may teachers fall, sociologically speaking?
11. What can teachers do to reduce poverty?
12. Write out a brief analysis of a town or city with which you are familiar and indicate the educational problems revealed by your observations.
13. Study the leisure-time activities of the children in a particular culture district. To what extent has the school influenced the nature of these activities?
14. In what ways can a teacher assist children to adjust to the social world about them? Base your answer upon the facts of social life in a particular culture district.
15. Indicate several different types of disciplinary problems in

school that may arise out of a teacher's failure to understand the social backgrounds of her pupils.

16. Show how the disciplinary problems mentioned in your response to Question 15 may be solved.

17. Make a study of a child and his relationships with his family and his gang. Show in what way many of the child's attitudes and behavior patterns are determined by these contacts. What implications for school procedure can be drawn from the truths revealed to you by the study?

18. Analyze a gang of boys or girls in order to determine the social status of each member of the gang. What were the types of social interaction that determined the social status in each case?

19. How do you account for the fact that many high-school students are more interested in athletics and social activities than in the curriculum?

20. Can the school become a means of raising the economic status of all the students? Why? If not, what other motivation must be included in the schools?

21. How can education contribute toward making more interesting the typical day of the average American?

22. Under what conditions may the school be said to be contributing to social progress?

Bibliography

Blanchard, Phyllis. *The Child and Society.* New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1928.

Blumenthal, Albert. *Small Town Stuff.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

Bogardus, E. S. *Contemporary Sociology.* Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1931.

Lynd, Robert and Lynd, Helen. *Middletown.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

Thrasher, Frederick. *The Gang.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

Weil, Blanche. *Behavior of Young Children in the Same Family.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1928.

CHAPTER II

TYPICAL RURAL SOCIAL WORLDS

Brief sociological glimpses of rural social worlds are useful to the teacher in themselves and also serve to illustrate many of the sociological generalizations presented at the end of Chapter I. In order to make these sociological generalizations real, the reader should attempt to identify each of them with the concrete material presented in this chapter.

I. A Lumbering and Resort Community — Timber Town [1]

First Glimpses. — Aboard the gas-electric train at 12:14 the stray passenger is awakened by a ghostly 'tootle' in time to see the dove-colored depot of Timber Town, a small lumbering and resort town on the edge of civilization.

A drowsy, middle-aged man hastily sweeps the crumbs of snuff from his soiled black vest, grasps his suitcase, and braces himself against the seat ahead. As the train slows down, he staggers into the aisle and moves uncertainly toward the end of the car in company with a sturdy Indian and a large woman in brown. The sight of Timber Town's almost lifeless depot platform does not appear to disturb this passenger or his two stoical companions as they alight.

No one greets the travellers. The woman in brown gets off last with the help of the conductor; the two men pay no attention to her. The Indian nods at one of the stragglers and grunts "Howdo" without appearing to do so; the woman in brown walks slowly down the platform in the direction of town. She has always lived in Timber Town and has just returned from a protracted visit to the home of her son seventy-six miles away. Her face brightens as she observes the high price of blueberries in the window of the general store.

The man with the snuff-speckled vest stops long enough at the

[1] Adapted, in large part, from an unpublished manuscript by Corinne Chapman in the sociological files of the St. Cloud State Teachers College.

depot to observe a group of men manipulating a noisy derrick and with it loading short logs upon a flat car. Some distance behind this group of men stands the tamarack forest bristling with slender spires extending from a gloomy tangle of dead lower branches. The man walks down beside a long string of box cars, and as he rounds the end of the string, faces the window of Allison's general store and a group staring at the sign: "Home-picked Blueberries, 35¢ a quart." He overhears the following comments:

> Thirty-five cents a quart! Man! Everybody's out pickin' blueberries to sell at Allison's. Mrs. Starenski made three dollars just yesterday afternoon. It'd take more'n three dollars an afternoon to make me want to pick those —— blueberries in the boilin' sun.
>
> Yes, and she'll get into town some day very soon and the price will be down to twenty-five and fifteen just because they quit shippin' them out of town and the tourists out at Big Water Lake get tired of them.

Districts. — The business district, topped by the watering trough and the wooden band stand, extends one block away from the depot in each of three directions. The west block includes a good bakery shop, some rusty farm machinery, one pinched dwelling, a dirty shop, a closed ten-cent store, and a drug store suffering from diminishing returns.

The man whom we have been following turns down the east street, once called "Whiskey Row," in search of a cheap rooming place. He passes by the corrugated-metal-sided hotel with its leather chairs and turns in at the café, which is tucked in between a dull barber shop and a dusty pool hall. The window of the café displays a wilted fern and a sign that reads:

Be Good to Your Wife! You'll Never Have Another like Her!
Eat Your Meals Here!

The café also has a sign on the wall, "Rooms, Apply at the Counter." It appears that this café is also the rooming house for many of the local lumberjacks. The hotel on the corner is used by the tourists or travelling men.

The north street of the business section includes a theater, a newspaper office, gas stations, two churches, and a lumber company. Passing farther on to the north, one observes a tumble-

down shoemaker's shop, a junk yard full of old tires, a cheap garage, and a "Snack Shack." Then follows a forest ranger's cabin of good quality and on the other side of the highway a string of shacks covered with tar paper or made of worn logs and decorated with odds and ends of paint, often pink. On the outskirts of the village are a number of distressingly poor houses with barns of similar quality, haystacks, moping cows tethered to stakes, vagabond hens, and clotheslines.

Southeast of town, over a small hill, live those who appear to have a higher socio-economic status. It is toward this section that the woman in brown, a package of chops under her arm, is later to be seen walking. She follows a grassy path for several blocks past neat medium-sized homes that include porches, lawns, flowers, gardens, and garages. The few relatively wealthy families live in an exclusive block just across the tracks from the depot.

Industries. — South of town at the edge of the river and Flat Reed Lake stand the remains of a million-dollar lumber mill. When this mill was in operation, lumberjacks swarmed the woods and kept the mill supplied with thousands of great pine logs. A few blocks from the mill there developed a little settlement called "Dog Town," consisting of some small business-supply stores, three large hotels to accommodate the lumberjacks, and a large number of little houses called by some "dog houses."

Some fifteen or twenty years ago it was evident that the sources of supply for the mill were about exhausted. Two of the big hotels mysteriously burned within a ten-year period. The mill later closed down. The people of Dog Town moved out; the houses were removed; the population of Timber Town shrank from 1700 to 1200. Timber Town now continues to live and conduct business in buildings built, for the most part, decades ago, and depends for its living upon trade with the Indians and with summer tourists, upon the remnants of a once-flourishing lumber industry, with some simple agricultural activities, and a bit of road construction.

Occupations. — Many of the residents — the newspaper proprietor, the store-owners, the garage-owner, and the school faculty are exceptions — engage more or less in seasonal occupations, commonly a combination of farming with lumbering. They plow and clear land in the spring, cut hay and mend roads in the summer, thresh grain and cut cordwood for fuel in the fall, and lumber all

winter. It is not uncommon practice for a family breaking in some 'cut-over' land to exchange farm produce for supplies at one of the stores. Most people, however, try to pay cash for their goods, even though the cash is difficult to get.

Incomes. — It is estimated that the average income of families in the town is about one thousand dollars a year and the average home is worth about a thousand dollars. Perhaps five per cent of the residents have incomes over three thousand dollars and probably ten per cent have incomes less than five hundred dollars a year. Many homes are not modern, and most of the modern ones include only electric lights, a faucet in the kitchen, and one for the garden. Approximately fifteen of the two hundred fifty houses have bathtubs.

Typical Conflict: the New School. — Timber Town has its conflicts between groups with different interests. Take, for example, a conflict between the younger merchants and others who wish to build for the future and the large taxpayers, retired persons, bachelors, and other groups.

The school board had many times brought before the people the fact that their children (now three hundred and fifty) were attending school in an old frame building originally built for one hundred pupils. The building was forty years old. The state had refused the community any more state aid for a school conducted in such an inadequate building. Something, therefore, had to be done. Either the district could pay tuition for its children who attended high school in another district or it could build a new high school. The issue became: "Shall we have a new high school?" The people immediately lined themselves upon two sides. The heavy taxpayers, bachelors, retired persons, and some others argued about as follows:

> Why should we build a new schoolhouse for other people's children? All they do is run all over the country nights. By the looks of the plans, all they're going to have is a big gymnasium. They wouldn't fill it if all the people in town came at once. I guess all you have to know is how to turn somersaults to be educated.
>
> We retired farmers have worked hard all our lives earning every cent we have through hard work behind the plow and otherwise. Our children were brought up on the farm and in the country school. None of my children went to high school, and they grew up just as good, maybe better. At least they were not getting into mischief

like the town children do. And what does your modern high school teach anyhow? What good does it do to know about the Egyptian kings or about the mummies? They don't help you get a job. And what do you read in your school paper — just more parties, feeds, plays, dances, and other social activities which can be carried on without the expense of a high school.

It took us people that have stopped working many years to scrape together the little we have, and now some of you propose that a large part of it should go in taxes so your 'smart children' can have a little better school and your greedy business men can earn a couple more dollars from the people that drive to town on Friday or Saturday to take their boy or girl home over Sunday. If they get the new school, I'll be durned if I'll ever set foot inside of the door.

The progressive merchants and others interested in the usefulness of an educated citizenry argued about as follows:

If we provide adequate educational and recreational facilities our children will not run all over the country. The present overcrowded conditions are bad for the childrens' health.

I am in favor of the new high school because I have children attending now and others who will soon attend. Our present building is the one that my wife and I attended, but the crowded conditions handicap our children more than we were handicapped. Our children are growing up in a fast changing world, and education is necessary if the children are to keep pace efficiently. I see every reason why we, as parents, should help to further all possible means which will be to our childrens' advantage.

A new high school will be of decided advantage to the children living near town on farms as well as to the local young people; and can't you see that the high school would draw trade from the north, the east, and the south, and the west? We have good roads leading into our town from all directions. Why not do something that would encourage the people to trade more at our town? I do not speak for myself alone, but I represent the business men.

The effect of the conflict of opinion upon business and trade relations is indicated by the following conversation between two members of the group opposed to further educational extensions:

"Do you trade at Milter's any more?"

"No, I'll say I don't, he thinks he'll get more business from the new school."

"We'll show him."

The majority of the citizens, however, voted for the new school building. As the building progressed to completion and the importance of the civic contribution was more completely realized, more and more of the people came to support it. At the dedicatory program, Mr. J, who had been the most violent in his opposition to the new school, came early with many of his friends and sat with them in the front row of the auditorium to listen while the visiting speaker, a teachers college president, told them of the importance of education in a civilized country and of the necessity for building well for future generations through investments in education.

Of course, conflicts like this one are not going on all the time, but they crop out periodically in education, religion, business, industry, and other fields. They do not always end in an adjustment, but often in an *impasse.*

To those interested in education the study of the conflict above, which is a common type, suggests the need for instruction in the elementary and high schools in the function and importance of the American public school. This instruction may be expected to develop a citizenry more sympathetic toward public education.

A Typical Saturday. — To return to the affairs of Timber Town, an interesting insight into the daily life of the people in this town is revealed by the following account of a typical Saturday's routine of life in the summertime:

7:00 A.M. The roaring cars of hurrying tourists awaken the residents. The proprieter of one of the prominent 'beer parlors,' the pool hall, dons his apron and sweeps the previous day's cigar and cigarette butts out of the back door.

7:30 A.M. The clerks of the various stores may be seen to move about putting out fresh fruits and vegetables and sweeping the floors.

8:00 A.M. The doors of the stores are unlocked for the first customers. Some of the busier farmers come in early, get their shopping done, and leave for home. Other farmers come in for the day. The men stand on one of the corners smoking 'Cut Plug.' The women take the cream to the creamery and then visit the various stores to look for the best bargains. Many of

the women take the cream to the creamery in order to get hold of the check before the 'old man' gets it and spends the money for drink at the 'beer parlor.'

9:00 A.M. The newspaper editor comes to his office, and the resorters begin coming to town in numbers. They buy groceries and films and inquire for their mail. At this time the streets are lined with the Fords and trucks of the farmers and the Buicks and Packards of the resorters.

10:00 A.M. With much tooting, the train for the north woods leaves. Sometimes it has a passenger in the bobbing coach. At this time the editor crosses to the post office with an armful of wrapped papers. He is in his shirt sleeves, but that makes no difference in Timber Town. He stops for a chat with Ed Davis of Allison's and later meets his daughter, whom he greets with the query: "Well, what does mama want me to bring home this noon?"

11:00 A.M. The freight train pulls in. For fifteen minutes it shunts back and forth, leaving and taking on cars and filling the town with creaks, whistles, and clouds of black smoke. Several new tourist cars pull up to the curbs next to the grocery stores. Loud greetings from the clerks precede the usual order of supplies. Incidentally, the clerks find out where the tourists are going, what cabins they are using at the lake, how long they are going to stay, and why they came.

12:00–1:00 P.M. People are off the streets and at lunch. The mail is distributed.

1:00 P.M. The streets are filled with a variety of cars. The post office surges with a miscellaneous crowd, including resort women in clever summer togs or colored pajamas, lumberjacks wearing sawdust-covered woolens, tradesmen in lavender shirt sleeves, arrogant Indian lads wearing new brass-buttoned overalls, a grunting Indian buck, barefooted children, and other men and women wearing a miscellany of soiled and ill-matched clothes. As the people come and go and lumber trucks rumble by, a group of boys gather before the motion-picture theater to study the offering for the evening.

4:00 P.M. Activity is lulled. The train from the north woods returns. Farmers, making a day of it, return home. New arrivals cease and the editor goes home.

7:00 P.M. Other farmers come to town to trade. The barber shops and grocery stores enjoy a brisk trade. 'Timber Towners'

and tourists or resorters throng the entrance of the motion-picture theater. The pool hall is filled. After the show, the candy store is temporarily thronged, and the young folks depart for a dance at the town hall.

12:00 P.M. Cars full of young people return home from the dance. A dark car or two is still parked outside the pool hall. Joe's wife hopes he will get home without driving his car into the ditch.

A typical day for the family of a small business man runs somewhat as follows:

At seven or seven-thirty the man of the house gets up and builds a fire if it is winter. The woman prepares coffee and toast and oatmeal for breakfast. She then calls the children. Ten minutes later she calls the children again. Finally she goes upstairs, routs the children out, and dresses the youngest. The husband leaves for shop or store before the children are ready. After the children leave for school shortly before nine, the mother busies herself with the housework, tending the garden in the summer and talking with the neighbors over the back fence. At half-past ten she telephones her husband to tell him what to bring home at noon. Shortly after twelve the children and the husband come home for the noon meal at which there is a full measure of gossip about persons in the town or about small duties about the house or the experiences of the children at school. The children and the father leave for town together. The early part of the afternoon is spent by the mother in washing the dishes, shopping, picking blueberries during the season, or in other odd jobs. At four the children are home from school, and from then until bed time the home and yard are full of their shouting and running. After a simple supper, the older girls do the dishes and the parents sit down to do a little reading, or they do a little gardening or take a short ride in the family car. The magazines read by the family will probably be among the following: *Capper's Farmer, Seed Journal, Farmer's Weekly, Saturday Evening Post, Country Gentleman, American Magazine, True Story, Wild Western, True Detective.*

Let us now turn from this glimpse of some of the life of a lumbering and resort town to further glimpses of the social life of a relatively prosperous agricultural community.

II. An Agricultural World — Gate City [2]

Gate City is located in the midst of an agricultural region in one of the north central states and is conveniently situated in respect to highways and railroads.

History. — It was in 1856 that the first building was begun, the first group of settlers came in, and the first store was built in Gate City. Communication with the outside world was at first carried on with the aid of a pony mail service, and the influx of settlers became so rapid that a large log hotel was built to accommodate some of them. In 1856 a brick-making establishment was begun, followed by the erection of a sawmill. These two industries, of course, were established to meet the building needs of the region. A church was built in 1866 and also a bank. In 1857 a township school was provided by the raising of contributions, and the first courthouse was established in 1872.

Indians invaded the area in 1862 and gave the town a temporary setback; but the town grew steadily — eight hundred souls in 1865, one thousand in 1875, three thousand today.

The first railroad came in 1879 and a second in 1899. In 1914 the main street was paved and connected with the automobile transportation system of a great state.

Present Appearance. — Today Gate City is the business center of a relatively prosperous farming community. About 85 per cent of the people own their own homes and 15 per cent are renters. The valuation of the homes ranges from $728 to $6000, averaging about $2400.

The main street of Gate City is a portion of two state highways. Five of the blocks of Main Street are flanked with the red or gray brick business houses of the town. In recent years this street has seen many improvements; it has been paved and electrically lighted. Over the stores in the business section there are many apartments in which transient workers find cheap quarters.

Segregation. — The first ward is occupied, in large part, by representatives of the business and professional classes. The streets of this section are flanked with oak, elm, and pine trees; the lawns and gardens are kept in beautiful condition; the homes are modern. Living in this section are most of the outstanding leaders and 'boosters' of the town. This group works for more

[2] Adapted from an unpublished manuscript.

paved streets, new sidewalks, remodeling of stores and homes, Chautauquas, Lyceum courses, and the like; its members believe in a future bigger and better Gate City, except possibly in depression times. The city school building is located in this ward, as are many of the churches.

The second ward holds a larger proportion of the laboring class. They live in smaller and older houses, and find it necessary to cultivate vegetable gardens as well as flower gardens. There is considerable overlapping between the first and second wards.

The third ward, lying across the railroad tracks, includes a large proportion of the poorer working-class of the city. In this area are to be found the canning factory, the flour mill, the grain elevators, the depot, and the stockyards. There are few sidewalks in this section, few trees, many vacant lots, few street improvements, and many small and neglected houses. The third ward is generally considered an undesirable place in which to live and is referred to as 'across the tracks.' The Mexican and Russian sugar-beet workers, who move to town in the winter, live in this section.

Industries. — The present industries of Gate City are closely connected with the products of the agricultural area about it. Gate City is a cattle-shipping center and has many corrals for the temporary housing of stock. It had a flour mill until recently. When this was closed, some of the men were transferred to larger mills at other centers. The canning factory cans peas and corn during the season and gives work to many school children and women in the city. The ice-cream factory manufactures ice cream, Eskimo pies, and frozen suckers, products that are sent to towns near Gate City. The coöperative creamery is always busy making butter, and the grain elevators are still in operation. There are now three chicken hatcheries in the city, and this business may become permanent. Many of the residents of the third ward raise chickens and sell fresh eggs and dressed chickens to the people of the other wards. Gate City also has its annual county fair.

Local Trade. — The fact that the city is connected with its environs by many good highways makes it possible for Main Street to become a reasonably good trading center, used by many persons from the agricultural environs and by many from Gate City itself. There is a tendency, however, for the more prosperous

residents to do some of their shopping in the larger centers some distance away. The advent of good roads and of the automobile has stimulated this tendency.

There certainly are differences of opinion among the potential shoppers regarding the value of the trading center in Gate City.

The enthusiastic shoppers speak somewhat as follows:

I always do my Christmas shopping in Gate City. It's a good place to shop.

I like this town. One can usually get what he wants because there are just enough stores to choose from.

I think people should patronize their home stores. What would happen if every one went out of town?

The disappointed shoppers speak about as follows:

The prices are too high.

I've never seen such a place. You simply can't buy a dress unless you see about six others just like it.

That fellow doesn't know how to fit shoes.

What Gate City needs is a good photographer. Did you ever see such pictures? They don't look like me at all.

I like Lake City. There are many more stores than in Gate City. I believe the prices are lower, too.

Attitudes. — Many young people of Gate City like to go to the larger centers because of the parks and amusements there that are not to be found in their own city. There is no municipal park in Gate City. There are an unimproved and little-used playground and three fair tennis courts. Skating rinks and miniature golf courses have been closed because older citizens objected to the noise. The attitude of many young people in Gate City toward the older generation, which is in control, seems to be expressed in the following statement: "The old folks talk about keeping us at home, but there's nothing to do. We've got to go some place where we can have a little fun once in a while."

Different types of persons in Gate City tend to have different types of attitudes toward the city. The older and relatively comfortably situated people seem to be content with the existing conditions, as suggested by the following representative statements from persons of this type:

I like Gate City. It is such a nice quiet town and just the right size.

This has always been my home town. No other would be home to me. I like it.

Gate City is a fine place to live. It has a good school, and there are all kinds of churches. One may go where he pleases.

The younger people, however, do not seem to be so enthusiastic about the possibilities of their home town, and they are freely critical. The following statements by young people indicate the discontent of many of them:

It seem like a fellow has to get out of town before the home folks think he's any good. They think he's just a kid as long as he stays at home.

There's nothing to do in this little dump. Some old crabs won't let a skating rink in because there's too much noise. Some won't allow a miniature golf course because that's too much noise, too. What shall we do? Sit around with folded hands all our lives? That's no fun.

It's a cinch you can't get a job in this town.

Loafers. — Gate City seems to have a definite group of unemployed and loafers. They hang around the pool halls or go from house to house begging for coffee, bread, and sugar. They also beg food from the grocery stores and bakeries. Many of the unemployed men hang about a place over by the mill called "Bum Town," where they cook their charity food and sleep at night during the summer. Some of the merchants and householders are criticized for giving these men food, on the ground that this will tend to keep them in town. The attitude of the unemployed is, in part, expressed by such utterances as, "Aw, what's the use? You couldn't get a job here to save you." "Shucks! This is a heck of a town."

Many of the young children, who have not yet thought much about problems connected with the struggle for existence in an agricultural town or in any other kind of town, appear to be naïvely enthusiastic. They say, "Oh, Gate City is a dandy town! I like it. Did you know that we beat Lake City in basket ball last night?"

Gossip. — In this small agricultural town gossip is common. Nearly all the citizens gossip. They gossip about the newcomers, about the doings of the neighbors, and about the activities of the young people. This gossip is a definite factor in controlling the

people. Any one who violates the mores becomes a subject for gossip. Those in business and professional life find it necessary to be very careful of their behavior for fear that gossip may ruin their trade or lose them their positions. A few specific illustrations of gossip follow:

A Conversation between Two Members of a Sewing Circle

Do you know it is the limit the way the people in this town gossip? The Smiths had company for lunch today, and all they talked about was other people. I went down town this afternoon. I went to E's store and there the clerks stood gossiping. I don't know whom they were talking about, but they kept still when I came in.

I suppose that was that Marie Daws. She always knows the latest. She acts as though she's laughing and talking about the customers.

She drives more trade away from that store than the others together can pull in.

You wouldn't catch her keeping a job in the city. Believe me, the clerks in the city have to be polite. You don't see them laughing at the customers.

A Conversation between Two Members of the Social Set of the First Ward

I think the best thing for them to do would be to get a divorce.

I don't think so; you know what a disgrace that would be. I suppose J would lose a lot of his business, and the people would gasp and talk.

I do think that perhaps they would be happier apart, but it would be impossible for both of them to stay here.

Since they haven't any children, if I were she, I would pick up and go. He has plenty of money to give her, but I am sure she has plenty of her own.

Oh, she's too proud to give the people a chance to talk. You know they warned her before she married him about what kind of person he was. She'll stick it out. She'll never let Gate City say that she was wrong.

It is gossip like the above that leads many young people to make such unfortunate assertions as, "Believe me, when I want a good time, I have sense enough to get out of town where people don't know me."

Reading. — The *True Story* magazine is the most popular in Gate City. Others that are well liked are the 'pulps,' the motion-

picture magazines, the 'wild west' magazines, and the *Woman's World, Woman's Home Companion, Ladies' Home Journal,* and *American Magazine.*

The library has a circulation of about thirteen thousand volumes during the year, and the drug store has a popular rental library of the best sellers. The radio and the movies are offering competition to reading as a method of using leisure time.

Politics. — People in Gate City in their political activities usually vote a party ticket in the national elections except in times of stress. The local elections center around personalities or interests. It is doubtful whether people vote with fundamental principles in mind, but more for reasons like the following:

> Let's vote for H. He'll see to it that they don't build that new school building this year.
>
> Vote for Bill; he'll get the taxes down.
>
> Vote for Doe. We don't want to see that M outfit get the power.
>
> Let's make K sheriff. He'll get the bootleggers.

When there is a conflict of groups in the city, many of the business and professional men dare not express their opinions for fear they may lose trade from those whose interests they oppose. This would mean less food for the family, fewer luxuries, and a possibility of financial ruin.

Schools. — Gate City has a grade school, a high school, and a teacher-training department, an enrollment of about one thousand students and thirty-five instructors. The new school building cost the community $83,000. The purpose of the school is presumed to be that of transmitting desirable traits of the culture of the community and of the nation to the younger generation and to provide for the development of the young people as they learn, but it appears that the people think of it more as a means of getting jobs for their children, as an institution to attract trade to the community, and as a center of exciting athletic contests and entertainments. The people, however, are proud of their school and of its good rating. Of the yearly group of more than sixty high-school graduates, about six enter college and about three of these finish.

Churches. — The eight churches claim 2115 members in the city of 3000, and there is no question that many are living the life of peace, happiness, and satisfaction of exemplary Christians.

However, many persons feel that the church does not have the hold that it once had. The reason for this is expressed by one citizen thus:

> People are losing sincerity. Few go to church to find God and a happier, better way of living. They go because it appears well in the eyes of the community. They go because it is a good business policy. They go to find fault with the minister and to know who else is there. The insincerity and godlessness are the fault of the people who are trying to undermine religion today, and not the fault of religion.

There does not appear to be much attempt to reorganize the church program to meet the needs of the changing times, with the exception of the union Sunday evening church service.

Clubs. — About seven hundred persons are included in the membership of the various formal clubs of the city. These clubs are the M Circle, a study club; the D Society, a study club; the P Club, a social club; D.A.R.; Business and Professional Women's Club; Home Economics Club; Kiwanis Club; American Legion; American Legion Auxiliary; Women's Relief Corp; W.C.T.U., and the Town and Country Club.

Social Trends. — Social change at the present time in Gate City is in the direction of increased school attendance, decreased church attendance, increased divorce, smaller families, less reading and more listening to the radio or attendance at the motion-picture theater, more unemployment, and lessening opportunities for the high-school graduates. Also the independent merchant is tending to give way to the chain store. The young people seem to leave home as much as possible in order to find amusements.

This concludes the brief description of the activities of a small agricultural city — a city centering around small trade, making butter, canning corn and peas, milling wheat, shipping cattle, and supporting a school which it is hoped will bring better things for their children. It seems worth while now to turn to a brief study of a mining community, for life is different there.

III. A Mining Community — Mine City[3]

Mine City nestles on the south side of Mine Heights, a one-time scenic spot of the United States, now largely bare of trees and decorated with the open pits and huge dump piles of the many mines. Lakes, rivers, rock hills, and small tracts of timber remain in this district, but in addition to the open pits and dump piles, five underground mine shafts lift their dull red heads above the surface, and railroad tracks and rusty dump cars decorate the landscape.

The Decline. — Ten years ago Mine City held about 3500 busy persons who were engaged in the activities connected directly or indirectly with the removal of thousands of tons of iron ore from the earth. Many of the mines were running on two shifts. Trade prospered, two picture houses ran continuous shows, and some thirty-five stores were in operation.

Within a few years' time, however, the orders for iron ore have failed to come into the offices of the mining companies, and the mines have closed. There are now only seven paying stores and one deserted motion-picture house. Men who formerly proudly swung their lunch boxes now stand in disconsolate groups on the street corners making idle comments on the few things that attract their attention. Business is now on a strictly cash basis, and young men who formerly threw money round carelessly now 'bum rollings' from their neighbors and get them grudgingly.

Cultural Groups. — Mine City contains three cultural groups: the Slovenian, the Finnish, and the American-born younger people. Each group tends to maintain its own ways, its own patterns of behavior, though there is naturally some intermingling — the Finnish bathhouse, for example, is patronized regularly by persons from all groups.

Politics and the Police. — In Mine City police officers are chosen primarily for political reasons. It seems to make little difference to the appointive officers whether the prospective officer has any police qualifications. The fact that a man speaks little English is no bar to his being on the force; in fact it is almost a recommendation, for then he is not apt to meddle in affairs that do not concern him. As one wag remarked: "To call a cop, you gotta holler in half a dozen different languages."

[3] Adapted from an unpublished manuscript.

The degree of intelligence and efficiency possessed by the police may be illustrated by the following stories:

> One day a traffic officer was approached by a party of tourists and asked the direction to a certain large lake. The officer looked at the tourists in disgust and said, "Wa't you tink I be, captain for steamboat?"
>
> One evening a light was seen in a deserted hospital on the edge of town. The policeman on duty was afraid to investigate. He waited on the well-lighted street while a fourteen-year-old boy borrowed the policeman's revolver and investigated.

In politics, graft is so prevalent that the residents have become accustomed to it and do nothing unless something particularly flagrant comes up. For example, when the two school buses were bought in 1930 for the price of about nine thousand dollars each, many people in town knew that those buses delivered should have cost about seven thousand dollars, but no one did anything about it. It has been rumored that 5 to 10 per cent of the cost of the expensive high school went in graft to the contractors and to the members of the school board. Needless to say, there has been keen rivalry in Mine City for election to this board.

Since the depression recently took hold of the city, people have begun to take an active interest in cleaner politics, but they now realize that thousands of dollars now badly needed have been squandered by selfish and money-mad politicians.

Attitude toward the Schools. — The parents of Mine City have, in general, been very much interested in the development of the schools and in the attendance of their own children. For the majority of the parents, the schools have appeared as a means of salvation for their children — as a channel leading toward the top of the pyramid of social classes. For the majority of the children, the schools have appeared as a convenient meeting place for social and athletic activities. They study enough to graduate, but not enough to become, in general, usefully informed concerning the details of a complex civilization.

To this point we have obtained glimpses of a lumbering and resort world, an agricultural world, and a mining world. We now turn to a brief survey of a small industrial community.

IV. An Industrial Community — Machine Town [4]

Machine Town contains about 1300 persons who seek life and happiness primarily through the results of work and struggle with metal and wood in the car-repair shops of a transcontinental railroad.

Employment. — The number of men employed by these shops has varied considerably during recent years. In 1918 the shops employed over 1000 men, but in 1931 they employed about 350 men and in 1933 about 157 men and many of these for only a few days each month. About 81 per cent of the men are employed by the car shops, 11 per cent are in the trades, 5 per cent work in the stone-cutting industry, and 3 per cent are in the professions. The occupations, in order of numbers of participants in Machine Town, are as follows: common laborer, helper, carman, machinist, foreman, painter, blacksmith, driller, car-repairer, mechanic, engineer, driver, carpenter, machine-operator, heater, stationary engineer, fireman, stone-cutter, quarryman, hoisting engineer, janitor, assistant foreman, metal worker, cutter, shearer, tool-sharpener, apprentice, factory-inspector, car-inspector, piler, and switchman.

In connection with the work at the shops the average workman (when the shops are running approximately normally) rises between five and six in the morning and is off to work at 6:45. He works on manufacturing axles or wheels at the forge or in the machine shop, on lumber frames for box cars, in the paint shop, the rolling mill, the storehouse, or the lumber yards from seven in the morning until four in the afternoon. In normal times the average workman earns enough at this activity to keep himself and his family in a plain little five-room bungalow. If hard times come, it is only a few months before he becomes dependent upon charity for a living.

The future for the worker may hold an opportunity to advance from common laborer to fireman in the boiler room, to fireman or engineer on a yard locomotive, to car-repair man, to foreman of a minor department, to assistant car foreman, to car foreman, and to superintendent of the shops. The future may also hold no promotion or actual loss of job, with no instructions or help as to where to find one.

[4] Adapted from unpublished manuscripts.

The effects of unemployment upon many of the families of Machine Town may be brought home by the presentation of a few statements made by persons who feel the situation seriously. A seventeen-year-old daughter in a family of ten children made this statement while she was at home taking care of the other children during the time her mother and father were out cutting wood:

> Pa has been out of work since last December. He goes to a neighboring town to cut wood. He doesn't get any pay for the work, but he can keep the wood he splits. Mother leaves the baby for me to take care of and goes along to help load.

A widow, whose boy is her main source of support, said:

> My boy has been out of work since last May. He's a good worker, too. I ain't been much interested in the work at the shops since my old man died, but I think they should change off the men now and then. Let those men who haven't worked work a while, and lay the others off. It wouldn't be so bad if we could get things on credit. Some women go out and help split wood, but I'd croak before I'd do that. A lot of women work in the chicken hatchery, but they make only about fifty cents a day.

The Homes. — Some insight into the life of different kinds of people may be obtained by brief descriptions of the kinds of homes in which they live. There are very few homes of wealthy people, perhaps none.

Those who can afford it live in a neighboring city. A few of the heads of departments and the superintendent of the shops, for example, live there in comfortable homes of five to nine rooms. They have the ordinary comforts of life: furnace heat, good furniture, good cars, travel, etc.

The houses of the ordinary working people in Machine City, which are in the large majority, are plain two-story or bungalow types with cheap lace curtains at the windows, neatly kept lawns, modest but comfortable furniture, and occasionally flowers growing in pots on the window sills.

Many of these homes, however, have recently been hit with the chill of depression. Let us walk into a plain four-room house furnished with a linoleum rug, an old phonograph, two large chairs, a stove, a table, two beds, etc. The family consists of father and mother, a married daughter, this daughter's son, and another young grandson aged three.

The house was untidy; a towel and a garment lay on the floor; the grandmother was barefooted and garbed in a dirty apron.

The grandmother said:

> We have to keep warm some way this winter. We have a big heater and lots of wood, but most anything can be burned in it. We'll keep warm, if nothing else, this winter. We've always been healthy, but my man's got rheumatism; so we're lucky to have something to keep it hot here. My married daughter has been ill in the hospital for the past year. There are so many worse off than we are. I guess we will be all right if the depression doesn't last too long.

The married daughter, who was ill in bed, said:

> I shall be glad if I can have my health back. My doctor's bill is over $1100. The doctors around here are no good. I've tried every one, and each told me something different. Now we've got to find some way to pay for it. We said there was no use trying to run two houses; so we just came in and lived with Ma.

The little child on the floor said he liked granny's house because he could always have something to eat and granny always played with him while dad always said he made too much noise and bothered him.

A family of a still poorer type was found to live with other families in a two-room shack just below the viaduct. The inside of this house was very dirty. A cook stove stood in one corner; an old tumble-down rocker, one straight chair, a built-in cupboard, a cabinet, a baby's high chair, and a bed in the other room seemed to be the sum total of the furniture.

The family consisted of father and mother and ten children. The seventeen-year-old daughter, who stayed at home to care for the children while father and mother were out cutting wood for the fire (as has been previously mentioned), gave the following picture of life as she saw it:

> We haven't much to look forward to. Father hopes to get part-time jobs. He's awfully crabby, but so good to the baby. We can't slap her or let her cry when he is around. He spoils her. I tell her that I'll give her some candy if she will keep quiet for a while. I have to stay here all day, but I get to go out at night. I don't care much for dancing or fellows either. I wish I could get a job. I didn't go to high school, but I know enough to clerk in a

store. My brother John works at ——. Sometimes he makes a little, but usually just gets his board and keep. I have an awful time with the baby. She is so scared of strangers 'cause when she was only a couple of months old, the neighbor girl tipped her on the floor and hurt her leg. We think it has turned into paralysis. She can't move it, but we can't afford to have a doctor look at it.

On the fringes of Machine Town is found what is often referred to as "Shanty Town." Here one finds a group of tar-paper shacks. A typical home visited was a two-story shack with three rooms downstairs and a long sleeping room upstairs. Washed clothes hung up all about the room, and it was difficult for the interviewer to find a place to sit. The grandmother as well as the others lived in this home. This is what she told the interviewer:

I'd like to go to the Mother's Club, but I haven't any time. Got too much to do. Got to milk the cows and keep the family fed. There's never any rest. I'd like to go some place and have some fun again, but it's no use thinking about it. I'm so discouraged.

Another family in Shanty Town lives in a big gray barn. Two rooms are used for living quarters. The father was at home taking care of the children while the mother worked at the chicken hatchery all day in an attempt to earn fifty cents. The windows are broken and stuffed with rags to keep the wind out. The floor is cement and not covered. There is a stove in one corner, a table in another corner, and a few chairs.

These glimpses of different kinds of rural communities have, it is hoped, been interesting in themselves and also have provided some insights into the way in which people live in such communities. Readers who are interested in an exhaustive and interesting study of a typical rural community will enjoy reading *Small Town Stuff*.[5]

Careful sociological investigators take time to analyze every institution in a community. Clark Wissler has suggested that a community may be analyzed in terms of the following universal institutions (Wissler's list somewhat modified): industry, the family, government, religion,

[5] Albert Blumenthal. *Small Town Stuff*. University of Chicago Press, 1932.

science, art, ceremony, recreation, and social rank.[6] This is called the universal culture pattern. In order to make clear the way in which this system of classification may be used, there is given below an analysis of a stable American rural community located in a prosperous farming section. This analysis is given only in outline form and could be expanded to form a book such as *Small Town Stuff*.

V. A Brief Sociological Analysis of a Rural Community

I. Industry

A. Occupations and Industries
1. Dairy farming: Cattle, young stock, calves
2. Food raised
   a. Alfalfa, wild hay, timothy. These are mowed with a modern mower, raked with a side-delivery rake, loaded on a hayrack with a hay-loader, and put in a large haymow or stack in the field.
   b. Silage (corn). Corn is raised, cut, and put through a silo-filler and deposited in a silo.
   c. Ground feed. Corn, oats, and other small grains are ground at the village elevator or by a travelling mill.
   d. Pasture. During the warm months the cattle live in the pastures day and night, except when they are milked.
3. Milk production
   a. The cows are milked regularly at five o'clock in the morning and five o'clock in the evening.
   b. Quantity: Eighty gallons per day are obtained from a herd of twenty-four cattle.
   c. Shipment of milk, to city in coöperative farmers' trucks
4. Chicken-raising
   a. Fifty to two hundred per family
   b. Kinds: Leghorns, Buff Orpingtons, Plymouth Rocks, Rhode Island Reds
   c. Care: They are fed wheat, oyster shells, and vegetable scraps. Coops are kept clean, and fresh straw is put on the floor frequently.
   d. Reproduction: Incubator and hen hatching
5. Other Occupations
   a. Hog-raising

[6] Clark Wissler. *Man and Culture.* New York: Crowell, 1923.

b. Plowing
c. Harrowing
d. Disking
e. Fertilizing
f. Caring for garden
g. Caring for sheep
h. Making maple syrup
i. Planting and harvesting small grains
j. Planting all crops
k. Gathering apples and butternuts
l. Hauling and cutting wood
m. Caring for cattle (especially in winter)
n. Attending short courses in a university

B. Food and Meal Schedule
1. Food
   a. Beverages: Milk, coffee, tea
   b. Vegetables: All home-grown kinds
   c. Fruit: Apples, plums, cherries, etc.
   d. Berries: Home-grown strawberries and raspberries
   e. Meat: Home-butchered pork, beef, veal, and mutton
   f. Bread: Home-made white bread set with potato water, bran muffins, graham bread, rolls, etc.
   g. Desserts: Cakes, pies, fruits, ice-cream, etc.
   h. Cottage cheese and eggs
2. Meal Schedule: Breakfast, 7:00 A.M.; dinner, 12:00; coffee, 4:00 P.M. (especially in the fields during summer months); supper, 7:00 P.M.

C. Shelter
1. Frame houses: Include kitchen, dining room, living room, three or four bedrooms, large porches, and sometimes bathrooms. Equipped with furnaces in some cases and stoves in others, furnished as in average American home anywhere.
2. Barns: Large modern frame barns, large haymows with driveways which go through stanchions to provide for ten to twenty-four cows. Pens to provide for calves, young stock, and sires. Mangers and floor made of cement. Hay chutes at convenient places.
3. Granary: An old building containing bins for each kind of grain.

D. Transportation: The automobile is the chief means. Trucks are used to carry produce to town. Railroad used for mail and freight. Horses used for hauling what cannot be done by truck, as hauling feed to be ground.

E. Travel: Travel for pleasure by automobile in the summer months. Usual time is a few days or a few weeks.

F. Utensils and Tools

1. Farm machinery: Grain and corn binders, hayracks, wagons, hay-mower, side-delivery rake, wagon, hay-loader, corn-shredder, and silo-filler (owned by a group or by one person and rented out), threshing machine (also owned by a group or rented out by one person), corn-planter, cultivator, plow (both riding and walking types), manure-spreader, seeder, pitch fork, hoe, garden rake, milking machine, milk pail, milk-strainer, milk can, milk cart, hammer, saw, nails, etc.
2. Power and light: House and barns lighted by electricity. Cream separators, pump, tractors, etc., operated by gas engines.
3. Radio: Used to learn of events in outside world, including prices of farm goods in distant markets, and for entertainment.
4. Household utensils: Better than average kitchen equipment.

G. Dress

1. Women wear house dresses that are easily washed. Dress costumes are often a few seasons behind the fashions, except for the unmarried women.
2. Men wear overalls and heavy shoes for work, regular suits for dress.

H. Property: Most of the farmers own their own homes without mortgages. They own farms of about 150 acres, horses, cows, equipment, etc.

II. The Family

A. Form: Monogamous. Ordinary Protestant ceremony in the church or home. Not elaborate.

B. Size of family: One to five children.

III. Traits of Government, Religion, and Science

A. Government: Town government with seat in town hall. Officers — clerk, treasurer, secretary, road boss, and justice of the peace.

B. Religion: Various Protestant denominations, church services well attended.

C. Beliefs: Fundamentalistic — strict interpretation of the Bible, etc.

D. Science: Use applied science of agriculture in crop-raising, cattle-raising, and care of milk.

E. Education: Of parents — sixth to eighth grade. Of young people — high school and some college.

IV. Traits of Art, Ceremony, Recreation, Social Rank

A. Art: Expressed to small degree in arrangement of gardens, buildings, lawns, etc.

B. Ceremony: Little outside of religious ceremonies

C. Recreation: Parties, 'wiener' roasts, steak frys, picnics, swimming parties, hikes, automobile trips, sleigh-ride parties, tennis, baseball, motion pictures, radio, and some reading.

D. Social rank: Determined by the possession of material wealth, participation in community activities, education, and number of offices held.

Questions and Exercises

1. Divide Timber Town into several different districts. Describe them. Draw an imaginary map of the town.

2. What causes different attitudes toward education in a small community?

3. What can you recommend for the development of a better understanding of education in a community?

4. Describe an invasion into a district of a town.

5. What is the effect upon trade and recreational activities of the coming of good roads and automobiles?

6. What motivates the support of candidates for local offices in a small town?

7. In which community was there the most poverty? Why?

8. What is the classification system used for analyzing a community?

9. Are communities such as those studied in this chapter the result of planned or of fortuitous growth? Explain your answer.

10. Is it inevitable that communities grow in the future the same way they have in the past? Why?

11. In what ways can education contribute to the orderly growth of communities in the future?

12. Under what conditions will a community enthusiastically support education? Which of your conditions can be realized?

13. Because a teacher does not believe in gossip is she justified in paying no attention to what people say? Explain.

14. With what facts of social life must educational theory reckon to be of practical use in educational guidance?

15. What uses can teachers make of studies of communities like those presented in Chapters I and II?

16. Draw up a statement of the purposes of education suggested by the actual socio-economic conditions revealed in Chapters I and II.

17. Indicate the concrete material in this chapter that illustrates each of the sociological generalizations presented at the end of Chapter I.

18. How may economic conditions be improved through education?

19. How may happiness be improved through education?

20. Outline a curriculum for the elementary school that promises to obtain both economic conditions and happiness.

21. Will the curriculum be the same in all schools? Justify your answer.

22. What kind of teachers would be most desired to impart the curriculum you have outlined in response to Question 20?

23. Outline the types of experiences a modern teacher needs in order to assist with adjusting children to social realities.

24. Give a detailed account of a small town conflict over some school problem. Indicate how the conflict was solved. Was it solved in the light of the interests of the children or was it solved by the dominant faction subjugating the weaker faction?

25. What can the school do to change the attitudes of many critical high-school children toward their community?

26. What can the school do to improve politics?

27. What kind of literature does the typical high-school graduate read — worthy literature of the kind he was presumably taught to enjoy or cheap news-stand literature? Find out by asking twenty unselected recent high-school graduates. How do you account for your findings?

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY MORES AND THE TEACHER

Ways of acting and believing that grow up in a community during a period of years and that are considered by most members of the community to be relatively indispensable for group welfare are called by sociologists *mores* (mō'rēs). Members of the community who violate one or more of the mores receive the severe disapproval of the majority in the community.

The Teacher's Attitude toward Community Mores

The teacher often has a real problem in adapting herself to the mores of the community. She has usually been trained in one of the larger centers of learning where she has been introduced to many new and progressive ideas, but her first teaching positions are most likely to be found in towns and cities remote from these centers of learning.

The thoughtless teacher may inadvertently violate the mores of the community that pays her salary, so that she becomes the recipient of severe social disapproval that may lead to her dismissal at the end of the year. She may, for example, find fault with every one and everything, and refer to the 'one-horse town' in which she is forced to live. She may allow others to believe that she considers every one in town beneath her. Such a teacher loses her influence in the community, if she ever had any. Her inadequacies are likely to be discussed by parents before pupils, causing her to lose prestige even in the classroom. Finally she is dismissed as a misfit, which in truth she is.

The teacher whose career has thus been ruined may be a brilliant college graduate, and she might well have con-

sidered the matters here discussed as trivial. Nothing in teaching is trivial that removes from the teacher the respect of parents and pupils.

The tactful teacher is the one who recognizes the real worth of the people, adjusts herself to the mores of the community, and becomes identified with the town as it is. Later, when she has gained the confidence of the people, she may speak out against certain practices, not as an outsider, but as one who has made herself one of the community. Such a teacher can retain the respect of those who desire her to be loyal to her academic traditions and at the same time become a respected member of the community. In short, the socially intelligent teacher knows how, when, and why to be expedient.

The Teacher's Participation in Community Life

In most smaller communities the teacher is expected to participate in community life. 'Suitcase teachers,' who leave for their homes in the city every week-end and thus fail to become a part of the community where they teach, are not desired. It is easier to dismiss a teacher who is not identified with the community than one who is. Proof of this statement is to be seen in the relatively high proportion of poor home-town teachers who retain their jobs.

In some communities the lot of the teacher is complicated; she is expected to participate in most of the community activities, but at the same time she is regarded by many persons almost as a different variety of human species from themselves, as a person not to be taken into the intimacies of daily life. This difficulty may be overcome, in part at least, through the intimate personal acquaintance of the teacher with key members of the community. These leading members may readily become convinced that the teacher is another human being like themselves. Time makes such intimate acquaintances possible. It is essential that the teacher be present at community functions. Also, the ability of the teacher to talk the language of the people she

meets in the town is important. The teacher can profit from the ability to talk church or bridge or housekeeping with the women and business or farming with the men. It then becomes easier for her to identify herself with the world of values in the community.

A pertinent illustration of a teacher who lost her job because she deliberately avoided participation in community affairs has been told as follows:

> As complete a failure as I have ever seen made was that of a teacher of home economics, not forty-five minutes from the University campus, who fell heir to the Home-Economics Club, organized by her predecessor, which in four years had become *the* social club of the community. Upon Miss X's arrival she was informed by the first mother she met that the home-economics teacher was *ex officio* a club member, and was expected to aid in planning the annual program and to take an active part in the club. Miss X let it be known that she did not care for women's clubs and did not feel responsible in any way for helping run a club of married women, who had more time than she to attend to such things. The club is still flourishing and duly federated; but Miss X departed at the expiration of the year, thoroughly discredited. The basic reason was that she had utterly failed at the outset to see and grasp an opportunity ready-made for her.

Of course you may argue that Miss X was not to blame, that she was within her rights as an individual, but she lost her job and an opportunity to be of influence. A trivial oversight indeed it might seem! Miss X's mistake was in failing to sense a local and somewhat unusual demand upon the home-economics teacher. The chances are that in any other of a dozen villages she would have encountered no such situation. But almost every place is likely to present the teacher with some problem or opportunity that is local and unique. It is the business of the clever newcomer to discover such local peculiarities. If Miss X had cordially and politely avoided committal on the subject of the advisorship to the Home-Economics Club, thus maneuvering for

time to inquire into the local situation, she might easily have discovered that in that particular town the home-economics teacher was practically required to take an interest in the Home-Economics Club.

The teacher must, of course, remember that her chief duty is in the schoolroom and that, therefore, she must take care not to participate in so many groups that her health is impaired or her daily preparation is slighted. Some mid-point between reclusiveness and participation in everything is desirable.

The Problem of the Observance of Community Mores

School teachers are not the moral sponsors and directors of the community, but the teacher, whether in a rural district, a village, or a small city, finds that she is a marked person and that everything she does is subject to inspection and criticism. This may not be reasonable or just, but it is true. Often things that any local girl can do without attracting unfavorable attention will draw much adverse criticism upon a teacher.

There appears to be an unconscious mechanism that causes the average citizen to expect the school and the teacher to remain the exemplar of certain moral standards, even though these moral standards are being abandoned by the community. Hence it becomes expedient for the teacher to conduct herself conservatively. In a sense, the teacher is expected to be the curriculum, so far as moral education is concerned; she is to be the living textbook, known and read by all children; and the community often insists upon this perpetual demonstration of morality more vigorously than it does upon good teaching. Whether she likes it or not, then, the teacher, to gain social approval, must become a modern Vestal Virgin. The Foolish Virgins are those who disregard taboos against dancing, keeping late hours, attending questionable parties, rushing madly down the main street on horseback, smiling at the wrong

men, promenading around the block with some new pick-up, and going on 'wild' automobile rides.

It is hardly necessary to say that the mores differ in different communities, that what can be done in one community with approval cannot be done in another; also that the larger the town or city, the more inconspicuous the teacher becomes and the less concern is shown about her personal conduct. The wise teacher finds it expedient, if nothing more, to 'go slow' when entering a new community until she discovers what moral standards she is expected to follow.

The Teacher's Relations with Patrons and Citizens

The relations of the teacher with patrons and citizens should be one of polite cordiality for all, but with familiarity held in reserve, especially at first. Each school community may be expected to contain several different 'interest groups.' Some of these groups are in control of affairs; others are hostile to those in control. The teacher who hastily makes intimate friends with perhaps the first persons who approach her may find that she has identified herself with a group toward whom many persons in the community have a hearty dislike. She will not then be able later on to make the contacts with the most desirable groups. The teacher may find it well to hold her desire for making friends in reserve for a few weeks until she has had time to understand the social status and the social interests of the various groups in the community. Fortunate is the teacher who comes under the ægis of some matron of good standing in the community, whose sympathies are broad and whose moral and social judgments are sound and locally accepted. Entrée to the home of such a matron on easy and friendly terms establishes the status of the teacher in the town.

In some communities, however, the interim before the teacher has any chance to make such a connection is long. In the meantime there are two avenues that may lead to the desired contacts. One avenue is the school. Through

the use of 'accommodation' types of teaching [1] the teacher can develop sufficient interest in school work upon the part of the children to attract the attention of the parents, who are usually interested in the school progress of their own children. This may lead to school visits of the parents, with the result that friendly social contacts are established.

A second avenue leading toward desirable acquaintance with parents and others is the Parent-Teacher Association. This organization furnishes the means for bringing parents and teachers together at business and social meetings. The teacher should seize this opportunity to establish cordial relations with the parents of her pupils. It is easy for the teacher and parent to come into conflict over the academic needs of the child or over matters of school discipline. The social contacts and acquaintances that may be developed in the Parent-Teacher Association will lessen the likelihood of such conflicts. In general, the teacher, in the presence of a disturbed parent, must control her emotions, listen courteously, and try to work out objectively with the parent a program of action that appears to be in the best interests of the child and the school.

Problems of Board, Room, and Dress

There is more involved in the selection of a boarding place than the satisfaction of hunger. The teacher who hastily selects a boarding place may find it necessary to change it, and the changing of boarding places during the middle of a school year may arouse the enmity of the family and all the friends of the family that she leaves. The teacher who obtains the advice of the superintendent or older teachers before selecting a boarding place avoids this difficulty.

Some teachers like to board at a café or hotel. In some communities it is poor policy to do so; not that there is anything wrong in it, but that the so-called 'best citizens' will object to having their children placed in charge of

[1] These types are described in Chapter VIII.

teachers who appear to be making social contacts with the transient class. In other communities the practice has been established of eating at public restaurants; in this case the teacher may accompany the group and observe the usual proprieties.

The selection of a rooming place is subject to about the same considerations as the selection of a boarding place. It is well, if possible, to select a room in a home that is rated well in the community; this adds to the teacher's self-respect and gives her a proper frame of mind to deal with the citizens, students, and colleagues. It is also well to inspect a room carefully, to observe the conveniences, the lighting, and so on.

Regarding the teacher's dress, it is sufficient to say that a businesslike and inconspicuous costume will serve to avoid the criticisms that are made of flashy clothes or shabby ones. A teacher's dress may be colorful if it be in good taste. A school man or school woman can fail professionally for lack of reasonable attention to clothes. The man who fails to shave regularly, wear clean collars, keep his hair properly trimmed, and his clothes pressed and clean can easily fail to impress the average citizen or the children with his professional qualifications; for the human tendency is to base first opinions on superficialities and general impressions rather than on proved ability.

The Teacher's Relation to the School as a Community

In a sense the school is a community within a community. In this community the teacher meets the problem of the correct relationships with other teachers and with the pupils. It is easy for many personal jealousies to creep into the relationships with colleagues. Some teacher who enjoys a little appreciation or popularity may arouse the jealousy of other teachers, especially of those who do not belong to her particular clique. The jealousy may lead to conflict between groups, often between the two groups of teachers — the

clique that is 'in' and the clique that is 'out.' Such conflicts soon become known in the town and tend to break down the respect the townspeople have for the teaching profession. Teachers should be loyal to one another and to those in authority and 'boost' for one another and for the school. Nothing sells the school to the community like a corps of teachers who are continually telling the good things about the school and other teachers. Soon the community accepts these appraisals.

Some teachers hold themselves aloof from their colleagues and seem unable to make friends with any of them or with the superintendent and members of the school board. Other teachers court familiarity, thinking that by establishing a close relationship with colleagues they will be able to exercise greater influence. Still other teachers disregard the social distance set by the other members of the faculty between the faculty and students and attend student parties, participate too freely in their games, etc., with the result that they fail to hold students to sound academic standards. Prestige is lost by teachers of these types.

The strain and tension that develop among teachers can be, in part, eliminated. Work relations may be fraught with friction, but the happy relations of social intercourse generate a natural lubricant for that friction. The custom in some schools for the old faculty members to entertain the new is a good tension-breaker. Later the new faculty members may entertain the old. Some superintendents favor a teachers' social meeting twice a month and occasional picnics. The practice of some school boards of entertaining the faculty does much to improve relations between the board and the teachers.

Many inexperienced teachers, recalling the relatively large differences in sympathetic understanding that once existed between them and their former teachers, resolve to be very friendly to their students. This aim is a good one, but many young teachers make the mistake of allowing their pupils to call them by their first name, to use their surname without

the 'Miss,' or even to use a nickname. This may, indeed, reduce the 'pupil-teacher distance' to zero, but it may also reduce the teacher's prestige to zero. The teacher soon finds that by these practices she has developed in her room many disciplinary problems, and that she is troubled with discourtesy and lack of attention on the part of her pupils. She may also find herself humiliated by the overfamiliarity of pupils on the streets, at public social affairs, and in crowds; she has not secured the goodwill that she sought; on the contrary she has lowered herself in the esteem of her pupils.

The relationship of the teacher to the pupil ought to be courteous and kind, but always professional. When one goes to the office of a physician, one expects his demeanor to be professional. His greeting is cordial, assuring one of sympathetic interest in the case. His preliminary conversation pertains perhaps to the weather, to the flowers in the front yard, or to the latest event of public interest. He is friendly, and is interested, but he proceeds to the diagnosis and treatment of the case without impertinent irrelevancies. One feels that he would maintain the same kind of attitude toward all his patients. His behavior is strictly professional, and that is the attitude of the successful teacher toward her pupils.

Questions and Exercises

1. What are mores?
2. Why is it important for teachers to find out what the community mores are?
3. What unwise attitudes may develop in a teacher who comes from college into a small community that is quite different from the college community?
4. In what kinds of communities is teacher-participation in community life most important? In what kinds of communities is teacher-participation in community life least expected? Why?
5. Describe the unique social position of the teacher.
6. What are some of the common community mores that teachers will do well to respect?
7. In what ways can teachers establish desirable contacts with patrons?

8. In what ways can teachers establish desirable relations with pupils? What dangers are there?

9. Is it right that the teacher should conform to the mores of the community in which she teaches? Discuss.

10. In what ways can the teacher place herself in a position to be of influence in changing the community mores?

11. Why should a teacher establish cordial relations with parents and other teachers on the faculty? What happens to the teacher who does not establish cordial relations?

12. List the mores of a community with which you are familiar.

13. Visit a culture district with which you are unfamiliar; get acquainted with several typical citizens and through this acquaintance find out a number of the folkways and mores of the district. Also find out the kind of behavior the citizens expect of teachers.

14. Talk with typical citizens of a village and find out the things that a teacher can *not* do. Does the typical village young man or young woman lose caste if he or she does these things? Why?

15. Make a careful study of the effect upon student and citizen opinion of a continual conflict between two factions in a school faculty.

16. Make a study of a school faculty that has 'sold' the school to the community. What were the techniques used?

17. Make a study of the disciplinary problems of a teacher who allowed the social distance between her and her pupils to become zero.

18. List the traits in a teacher who maintains the proper social distance between herself and her pupils.

19. Many of the things a community expects teachers to do and not to do are not reasonable. Is it, therefore, appropriate for a teacher to disregard the unreasonable requirements of the community? What would you do in such a situation?

Bibliography

Blumenthal, Albert. *Small Town Stuff.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932.

Lynd, Robert and Lynd, Helen. *Middletown.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

Waller, Willard. *The Sociology of Teaching.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932

CHAPTER IV

THE TEACHER AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The accounts of the different social worlds given in Chapters I and II have revealed marked differences in ways of living among persons of different culture districts and regions. The accounts have revealed that there are real problems of poverty, crime, unemployment, and community disorganization in the United States.

The School as a Socializing Agency

One of the ways in which the people have endeavored to reduce the differences or inequalities among groups is through the introduction of the public school — the great socializing and diffusing agency. The public school is supported by public taxation of all persons, whether they have children in school or not. These schools are open to the children of all the people, regardless of the culture districts in which they may live, in order that the children of all men may have an equal opportunity for a fair start in the life struggles that are to come. It is no accident that the parents of the great mass of children in the United States esteem the public school, for they consider it the chief means of economic and social salvation for their children. And they are right.

Teachers in the public schools are expected to prepare *all* children, as thoroughly as their individual talents will allow, for intelligent participation in the social institutions of the United States and of the world. It is not the intention of the people of the United States to allow the accident of an unfortunate birth to handicap a child in receiving an education, at least an education such as is afforded in the first eight grades.

Another function of the public school in the attack on social problems is that of the development of the spirit of brotherhood among those of the rising generation, in order that the humanitarian aims of the founders of our public-school system may not be forgotten. The public school should teach something of the history and aims of the public school, so that all who pass through its halls may clearly understand and appreciate its importance as a social institution.

The public school, it is believed, is making its contributions to the solution of social problems; but it has by no means eliminated them. The truth is that the present technological age has created social problems faster than any institution can cope with them. The school has not been able to keep pace with the rapid changes.

Since the idealistic program of the school has not succeeded in reducing sufficiently the observed inequalities among persons and has not touched all people, the great middle class, the rich, and the state have supported numerous other social institutions, particularly various welfare agencies designed to give immediate practical and financial assistance to many types of underprivileged groups. In order for the teacher to coöperate intelligently with these agencies in the interest of the welfare of people in the communities in which she serves, she will find it necessary to know something about them. Social welfare work may, for convenience, be classified into the following major divisions: (1) social case work, (2) social group work, (3) institutional work, and (4) community organization.

It is the purpose of this chapter to describe briefly the aims and the methods of these four types of welfare work in order that the teacher may understand what agencies, in addition to the school, are operative in most communities for the betterment of social conditions.

Social Case Work

Its General Nature and Program

The way in which the social worker may study the problem presented by a given individual may be illustrated by the case of Albert M.[1]

Albert, at the age of sixteen, presented to the social worker connected with the juvenile court in the city of New York the problem of parental neglect, delinquency, truancy, petty thievery, intoxication, running away from home, a life of vagrancy, criminal associates, and the committing of robberies!

Careful investigation revealed that Albert, though small and pale, was well nourished, a combination of nervous energy and lethargy, but possessed with defective vision. He had fair mental ability, but poor emotional reactions and poor judgment. His personality was of the submissive type.

He lived in poverty and squalor with syphilitic parents in a home frequently dependent upon charitable aid. The home was characterized by frequent family conflicts of a highly emotional nature.

It appeared to the social case worker that Albert lived in conditions that thwarted any satisfaction of the desires for love, security, and activity, and that new influences were necessary if improvement in his behavior was to take place.

The judge assigned the boy to a wholesome family where it was believed the good food, the regular program of daily activities, the spirit of the family and neighborhood, and the helpful influence of trained probation officers might change Albert's interests and attitudes and correct his health deficiencies.

The story of Albert is a brief story of social case work in the field of child guidance. It is the story of the intelligent attempt to make an adjustment between a person and his social environment. "Social case work," says Mary Richmond, "consists of those processes which develop personality

[1] Edwin J. Cooley. *Probation and Delinquency.* The material for this illustration of social case work is adapted and abbreviated from the account given in Cooley's Chapter VI.

through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment." [2] It is sociology, psychology, and psychiatry applied to the adjustment of personality in practical situations and is deemed essential to the success of such activities as family-welfare work, child-welfare work, child guidance, medical social work, probation and parole, and social work in industry.

The steps in careful social case work have been outlined with care by Warner, Queen, and Harper as follows: [3]

I. Diagnosis

1. Initial contact with client and his problem
2. Inquiry or investigation — assembling pertinent information, including data from other professions
3. Analysis and evaluation of evidence
4. Organization of information into a unified picture
5. Prognosis — estimate of possible outcomes
6. Planning

II. Treatment

A. Direct personal influence
   1. Action directed upon the client himself
      a. Redirection of attention — suggestion
      b. Interpretation of client and his situation to himself
      c. Persuasion
      d. Coercion
   2. Action directed upon the client's associates — similar to that directed upon the client himself

B. Indirect methods
   1. Removal of client to new social and physical environment
   2. Change of physical conditions in the client
   3. Change of physical conditions in the environment
   4. Arrangement for services by members of other professions

[2] Mary Richmond. *What Is Social Case Work?*, pp. 98–99.

[3] Amos G. Warner, Stuart A. Queen, and Ernest B. Harper. *American Charities and Social Work*, p. 271. (By permission of Thomas Y. Crowell Company.)

Family-Welfare Work

The purpose of family-welfare work is to reëstablish the organization of a family that is in the process of social disorganization. This means to do much more than to provide simple relief measures.

Family-welfare work may be done through the aid of public funds. In some places the fund is administered by the county and in others by the city or township. A family in need of aid, and without relatives who can supply aid, may apply to the county, township, city, or government officials, who may proffer the necessary money or supplies. Some counties and townships have poorhouses where some of the poor are sent. The city or township system is often unsatisfactory because the city or township officials are not under obligation to grant relief and often will try to pass applicants on to other towns to avoid participating in their support. This procedure often results in a group of transient poor.

In many places in the country, mothers' allowances are used in an attempt to keep mother and children together. These allowances are given, of course, where there is no father to support the family. The allowance will also be given provided the mother is a proper person to care for her children, is a resident of the state, and is a citizen, or is willing to become a citizen, of the United States. When certain other conditions are met (the conditions varying in different states), the mother may be supported in her own home by means of an allowance of a certain sum each month, the amount varying with the number of children in the family. This system has been fairly successful.

The Red Cross may give relief in the form of family welfare during times of emergency, such as earthquakes, floods, or tornadoes. There are many local chapters throughout the country that may aid, and the national organization will assist in major emergencies. The Red Cross tries to give immediate medical service, nursing, and relief and then

tries to help the individuals who have suffered, to reëstablish themselves.

Family welfare is also undertaken by many private agencies that are semipublic in nature. These organizations, including the Red Cross, obtain their money from the private subscriptions of interested citizens. Typical organizations in this field of family welfare are the Family Welfare Association, the Sunshine Society, the Catholic Guild, the Salvation Army, the Jewish Welfare Association, and public relief agencies.

Child-Welfare Work

The several states have different types of child-welfare organizations. Some of these are private; some, public or semipublic in nature. In Minnesota child welfare of the individual type is carried on by the State Children's Bureau and associated county welfare boards, as well as by individual agencies working in coöperation with the bureau. These organizations serve the illegitimate child, the dependent and neglected child, the delinquent child, the nonplaceable child, the child in the boarding home, the problem child, the problem child in school, the child who needs counsel, the child in employment.

The aim in helping the illegitimate child is to secure for him a place in the world as nearly like that of the legitimate child as possible. A representative of some child-protection agency will attempt to locate the father of the child and obtain from him the expenses for the mother's confinement and for the support and education of the child. It may be possible for appropriate agencies to do this even if the mother fails to file a complaint against the father. These efforts will in all probability be supported by the laws of the state. When the father marries the mother after the birth of the child, official papers may be made out 'legitimizing' the child. Whether the father of the child is found or not, it is the duty of the modern social worker to do all in her power to help the mother and child to avoid becoming socially

ostracized and to find a place for them that will enable them to maintain their self-respect.

Dependent, delinquent, and neglected children need placing or adoption. Such responsibilities may be assumed by a child-guidance clinic, a county child-welfare board, a juvenile court, a family-welfare society, or a children's-aid society. Children may be placed in a state home for children pending suitable placement or adoption, in a free home without view to adoption, in boarding homes until such time as they can be returned to parents or relatives, in homes where they are expected to work in return for board and room, or in homes where they are taken with a view to adoption.

Warner, Queen, and Harper have outlined the steps to be taken in the selection of a foster home for a child, as follows:[4]

> First of all, the applicant for a child may be asked to call at the office of the agency, where he is interviewed and fills out a blank with certain routine information. Some agencies at once inquire of the social-service exchange whether the family is known to any other organization either as a client or as one who has previously cared for children. If the answer from the exchange is affirmative, the other agency will be asked to furnish whatever information it possesses that may help to determine the suitability of the home for the foster child. Sometimes what is learned from the first interview and from other agencies may warrant denial of the application, but in most cases the investigation will go on. References given by the applicant will be consulted by letter or in person or both. In addition, calls may be made on other persons who may know the family. But the most important part of the investigation is the visit to the proposed foster home itself. This affords an opportunity not only to see the house, its furnishings, and its setting, but to visit with the various members of the family and sense the home 'atmosphere.'

The home may be accepted by the social-service agency as suitable for a child who needs a home because of loss of parents or adequate parental support if investigation reveals

[4] Warner, Queen, and Harper. *Op. cit.*, pp. 307–308. (By permission of Thomas Y. Crowell Company.)

an approach to the following standards: (1) cordial relations within it, (2) good moral atmosphere, (3) adequate income, (4) freedom from contagious disease, (5) school and church connections, (6) one bed for each child, and (7) recreational opportunities.[5]

Studies in the field of home-placing show some of the advantages and some of the limitations of this procedure. They suggest that the type of conduct of the child in the foster home will be the kind of conduct that the child will use after he leaves his home, that in most cases the success or failure of the child after he leaves the home may be predicted, that personality difficulties and mental abnormalities are serious causes of failure in placing, that heredity seems to play little part in the success or failure of those who are placed, that no nationality group of problem children who are placed show unusual amounts of abnormality, that illegitimacy is no bar to success in placing, that court records do not interfere with success in placing, that repeated offenses on the part of the child do not seriously interfere with success in placing, and that no special kinds of behavior on the part of the problem child weigh seriously against his success when he is placed.[6]

The care of so-called 'nonplaceable' children is a problem at the best. Nonplaceable children commonly suffer from extreme personality difficulties, or afflictions like tuberculosis, venereal diseases, insanity or feeble-mindedness. These children may be cared for by state institutions, by private institutions free of charge, or by the county in certified boarding homes.

In some states, for example Minnesota, boarding homes are carefully supervised by the state, and no one may board dependent or independent children not related to them in

[5] Outline adapted from suggestions quoted by Warner, Queen, and Harper from Mary Doran and Bertha Reynolds, *The Selection of Foster Homes for Children*, pp. 29–30, and from United States Children's Bureau Publication No. 171, p. 43.

[6] Adapted by Warner, Queen, and Harper (*op. cit.*, pp. 316–317) from William Healy and others, *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth.*

some way without permission and inspection of representatives of the state or of an approved social-service agency. No child should be placed in a boarding home longer than is necessary, but should be returned to his home or to relatives as soon as it is feasible. Desirable boarding homes for children who must be placed out may possibly be located through consultation with present boarding-home mothers, through consultation with ministers, doctors, teachers, and others well acquainted with certain communities and their families, through women's clubs, and through requests by ministers from their pulpits. Advertising in the local papers may be of value, provided explanations are clear and the name of the agency or individual advertising is given.

Child-welfare programs also include the study and social adjustment of problem children. Problem children are studied by the child-guidance clinic and the visiting teacher. The purpose of both groups is to locate the factors — social, intellectual, physical, or emotional — that need to be changed in order to change the behavior of the child. The teacher can well use the elementary techniques used by child-guidance specialists; these techniques are to be found in part in other chapters of this book — especially in the chapter on the sociological diagnosis of individual behavior.

The child-guidance clinic is usually operated by a psychiatrist, a psychologist, a physician, and social workers. The social worker collects the data regarding the social situation of the problem child; the physician determines the physical condition of the child; the psychologist determines the intellectual and scholastic achievements; the psychiatrist examines the emotional condition. Following this series of examinations, an attempt is made to effect a social readjustment.

The visiting teacher specializes in making adjustments in the social situation of the child in school, in the community, and in the home. When necessary, she takes the problem child to other specialists.

These guidance clinics and visiting teachers deal with such

problems as disobedience, stealing, temper troubles, tardiness, truancy, poor scholarship, unfortunate home conditions, lying, enuresis, masturbation, fighting, fears, social disabilities, daydreaming, sex disturbances, unhappiness, speech defects, and others.

Schools are becoming more and more interested in counseling young students. This need has developed since the advent of large classes and the accompanying development of specialists in subject matter. One result of the specialization in subject matter was a neglect of the social and personal problems of the student. The duties of the counselors, who are now being assigned to junior and senior high schools in the larger cities, consist of curricular guidance, vocational guidance, behavior guidance in supplement to the work of the child-guidance clinic and the visiting teacher, and individual studies of the pupil who has scholastic difficulties. This work may also include the careful study of occupations in the community served by the schools, planning appropriate vocational education, and assisting young people to secure jobs. Work in this department may further include the financial assistance of unusually capable students who otherwise would find it necessary to leave school.

All the child-welfare programs indicate that the people of the United States are interested in social welfare and in mutual aid and believe that under modern conditions the fit cannot always survive without help and guidance.

Medical Social Work

Medical social work is carried on in connection with hospitals and clinics. Modern economic and social conditions and certain habits of living have been found to undermine the health. Again, many persons need social guidance after medical treatment, for it is often necessary to follow a special health program for many weeks or months, and that cannot always be done unless changes are made by a competent guide in the social situation in which the unfortunate person must live.

The service of the medical social worker is illustrated by the following case:

Adelaide was brought by the doctor to the social worker with the statement, "She has trachoma in the most infectious stage. We seldom see any such cases now." The doctor showed the worker the eye condition. "I wanted her to go to the hospital, but she says she can't." A few moments' conversation with Adelaide showed that she had no conception of the nature of her condition or its dangers to others.

She was a switchboard operator in a department store, a single girl of eighteen, living in a two-room housekeeping flat with a married sister, her husband, and baby. When she understood the danger, she readily consented to go to the hospital at once. She gave a history of a younger sister's having had eye treatment by a private physician in the city. The family of ten lived in Wisconsin. The father had emigrated from Austria as a young man. He always had "weak eyes," but none of the family had been able to persuade him to have treatment. Adelaide thought none of the other children except the sister had "eye trouble."

A visit to the employer resulted in keeping her position open for her and instructions to the company nurse to sterilize Adelaide's headpiece and report any eye infections at once.

By the following noon Adelaide had not yet reported at the hospital. A visit to the sister found Adelaide preparing to go. This sister said that she, too, always had "weak eyes." The need of an eye examination for herself, her husband, and baby was explained. After a week, the sister and her family had not yet reported and a second visit was made. The worker explained that trachoma was a reportable disease, and that if the sister and her family could not make the effort to come for examination, it would be necessary to ask the health department to call and quarantine them. Examination of the family was made the next day, with the result that the sister was found to have a milder case of trachoma than Adelaide. Now after two years, Adelaide and her sister are still under regular treatment with much improvement in their eye conditions and with a real understanding of the importance of treatment.

Adelaide expressed satisfaction with the plan to report the

family to the health authorities in Wisconsin with the idea that treatment might be secured for her father.[7]

It appears that this type of follow-up work is in the interest of society and of the individuals who need special medical attention.

Probation and Parole

Probation deals with the guidance of the juvenile or adult offender outside of an institution, in place of commitment. Parole deals with the supervision of an offender in social life after he has completed a part of his sentence in a penal institution.

Probation is used primarily with children and parole is used primarily with adults, but exceptions may be legally made by the courts.

The modern trend in criminology and penology is away from a complete reliance on imprisonment and repression as a primary means of reform and toward the idea that patient and intelligent supervision of a process of habit reconstruction in the community and family where the offender probably is to live is likely to be the most effective reform measure. With this view in mind, many of the states and cities provide juvenile courts with a judge and probation officers. A juvenile offender is brought before this court upon the basis of a petition filed in his own behalf. Often a complete investigation is made of the child, similar to that outlined in the chapter on the sociological diagnosis of individual behavior. The court, the probation officers, the parents, and the child try to work out a plan that will help in his readjustment. This plan is supervised by the probation officer. A child on probation is required to avoid all bad habits, to retire early, to associate with desirable persons, etc. Although much improvement in probation administration is necessary, the results are encouraging. Some writers claim that 80 per cent of the delinquents on

[7] Minnesota State Conference and Institute of Social Work. *Handbook of Social Work*, pp. 75–76.

probation make good, while others fear that the change in behavior is not so permanent as is to be desired.

The juvenile court also deals with dependent and neglected children. In cases of this kind the judge may appoint some person or some approved institution as the legal guardian of the child. The idea of the juvenile court is to act as godfather to the child who needs help because of the poverty or the neglect of the parents or the delinquent behavior of the child himself. Teachers who know of children who need help may refer them to the juvenile court or to a social worker, or the county attorney can advise teachers what to do in a particular county.

Parole may be given to prisoners before their sentence expires. The prisoner must conduct himself properly when on parole, or he will be returned to the prison to complete his sentence. Parole should not be given simply upon the basis of conduct in prison, for hardened criminals often coöperate with the prison authorities while they are in prison in order that they may be released before the expiration of their sentence or be recommended for parole because of good behavior. The trend in parole is in the direction of basing release upon the careful study of many factors, such as the criminal's prison conduct, his history, his personality and habits, the nature and circumstances of his crime, etc. Certain criminologists, such as Glueck, Burgess, and Vold, have shown that it may be possible to predict statistically (with a certain margin of error) success or failure on parole. The predictions are based upon the study of many factors in the life of the prisoner.

Social Work in Industry

Many industrialists and welfare workers have in recent years realized the importance of giving definite attention to the welfare of the workers in industry. This type of work has taken three forms in the United States:

1. Indefinite and spasmodic efforts of the employer, of an avowedly paternalistic nature.

2. The employment of trained specialists, 'social secretaries,' or 'welfare agents,' with little authority and responsible directly to the management, to establish and maintain personal relations between employer and employees.
3. The coördination of all work dealing with the human element in industry as a 'major staff function' under specialists with considerable authority called variously 'employment managers,' 'welfare directors,' or 'personnel administrators.' [8]

The first two types of work are often resented by the employees because of too much paternalism. The technique by which the specialists work out plans with the employees is much more acceptable.

The services of social work in industry include medical examinations, absence investigation, vocational guidance, hospital services and visiting nurses, the cafeteria, old-age pensions, building-and-loan service, the company store, sickness insurance, unemployment insurance, and mental-hygiene service.

Social Group Work

The purpose of social group work is that of the social adjustment of individuals through participation in a wide variety of group contacts. It is the group contacts that make one human. It is the group contacts that make one social. Often the social case worker, the probation officer, and others will recommend as a major part of their treatment that certain individuals participate in wholesome group activities. Teachers and educators, realizing the importance of the socialization of the child, are similarly placing increased emphasis upon group activities.

Outside of the school, group work falls into the following types: Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, Girl Scouts, 4-H clubs, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A., playground work, settlement work, and community-center work.

[8] L. A. Boettiger. *Employee Welfare Work*, pp. 122 ff. (By permission of the Ronald Press.) Copyright, 1923.

The purpose of Boy Scout work is character-building and citizenship-training through a program of recreational, useful, and constructive activities. The appeal is made through boy interest in outdoor activities and gang activities. The success of the program depends upon patient, trained, and efficient leadership. Boy Scouting under good leadership has been found to bring desired results. The Scouting program is extensive in the United States and in many parts of the world. All the large cities in the United States and many of the smaller centers have a Boy Scout headquarters. Letters of inquiry may be addressed to the Scout Executive. Boys over twelve years of age are accepted for membership. There is also a younger boy's program. Isolated rural boys may join the Lone Scouts, which is a branch of the Boy Scout Movement.

The Campfire Girls and the Girl Scouts are similar organizations for girls. The Girl Scout organization is modeled somewhat after the Boy Scout program. The Campfire Girls is somewhat more feminine in its ideology. Both are excellent organizations for girls; when under good leadership, they tend to develop useful habits and high ideals. The programs of all the boys' and girls' organizations include such activities as knot-tying, first aid, swimming and life-saving, cooking, and camping. Some system of ranking is also used by these organizations to provide incentives for progress in knowledge and character. The merit-badge system used by the Boy Scouts, and in some form by many other organizations, makes it possible to obtain the highest ranks only through acquiring useful information on a wide variety of practical topics.

The 4-H clubs provide for the rural children a wide variety of useful agricultural projects and wholesome social life in their meetings. This organization holds the young people to high ideals of social living and stimulates accomplishment of the kind that may be used to economic and social advantage on the farm in adult life. It appears that this type of activity may be of more constructive value

to young people on the farm than many of the heterogeneous activities now indulged in by those who are not members of the 4-H Club.

Teachers often make very desirable leaders for all the aforementioned organizations. Many of the colleges and universities of the country offer elementary training courses for prospective leaders in these fields. The teacher, however, who starts one of these organizations should arrange with other members of the community where she is at work, by soliciting their coöperative participation in the program, to take over the active direction of the organization when she leaves. It is damaging to a program and to the children concerned to have an organization started by some capable leader one year, only to have it completely dropped the next year because that teacher goes to some other community.

The Y.M.C.A. offers for men and boys, and the Y.W.C.A. offers for women and girls, a variety of programs of Christian character-building activities. The Y.M.C.A. offers the four-square program for boys in the seventh and eighth grades and the Hi-Y program for high-school boys. These organizations have buildings and trained staffs and excellent equipment in the larger cities. They also have state secretaries responsible for assisting the organization of 'Y' activities in smaller communities.

In many of the larger cities of the United States may be found the settlement house. This house is built in an area where social needs are great. The members of the staff, with a group of volunteer assistants, carry out a well-balanced program of social work — both social case work and social group work. Teachers in slum districts may well become acquainted with the work of the settlement and refer to the staff of this institution children who are in need of physical, mental, or moral help. Usually settlements provide aid in the form of groceries and coal, nursing service, day-nursery service for working mothers, and a wide variety of recreational and social activities.

Of course the school provides many opportunities for

group contacts in its extracurricular program and in its regular program. The wide variety of social group-work activities just reviewed indicates that outside of the school are to be found many opportunities for children to obtain desirable social contacts. These social contacts, provided they are not utilized to the extent that they tend to undermine the health of the participants or become substitutes for the fundamental program of the school, may be considered desirable from a sociological point of view.

Institutional Work

Institutional work is the application of social case work and social group work to individuals and groups segregated within the walls of some sort of institution. This segregation means that the individuals segregated will not have the free opportunity to be guided in family and community life. The guidance given institutionalized persons, however, must be of the kind that will enable them to return to society with habits and attitudes that will enable them to function effectively there.

The Orphanage

The orphanage is designed to take care of children without parents, with one parent, or with parents who cannot support them. Social agencies, however, try to place a larger proportion of dependent children in homes rather than in institutions. This does not mean that orphanages are to be abandoned. They will continue to hold a definite place in child-welfare programs.

The modern orphanage is organized on the cottage system with a 'mother' in charge of each small unit. The aim is to make the life in the orphanage as much like family life as is possible. The modern orphanage makes careful studies of the physical, intellectual, emotional, and social backgrounds of the child, tries to correct as many deficiencies as possible and to return the child soon to the life of the community. It is not the aim of modern orphanages to take children from

unknown mothers and rear these children to young manhood and young womanhood, although this is necessary at times.

State Schools for Boys and Girls

When local communities can no longer deal successfully with children who are habitually or seriously delinquent, they may send them to a county or state school for delinquent children. Although the schools vary somewhat in different places, the modern school attempts a sympathetic and helpful reëducation of the habits of the child. The modern school administrator makes every effort to put into practice the principles of social organization and individual study outlined in some detail in the chapters bearing on school morale and the sociological diagnosis of individual behavior. As soon as possible, children in these schools are paroled and placed under the guidance of trained parole officials. Children may be sent to these schools by the judge of the juvenile court or the district judge.

The present tendency in these schools is away from the military type of organization and in the direction of democratic control. The newer methods try to help the child to see his own difficulties and to assist him in making a plan for their solution.

Schools for the Feeble-Minded

Feeble-minded children (those who are unable because of mental limitations to adjust socially or industrially to the communities in which they live) may be sent to a state school for the feeble-minded, placed in the community under careful supervision, or in a special class in a day school. They need not be sent to an institution unless they are markedly inferior or there is no one to care for them properly outside of the institution. In the institution or the school they are given careful habit-training in the routine of living and in many of the simple occupations. It has been demonstrated by experience that some of the higher-grade feeble-minded can return to society after training in the industrial and home

arts and render service that is sufficient to enable them to earn a living. Sometimes the feeble-minded are settled in certain communities where they work and live together; sometimes they work under state guidance, as in New York in the state reforestation projects. Feeble-minded children may be committed to an institution by a district judge, probate judge, or juvenile court judge.

Feeble-minded children need special education clearly and simply presented. Much has been said about the necessity for special education, but relatively little about how it may be carried out in reading, citizenship, language, spelling, arithmetic, music, nature study, manual arts, home economics, etc. — a matter of obvious importance to the teacher in view of the tendency to retain for training in the public schools many of the less deficient types of the feeble-minded who were formerly sent to state institutions.[9]

Other Institutional Work

The work of state reformatories, state prisons, almshouses, hospitals, sanitariums, dispensaries, and hospitals for the insane will be discussed only briefly. State reformatories accept young men from the ages of about sixteen years to about thirty years. Their chief function, theoretically and ideally, is reforming the habits of the young men. The more progressive reformatories attempt to provide occupational work of a kind that will be of use in making a living outside the institution. Recreational programs attempt to improve mental health. Studies like those of Glueck[10] and Healy and Bronner[11] indicate that the results of training in the typical reformatory and juvenile school are largely disappointing. Much remains to be done.

State prisons usually receive the older and more serious

[9] For a useful and comprehensive account of the materials and methods that can be satisfactorily employed in special classes for the mentally defective, see Helen D. Whipple's *Making Citizens of the Mentally Limited.*

[10] Sheldon Glueck. *Five Hundred Criminal Careers.*

[11] William Healy and Augusta Bronner. *Delinquents and Criminals.*

offenders. Occupational work is provided in some of these, and democracy in prison government is provided in some. In many prisons, however, there is much overcrowding and much idleness. Overcrowding, idleness, and bad food tend to lead to prison riots, especially when accompanied by severe and extreme military methods of administration.

Cities and states frequently provide medical dispensaries and hospitals where those who are too poor to obtain medical services from physicians in private practice may receive it from the city or state. Children who need medical treatment and whose parents cannot provide it should be encouraged to go to one of the public medical centers. It is to be observed that the well-to-do and the poor can always obtain medical services, but those who have modest incomes often cannot obtain adequate medical treatment from the expensive centers or from charitable agencies.

State sanitariums and county or city sanitariums are often provided for those who have such diseases as tuberculosis. The service is often free for those who are in poverty, and reasonable charges are made for others. Sometimes the county officials will appropriate money for the medical expenses of the very poor.

Persons who are insane may be committed to state hospitals for the insane. The public is gradually learning that the insane person is mentally ill, that competent treatment is desirable, and that reference of a patient to a qualified institution may often solve many family problems. In certain cases the treatment prescribed by a psychiatrist will effect a cure, and in any event a psychiatric examination is essential for the understanding of every case.

Community Organization

"A community is a local area in which people are using the same language, conforming to the same mores, feeling more or less the same sentiments, and acting upon the same attitudes." [12] It is believed by many social workers that it is

[12] Harvey W. Zorbaugh. *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, p. 223.

desirable for persons to live in an organized community. They have observed, however, that in recent years modern developments in industry, transportation, and communication have tended to break down much of the community organization of the past and to substitute individualism, restlessness, and dissatisfaction with community life. It is good sociological theory to expect that participation in some satisfactory type of community life will favor development of an adjusted personality.

It is the tendency in these times for industrialization to foster individual mobility and restlessness. This tends to break down primary group relationships and controls, with resulting personality changes in the direction of a loss of the primary virtues. Often the more able members of a community, when industrialization takes place, move into restricted areas, paying no attention to the life of the community except to retain their controls over it in an economic way. This process breaks down neighborliness and interest in local community life.

The present tendency in community organization is careful study of the present trends and needs in a community, followed by an attempt to build an intelligent program to satisfy, under changed conditions, the desire for wholesome neighborliness. Teachers may well be interested in stimulating and coöperating with movements that tend to establish or strengthen community life in the new world of social relationships. Parent-teacher organizations, church organizations, public-health organizations, and civic organizations generally, need the support of teachers; but the programs of these societies need to be wisely planned upon what is known about community life and not directed to meet the desires of one or two groups alone.

Teachers will find a complete discussion of present tendencies in community organization in J. F. Steiner's *Community Organization* and in Robert S. and Helen M. Lynd's *Middletown*. These works reveal the bewildering complexity of small towns and cities, the conflicts and rivalries among

different groups, the strengths and limitations of present community organization. Steiner outlines a sound basis for future community organization. These investigators, and others like them, urge the further development of community studies, federations of social agencies, the integration of religious activities, public-health organizations, civic centers, the elimination of selfish-interest groups, the elimination of oppositions for opposition's sake, and the social organization of industrial and occupational groups.

The aim of the efforts of the social workers is, of course, the development of a social organization that tends to satisfy, for more and more individuals and groups, the basic needs — food, love, security, and activity. Any change not in the direction of the satisfaction of basic human desires may not be considered progress and is not in the direction of human welfare. It is to be implied in these statements that no one group profits at the sacrifice of other groups.

Social Trends and Education

A valuable contribution to the understanding of the factors that cause social problems can be obtained from the study of social trends.[13]

We have all observed in recent years that improvements in machinery have taken place more rapidly than improvements in economic organization. Such an unbalanced movement of two interdependent parts of culture is called a *cultural lag*. This lag has played a part in the distressing and complex social problem of unemployment and poverty. In a period of rapid social changes, such as the twentieth century, one may expect many cultural lags to appear and

[13] An outstanding opportunity to study a significant report in this field is afforded by the publication in 1933 of *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, a monograph prepared under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. The Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education has arranged for the publication of this report, which it terms "perhaps the most thoro-going description of a great civilization ever brought together in one study," in a special edition, obtainable at a low price through the National Education Association.

hence many social problems to develop. Thus today we are confronted with insistent family problems, population problems, economic problems, labor problems, recreational or leisure-time problems, health problems, church problems, rural problems, governmental problems, and many others, in an amazing and complicated combination.

The way to prevent undue cultural lags and the consequent development of such distressing social and economic problems is evidently to study social trends, to seek to predict their outcome, and to establish in advance some sort of adequate social planning. Instead of thus seeking to synchronize the growth and evolution of the various phases of our culture, the individuals and groups that compose our nation have been seemingly too much absorbed in the headlong rush for money, land, and power. Whoever or whatever may be to blame, disappointment and suffering have been the lot of a large part of the population during such 'out-of-joint' periods as the years from 1929 to 1934.

To the educator, these are times of challenge. In the general critical examination of our social institutions to which the depression has driven us, the public school has not escaped. Its aims are debated; its efficiency is questioned. Its financial support has been sadly reduced. There has been hue and cry against the alleged 'fads and frills,' and in some communities the schools have not been opened for the teaching of any subjects — let alone the fads and frills — for weeks and even months at a time.[14]

It seems clear that the challenge to the educator demands that, on the one hand, he should seek to be clear in his mind as to what the valuable social and economic goals are, and

[14] A few figures will support these statements. The money spent on schools in 1933–34 is estimated to be $563,000,000 less than that spent in 1929–30. School budget reductions in several states range from 25 to 40 per cent.

The number of schools closed on or before January 1, 1934, was estimated at 2,600; those probably to be closed April 1, 1934, at 20,000. Nevertheless, there were, in 1933–34, 1,000,000 more pupils in the high schools than in 1930, and, significantly, at the same time 40,000 fewer public-school teachers.

that, on the other hand, he should seek to teach in the schools those facts about the social and economic life of the American people that will help the pupils — our prospective citizens of tomorrow — to understand these goals and to do their part in attaining them. In short, in our present socio-economic efforts at reconstruction of American life, the teacher must be informed and must inform.

In this connection, particular attention should be called to the enlightening and stimulating contribution recently made by six educators, who have been working for several years on the formulation of social and economic goals that would be "worthy of the character and genius of the American people." This report [15] deserves the careful study of all teachers.

Questions and Exercises

1. In what way has the public school attempted to contribute to the solution of social problems?
2. Why has the public school not succeeded in completely solving social problems?
3. What other agencies are assisting in the reduction of social problems?
4. Distinguish social case work, social group work, and community organization.
5. Compare the theoretical effectiveness in contributing to the solution of social problems of the public school, social case work, social group work, institutional work, and community organization.
6. In what ways can the government contribute to the solution of social problems?
7. In what ways can teachers coöperate with social-work agencies?
8. In what ways can the public school more effectively contribute to the solution of each of the following social problems: poverty, crime, community disorganization, juvenile delinquency?

[15] "What are desirable social-economic goals for America?" By Fred J. Kelly, John Dewey, Willard E. Givens, Edward A. Ross, Robert C. Moore, and Leon C. Marshall. *Journal of the National Education Association*, 23: January, 1934, 6–12. (Also procurable in reprint form, at special prices, from the Division of Publications, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.)

9. What are the social forces today that are tending to prevent the development of the public school in the direction suggested by your answer to Question 8?

10. What is meant by the statement that the public school is the great socializing agency of the United States?

11. Visit a social welfare agency and write a report on its purpose and method of operation. Point out ways in which teachers can coöperate with this agency.

12. List and classify the social-work agencies in the community with which you are most familiar. How do, or how might, the teachers in the community utilize any of these agencies?

13. Make a case study of a school child with a problem in behavior. Indicate the various influences in the community that have contributed to the child's problem.

14. Study a typical small city and list the more obvious social problems in that city. Indicate the agencies that are operating to take care of these problems. At what points do the agencies succeed? At what points do they fail? What problems are not touched by any agencies? At what points can the school contribute?

15. Find out the hour-by-hour activities of a typical social case worker. What are her chief problems? In what ways may teachers and schools lighten the load of the social case worker?

16. In what ways may the teacher utilize the techniques of the social case worker in solving disciplinary problems?

17. If possible, visit a parole officer and obtain from him a statement of his major problems. Ask him how the school can coöperate with him in his work.

18. Why are probation and parole so promising for the treatment of delinquency?

19. From a study of recent books in criminology find out the latest scientific methods for the prediction of success on parole. How might teachers use this idea for predicting success and failure in schoolroom conduct and success and failure after graduation?

20. What is the theory of personality development behind social group work?

21. Refer to a typical community and indicate current trends in industry, the family, use of leisure time, population growth, taxation, government, the school, the church, the press, public health and social welfare. What outstanding social problems are

created by some of the trends? Indicate some cultural lags and show how they have created some social problems. In what ways can the school coöperate in the solution of these problems?

22. How have some recent social trends caused problems for the school? Identify the problems.

23. What can educators do to solve some of the problems confronting the school? Outline a program of action.

24. Outline some social-economic goals for America. What is the place of education in your plan?

Bibliography

Boettiger, L. A. *Employee Welfare Work.* New York: The Ronald Press, 1923.

Cooley, Edwin J. *Probation and Delinquency.* New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1927.

Gault, Robert H. *Criminology.* Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1932.

Glueck, Sheldon. *Five Hundred Criminal Careers.* New York: Alfred Knopf, 1930.

Healy, William and Bronner, Augusta. *Delinquents and Criminals, Their Making and Unmaking.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

Healy, William and others. *Reconstructing Behavior in Youth.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1929.

Lynd, Robert and Lynd, Helen. *Middletown.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

Minnesota State Conference and Institute of Social Work. *Handbook of Social Work.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1930.

President's Research Committee on Social Trends. *Recent Social Trends in the United States.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.

Richmond, Mary. *What is Social Case Work?* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1922.

Steiner, Jesse Frederick. *Community Organization.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

Turner, Clair Elsmere. *Personal and Community Health.* St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1925.

Warner, Queen, and Harper. *American Charities and Social Work.* New York: T. Y. Crowell Company, 1930.

WHIPPLE, HELEN DAVIS. *Making Citizens of the Mentally Limited.* Bloomington, Illinois: The Public School Publishing Company, 1927.

ZORBAUGH, HARVEY. *The Gold Coast and the Slum.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929.

PART II

SOCIAL INTERACTION IN THE CLASSROOM

"Social interaction in its essence is the set of relations that obtain between and among the members of the group." — Reuter and Hart

CHAPTER V

THE PROBLEM OF FORMAL EDUCATION

The teacher in modern civilized society has the problem of satisfying both the need of society for educated children and the need of the child for the satisfaction of hunger, for love, security, and activity. Some teachers find great difficulty in satisfying both these groups of needs. It seems worth while, therefore, to study the nature of the difficulties encountered and to suggest ways that bear promise of solving some of the teacher's problems.

Informal and Formal Education

The general nature of the difficulties of teachers in the schools in civilized societies, and especially in our modern, complex society, is in part made clear through an examination into the differences between the informal education of primitive societies and the informal, out-of-school contacts in modern societies on the one hand and the relatively formal education in modern schools where young people are held to the mastery of a content that otherwise would not be transmitted. In particular, differences in motivation appear that are plainly of much significance.

Motivation in Informal Education

The essential feature of informal, out-of-school education is actual participation in the social, economic, recreational, family, and other institutional life of the times. The learner simply takes part, along with other members of his group, in what is going on, and by observation, imitation, and absorption learns what it is necessary to know. This process we choose to call 'passive mentation.'

The motivation of informal education is immediate. The

participant has a personal, spontaneous, and immediate interest in what is going on; and that renders the process effective. It takes! He feels that he is doing something for himself as well as for others, and he is naturally eager to do it well. In fact, one of the strong impulses of human nature is to want to be recognized by one's associates as rating well among them.

To be sure, coercion may be present in informal education, because any informal group may reserve the right to compel its individual members to conform to its standards. The learning process in the case of informal education, however, may be said to be accompanied by a minimum of coercion and a maximum of passive mentation.

Motivation in Formal Education

But in formal education the methods are quite different. The key word in the process of formal education is often *anticipation*, rather than participation. Formal education is in large part conceived as preparation for adult living. In other words, the learner is, in part, learning something that he expects to use later on; and the time, occasion, and purpose for using what he is learning may be indefinitely remote. It follows that the child's interest is often, perhaps usually, artificial and remote. Indeed, it very often happens, because of the remoteness of the use that is to be made of what his group is trying to learn, that he is not interested at all. Besides being remote, the items of information that education transmits are often abstract, and their uses sometimes unreal to the child.

The process of formal education consequently tends to subordinate the pupil's desires to those of the teacher. Quite often the purpose in the case is not felt by the pupil to be his own purpose. He feels someone else's purpose being imposed upon him; and it is human nature to be indifferent to, or to resent, the imposition of another's purpose. Another way of saying the same thing is that the use to be made of what is being learned is so obscured and so far off that the

learner fails to understand what it is all about; consequently he does not feel much interest in it.

In formal education, therefore, more or less artificial motivation is necessary. The learner has to be induced to learn what is being offered him; and that constitutes one of the major problems of formal education. The teacher who fails to induce the school child properly to acquire an interest in learning the items of civilization can easily destroy useful learning processes and arouse vigorous antagonisms toward her program of instruction.

There is a great deal of blindness, not to mention confusion, in current educational theory as a result of the failure to note these distinctions between formal and informal education. A large part of schooling is inevitably formal education because of the nature of certain essential parts of the culture that appear remote to the child but that must be transmitted. The problem of motivation, therefore, becomes unavoidable in a large part of the school work.

The task of the school teacher is, by hook or crook, and with as little artificiality as possible, to get the pupil as much interested as possible in matters about which he naturally feels little or no interest. The natural and inevitable difference between formal and informal education is one of the chief reasons why the competent teacher must be an artist. The teacher ought to see this fact clearly. There are a thousand artificial devices by which the elementary teacher, if she knows her business, inducts the child into the illusion of interest; but it is wise for the teacher to realize that the process is artificial. The artist-teacher is one who makes school life as much like real life as possible under modern conditions.

Our present pedagogical theories are full of seductive aphorisms that really cancel the distinction between formal and informal education. For instance, one theory declares that education is 'life, not preparation for life.' Most decidedly this is not a statement of cold fact, but only a rhetorical phrase, for suggesting an ideal goal of the teacher's

art. What is really meant is that it is necessary to motivate formal education as effectively as possible.

Examples of Artificial Motivation

Let us now offer a few examples of the technique and method of motivation that result from the essential nature of formal education.

On the Professional Level

Consider first an example on the professional level, say in a dental school. The student is well aware of the fact that he is not actually fully participating in the practice of dentistry, but anticipating and preparing for it. He takes it for granted that he himself does not know as yet what it is that he needs to learn before he can begin. He relies upon the dental faculty to lay out the course of necessary preparation before him; then he sets himself at the arduous and not always interesting task of learning what he will need to know when he begins the practice of dentistry on his own account. His intellectual guides serve notice on him in advance that he has definite assignments to master, and that if he does not master them, he will not be permitted to 'hang out his shingle' as a dentist. In other words, frankly, overtly, and insistently, his teachers exert coercion upon his learning process, relying solely for motivation upon his intelligent recognition of the necessity for advance preparation.

In the Elementary School

On the primary level the objective is essentially the same. But the little children do not as yet realize that they are acquiring items of information that they are going to need eventually in order to take their places in the social life of civilization. Unlike dental students, young children are incapable of looking ahead far enough to understand the situation. Indeed, they do not in the least realize that there is a great mass of knowledge that they do not as yet possess,

but that they are surely going to need. Their attitude toward the whole situation is childlike, as a matter of course. But their teachers understand the situation; they realize what the items of information are that the children are going to need, and it is the duty of these teachers to organize those items for presentation. But in the case of little children it is difficult to appeal to their intelligent foresight as to their own needs. To threaten them with failure is futile, because they lack not only the foresight to hold themselves to their tasks, but even the self-control needed as well. The same appeal, then, to foresight, reason, and fear of failure cannot be exercised in the case of children as in the case of dental students. Hence it becomes the duty of the teachers of children to organize a more or less confessedly artificial program that will virtually deceive the children (if the phrase be permitted) into imagining that the whole process is a process of play of some sort, to make formal education as informal as possible consistent with speedy learning. Hence pedagogy is replete with terms and phrases expressive of the necessary artifices that the elementary teacher must practice. Such devices as games, projects, the socialized method, the activity curriculum, and many others, are so many solutions of the problem that arises in the case of children because the content is remote from their interests and the process is necessarily formal. But it does not help for teachers to deceive themselves as to what they are doing or blind themselves as to why it is necessary.

In the Secondary School

Now, even in the case of high-school teaching, the subject matter is for the most part relatively remote from the spontaneous interest of most of the pupils; but it is a necessary equipment for the candidate's subsequent participation in the higher levels of civilization. The question again is how to motivate it; and on the high-school level we have a sort of mixture, compromise, or combination of the methods of the professional school and the methods of the elementary

school. The high-school teacher uses various devices, projects, and socialized methods, though to carry these methods through with high-school students as is done with second- and third-grade children is obviously unnecessary. On the other hand, to dispense with prepared motivation as completely as it is dispensed with in the professional school is impractical.

The Marking System as a Form of Motivation

The system of marks, grades, and credits in such universal use in our schools may well be considered in this connection. Obviously, the system is not a necessary and inherent part of the educative process, but an artificial device for motivation. And it manifestly works better in a professional school than in a high school, because the students in a professional school are quite convinced, as a rule, that the curriculum is relevant to their purposes; whereas many high-school pupils are more or less in doubt about the relevancy of their daily work to life. Under such conditions the marking system prompts the pupils to be more interested in their marks than in their subjects. The marking system often degenerates, accordingly, into a source of confusion, frustration, and waste; and there are those who are quite outspoken in their belief that the system is doing at least as much harm as good in our educational process. Such critics think it is an incubus in college as well as in high-school teaching. They think it almost wholly out of place in elementary education, where the children are too young to exercise the self-control that it implies, and are likely to be inhibited by the emotional complexes that it generates. The experiment of dispensing with formal 'marks' in the first six grades or so is being tried in more than one school system.

A Suggested Type of Motivation

A better form of motivation that can be, and often is, used, though seldom sufficiently, is the overt process of explaining to the young people what the benefits are that can honestly

and intelligently be expected from those items of the culture mass that the teachers are trying to present. How will it help a high-school student, for instance, in his later life if he is familiar with English literature, or the elements of chemistry, or the fundamentals of biology? How will courses in psychology, sociology, economics, or civics help to 'civilize' him; and why does a wideawake youth wisely desire that kind of civilizing? A much-neglected responsibility of high-school teachers is the full, straightforward, and honest explanation of the benefits to be derived from these fields of knowledge by a civilized person.

In this connection it might be desirable to drop the word 'culture' out of our pedagogical vocabulary and substitute the word 'civilization.' Why tell young people that they are going to get culture? What they are going to school for is to become civilized; and it would be much better to tell them so, and explain how the subjects they are being taught are prerequisite to their participation in our modern civilization. The young dental student has no great difficulty in realizing that he can make use in his professional career of what he is learning; but the high-school student, inasmuch as his curriculum is preparing him not for some vocation or profession but for participation in civilized life, has some difficulty, naturally, in foreseeing the applicability of what he is learning. There are certain *bona fide* reasons why a civilized person needs to know something about the natural sciences, the fine arts, the mental and social sciences; and the teacher should be competent to set forth those reasons in convincing fashion. Teachers often fail to use this kind of motivation because of blindness upon their own part; and, to speak bluntly, because of their own ignorance. One reason for the teacher's failure is the lack of acquaintance on her own part with many fields of knowledge, and actual experience in the use of them for the enrichment of her own life. Another reason why teachers fail is that our curriculum still contains much material that ought to be frankly discarded as a 'cultural lag.' When teachers try to explain its

retention, they have to fall back on rationalizations that fail to convince the pupils.

The Teacher's Problem: Distinguishing Means and Ends in Education

It is important that the teacher distinguish clearly between means and ends. Devices and arrangements are means, and they are useful primarily as such. The end aimed at is the knowledge potentially present in the curriculum. It too often happens that teachers, after having read considerable literature on the subject of education, imagine that they are good teachers if they are skillful in inventing and using devices like the project method and the socialized recitation, quite regardless as to whether they are thereby actually attaining efficient learning among the students. These devices are useful means, to be sure; but it should always be borne in mind that they are not ends in themselves. The modern teacher needs to possess a clear discernment of why formal education is necessary in a civilized society, and why this formal education requires artificial devices for motivation. The art of teaching is to interest the children in what they may naturally have no interest in.

The need of society is that its children grow up into civilized adults; the need of the child is to satisfy his basic desires. It is desirable, in our schooling, to satisfy both of these needs. Education that is simply activity for the sake of activity fails to satisfy the needs of society. Education that is a routine memorization or drill in culture traits fails to satisfy the need of the child. The correctly balanced educational procedure may well be that which provides for the learner an opportunity to *know about* and also to *participate in* the ongoing institutions of civilization. This system appears to satisfy the needs of society and of the child.

Many teachers, however, find it difficult to satisfy the needs of both society and the individual. Some consider only individual activity as the major end of education. Some consider only the curriculum and its preparation for society.

In other chapters of this book attention is paid to the difficulties that teachers have in passing on the elements of their civilization to those children who are especially fond of activity. In still other chapters there are suggested methods, sociologically interpreted, of satisfying both the individual and society through appropriate types of interaction.

The chapters dealing with conflict and withdrawal indicate some unfortunate effects upon the attitudes, behavior, and learning of pupils that arise from school situations set up by teachers who are not artists in transferring knowledge. The chapters dealing with accommodation and morale indicate detailed ways in which other teachers have succeeded in developing the interest of students in civilization.

Questions and Exercises

1. Distinguish between informal and formal education.
2. What is the difference between the problem of motivation in informal education and in formal education?
3. What confusion arises in education as the result of the failure of some teachers to distinguish between informal and formal education?
4. Is education preparation for life? Why?
5. What is the difference between the problem of motivation in a professional college and in the elementary school?
6. What are the weaknesses of the uses of the marking system for motivation in the elementary school?
7. What type of motivation is suggested as desirable in the text?
8. Distinguish between means and ends in education.
9. Evaluate and compare the values in the two following statements of aim for education: "education is preparation for life," and "education is life itself."
10. Outline a plan for education that can reasonably satisfy both ideas.
11. Point out some of the dangers and some of the strengths of so-called 'progressive' methods (or 'activity program') of teaching.
12. In what ways can a teacher fail who cannot distinguish between means and ends in education?

13. With what typical views about education does this chapter disagree? Discuss.

14. Visit a classroom. Observe how the teacher distinguishes or fails to distinguish means from ends in education. Write a report.

15. Make a study of the problems of a teacher who appears, in her teaching, to think only of the curriculum.

16. Make a study of a teacher who appears, in her teaching, to think primarily of student activity. Criticize her apparent results.

17. Make a study of a teacher who, in her teaching, places a balanced emphasis on both curriculum and student activity. Evaluate her results.

18. When may a teacher who places a balanced emphasis on both curriculum and student activity obtain poor results in her teaching?

19. What problems does a teacher meet in attempting to satisfy both the need of society and the need of the child?

20. Indicate the nature of the frank approach that may be used to motivate high-school students.

21. Compare the differences in motivation on the primary level, the upper-grade level, the high-school level, the college level, the professional-school level.

Bibliography

The Activity Movement. Thirty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Bloomington, Illinois: The Public School Publishing Company, 1934.

Dawson, Edgar A. *Teaching the Social Studies.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

Giddings, Henry. *Civilization and Society.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932.

Rugg, Harold and Shumaker, Ann. *The Child-Centered School.* New York: World Book Company, 1928.

Wissler, Clark. *Man and Culture.* New York: T. Y. Crowell Company, 1923.

CHAPTER VI

TEACHER–PUPIL CONFLICT

Conflict between teacher and pupils may take place in the classroom. This may be due to unfortunate situations developed in the classroom by a teacher without insight into problems of social interaction. This conflict between teacher and pupils will consist of attack and counter-attack and will frequently be accompanied by antagonistic attitudes toward the persons and aims of the opposition. Many children in a classroom where conflict is common may be expected to exhibit antagonistic attitudes, show disobedience, and practice lying, cheating, and stealing.[1]

The roots of conflict situations in the classroom are to be found in the thwarting of one or more of the basic desires of children. These desires are for food, love, security, and activity; they have been defined in the glossary. It is these desires that drive us to exert effort. To interfere with their reasonable satisfaction causes struggle and conflict, at times of a furious sort, or causes withdrawal of all effort if the struggle appears without hope of success.

It is worth while to describe here some of the characteristic social situations that create teacher-pupil conflicts in the schoolroom. To the sophisticated reader the situations described may appear trivial, but they are not trivial to the children who face the situations and often meet therein inevitable defeat; and they should not be thought trivial to the teachers, even though teachers, and sometimes the most brilliant ones, overlook them and fail to understand how potent they are as causes of happiness or unhappiness among their students.

[1] For scientific evidence of the validity of this statement, see Hugh Hartshorne and Mark May, *Studies in Deceit*, especially pp. 400, 401, and 414.

Sources of Antagonistic Attitudes in the Classroom

Partiality

In a certain school the teacher attempted to stimulate the interest of the children in the various subjects by placing one of the pupils before the class as her ideal. The teacher made such comments as: "See how Judy does her writing! Why can't we all be like Judy? Whose story is best today? Those who think Judy's is the best may stand. You may bring your paper forward, Judy, and I'll post it on the bulletin board." It was not long before the pupils disliked both the teacher and Judy. Needless to say, Judy also disliked the teacher because she herself lost caste with the other pupils.

In another classroom the teacher constantly favored one of the bright students. The class period was devoted largely to a dialogue between this teacher and her favorite student. The other students naturally felt that what they did or said was of little consequence. Said one of them: "We didn't bother about getting our lessons. We just sat listening to M and the instructor. What a bore that was!"

Partiality may also be shown by teachers toward students whose parents are influential in school affairs. In one school it seemed to the students that Elsie, a daughter of a member of the school board, was always the first to receive privileges and honors. Elsie, for example, was selected for the basketball team while a girl of recognized ability was left out. Acts like this caused many of the students to dislike, for years after graduation, this teacher who showed partiality.

In addition to the development of antagonistic attitudes upon the part of the pupils not favored, partiality may also develop antagonistic attitudes in those favored, because they may become objects of jealousy on the part of their mates and thus become more or less socially isolated. Because of the inability of a fourth-grade teacher to teach music, she selected a pupil to help her teach it each period during the

year. This pupil lost several of her best friends and came herself to dislike the teacher.

Sarcasm and Ridicule

The use of sarcasm and ridicule by the teacher almost invariably results in the development of antagonistic attitudes in the pupils, especially in those pupils upon whom the sarcasm is used. Often sarcastic statements may seem trifles to the teacher, but the pupil may take them seriously because they tend to lower his social status, or rating, in the class group. This lowering of his social status thwarts his desire for security.

In an algebra class in a certain school the teacher took delight in using sarcasm. Typical remarks were: "Pardon me for bothering you, but would you repeat the recitation just given?" "Marvelous! To think that after eight years of schooling a boy can still be so stupid!" The result was that many students were afraid of this teacher, detested her class, and in retaliation, did all they could to irritate her.

Little did the teacher in a city high school realize the effect of a remark upon the child who had, in the strangeness of her first day in this big high school, entered the wrong room. "Any idiot should know where he belongs," said this teacher before a large class of students. The child said she left with "that sick feeling inside of her" (a sign of unpleasant emotions). Later she was assigned to a class with this sarcastic teacher, but refused to enter it, and so insistently that she was finally allowed to change her program.

The teacher who said to the girl with the newly bobbed hair who could not solve an arithmetic problem, "Well, I guess you had your brains cut out with your hair," probably never knew that for years after the child hated her for that one remark. Nor did the chemistry instructor who said to the boy with large ears, "Elephant Ears, how much time do you put in on chemistry?" realize that the natural reaction was hate, not effort. It does not take much imagination to guess the effect upon the future coöperative effort of the

student of dramatics who, when she told the teacher she would not be able to try out for the contest because of a severe cold, received this reply: "Well, it doesn't matter. You wouldn't get any place anyway."

Militarism

The teacher of the military type who attempts to control children by means of 'ordering and forbidding' techniques may find that she too often thwarts basic human desires. Frequently noncoöperation and antagonistic attitudes upon the part of the children result, and it is difficult to find any desirable outcomes either in discipline or in learning.

Pupils literally 'feel' the tension and uneasiness set up in the classroom by a militaristic teacher. Her very gaze makes children feel guilty whether they are doing anything wrong or not. Children are immediately 'spotted' if they look up from their books for a moment and told to 'get busy.' Noon intermissions and recess afford most welcome relief to her pupils. Fear and hate are the two emotions most commonly experienced by the children in the room of the militaristic teacher, and there is little true coöperative effort.

Bad Temper and Nervousness

The nervous and bad-tempered teacher may find that the pupils in her room will tend to imitate her actions, lose confidence in her general ability, and become antagonistic toward her personally. A certain mathematics teacher literally yelled at the children from the first day of the term to the last. She got so angry that she would break a ruler over her desk and shout that the children were all "numbskulls." It was an unusual week that went by without Miss B's breaking at least one ruler on a desk. Said one of her students: "I've hated mathematics and feared it, too, ever since I left her class. I don't believe it was my imagination alone that made me think Miss B got uglier looking every day. I can still see her arms waving wildly at us, hear her

high, rasping voice, and see her eyes glaring at us under her scowling brows."

A second-grade pupil was keen enough to describe the effects upon a class of a primary teacher who was nervous. He observed: "Oh, she's not so bad, but she's always running around the room. She's so fidgety and nervous that she gets us so excited we can't do anything. I'm always glad when she leaves the room and Miss R comes in."

Poor Scholarship or Poor Preparation

Teachers who know very little about their subjects or whose daily preparation is inadequate may easily lose the respect of their pupils and with it their prestige. This loss of prestige was suffered by the professor who dodged discussion of a certain question incorrectly answered by saying, "That is correct," and passed on to the next student. The class was smart enough to test him a few more times, with the same result, and then adopted the slogan, "We won't work."

A seventh-grade history teacher was not sure of her facts. She often read to the class from a textbook or conducted the recitation with the book open in front of her. The students soon sensed the teacher's lack of preparation and lost interest in the class. This lack of interest caused the teacher to attack the class; the class, in turn, counter-attacked the teacher. It is needless to comment upon the result.

Lack of Sympathetic Understanding

Lack of sympathy for the problems of a class and for individual pupils in the class may cause pupils to develop hostile attitudes toward the teacher and her program of work. Such teachers judge a class or a pupil without adequate knowledge of all the facts in the case. The students feel that the teacher is unfair. The following statement by an adult indicates the impression created by unsympathetic behavior upon the part of a teacher:

> The incident here related stands out in my mind after twenty years have passed. During our penmanship class

the teacher tried to impress upon us in a very mean way that we should not write with our noses, but that we should hold our heads up straight. I tried as hard as I could to keep a good posture, but unconsciously my head lowered toward my desk. The teacher noticed this and, walking up the aisle from behind, gave my head a push that brought it down on the desk with a bang. It hurt both physically and mentally, and I felt that she had treated me unfairly. To this day I hold a grudge against this woman, who is now married and living in my home town. During the rest of the school year I did not wish to coöperate with her, and this lack of coöperation showed up especially when I made it disagreeable for her in practice for May Day. I did not do my best work after the incident and was thoroughly glad when I passed on into the next room.

Nagging

The cumulative effect of nagging in the schoolroom is likely to be disgust, restlessness, inattention, and antagonism on the part of the pupils. The nagging teacher usually fails to accomplish what her persistent but misdirected efforts are designed to obtain. The teacher who continually shouts: "John, will you please take your feet out of the aisle and sit up?", "John, sit up straight and take the bow out of your back; it will make you round-shouldered", "Feet flat on the floor," may enervate the children to the degree that they pay little or no attention to her. It is doubtful that a teacher will be able to elicit coöperative responses from the students in a penmanship class with a barrage of statements like this sputtered out like bullets from a machine gun: "John, where is your pen?" "One, two, three, four, five." "Mary, don't dip your pen so often." "Push, pull, push, pull." "Don't move your fingers, John." "Mary, sit up and keep your feet flat on the floor" . . . "Roy, where is your book?" "Don't sharpen your pencil now."

Another teacher lost her prestige by continually whining and moaning such dismal forebodings as: "I suppose half of you will multiply instead of divide." "I see that some

of you are on the wrong track already." "Oh, you will never pass the State Board Examinations. Your parents will be very much displeased." "I know you will forget your part in the program." "Oh, why don't you use your heads? Have you anything in them to use?" Such a barrage made the class sulky, and they hated the teacher. Outside the classroom the pupils found satisfaction in imitating her complaining voice, her walk, and her very posture.

Lack of Humor

It appears that the teacher without humor tends to thwart the natural desire of children to be playful once in a while if only to get relief from a too insistent routine of reading, studying, and reciting. Very likely the juvenile organism needs a little laughter to serve the purpose of a physiological tonic. There are teachers, however, who take their work so very seriously that they feel that they are inefficient if they take any time out to laugh or even to smile. There are other teachers who seemingly cannot appreciate at all the nature of juvenile humor. These teachers without humor are practically certain to get into conflict relationships with their pupils. The lack of appreciation of juvenile humor is clearly shown by the following reminiscential reports:

> Miss S was termed an 'old crab' by her pupils. They enjoyed nothing more than putting crackers in her books at noon, throwing spitballs, passing notes, etc.; for she became so disturbed. If Miss S could have smiled at these pranks, soon the pupils would have grown tired of them, for the 'kick' would have been gone.

> A teacher I once had in the lower grades always had a set remark to make when the pupils became amused over a happening in the room: "Just like a bunch of cackling hens." After this was repeated a few times by the teacher, we not only laughed, but we made as much noise as possible whenever anything funny occurred. This teacher, in my opinion, would have had much better order in the room and much more coöperation from the class if she had been able to see

our side of things and had allowed us to laugh a little, even if she could not see the joke.

A commercial teacher in the high school found it painful to smile or to enjoy a joke with the class. One day a member of the class made a blunder in transcribing a shorthand passage that made it sound very humorous to the students when it was read. Most of us, including the one making the error, enjoyed the situation and began laughing, but we were called down by the teacher for having a little fun. I did not like the class or the instructor and while I was earning A's in other high-school subjects, I obtained low marks in shorthand.

So much for the schoolroom situations resulting from certain qualities of teachers that may lead to the development of antagonistic attitudes in children toward the teacher and her subject. The teacher would do well to avoid the behavior patterns of the teachers described in this chapter. The interest of society is certainly in the elimination of teaching methods that tend to develop dislike for teachers and for the content of the curriculum.

Sources of Disobedience in the Classroom

Disobedience is another kind of behavior in pupils that frequently follows or accompanies conflict relationships between pupils and teacher. The child who responds to conflict situations with disobedience may study but little, shuffle his feet, whisper in a disturbing manner, roll shot, and do whatever else he can think of that may interfere with the progress of the school work. Often these activities gain the admiration of other children in the schoolroom, whose approval the disobedient child values more than the approval of the teacher. Sometimes practically the whole room may be disobedient. A general conflict between the teacher and the class may continue a whole year until the teacher becomes so confused that she fails to distinguish between a child's intelligence or his achievement and his conduct. Children may be disobedient in school because they dislike

the teacher, the rules are too strict, the methods of instruction are faulty, they imitate others, they desire to do the forbidden, or they seek excitement or new experience.

Dislike of the Teacher

As has been pointed out in the foregoing paragraphs, when the teacher no longer has prestige in the eyes of pupils, they no longer desire to coöperate with her. This is especially true when the loyalty of children to the work of the school is motivated entirely by their relationship to a teacher and not at all by their perception of the relation of the activities of the school to the satisfaction of their personal desires or the needs of society. As the pupils approach the higher levels of school, disciplinary trouble will probably not be so frequent, because the more mature student can see more than the teacher's personality and perceive the value of the subject matter; therefore, one may expect the pupil-teacher relationship to be of the most importance in young, and of less importance in older, children; of course, it is not unimportant at any level.

Too Strict Rules

Some teachers believe that children must be controlled by means of strict rules designed to keep them in military order and perfect quiet. The effect of the rules is frequently the opposite of what is expected. Various disturbing activities may result. In one school system all children were required to be absolutely quiet during all class passing; they were not even allowed to shout in gymnasium and swimming classes. There was also a rule that all students had to pass to the assembly before going home to lunch. In the assembly all were required to stand in perfect quiet until it pleased the teacher to dismiss them. One day the students were reasonably quiet, but not quiet enough for the teacher. She kept waiting for more quiet. The tension was too great for the students. One boy commenced stamping his feet — the rest imitated and soon pandemonium reigned.

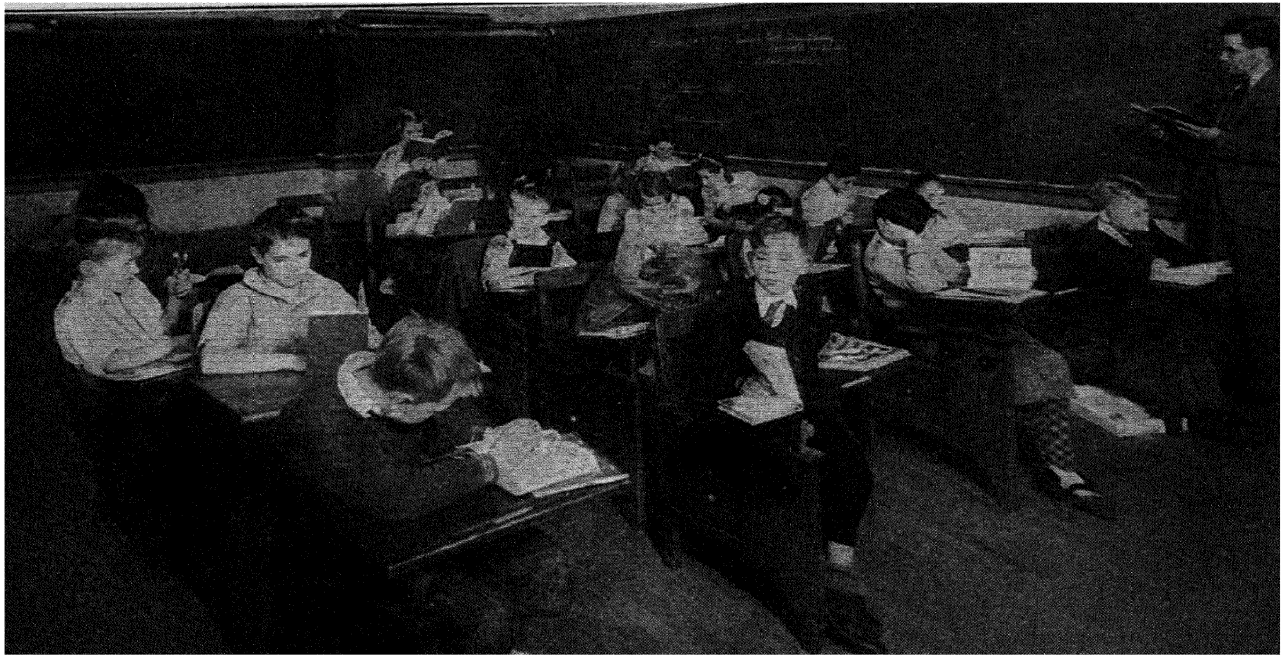


FIG. 4. — PROBLEMS IN SOCIAL CONTROL

The teacher is using a conflict type of social interaction. He is requiring students to read selections about galls from the textbook and is criticizing inattention and disinterest, but with no result, except that seen in the picture. Parts II and IV of this book indicate causes and remedies for this situation. Compare this picture, posed by a fifth-grade class and the junior author, with Figure 5.

In one high-school classroom no person was allowed to speak to another without permission. The boys thought the teacher was trying to make 'sissies' out of them; so they talked any time they wanted to. There was nothing the poor teacher could do, because every boy in the school was doing it.

Another teacher on the first day of school gave out a list of things not to be done. This list was accompanied by another list of punishments for each violation. At first the pupils were frightened into submission. After a few days some of the boys became anxious to test the teacher. They did test her with the result that she became angry, and made the boys stay after school to write the multiplication tables twenty-five to fifty times. This teacher had much trouble with discipline that year.

It is possible that one of the causes for the lack of initiative among many graduates of the schools is that they have been ruled too strictly. They have been given tasks to perform in a routine manner and they have often been made to do their work with a teacher constantly standing over them enforcing rules about the number of pages to be read, the time for each subject, the manner of talking, etc. Students under such a system of management may do their work for fear of punishment rather than for the intrinsic value involved. When students leave a school of this kind, they may find that they have the unfortunate habit of doing nothing unless compelled to do it.

Faulty Methods of Instruction

Methods of instruction that fail to allow for the satisfaction of the juvenile desire for adventure, approval, or security may frequently be accompanied by disobedience or disorder upon the part of the children. This happened in the class of the high-school teacher who required the students each day to outline the assigned chapters. Most of the students considered this drudgery, found no profit in it, and turned to rolling shot around the room and under the doors

of adjoining rooms, as well as shooting matches from spools equipped with rubber bands. Another teacher conducted the geography class in the same manner every day: read and recite. The students failed to appreciate the subject and spent much time talking and giggling.

Imitation of Others

Some students are disobedient for no other reason than that they tend to follow the pattern set by others. In a certain study room there were little tin contraptions under the side of the desks. One day a boy began to snap the tin — causing a disturbance. The teacher said: "Whoever is doing that, stop at once or the whole class will have to stay after school." The noise stopped for a while, but a little later was resumed again by five or six boys. Following this the teacher announced that the whole class would have to stay after school because in punishing all, the guilty ones would surely be punished. Of course, the whole group felt angry at this unfairness; so everyone started to make the noise and the unfortunate teacher was driven nearly frantic in her efforts to stop them.

Desire to Do the Forbidden

One way in which children can satisfy the desire for activity and excitement is to attempt to do the forbidden. Often the school program does not offer much adventure, and certain disturbing activities done on the sly, which are difficult for the teacher to discover, seem to satisfy this desire in children. This process is made clear by the report of a student experience:

> 'Poll-Parrot' whistles were all the go for a while in the high school. We were strictly forbidden to click them during school hours, but the desire to do the forbidden was so strong that these whistles were heard often during the day. The principal became furious, but it did no good and she found she had to wait until the fad wore off.

Another student report is an interesting explanation for chewing gum in school:

> I was chewing gum in class one day and enjoying myself, too, since it was a forbidden pleasure. Others were watching my 'bravery.' I was told to get rid of my gum and to do so in a hurry. I threw my gum away, marched back to my seat, and calmly took out a fresh stick. I surely enjoyed being the center of interest and was pleased when after class some of my friends said, "How did you dare?" My reply was, "Gee, that wasn't anything."

When you do the forbidden, you create excitement; but when there are no rules to be broken, the excitement must be created in order to break the dullness of routine and put some 'pep' into the situation. The teacher who fails to provide adventure may find that the pupils will provide adventure of various unexpected kinds — not constructive, not 'bad,' just playful. Some children will whisper noisily, some will throw chalk, some will go unnecessarily to the dictionary, some will play truant.

Sources of Lying and Cheating in the Classroom

Lying and cheating are found by experience to be frequent concomitants of conflict situations, especially when the conflict is between an adult and a child. Children lie and cheat for fear of punishment, fear of scolding, desire to get out of a difficult situation, desire to save a friend, desire to appear superior, and desire to do the forbidden. Most of the discussion and illustrations in this section will center around lying, but cheating may be influenced by the same factors.

Fear of Punishment

Children who are afraid of a beating or other punishment by an adult will often lie to escape it. It would take unusual courage for a child to tell that he had done something against the rules, knowing that the adult who heard would get angry and penalize him in some way or 'beat him up' in order to

reform him. The manner in which fear of punishment works to make children lie in school is told clearly by the following report:

> In grade school we had a principal who frequently used corporal punishment to keep the children in order. The first and last time he beat me was when I confessed I broke a window in the school. I had thrown a snowball at another pupil, and it missed and went through the window. After the incident I always lied like a trooper to get out of trouble because I was afraid I would get 'beat up' if I told the truth.

Pupils who commit small misdemeanors and who are punished when they admit they have done so may be expected to lie the next time they are accused of some forbidden act.

Fear of a Scolding

Lying for fear of a scolding is done for the same reasons that impel lying for fear of punishment. The teacher who collects written assignments and follows with the statement, "Who did not hand in the written assignment?" — may expect to elicit lies from students if she habitually scolds those who have failed to hand in their papers. Students will let the teacher find out for herself, or students will say they lost their glasses, left their papers at home, have them in their lockers, etc., when the real reason is that they neglected to write the paper. The lie is a 'stall' that gives them time to write the paper later.

Lies are used by children to avoid consequences not desired for themselves or for their friends. The teacher who constantly provides situations that result in pain for active children may train these children to lie.

Sources of Stealing in the Classroom

It appears that stealing may be resorted to by children when the social situations in which they are placed thwart their desires for food, love, security, and activity. Stealing may be the result of a cumulative series of experiences in

connection with the adventures of companions that are stealing. Antagonistic attitudes, disobedience, lying, cheating, and stealing tend to be associated. It is not difficult for a child to behave according to these patterns when no one seems to understand him, when he feels that he needs food, clothing, or toys, when it is the practice of those with whom he associates to steal, and when the heroes of the community are the 'big shots' of the criminal world.

Children observe others with various objects, as beads, pencils, etc., that they themselves do not possess. Covetousness or envy may then impel them to take some of these objects. They may be found with a desk full of them. The teacher who further thwarts the desires of the child by vigorous scoldings and punishment may often find that the child will simply be more careful the next time not to be found out. Some children steal simply for the adventure and to get a 'kick' out of life. The teacher who, in a negative manner, suppresses the child does not satisfy the child's need for adventure. Other children come from homes where the food supply is not adequate, and may steal cookies from the grocery or food from other children's lunches. The solution for this stealing is more food for the child — not punishment and social ostracism. Some children steal in school to get revenge. They have been defeated in some conflict situation and find satisfaction through stealing.

Petty stealing in children may be discouraged by the elimination of situations that make stealing possible, by discovering the child who makes the theft, by wise and sympathetic counsel, by obtaining for the child a small allowance, and by making it necessary for the child to pay for the stolen article. The influence of bad associates is particularly to be destroyed if possible.

Summary

This chapter has indicated some of the things the teacher may do that tend unwittingly to develop conflict situations in the schoolroom. The factors underlying conflict have

been in part found in situations set up by the teacher and that have apparently unfairly thwarted one or more of the basic human desires of the children. Partiality, sarcasm and ridicule, militarism, bad temper, nervousness, poor scholarship, lack of sympathetic understanding, nagging, and lack of humor in teachers have caused students to become antagonistic to the teacher and her aims. Such antagonisms often lead to the failure of the teacher in her work in the schoolroom. The child who dislikes his teacher will also disobey her regulations and instructions. Disobedience is also stimulated by too strict orders, faulty methods of instruction (especially those devoid of zest and lacking any spirit of adventure), imitation of others, and a desire for excitement often achieved by doing the forbidden. Children will lie and cheat in school for fear of the punishment that has been promised if the truth is found out. Children who are hungry or whose desires for security and activity are thwarted by the home, the community, or the teacher may be expected, in many cases, to steal, especially if they associate with others who regard stealing as good sport.

The teacher who can intelligently avoid the creation of many of the situations indicated in this chapter, trivial though they may appear, will find that the work of teaching will go forward much more easily. Elsewhere in this text constructive remedies are suggested. The next chapter, however, will consider the behavior of children who withdraw from conflict situations in school.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is meant by teacher-pupil conflict?
2. In what ways do children participate in conflict in the classroom?
3. What are the roots of conflict?
4. Who consider conflict situations in the school 'trifles'? Why?
5. Show how each of the following traits in a teacher may develop antagonistic attitudes in children: partiality, sarcasm

and ridicule, militarism, bad temper and nervousness, poor scholarship, lack of sympathetic understanding, nagging, lack of humor.

6. Show how each of the following factors may cause pupil disobedience in the classroom: dislike of the teacher, too strict rules, faulty methods of instruction, imitation of others, desire to do the forbidden.

7. Indicate sources of lying and cheating in the classroom.

8. Is pupil-teacher conflict inevitable? Justify your answer.

9. How can a teacher seek to avoid conflict in the classroom?

10. Should teachers disregard the feelings of students and hammer the curriculum through at any cost? Why?

11. Should teachers disregard the curriculum and satisfy the interest of the children at any cost? Why?

12. What middle ground may be taken by teachers? What reasons can you give for a defense of this position?

13. Visit a classroom. Observe the ways in which the teacher creates or avoids conflict situations in the classroom. Write a report.

14. Report any personal experiences you have had in your school life illustrating conflict. Could these have been avoided? If so, how?

15. Attempt to locate a fellow student who has found that teachers who used sarcasm in the classroom obtained additional effort or greater enjoyment of the subject from him. Why did the sarcasm work in each case?

16. Under what conditions do children desire to do the forbidden? What preventive do you suggest?

17. What situations in the classroom do you think will prevent lying and cheating? Illustrate from your experience as a student.

18. What percentage of the elementary and high-school teachers whom you have had have created conflict situations in the classroom? How could they have corrected their errors?

19. Draw up a list of positive suggestions for teachers deduced from the negative suggestions given in this chapter.

20. Look over the Table of Contents and give the names of the chapters in this book that contain constructive suggestions for the solution of problems of social interaction in the classroom.

Bibliography

Hall, G. Stanley. *Adolescence.* New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1904.

Hart, Hornell. *The Science of Social Relations.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

Hartshorne, Hugh and May, Mark. *Studies in Deceit.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

Shaw, Clifford R. and McKay, Henry D. *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency.* Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931.

Symposium on Present-Day Parenthood, Concerning Parents. New York: New Republic, Inc., 1926.

Van Waters, Miriam. *Youth in Conflict.* New York: New Republic, Inc., 1925.

Wickman, E. K. *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1928.

CHAPTER VII

PUPIL WITHDRAWAL FROM CONFLICT

When desires or personalities clash, some pupils react vigorously and positively. But there are others who avoid conflict in order also to avoid suffering possible humiliation and defeat. This type of reaction is often spoken of technically as 'withdrawal.' It is well for teachers to study the situations in school that lead to this withdrawal of some children from normal social interaction, for 'withdrawers' tend to develop timidity, dreaminess, suspiciousness, and solitariness; and these 'behavior patterns,' as they are called, are considered serious personality difficulties by behavior specialists, at least if the patterns become established attitudes or habits.

The social situations in school that cause withdrawal often appear to the adult as trifles; but it is not to be forgotten that these seeming trifles are serious matters to the child who is trying to live with satisfaction to himself in a world dominated by persons whom it appears useless to try to defeat.

Factors Causing Fearfulness in School Children

The 'withdrawer' does not know how to participate successfully in many of the conflicts he may be forced to meet in the school. He therefore may live in continual fear lest even the little self-esteem that he feels he is given by the teacher and the group may be lost by some stupid mistake on his part. The timid child cannot get rid of his timidity until his status is changed, and since his status is given by others in the groups in which he lives, the solution of his problem may be expected to be primarily a social one. In the case of fearfulness and other manifestations of withdrawal, a higher

social rating of the withdrawer given by the teacher and the other pupils may be expected to be effective treatment. The difficulty lies in getting this more favorable rating established. This leads us to consider some of the conditions that tend to promote fearfulness.

Frequent Punishment

It appears that frequent punishment, especially severe punishment, may cause some children to withdraw from normal social contacts and live in a prevailing state of mild fear and worry. These children may learn their routine lessons with no disciplinary trouble apparent to the teacher, but they will find it difficult to use their knowledge successfully in social situations. Some children become afraid to speak in the recitation for fear of punishment or scolding if they make a mistake; others constantly try to avoid certain teachers who have reputations for being severe.

Elaine's heart thumped and she got weak in the knees as she ran toward the school fearing she would be late. She was late. The sight of the vacant playground, the thought of fifty curious eyes upon her, and the thought of the teacher's and her parents' reproachful looks and probable punishment (punishment was the rule) frightened her. She retraced her steps stealthily and found refuge in a neighbor's garage where she and her small playmates had built a playhouse. There she stayed all the morning, thinking that her teacher would be none the wiser and that her mother would think her safe in school.

Elaine was suffering from a fear of punishment or scolding administered by adults. The adult who would understand Elaine is the one who knows the effects of punishment on her behavior both overt and covert.

Ridicule and Criticism

Ridicule and criticism may cause the withdrawal of a child from active participation in the work in school. It is safe to say that relatively few children respond to ridicule and criticism with coöperative effort. Indeed, to ridicule one

child before a class may set up undesirable attitudes in other children who are of the withdrawing type. Of course, the 'conflicters' will 'attack.'

Criticism and ridicule seriously interfered with the school and life success of Katherine, a college girl, who always applied herself to her work and obtained good grades in her subjects. She was not pretty or socially attractive. In spite of her good work, her teachers almost never spoke an encouraging word to her. She received only such criticism as: "Your writing is like a child's," "Your voice is terrible," "Your posture is bad." None of her classmates was friendly to her, because they did not find her interesting. These factors have helped develop in Katherine a fear of self-assertion and of ridicule as well as a feeling of failure.

A third-grade teacher became very impatient with her children and found herself unable to tolerate errors of any kind. The students of the withdrawing types developed a fear of her biting words and gave up all participation in the class discussion in order to save the humiliation of listening to the teacher's pet expression, "Just as a dunce would answer it." Other teachers have been thoughtless enough to show the whole hygiene class the unattractive teeth of a particular child as an example of bad practice, or to comment sarcastically upon a recitation thus: "You are a very good example of a dumbbell," or to make on the board special lists of the class chatterboxes.

School marks have been used by some teachers as a vehicle for criticism and ridicule either explicitly or implicitly. One teacher posted the marks of all pupils in a public place. At first Susan's name appeared on a special list with the 'A' students. Later her name appeared less and less frequently, and her fellow students began to ask her about her difficulties, much to her embarrassment. This publicity given to Susan's failures made Susan afraid of her work, and in her case failure led to more failure. Other teachers frequently make such remarks as: "How do you ever expect to get out of the fifth grade when you do such terrible work as this?" "If you don't pass this test, you will get a red mark on your report card." "Everything depends upon what your work

is like this last week." Some students develop a fear of the invincible 'curve,' and this leads to such remarks as, "I'd enjoy that course a great deal if I didn't have to be afraid of the mark I'd get in it." Marks tend to influence the social status of school children. The teacher may well be careful that students are spared the unhappiness of living in constant fear of needless publicity of their low marks and consequent loss of social status — especially in the elementary grades where attendance is compulsory.

Domineering Teachers

Teachers who use frequent punishments, and criticism and ridicule, are commonly domineering persons in general. Other techniques of the domineering teacher are severe military bearing, stern enforcement of arbitrary rules, an attitude of superiority and contempt, relentless firing of questions accompanied by irritable glances, and a bearing suggesting to students, "You can't touch me." For withdrawers, especially, educational and social growth is stunted, and they live in perpetual fear of doing or saying anything, for fear of its being criticized. It is possible for fear complexes thus developed in school situations to remain in after life.

The possible effects upon effort in children made by the domineering type of teacher are suggested by the following report:

> I was curious about one of the girls in our arithmetic class. She was unusually active and interested in our other classes. I asked her one day why she didn't ever take part in arithmetic class. She said, "I'm afraid of Miss L: she is always so stern; she never smiles or anything — just bosses everybody around."

We now turn from the study of the social situations that develop fearfulness in children to those which develop dreaminess.

Factors Causing Dreaminess in School Children

The withdrawer may be an excessive daydreamer. This means that he may have a tendency to live in another world, as did Cinderella. Daydreaming becomes natural for a withdrawer, because it is easier to live in a world created to suit one's own taste than in the world as it is with its imperfections and struggles. Daydreaming makes it possible for one to carry on in an imaginary world. Of course, nearly everyone indulges in this form of mental satisfaction, but daydreaming that leads to more daydreaming and still more daydreaming is undesirable because it takes one out of the real world. The type of daydreaming that leads to constructive activities in the world of reality may obviously be desirable. The problem is to help the daydreamer connect his dreams with reality.

Factors, sometimes not recognized by teachers, that may cause excessive dreaminess in children are: failure of the school program to elicit interest, lack of companionship, feelings of inferiority, poor health, dissatisfaction with life, and fear of persons. Each of these factors will be studied in some detail in the following paragraphs.

Failure of the School Program to Elicit Interest

It is to be observed that when the program of the school fails to meet their interests, some children tend to dream about more interesting activities. They may dream about clothes, the outdoors, children of the other sex, occupations not taught in school, family problems, etc. The teacher who can tie the interests of the dreaming child to the work of the school may find one solution to the problem of withdrawal in school. This can be done only by sympathetic and understanding acquaintance with the child, by beginning with the child's interests and leading from these out to the wider, practical interests of society.

Robert was in a grade too far advanced for his ability. He could not be successful in his work and consequently lost interest

in school. Not being able to understand what the other pupils were discussing, he at first tried to play, but his playing disturbed the teacher and brought punishment; so he took refuge in daydreaming. He dreamed of sailboats, fishing, and the like. Robert's problem could have been avoided by careful grade placement or individualized methods of instruction.

Mary was 'boy crazy,' and her sole interest seemed to be in trying to become popular with the boys. She seldom contributed anything to the work of the school.

Sarah was forced to go to the high school against her wishes. The only pleasure she obtained from school was in dreaming about things she could have and do.

A garage mechanic, looking back on his school days, said that he used to spend much of his time in dreaming because he was not interested in the work. He wished he had been offered an opportunity to learn about gasoline motors in school.

Lack of Companionship

Children who do not find congenial friends in school may spend much time in daydreaming. This failure to make friends may be due to physical and personality defects or it may be due to ignorance upon the part of the child. Children need help and information about simple social relationships; they need, in some cases, to be encouraged to associate with others. Several stories of children who became withdrawers on account of lack of companionship make this point clear.

In the eighth grade a boy who lacked athletic prowess was often noticed sitting and dreaming, paying no attention to what went on around him. When school was dismissed, he would often wander off by himself and avoid social contacts. He would invent his own imaginary companions and talk aloud to them. One of the other students, feeling sorry for him, talked to him and was invited to his home. The dreamer was found to be a prince of a fellow; he simply didn't know how to get along with the boys at school.

John was hard of hearing, and the boys did not like to play with him very well because it was too much trouble to repeat everything. This caused John to lose interest in the other boys

and finally he preferred to spend his time in daydreaming to associating with them.

Sarah was slightly deaf, had an impediment in her speech, and could not run very fast. These defects caused her to be left out of most of the school activities. Since the teacher made little effort to help her find a place for herself in spite of her handicaps, she was often to be found by herself dreaming so intently that she would be oblivious to the fact that some one was approaching her. She found it difficult to keep her mind on her studies. She needed friends.

Feelings of Inferiority

Children who feel inferior to others with whom they associate have a tendency to daydream. In their daydreams they determine for themselves their own desired social status and in their dreaming find a certain esoteric happiness. Feelings of inferiority may come from a natural biological and mental inferiority or from social situations in which the child is given a poor rating by the attitudes of the teacher or other adults, and the children. Some of the social situations that may develop feelings of inferiority are poverty of the parents, too much criticism, lack of athletic prowess, failure of the teacher to give needed encouragement, and relatively low ability.

Mary's parents were poor; hence she could not dress so well as most of the other girls in her grade. At Christmas time, when the other girls told about their gifts, their new dresses, and their slippers, Mary had little to say. She developed a feeling that she was not good enough to play with the other girls; therefore she asked permission to stay inside during recess periods. She developed the habit of sitting alone in the room and quietly dreaming of beautiful dolls, pretty dresses, and parties at which she would be popular. Mary's case of inferiority was caused largely by the poverty of her parents. It is possible that a teacher could help a student in this difficulty by providing situations in which she could obtain recognition for service or achievement.

The story of John indicates how a careless teacher obtained the complete withdrawal of a mediocre boy from coöperation with the

work of the school. The teacher always compared John's work with that of the brighter pupils, at the same time telling him that he was hopeless and couldn't learn anything. The result was that John would sit in class and gaze out of the window or toy with some articles on his desk. When the teacher criticized him for this, his response was, "What's the use? I can't learn it anyway."

Hazel, in the same situation as John, said, when asked why she failed to participate in the class work, "I am afraid I am not so good as the others. I do the same things in my mind, and I am just as happy."

Children like Mary, John, and Hazel need help, not criticism and invidious comparisons. The teacher must give attention to the social relationships of her children as a group and as individuals. Sometimes the ability-grouping of children, if unwisely administered, may develop feelings of inferiority among a whole group.

Poor Health

Poor health is another factor causing possible daydreaming. Poor health often keeps a child from normal social participation with his fellows and may be accompanied by dreams of the life the child would like to have.

June, who had loved to dance, broke her ankle and was left with a limp. The result was that she spent much time reading the trashy motion-picture magazines, and dreaming of dancing and a stage career. After she finished the high school, her parents sent her to the university, but after two months she returned home and married a farmer boy.

Martha was excused from physical education classes because the doctor had said the exercise was too strenuous for her. The result was that during physical education classes she sat in the room reading while the others were outdoors participating in group activities. Martha gradually became rated as 'queer.' After graduation from the high school, she stayed at home and did fancy-work.

Dissatisfaction with Life

Children who find that their efforts to satisfy their desires are usually thwarted in school or elsewhere may withdraw from the world of reality and make for themselves a world of dreams where all their desires come true. This process, of course, leads to social isolation and ever-increasing difficulty in adjusting to the world of reality — the result being chronic dissatisfaction with life.

One withdrawing student declared: "No matter how hard I work in my classes, I never get a good grade. And my folks tell me that if I weren't so lazy, I would be able to get good grades and that maybe some day I will amount to something." Another young girl who usually received low marks had few friends and rarely participated in the recreational activities with other students. No one seemed to take an interest in her, certainly not the teachers. What was there in life for her, she thought. She became a dreamer and sat in class with a far-away look as she pondered over her weaknesses and failures. She also avoided people she knew when she passed them on the street.

Fear of Persons

The development of a fear of persons, especially fear of the teacher in school, as described earlier in this chapter, may lead to daydreaming. The dreams are likely to consist of means of escaping from the judgments of these persons. The relation of fear of the teacher to daydreaming in school is told clearly in a boy's own words:

> I was afraid of an eighth-grade teacher. She was always scolding me for not having each detail in correct form. I became afraid to recite or to do work for this teacher; so I resorted to thinking about what I was going to do after school. My mind used to wander to such activities as going home, going to the store, going to the movies, and going to other teachers' rooms. My mind wandered because I had no chance to give my contributions without ridicule if I did pay attention.

Factors Causing Suspiciousness in School Children

Suspiciousness, or mistrust of others, is a behavior trait that may easily develop in children who feel impelled to withdraw from social contacts. The child with suspicious tendencies is likely to feel that certain people "have it in for me," or that others are planning ways to cause a collapse of his social world. The pupil in school may unjustly criticize a teacher for the acts of another teacher who provided the situation that made the child suspicious. The suspicious child who sees others talking and laughing in the school halls will easily believe that they are talking and laughing about him. This child is always unhappy and continually disturbed by doubts and fears. The suspicious child needs to understand that his fears are largely imaginary and that other persons are usually too much interested in their own affairs to be talking about him. The suspicious child also needs to be freed from conflict situations and to be stimulated to take an active part in the wholesome activities of the school such as athletics or dramatics.

Some teachers may not realize that certain boys or girls who dress poorly or who differ somewhat from others (racial or cultural differences, peculiarities in speech, and the like), may be objects of ridicule on the playground. The ridicule leads to social isolation and often to chronic suspiciousness. Children may leave the high school because they do not have the clothes they feel to be necessary and they refuse to become objects of pity.

Summary

Many situations develop in the school that tend to impel certain children to shrink from social contacts, to withdraw from social relationships. Fearfulness, dreaminess, suspiciousness, and solitariness are characteristic accompaniments.

Conflict situations may arouse in the child either counter-conflict or withdrawal; that is, some children tend to be

'conflicters' and others tend to be 'withdrawers.' The conflict situations in school that tend to create attack or withdrawal have been listed in the two preceding chapters.

Although conflict situations still exist in abundance in most schools, the present tendency is toward the avoidance of conflict by the use of what are called 'accommodation techniques.' These techniques satisfy the need of the child for the expression of his basic desires and also the need of society for socially adjusted children. The use of these techniques in the schoolroom will be considered in detail in the following chapter.

Questions and Exercises

1. What are the two major types of pupil response to conflict situations in the classroom?
2. Explain what is meant by 'pupil withdrawal from conflict.'
3. In what ways does each of the following cause fearfulness in school children: frequent punishment, ridicule and criticism, domineering teachers?
4. In what ways do each of the following cause dreaminess in school children: failure of the school program to elicit interest, lack of companionship, feeling of inferiority, poor health, dissatisfaction with life, and fear of persons?
5. How may suspiciousness in school children be treated?
6. What are the causes for children's differing in their responses to the same situation in school?
7. Will avoidance of conflict situations in school eliminate all disciplinary problems among the children? Why?
8. Are the classifications in this chapter mutually exclusive? Why?
9. What is meant by 'social situation in the classroom'?
10. In the light of the negative materials presented in the chapters on conflict and withdrawal, outline a program for teachers that will give promise of avoiding the pitfalls of conflict and withdrawal in the classroom.
11. Describe the withdrawing type of child.

Bibliography

See Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VIII

ACCOMMODATION IN THE CLASSROOM

Conflict in the classroom, it has been observed, is a process of social interaction characterized by attempts upon the part of the teacher or pupils to thwart the efforts of one another. In a conflict situation in the classroom the pupils will either counter-attack the attacks of the teacher or withdraw from interaction. In either case the conflict provokes non-coöperative attitudes and various forms of irritating or unsocial behavior.

The Concept of Accommodation

But the efforts of teacher and of pupil need not stir up conflict. Conflict may be avoided or may cease if the social situation known as 'accommodation' is developed. Accommodation in the classroom is the opposite of conflict. In accommodation both teacher and pupil are seeking to identify their interests with the interests of the other; both teacher and pupil are willing to help one another — to adapt their own purposes in such a way that "they attain their own fulfillment by fulfilling the purposes of the other." The teacher, who is the leader, may be expected to initiate the accommodation process. In practice, it frequently is found that, when the teacher adjusts her program to the needs of the child, the child is more than willing to adjust his efforts to the needs of the teacher. The teacher, of course, here is the representative of the needs of society and the social institutions.

It is reasonable to believe that accommodation techniques utilized by an artist-teacher in the classroom will increase the effort of the students, improve the efficiency of instruction, foster mental health for both teacher and pupils, and

develop in children an effective interest in the curriculum and a respectful attitude toward the society that the teacher represents.

The experience of artist-teachers has revealed some useful techniques for accommodation in the classroom. They are (1) the use of tact, (2) emotional balance, including conformity to social standards, (3) child-counseling, and (4) organizing the curriculum into interesting individual and social activities.

These and similar accommodation techniques, of course, may be expected to be most effective with children in the elementary grades, and they certainly can be used to considerable degree in the high school as well. As maturity approaches, however, these techniques may not be so vitally important in teaching, though it would be unwise for a teacher to disregard them. In what follows consideration is given in particular to the four methods of accommodation just mentioned.

The Use of Tact

When a teacher uses tact, she acts in such a manner that the children over whom she presides feel that their social status has been maintained or even raised as the result of their contact with her as a group or as individuals. The tactful teacher is careful to avoid the pitfalls outlined in the chapters on conflict and withdrawal. She is absolutely impartial, respectful of the personalities of the children, calm and peaceful, scholarly, sympathetic, adaptable, and possessed of a pleasing humor adapted to the mental level of the children.

Miss X never made one feel uncomfortable in class. She kept up a feeling of friendliness at all times. When a humorous incident occurred during the class period, all the students laughed heartily, though without overdoing it. No student was ever reprimanded before the class for making a poor recitation. He was talked to privately. The class was never 'lectured' for lack of knowledge. Miss X often asked the class to tell her the problems

with which they had trouble, and she helped to solve them. She was fair to all and friendly toward the pupils outside of school. She took time to exhibit an interest in her students' other school work and in their outside activities. Since the teacher played fair with the students, the students played fair with the teacher and did not cheat in her class.

Miss B, an eighth-grade teacher, succeeded in obtaining the loyalty of the pupils and also in maintaining strict discipline. Her success lay in the fact that she treated the pupils like adults. She was a master of her subject and had, in addition, a wide variety of outside interests. She treated the children fairly. When she had a child in school who was more interested in causing trouble than in getting his lessons, she kept this child after hours and talked to him about the things in which he was interested and as her interests were wide, she could talk intelligently to every child. She always treated the child as if he were another grown person who had some ideas worth considering. The teacher had that child's respect and confidence by the time he went home, because he went away feeling he really was 'somebody.' The teacher also always tried to show the individual child the relation between his lessons and his interests. Moreover, Miss B never acted as though she thought the children were going to do something wrong. She had a table in the front of the room on which were piled newspapers and books of interest; after the students had prepared their lessons, they were permitted to go to this table to read and to talk quietly.

Other studies of the traits in teachers that draw out cooperative responses in pupils show conclusions similar to those presented in this book. Mead summarizes studies of teacher traits made by Kratz, Bird, Bell, Book, Knight, and others, and concludes that pupils respond coöperatively to teachers who exhibit patience, kindness, sympathy, firmness, politeness, fairness, sense of humor, sociability, good appearance, and ability to control.[1] These are traits that the teacher who desires to develop tact may well acquire.

[1] Arthur Raymond Mead. *Supervised Student-Teaching*, pp. 50–54.

Emotional Balance and Conformity to Social Standards

It is reasonable to believe that a leader of children — one who is elected to point the way to more efficient living in the world as it is and as it is becoming — should be able to live in that world with a high degree of efficiency herself. She cannot be one who has used teaching either as a retreat from actuality or as a means of dominating over relatively helpless persons. The socially adjusted teacher has confidence in her social undertakings, does not worry about herself, and finds ample time to devote to the intellectual and social problems of the children under her care. She does not become emotionally upset over disobedience, fighting, lying, stealing, and other forms of maladjustment often found in children. She uses her influence toward the elimination of these maladjustments by conduct of her own that is worth imitating, by careful investigation into the social situations of her charges, and by setting a stage where children can learn the traits of culture through interesting activities and the passive learning that accompanies interesting associations.

The socially adjusted teacher is also able to get along well with other members of the faculty, and with parents and citizens. She realizes that friendly relationships between her and her pupils are more effective than punishment; that sympathetic and helpful counsel is more effective than strict rules; that inconspicuous correction of a child is more effective than humiliation before a group; that careful consideration of the child's self-respect is always necessary in order to avoid antagonistic attitudes in him; that the development of a sense of responsibility in a child is important; that she must coöperate with the home in many ways; that she must keep emotional balance in dealing with all problems.

One may not necessarily be fitted for teaching because one knows the laws of learning drawn up from the study

of rats or mice in mazes and cats in puzzle boxes. These laws are important, but the laws of learning that are also important are those that are determined as the result of the careful observation and interpretation of the reactions of children in the social situations of life and of the classroom. A large part of this book is devoted for that reason to the study of children in various social situations.

The teacher who deals with the world from day to day as it is and with a view toward what it may become is less likely to develop personality difficulties than the teacher who can see only utopias. The teacher who becomes too much enamored of utopias is likely to become entirely hostile toward the world in which she must live and to discuss social problems with such emotional fervor that she will antagonize the very persons who might, under different situations, assist with the introduction of desired social changes.

The cumulative effect of a series of blundering failures to obtain desired social changes may seriously affect the personality balance of the chronic nonconformist. Such an unbalanced personality in the classroom may be expected to have a 'warping' influence upon the minds of the children. They may acquire the same unsocial perspective.

Reasonable conformity to established social standards is one aid to this desirable mental health of the teacher. Conformity, however, does not mean lack of interest in social change. It means adjustment to life as it is plus a reasonable and balanced interest in directing social change toward securing for more and more people a more complete satisfaction of the basic needs for food, love, security, and activity.

Child-Counseling

The child-counseling movement recognizes the fact that individuals need guidance. Good teachers, always recognizing this principle, have sought to give wise guidance to individual pupils. More recently scientific methods have been used in determining the nature of the total social situa-

tion of the individual child and the relation of that child to society. In large school systems special departments of child guidance, or counseling, have grown up; in small schools the teachers are doing what they can to understand the problems of individual pupils and to readjust the child's social attitudes or to readjust certain elements in the social situation.[2]

The kinds of children that need individual study through a counseling service that attempts to obtain a true picture of the child in relation to his social situation [3] are as follows:

1. The unhappy child
2. The unsocial child
3. The 'conflicting' child
4. The nervous child
5. The habitually tardy child
6. The show-off
7. The dishonest child
8. The retarded child
9. The child with babyish habits
10. The child with sex problems
11. The truant
12. The selfish child
13. The effortless child
14. The bully
15. The child with strong prejudices
16. The child who needs vocational guidance
17. The child without a sense of property rights
18. The child from a home of poverty
19. The child from a disorganized home
20. The child with physical handicaps
21. The child who succeeds in everything
22. The child who undertakes too much
23. The child who participates in only one phase of school life
24. The unpopular child
25. The child who wastes his leisure time
26. The child who is a failure in his work

Individual counseling programs cannot be carried out by even a very competent administrative staff without the intelligent coöperation of teachers who have the ability to deal with individual problems. Although some of the large city school systems have counseling staffs of specialists, for many years to come most of the counseling will be done, if at all, by the regular teachers.

[2] See *Mental Hygiene in the Classroom*, Department of Child Guidance, Board of Education, Newark, New Jersey for an elaboration of the suggestions in this paragraph.

[3] See such books as *Mental Hygiene in the Classroom* and the references to Burnham, Colbert, and Threlkeld given at the end of this chapter.

The following are some of the features of a good counseling system: [4]

1. The welfare of the individual child is the chief aim.
2. Decision is based upon a knowledge of the details of the total social situation of the child.
3. Decision is based also upon physical, mental, emotional, and vocational information.
4. All teachers are well-enough informed to assist with the adjustments of individual pupils.
5. One teacher, supervisor, or superintendent integrates the program of guidance.
6. Complete and continuing record files of all data are kept for each child and used by the teachers to assist the child in his development from year to year.

Organizing the Curriculum into Interesting Individual and Social Activities

Children are happy when they are actively participating in interesting endeavors. It is then that passive mentation works at its best. The endeavors, be it noted, may demand either physical or mental activity, or both. When the activity is carried on by the children themselves on the vacant lot, in the street, or down by the river, it is frequently rather simple, crude in nature, and often lacking in true growth in knowledge. When the activity is carried on in contact with the culture of the community, it is likely to be more constructive. And when the activity is carried on in the school where organized opportunities for learning are made available by a highly trained teacher, children may find satisfaction in acquiring useful behavior patterns.

In learning about elections and politics, students under an activity system would participate, under the supervision of the teacher, in elections and politics. Under the teacher-textbook system the children would recite to the teacher what the book says about elections and politics. But under

[4] A. U. Threlkeld. "Individual Counseling." *Journal of the National Education Association*, 21: 117–118. (Material adapted with permission of the *Journal*.)

the activity system the children would find it necessary to know what the textbook says in order to carry on elections and politics, and in the end the children would *know about* and *have experience with* elections and politics.

Under a properly administered activity program there should be no occasion for emotional conflicts to arise between teacher and pupils; all are working together toward the solution of common problems. When serious conflicts do arise between the pupils, it is the duty of the teacher to help children solve these conflict problems, to show them how to participate in some types of conflict without undue emotional reactions and how to substitute accommodation for conflict. (Accommodation does not mean the stifling of intelligent differences in opinion or interpretation of data.)

A teacher aroused the curiosity of children in the study of transportation when she told them that men had not always used automobiles, trains, and steamboats. Children gave reports in this class on the various stages in the development of transportation. They were referred to books that could satisfy their curiosity. Finally one child said that he was interested in making some of the vehicles. Someone else said, "Let's make them in the order in which they were invented." The interest of the students finally led to mental and physical activities in (1) making clay human figures carrying burdens, (2) making clay models of different beasts of burden, (3) constructing primitive boats, (4) making carts and wagons, (5) making trains, (6) making autos, and (7) making flying machines. From these activities the children learned much about different peoples and their transportation methods.[5]

The student response to the activity system is revealed by the student who took two different courses in chemistry.

The first instructor lectured very rapidly or conducted textbook recitation classes with great strictness. The result was that the students took their assignments with grumblings and were

[5] Ethel Salisbury. *An Activity Curriculum*, pp. 63–64. (Adapted by permission of Ethel Salisbury and of the University of Southern California Press.)

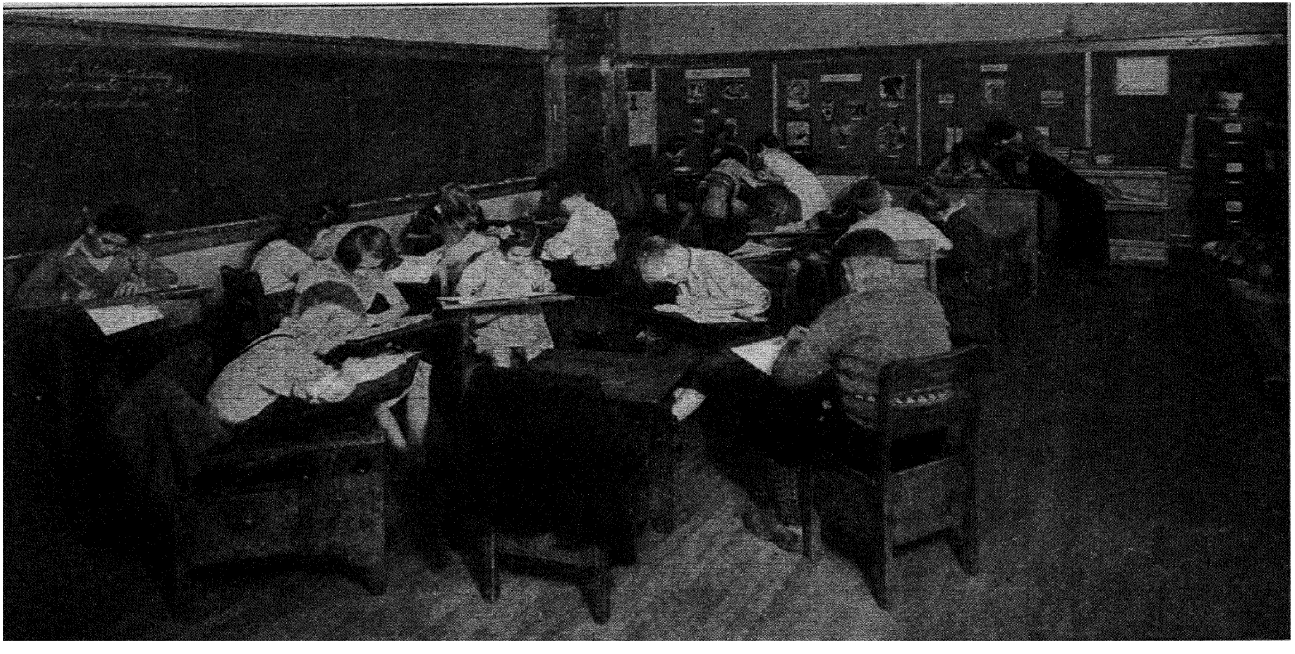


FIG. 5. — A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF FORMAL EDUCATION

In this science classroom Miss Grace Nugent, of the St. Cloud State Teachers College, and her fifth-grade pupils are working together on the interesting activities of observing through a lens different kinds of galls, summarizing information about galls, writing riddles and poems about them, and making collections of them. The learning is carried on through an accommodation type of interaction. Compare this class with the one shown in Figure 4.

careless with their experiments. Many of the students read about experiments in chemistry books and figured out their results mathematically instead of doing the experiments. The students simply were not interested. Later, practically the same group of students took another course in chemistry under another instructor. The lectures were given in a free and easy manner, and in the laboratory the students were free to work out their problems as they wished. There was no definite time limit. They found it a pleasure to work at chemistry under this system. The students worked with the instructor and not for him. Some of the students finished the term's assignments early and said they enjoyed every minute of the work.

Another teacher divided the arithmetic class into groups to study banking activities. One student was assigned to a committee to visit a bank and to learn about checks, etc. The following is his account of the experience and its value:

> We visited a bank and got as many check forms as we could and also much additional information. Other committees interviewed business men and others searched in reference books for information on banking. Finally the class felt it had enough information on banking to start a miniature bank, which we did. We worked this bank until we got tired of it. I think I learned more about banking than most other phases of eighth-grade arithmetic.

These illustrations show how it is possible for the school to satisfy the need of the child for physical and mental activity and at the same time satisfy the need of society for properly educated children. A curriculum organized upon an activity basis sets up a situation that makes accommodation relationships in school more likely. This means much for the mental health of school children and for efficiency in education.

One of the duties of the school is to help children live successfully in the world as it is. The authors of *Middletown*[6] and *Small Town Stuff*[7] have revealed that, other things being equal, the individual with 'social' qualifications is rated higher by the 'man on the street' than is the

[6] Robert Lynd and Helen M. Lynd. *Middletown.*
[7] Albert Blumenthal. *Small Town Stuff.*

intellectual individual. Lynd believes that the high-school students of Middletown unconsciously recognize this fact and therefore place their greatest efforts upon social activities and athletics. Ideally, the student who knows facts and at the same time is socially well adjusted is to be desired.

Good citizens use knowledge in connection with problems of living with others. A system of education, therefore, that provides for the use of knowledge in connection with living with others seems more likely to develop habits of thought and behavior that are similar to those necessary in life outside of school. There are many schools now doing this in whole or in part.[8]

In the schools that provide for social participation, as well as for activity, the children do not sit in fixed rows, read, and recite on a few pages every day; instead, they work together with others, with freedom and satisfaction, toward the solution of problems of living in which they have been interested by the situations provided by the teacher. One of the major functions of the teacher in this type of school is to direct the interests of the children to problems of social worth and to assure accomplishment by the children.

The rooms of the new schools are more like workshops than conventional classrooms. Teachers are helpers and co-workers, not military officers. The activities of the 'social participation school' are as nearly like the desirable activities of the real world as possible; and when it is not possible to introduce certain life situations into the school, the students go on excursions to observe or to participate in the activities. These methods, under capable teachers, do not feature activity for the sake of activity, but activity for the sake of growth in the understanding of culture and the control of social change.

[8] For typical discussions of the emphasis upon learning by active problem-solving, see references to Rugg and Shumaker, Collings, Mearns, Salisbury, Hill, Stevens, and others listed in the bibliography of this chapter.

Social participation cannot exist in a vacuum. It must go on in connection with some social institution. It is possible to arrange social participation to take the form of coöperative activity directed toward the solution of problems connected with certain centers of interest. It is possible to organize the subject matter of the traditional curriculum into centers of interest rather than into formal, logical, and prescribed outlines to be studied in a routine manner. For example, it is possible to study the development of our city, the events leading up to the Civil War, the social changes contributing to the depression, how boats are constructed, how trees grow, etc.

Through the eyes of a student the activity type of approach appeared as follows:

> When in the seventh grade we were studying wheat. Instead of the regular recitation work, we worked out a project on wheat. Certain members constructed a separator; other members of the class constructed an elevator, others a mill. One student brought a steam engine, another an electric train. We each selected a phase of the wheat-to-flour process and studied all available material. Later, reports were given to the class. There was so much enthusiasm over the project that we worked on it in the morning before school and after school in the afternoon.

The following account of a third-grade lesson was written with the coöperation of Miss Elizabeth Hebel, supervisor of student teaching in the St. Cloud State Teachers College. It illustrates how the content of a curriculum may be learned by means of individual and group activities carried on under the controlled leadership of a master teacher. The lesson was planned by Miss Hebel to show how, in a practical situation, a method of teaching can be devised to satisfy the need of the community for the transmission of culture traits to the younger generation and also satisfy the need of the child for happy development and activity.

A Third-Grade Lesson

During the season that preceded the holidays (before Christmas, 1932) the third-grade children studied a unit on the Christmas customs of other lands. Among the many interesting customs of countries all over the world, one custom stood out as somewhat universal, that of making Christmas cookies.

When the children heard and read about Sweden and its traditional Christmas Hard Pepper cookies cut into amusing little elves; Germany and the festoons of cookies decorating the Christmas trees, the windows and the bakery shops; France and her cookies cut into *sabots*, they became much interested, and it seemed natural for one to exclaim, "Why can't *we* make Christmas cookies?"

One child said, "We make *Lebkuchen* at home"; another said, "My mother makes *Springerle* every Christmas." The teacher encouraged the children to express further their interests and activities in connection with this project of making cookies. Some children brought cookie recipes to school. This interested the others to attempt to procure cookie recipes. How the children procured their recipes was told by one of the children in composition class:

> We wondered where we were going to get our recipes. Some of us brought our favorite recipes from home. We sent to the — — Company. They sent us some recipes. Another place we got our recipes was a New York newspaper. We got some recipes from a lady whose grandmother lived in the Rhine Valley of Germany. She had an old recipe book and in the book it said, "Pound a pound of sugar until it is powdered fine." In old days they didn't have the sugar ground fine as we do. Another funny thing it said was, "Cut half a pound of almonds into small slivers." It said, "Stir this mass one hour, and in some cases two hours."

The study of the recipes by so many of the children and the encouragement of the study by the teacher resulted in eagerness and enthusiasm upon the part of the children in the possibility of actually making cookies themselves. Before they could make cookies, however, the teacher and the children discovered there were many problems to be solved and many plans to be made.

The teacher worked out the following plan for the guidance of the activities of the class:

1. Choosing a recipe
2. Dividing into groups
3. Listing ingredients and utensils
4. Deciding upon the responsibility for buying utensils needed for the activity
5. Making provision for the ingredients
6. Determining the method of making the cookies
7. Making the cookies
8. Baking the cookies
9. Cleaning up
10. Packing the cookies as gifts for the mothers

In order to help the children know and understand each recipe, the teacher wrote the recipes on the board and talked them over with the children. Interesting points were brought out about each recipe. Each child chose his favorite recipe. The problems of ingredients and utensils were also discussed at this period.

Part of the story of the activity is told as follows by the children:

> We could not all make the same cookies; so we voted. It did not turn out just right, but almost. Some children were very nice and went on another committee. When we got in our committees, we decided what utensils we would bring. Nobody forgot to bring them either.
>
> I made *Springerle*, and some made Christmas *Madeleines*, *Hard Pepper* cookies, *Berliner*, *Kränze*, *Lebkuchen*, and *Nürnberger*.
>
> We had a very good time.

> Before we made our cookies we had to decide what utensils and ingredients we needed. First we got two pieces of paper. Then we wrote ingredients on one piece of paper. On the other paper we listed our utensils.

It seemed important to the teacher that the children realize that cleanliness was an important factor in making successful cookies. For that reason the teacher and the children considered what they could do to keep everything clean while they were making the cookies. After this discussion certain cleanliness rules were adopted by the children. They were dictated to the teacher, who wrote them on the board.

What the children learned about cleanliness was expressed in the composition class, as follows:

> We had to wash our hands as white as snow. If we had to blow our nose, we washed our hands again. We cleaned our finger nails, too. If we touched our hair or face, we washed our hands again.

> Keep your hands clean all the time. Clean your finger nails. Wash your hands after you blow your nose. Keep your hands out of your mouth. Keep your hands away from your face. Be sure not to use a dish that had dropped on the floor. Wash it again.

After a careful discussion of the method to be used; that is, the correct method of mixing and combining the ingredients, the importance of remembering the cleanliness rules, and the determining of each child's share in the making of the cookies, the children were ready to begin. This period of careful planning was important, for it made possible the completion of the activity without waste of time or confusion.

The children received permission from the cooking teacher to use her room and the ovens for the making of the cookies. The children mixed the ingredients, placed the dough carefully in bowls, covered the bowls, and set them in a cool, clean place until the next day. The next day they rolled, cut, baked, tasted, and cut the cookies. The teacher and assistants operated the ovens, but the children did all the rest of the work.

After the children had finished the baking, they were responsible, as they always were, for cleaning up and putting things away neatly and carefully. They scraped and cleaned the baking boards, washed the dishes, cleaned the sinks, swept the floor, and returned the borrowed dishes. Before they left the cooking room, two girls were appointed to write a note to the cooking teacher thanking her for the use of the room. This part of the story was told in the composition class, as follows:

> After we were done making our cookies, we had to clean up. The girls had to do some of the dishes, and the boys did some, too. Boy, was it fun? We had to wash the boards and everything, but that was OK because it was so much fun. It was good for us.
>
> While we were doing the dishes, we ate some of our burned cookies.

During the activity of planning and making the cookies, the children, under the direction of the teacher, received instruction on how to read and measure quantities such as 1 cup, ½ cup, ¾ cup, and 1 teaspoon. In art periods the children were instructed in the making of gay little boxes for the cookies. The morning after the baking of the cookies each child wrapped one of each kind of cookie in an oiled paper, labeled it, and placed it with six other

kinds in the box. The teacher had all the recipes of the children mimeographed and made into booklet form. The children took the cookies and their recipes home to their mothers for a Christmas gift.

The useful experiences that were practiced in connection with this activity may be listed as follows: (1) reading for pleasure stories about Christmas in other lands; (2) skimming to find information about Christmas in other lands; (3) use of tables of contents for information relating to the activity; (4) development of a wider vocabulary; (5) practice in reading recipes; (6) practice in interpreting recipes; (7) practice in organizing recipes in the light of using them and telling stories; (8) practice in reading certain fractional parts; (9) practice in the application in a real situation of certain fractional parts; (10) practice in reading and interpreting units of measure; (11) practice in the use of certain arithmetical skills as addition, subtraction, addition of dollars and cents, subtraction of dollars and cents, problem-solving, and measurements; (12) the composing and writing of business letters to various companies for recipes; (13) the composing and writing of friendly letters telling about the activity; (14) writing a note of thanks; (15) writing summaries of various phases of the activity, with practice in identification of a paragraph, use of capital letters, periods and margins, complete sentences, printing the names of the cookies; (16) the making of art boxes for the cookies; (17) decorating boxes with appropriate designs; (18) packing cookies; and (19) wrapping and tying boxes. These experiences included work in the fields of reading, arithmetic, oral and written composition, and art. Health rules also were reinforced by the experiences.

The children also received practice in the development of the following social, moral, and ethical values: (1) the development of a sympathetic understanding of other people; (2) development of responsibility and coöperation; (3) practice in learning to stick to a job; (4) use of initiative and judgment; (5) courteous and attentive listening in group discussion; (6) willingness to assume and share responsibility; (7) handling a new situation — for example, when one group put in their bowl one cup of powdered sugar instead of one cup of flour, they decided to add a cup of flour to balance the extra sugar; (8) ability to work in groups and show consideration for other people; and (9) the joy of successful accomplishment.

The objectives of the teacher here listed appear to have been realized. An interesting side light is thrown on the problem of the objectives when the children themselves tell what they think they received from the activity. The values they reported are, in part: (1) practice in making cookies, mixing cookies, cutting cookies, and reading and writing a recipe; (2) fun in reading about Christmas cookies in other lands and learning new words; (3) fun in making cookies and making lists of ingredients and utensils; (4) practice in cleaning up, taking turns, loaning things to others; (5) learning to keep things clean and to keep one's self clean; and (6) practice in working with other people so that "when we are big we can work with other people nicely."

The third-grade lesson just described was carried out by the class and the teacher working together as an accommodation group. It appears that the students had what for them was "fun," yet the activity satisfied the needs of society for learning. There seems to be no reason why a teacher cannot frequently thus organize her classroom into a coöperating group for the purpose of solving interesting problems that entice the children and the teacher to further activity. It is the acquiring of culture traits and attitudes by means of such accommodation activities that the authors here recommend.

Conclusion

It is not to be expected that all schools can put into operation all the suggestions in this chapter. The limitation to the application of these suggestions may be due to the inertia of the conventional ideas of school procedure, differences in philosophies of education, and differences in school-board policies in many communities. Many of the suggestions in this chapter may be used, in part at least, in connection with the traditional systems of education. The suggestions for the use of tact, for instance, can certainly be used with success in the traditional classroom procedure. Many of the center-of-interest methods may be used in the traditional system without criticism from the public and with benefit to the children.

The teacher who allows these so-called 'new' methods to lead to mere physical activity without accompanying growth in the precise knowledge of, and ability to participate effectively in, the social order is not using the new methods wisely. There is no question, however, that it takes a highly trained teacher of good innate ability and wide social experience thus to utilize the methods suggested here with success. The untrained teacher may easily fall into the serious error of considering the activity the main thing. It is not. It is primarily a means for the transmission of useful knowledge to pupils and students.

Questions and Exercises

1. Distinguish between conflict and accommodation in the classroom.
2. How may children be expected to respond to accommodation situations in the classroom?
3. Will all students respond alike to the same accommodation situations? Why?
4. How can the teacher solve the problems revealed by your answer to Question 3?
5. Explain the meaning of each of the following techniques for developing accommodation situations in the classroom: use of tact, emotional balance, conformity to social standards, child-counseling, organizing the curriculum into interesting individual and social activities.
6. Compare the results in terms of classroom discipline of two teachers you have known: one who used tact and one who failed to use it.
7. Why is emotional balance so important for teachers?
8. What will be the objections of critics to the recommendation 'conformity to social standards'? How would you answer them?
9. Will an activity curriculum interfere with the operation of passive mentation or will it encourage it? Explain.
10. Does our recommendation of the use of accommodation techniques conflict with our insistence that the important thing in education is the transmission of the curriculum? Explain your answer.

11. Enumerate the techniques for accommodation in the classroom used by a successful teacher. Visit her room. Write a report.

12. Make a study of a teacher who is an expert in the use of tact. What principle lies behind the use of tact?

13. Make a study of a teacher who possesses a large degree of emotional balance. What are her chief characteristics?

14. Make a study of a teacher who carries on wise informal child-counseling in connection with her regular work.

15. Draw up an outline (including procedures and expected outcomes) of a lesson or series of lessons in your major subject providing for learning subject matter through interesting individual and social activities connected with centers of interest. Indicate in detail how you would seek to avoid the pitfalls mentioned in the chapters on conflict and withdrawal.

16. Compare two classrooms: one where accommodation is present and one where conflict is dominant. In which does the most learning take place?

17. Study a classroom where the students determine the nature of the activities. Evaluate the results.

Bibliography

Blumenthal, Albert. *Small Town Stuff.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

Burnham, William. *The Normal Mind.* New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1924.

Colbert, Jane F. *The Visiting Teacher at Work.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929.

Collings, Ellsworth. *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

Collings, Ellsworth. *Progressive Teaching in Secondary Schools.* Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1931.

Hart, Hornell. *The Science of Social Relations.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

Hill, Patty, and others. *A Conduct Curriculum.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923.

Lynd, Robert and Lynd, Helen. *Middletown.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

Mead, Arthur Raymond. *Supervised Student-Teaching.* Richmond: Johnson Publishing Company, 1930.

MEARNS, HUGHES. *Creative Youth.* New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1925.

Mental Hygiene in the Classroom. Newark, N. J.: Department of Child Guidance, Board of Education.

RUGG, HAROLD and SHUMAKER, ANN. *The Child Centered School.* Yonkers: The World Book Company, 1928.

SALISBURY, ETHEL, and others. *An Activity Curriculum.* Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1924.

STEVENS, MARION. *The Activities Curriculum in the Primary Grades.* Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1931.

THRELKELD, A. L. "Individual counseling." *The Journal of the National Education Association,* 21: April, 1932, 117–118.

WEISS, CARL. *Pädagogische Sociologie.* Leipsic: Julius Klinkhardt, 1929.

PART III

CULTURE, SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND EDUCATION

"Culture is the sum total of the ways of thinking and doing, past and present, of a social group." — Bogardus

A social institution is a recognized part of culture that arises out of attempts to satisfy the basic social forces (hunger, love, security, activity). It is characterized by reciprocating attitudes, symbolic values, oral or written language, and a body of utilitarian values in material substances invented or fabricated in order to satisfy the basic social forces. — Adapted from Chapin

CHAPTER IX

THE NATURE AND IMPORTANCE OF CULTURE

The Nature of Culture

The sociologist uses the term 'culture' in a sense that differs somewhat from that of common parlance. Thus, culture, or the culture mass, for the sociologist includes all the material objects and all the non-material ideas devised by man. Culture, then, includes so-called 'material traits,' like typewriters, steam engines, hammers, automobiles, watches, and also ideas, both those concerned in the processing and assembling of material objects and those concerned in beliefs, morals, laws, forms of art, customs, etc. We can speak of the culture of the world, but it is more common to identify the term 'culture' with a civilization. A 'civilization,' or a culture, or a culture area, is a geographical region in which there prevails an organization of traits, a cultural pattern, that is different from that of other areas or regions. Thus we find four major modern culture areas: the Euro-American, the Mohammedan, the Chinese, and the Hindu. We also in the world find twenty-six primitive culture areas. Each of these thirty culture areas can be analyzed in terms of the outline given at the end of Chapter II. The social institutions in each of the thirty cultures are the same, but the form of the institutions is different. People behave differently in these different areas.

Within a given culture there can be found variations of a minor nature that exist within more or less well-defined areas. Such areas are called 'regions' or 'culture districts.' The United States, for example, exhibits variations in its culture in the New England Region, the Southern Region, the Central Region, and the Western Region. Furthermore,

within the several regions are to be found various culture districts. Indeed, one may find several culture districts within a single town or city, sometimes so distinct and so different as to seem like a bit of foreign country.

With this picture before us of a large number of differing cultures — and with the realization that people behave differently in these different cultures — there arises the question: "What is the relation between a culture and the behavior of the people in it?" The sociologist's answer to the question is that the culture of each area, region, or district sets the pattern for the rising generation, and that this pattern is acquired through the processes of education, formal and informal.

Were the oncoming generation to fail to acquire the culture of the group into which it is born, the group would tend to disintegrate. Hence, in complex civilizations, formal education appears necessary in order to supplement informal education. A civilization supports formal education in order to be sure that its pattern is perpetuated.

To show more completely the nature and importance of culture, let us consider, to take a very simple illustration, the knowledge necessary for the ordinary, everyday process of eating breakfast. Your breakfast consists, let us say, of buttered toast, a sliced orange, and a cup of coffee. (If you are to prepare this breakfast yourself, the necessity for appropriate information is even more obvious.) You have to possess the knowledge of how to manage the orange, also the knowledge involved in making a cup of coffee. You have to know that the ground coffee must come into contact with water that is boiling hot; and it is desirable to know just how much water should be applied to how much coffee and for how long. All the automatic devices that are now available do not absolve you from the responsibility of knowing how to proceed. And what a surprising number of ways there are for spoiling a piece of toast!

But consider the additional knowledge needed if you had to go back a step or two in getting your breakfast — if you

had to make the bread to make the toast of. Certainly to produce a good loaf of bread (referring merely to the process of baking the bread) requires a good deal of exact knowledge. To make flour out of wheat is another process that involves a repertoire of knowledge of which the ordinary cook and her breakfast partner are usually quite innocent. Similar things might be said about the process of raising wheat and about the process of making butter. If we must know how to run a dairy, we shall have to dig still deeper into the culture mass; a totally ignorant person would not get far with the job of taking care of milch cows. Consider the ingenious inventiveness of those who discovered how to domesticate cattle; there were innumerable centuries during which cattle were wild animals, and no such thing as a dairy existed. Indeed, one of the greatest achievements in the evolution of the culture mass was the acquisition of the knowledge involved in domesticating plants and animals.

One might say similar things about every other item of food in one's breakfast. And what has been said about the various items of food might be said also about the various cooking utensils, the furniture, and the equipment of the breakfast table — the silver, the china, and the linen, for example — so that one comes thus to realize the surprising amount of culture that is involved in the simple, everyday process of intelligently preparing and eating a meal.

To appreciate even better the amount of knowledge involved in whatever human beings do one need only observe the variety of things that they do, and in connection with each of them consider the items of information (often embodied in tools and implements) that have to be at hand in order to render the process possible. What, for instance, are the techniques and implements that represent the inventions of various persons and that one has to possess and utilize to catch a rabbit?

Or suppose one wishes to cross a river. Unless one swims, one will have to make use of a boat, or a ship, or a bridge, or a tunnel, or an airplane, each of which represents a very

considerable accumulation of inventions and discoveries, in some cases highly technical. Or suppose one wishes to worship. What an accumulation of arrangements, beliefs, and ceremonies one ordinarily has to know about with considerable intimacy in order to participate in group worship. Or suppose one wishes to communicate with a distant friend. One has to make use of a postal or a telegraph system, which represents the art of writing plus a very considerable accumulation of discoveries and inventions. In short, it is impossible for one human being to communicate with another at a distance except by and through the use of a culture mass. Even for face-to-face communication by word of mouth, a language is necessary, which is obviously an exceptionally important element of the inherited culture mass.

If you propose to participate in a class exercise, there are certain things you must know: what chairs are for, in which direction it is customary in a classroom for the chairs to face, how to use a pencil and a notebook, the meaning of the words used in the language, the etiquette of classroom behavior — as, for example, that it is not good form to occupy a back seat beside some attractive young person and spend the period conversing instead of listening to the recitation.

Or suppose one wishes to play a piano. Doubtless there are readers of this book who have discovered from their own experience how much knowledge is needed to induce a piano to give forth harmonious and melodious sounds.

Or suppose one needs to earn a living in the teaching profession: the numerous preparatory courses at colleges and teacher-training schools show how many items of information are regarded as necessary. And so on, with practically everything that human beings do, even with those routine activities which the physical organism demands. A civilized person at least needs to know under what circumstances and with what restrictions and limitations these activities are performed in civilized society — brushing one's teeth, for example.

What has been said about the necessity of definite and specific information in the cases of these apparently trivial and incidental things of life, is equally true of participation in every one of the great institutions of society. Thus, if we are to participate in the institution of the family, we must possess the requisite knowledge, which is very considerable indeed, especially if we are to conduct our family life on a civilized level. To participate in an industrial institution, it is a truism that a very considerable acquaintance with the techniques of industry is requisite. To play our parts properly in the political institution of society, in our government, as effective citizens and intelligent voters, we need to have a large fund of knowledge.

Primitive Culture

At first thought it might appear to the uninitiated that primitive people have no culture mass; but to believe that would be a serious mistake. They have their own 'knowings how' for the various things that they do in the course of their primitive life. They have to know how to capture the animals from which they derive their food and clothing and in part their shelter. One could scarcely read a more interesting book than that of Otis T. Mason on primitive culture.[1] Mason presents many pictures of the tools, weapons, and implements that savages use, each one of which is a very clever device, representing, in its making and its utilization, an intricate body of knowledge. Savage peoples have religons that are just as pervasive and insistent as our own; and those savage religions represent an accumulation of ideas, beliefs, and ceremonies just as truly as do ours.

Modern Culture

In the case of some primitive peoples — our own ancestors, for example — the culture mass accumulated as the centuries passed until it lifted them to the level of civilization.

[1] Otis T. Mason. *The Origins of Inventions.*

And it is not without profit to students of educational sociology to trace the development of each of the great classes of knowledge previously mentioned. Take, for example, the means of communication: the history of communication would describe the origin of writing and the invention of paper. And later, in the course of such a history, we should be told about the invention of printing; later still, about the invention of telegraphs and telephones; and, finally, of the wireless telegraph and the radio. A history of the techniques of industry, narrating the circumstances surrounding the invention of each new implement and illustrated with appropriate pictures, would be extremely valuable and interesting. When it comes to the evolution of the technique of manufacturing, like making textiles, we should have an extensive display of accumulating inventions, especially during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Or consider the evolution of the tools, techniques, and knowledge involved in house-building. Occasionally one sees a picture of Jesus, the young carpenter, with primitive carpenter's tools hanging about the shop; but one is inclined to wonder just how correctly informed the artist was as to the tools that carpenters used two thousand years ago. One suspects that he is putting into his picture the tools that were in use among Flemish or Italian carpenters during the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The fact is that the tricks of the carpenter's trade and his present outfit of tools are the product of a long evolution.

Or consider the evolution of the natural sciences and the fine arts. No well-informed young American can find an excuse for himself if he has not read a rather thorough history of the development of science, and likewise a history of the development of the fine arts. What, for example, were the contributions that the ancient Greeks inherited from still more ancient peoples; and what were the new things in those fields which the Greeks themselves invented and contributed to social progress? Similarly in the field of beliefs, it is extremely interesting, not to say instructive, to inquire into

religious, ethical, economic, and other beliefs that were prevalent in ancient and in prehistoric times. And so on with the other products of man's intellect.

Thus we come to realize that the culture mass of today is a social heritage, a mass of inventions and discoveries that have been slowly growing up through the long centuries, without which human life, as we are accustomed to it, could not be lived at all. This possession and use of an accumulated culture mass is the distinguishing and characteristic feature of the human species. The lower orders of animals live by their instincts; men live by the use of a culture mass.

Cultural Changes

What has just been said has stressed the fact that our present culture is the result of development, of change. Changes in the culture mass in turn cause changes in the social life. One of the outstanding historical illustrations of this principle is the industrial revolution; i.e., the change from hand tools and muscle power to power-driven machinery. This revolution might more properly be called the 'technical revolution' since it consisted of a series of changes in the techniques of industry. This change first became significant in the textile industry of England during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Since then it has spread to nearly all industries in almost all parts of the civilized world. Changes in the industrial technique caused changes in the industrial process, and these, in turn, caused changes in the industrial organization; whereupon the new industrial organization caused changes in practically all phases of social life. As a consequence western civilization during the last century and a half has been passing through the greatest reorganization of history. Practically every institution and aspect of social life has been radically modified from what it was a century and a half ago. A fundamental cause of these social changes is found in the changes appearing in the techniques of industry.

Another illustration of the same principle is seen in the

social changes that resulted from the domestication of plants and animals, a change in the techniques of industry that occurred in prehistoric times. The primitive peoples of prehistoric times had been in the habit for centuries of getting their living by hunting and fishing. Gradually the domestication of plants and animals came about, and in the course of time this control of flora and fauna fundamentally and radically modified human society. Thus, it changed the density of population that could be maintained on any given area. It changed the kind of dwellings and the materials out of which they were constructed. It gave rise to the institution of private property in land. It gave rise also to slavery. It resulted in the growth of towns and cities, and in the transition of government from tribal forms to kingdoms and monarchies. It changed even the moral code and religion. In fact, it changed every aspect of the social life quite as radically as the industrial revolution is now in the process of changing it. The significant point is, then, that when the culture mass changes, the organization and customs of society change with it.

Innumerable illustrations might be cited. The modern means of communication constitute a striking example. The introduction of printing several hundred years ago was followed by significant and far-reaching changes in the social organization. It is doubtful, for instance, whether democracy could have developed at all without the prior invention of the printing press. Similarly, life is different in very many fundamental respects since the introduction of the postal service, the telegraph, the telephone, and the radio. New ideas, also, of themselves and quite apart from material inventions, change the social life of whole nations and peoples; as, for example, the idea of the natural right of men to the pursuit of happiness, which originated two or three centuries ago and produced far-reaching effects upon the organization of civilization. This idea of the rights of the individual replaced monarchy with democracy. It was the fundamental idea underlying the rise of modern education,

as it was also the fundamental idea underlying the modern women's movement.

Culture and Behavior

Cultural sociology puts its emphasis upon the culture mass as the primary and causal factor in the social life, and rightly so. In fact, the difference between savagery and civilization is to be explained in terms of the difference in the culture mass. It is not at all certain that civilized people have any better brains than primitive people had. At least it is fairly well established that the Germanic peoples of Europe and America have no better brains than their primitive ancestors of three or four thousand years ago. The difference between the civilization of today and the savagery of our ancestors is to be accounted for in terms of the accumulation of culture: we have vastly more knowledge than they had. The filing cabinets of our brains are probably no better than the filing cabinets of the brains of our primitive ancestors; but we have more in those filing cabinets than they had; that is to say, we are now in possession of a more elaborate culture mass; we have more adequate means of communication, more effective techniques of industry, more science, more fine arts, more verified and tested beliefs — and that is the difference between savagery and civilization. It is wholly a matter of the accumulation and the utilization of the culture mass. To grasp this fact clearly is prerequisite to some of the most important insights of educational sociology.

Conclusion

The considerations developed in this chapter on the nature of culture point to the inescapable necessity that the teacher, who is one of the chief transmitters of culture to the younger generation, should understand the concrete nature of contemporary culture, the problems that changes in our culture make for the curriculum, and the social problems involved in transmitting the culture to children who are not always naturally interested in it.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is culture? Illustrate.
2. Contrast primitive and modern culture.
3. What are some of the contemporary cultural changes? What are some of the causes of change?
4. What relation is there between culture and human behavior?
5. Why is the study of culture and its relation to human behavior so important for students of education?
6. Is the more important thing in education culture or method? Discuss.
7. What mental attitudes need to be developed in children to fit them to a changing civilization?
8. Can social change be checked or stopped? Justify your answer.
9. Visit a culture district with which you are unfamiliar. Compare it with the one in which you live. What differences in educational needs do you see? Write a report upon your visit.
10. List the outstanding behavior patterns of each of the four major cultures: Euro-American, Mohammedan, Chinese, and Hindu.
11. Do persons who are born into these different cultures think differently because of their biological heredity? Why?
12. Will these four cultures be perpetuated without education? Is informal education sufficient? Why?
13. How might a world congress of educators succeed in reducing the behavior differences between the people of different cultures? Would you expect the changes to come rapidly or slowly? Why?
14. Reading *Coming of Age in Samoa,* by Margaret Mead. Compare the educational system in Samoa with that of the United States. Of what use would young Samoans find American high schools? Why?
15. Write a paper on the influence of invention on the textile industry. What changes have taken place in the education of the textile engineer and the textile worker?
16. Write a paper on the subject of the effect of invention in transportation on human behavior.
17. Write a paper showing how mechanical inventions have

changed the social order in the last one hundred and fifty years. Include a treatment of mechanical inventions in relation to educational changes.

18. Make a study of some recent mechanical inventions and try to predict changes they may make in the social order during the next few years. How may education be affected?

19. Will the people of the United States behave differently twenty-five years hence? Why?

20. Is it important for those who instruct the young to obtain for themselves as clear pictures of the probable nature of the social order of the future as possible? Why?

21. In view of your answer to Question 20, what subjects do you think it important for teachers to study in school and out of school? Why?

22. Which should receive the major emphasis in training courses for teachers: problems in educational method or problems of contemporary civilization? Why?

23. Is it method or facts that educate the individual?

Bibliography

Boas, Franz. *Anthropology and Modern Life.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1928.

Dixon, Roland. *The Building of Cultures.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928.

Mason, Otis T. *The Origins of Inventions.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

Mead, Margaret. *Coming of Age in Samoa.* New York: William Morrow and Company, 1932.

Shaw, Charles G. *Trends of Civilization and Culture.* New York: American Book Company, 1932.

Wissler, Clark. *Man and Culture.* New York: T. Y. Crowell Company, 1923.

CHAPTER X

CULTURE AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR

The Relation of Culture to the Individual

Let us now consider the effect of the culture mass upon the individual. Without having acquired some amount of the culture mass, the individual cannot participate as a social being in the activities of his fellows. That has perhaps been sufficiently suggested by now, but it must be adequately recognized as one of the most fundamental principles of psychology and sociology. Some writers, indeed, go so far as to say that without acquisition of the culture mass the individual cannot even be human. One prominent sociologist declares that man is not born human, but that human nature is acquired. What he means is that the individual cannot participate in typical human activities except as he makes use of the culture mass. If a creature looked like a jack rabbit, but behaved like a crocodile, or like a porcupine, or like a flying squirrel, it would be inferred that he was not a jack rabbit after all. Similarly, if a creature looked like a human being, but could not behave in a typically human fashion, it would be inferred that he was really not human after all. That is about what this sociologist meant when he wrote that man is not born human, but that human nature is acquired.[1]

An illustration of this principle to which sociologists often refer is that of the so-called 'wolf children' of India; that is, children who were captured by wolves in their infancy and kept alive by them until rediscovered and recaptured by human beings. This strange case, reminding one of the

[1] See Ross L. Finney, *A Sociological Philosophy of Education*, Chapters IV, X, XI, XII, for a detailed discussion of the matter discussed in this section.

Remus and Romulus fable of ancient Rome, is sufficiently authenticated to compel us to accept it. These children, after existing for ten or twelve years without any opportunity whatever to learn a human culture mass, were totally incapable of behaving like human beings, and turned out to be permanently handicapped in their development. The same thing happens, however, in the case of an idiot who, because nature has played upon him the trick of giving him an unabsorbent brain, is similarly incapable of acquiring the culture mass, and therefore never becomes capable of behaving like a human being.

Passive Mentation

The nature of the learning process by which the individual acquires the culture mass needs to be clearly presented. Let us venture to propose the phrase 'passive mentation' as descriptive of this process. In the process of acquiring the culture mass the mind is not creative, but only absorbent, accepting what is proffered, without critical scrutiny. A corresponding phrase in use by sociologists is 'social suggestion.' When one accepts an idea just because he has heard it uttered by someone, we have social suggestion. Our phrase, 'passive mentation,' carries a similar significance and connotation.

In the process of learning the culture mass one does not think for himself: he takes what society gives him without thinking. There is little or no thinking for himself upon the part of a young savage when he learns to catch wild animals according to the methods, the culture mass, of his tribe. Neither is there much thinking for himself when a child in our own society learns what is right and what is wrong; in the main he accepts what is told him, by this process we have termed 'passive mentation.' Necessarily it must be so, because if one were to know only what he had thought out for himself, he would not come to know one thousandth part enough to live by. It is only as one makes quick work of it, by a rapid process of submissive absorption, that one

can learn enough of the culture mass to enable him to participate in his social world. Who invents the rules of language for himself? There is scarcely anybody who even invents a minor change in linguistic usage. Instead, one takes the rules of speech from others receptively, submissively, and absorbently, and proceeds to make use of them. And so it is with practically everything the individual learns out of the culture mass. He learns it by a passive acceptance, not by original invention. There is perhaps scarcely anything more important to sound thinking in the field of educational sociology than for the student to recognize the extent to which the learner of the culture mass thus merely accepts what is handed him by the older generation.

To emphasize the significance and importance of passive mentation is very far, of course, from discounting the importance of thinking for one's self; it is merely to point out the limitations imposed upon the individual by the existence of the extensive culture mass. Each of us thinks for himself in at least two ways: first, in the process of using the culture mass one must analyze the situation and decide which item of the culture mass applies to it; second, sometimes, though rarely, one may contribute something original to the culture mass. The point is that in the process of acquiring the culture mass one is merely a passive recipient, and that this condition pertains to a much larger part of our mental processes than is usually recognized. Passive mentation, accordingly, plays a large part in elementary education — unavoidably and rightly so. Without the culture mass, for example, one's quantitative thinking would be limited to one, two, three, two two's, two and three, three two's, several, many, and very many.[2] Arithmetic, beyond that, is a social heritage, much of which children have to acquire by passive mentation rather than by thinking for themselves.

[2] Charles H. Judd. *The Psychology of Social Institutions*, Chapter V.

Difference between Human Beings and the Lower Animals

All this leads to a discernment of the fundamental difference between human beings and the lower animals. Instinct guides the lower animals; the culture mass guides human beings. The instinctive behavior patterns of animals are known without first learning them, but practically no human behavior is known without first learning it. The honeybee builds her comb, not because she has learned how, but because the behavior pattern is innate. The beaver builds its dam, just as the honeybee builds her comb, because his mechanism is constructed that way. He is a mechanism, though one of nerves and brain cells instead of springs and cogwheels. And that is true of almost all animal behavior; learned behavior is relatively infrequent.

But it is not so in the case of human life: human behavior is practically all learned behavior. The nerve mechanism of the animals provides for the behavior by which they manage to survive, but the behavior by which human beings manage to survive is almost entirely insured by the acquired culture mass. Human beings are almost destitute of instincts; they have no elaborate innate behavior patterns like those by which a robin builds her nest. Instead of elaborate instincts, human beings have only simple reflexes that, apart from a learned culture mass, would not be sufficient to provide for effective social survival. So here we have the outstanding and significant difference between the human nervous system and that of the lower orders of animal life. One distinguishing characteristic of human beings is their culture mass. The animals are bound to one another and to the other members of their species by the similarity of their inherited instincts; human beings are bound to the other members of their species by a culture mass that has come out of the past and that is learned similarly by every member of the species.

The Importance of Education

From the foregoing it follows that nothing in human life is more necessary than provision for reproducing in the rising generation the active parts of the culture mass. This second reproductive process is quite as important as the first if civilization is to continue. This process of transmission may be thought of as education. Education, in the broadest sense of the word, is the transmission of the culture mass from the older to the younger generation. Education is accordingly a much broader thing than schooling.

Moreover, without education, without the process of transmission, the culture mass itself would fail utterly to influence the behavior of future generations. For example, the Egyptian process of mummifying the dead has thus perished. We can get along fairly well without that particular bit of technique, to be sure; but if we needed the information, we should certainly be without it. Any item whatsoever of the culture mass would be lost if there were not this process of passing information and skills on to the younger generation and insisting that it shall learn or preserve them. Otherwise each individual would present the spectacle of starting over again at the very bottom of the ladder of civilization, and no generation would get far enough during its lifetime to make life really human. Every individual would pick up a smattering of learning, but the progress of human life and society would come to a standstill. And unless human life were humanized, in the sense of acquiring and utilizing a culture mass, it would be a pitiable thing. Education, broadly considered, is therefore a process that is absolutely indispensable to satisfactory human existence and survival under modern conditions.

Formal and Informal Education

It needs to be clearly understood at this point that there are two kinds of education, formal and informal. Informal education is the kind in which the learning generation picks

up incidentally from the older, teaching generation whatever the latter has to offer. The method is that of participation and imitation. It is through informal education that the ordinary American girl in her mother's kitchen learns how to wash the dishes; that the ordinary boy on an American farm learns how to make himself useful about the fields and barn. It is by informal education that one learns etiquette and even morals, despite the fact that most parents make it a point to give their children rather insistent suggestions and commands from time to time. In fact, it is by informal education that the greater part of the instruction occurs by which the young candidate for adult society acquires his ability to participate in the process of adult life.

Formal education, on the other hand, is practically equivalent to schooling. It is the education that occurs in connection with a deliberate and overt program, organized for the express purpose of passing on information that might otherwise be missed or learned too slowly. For instance, boys and girls go to school in order to learn to read, and the program is organized in a definite and specific manner to precisely that end. Adequate time and appropriate activities are set apart to insure that children actually learn to read. And formal learning is even more obvious in connection with the multiplication table, spelling, the elements of geography, and numerous other items of the curriculum. Nevertheless, schooling is only a part, and in some ways a relatively small part, of education; the major part of education is that informal education that occurs outside of the school. (Passive mentation, it is to be observed, takes place in both formal and informal education.)

The Purpose of Schools

What, then, are schools for? They exist nowhere except among civilized people. Primitive peoples have no schools. If they have any education that could be spoken of as 'formal,' it is so meager as hardly to be compared with the schooling that civilized people maintain. Why is it, then,

that civilized people have schools? The reason is that the culture mass that has been built up by civilized people is too elaborate and complex to be acquired informally. It contains so many items of knowledge that are basic, but remote from the interests of children, that it is necessary to provide for them a special process of instruction lest they miss the cultural requisite to participation in culture. Accordingly, society places children in schools that they may be sure to learn those elements of its culture mass that informal education might pass over. It is one of the consequences of being civilized that we need to have a special process for the instruction of the members of the oncoming generation in those parts of our culture mass that might otherwise escape them. Civilized people cannot afford to leave to the mere chance of informal education the transmission of the most civilized parts of their culture mass. Come to maturity, the children would find themselves in need of numerous items of culture — the multiplication table, for example — and wake up to the fact that they had not learned them. In that case, how resentful would then be their attitude toward their parents for having overlooked the second reproductive process in their case! There is an old adage which says that experience is a good teacher, but the tuition is high. A German immigrant paraphrased this adage by saying: "Eggsperience iss a gute teacher, aber die information vat he gives out sometimes comes a leetle late."

This is obviously true, for example, in the instance of instruction that a dentist needs for his profession. That could not be left to informal education, but must be a prearranged process in which the learner has his nose held to the grindstone of a planned program of instruction. Otherwise, when he attempted later to behave as a dentist, he would find himself lacking information essential to his work. There are innumerable similar situations. The elementary and the high-school curricula are packed with information and skills that would be gained too late, if at all, if not attended to in youth by schools.

At this juncture let us pause to consider some of the things schools are *not* for. Well, they are not for the purpose of keeping children off the streets and out of their mothers' way. Neither are they *primarily* for the purpose of cultivating attitudes of sociability, leadership, etc.; nor are they *primarily* for the purpose of teaching children to think for themselves. All these, and other similar objectives that are sometimes alleged, are inferences from a sociological oversight. The major purpose of the school is to transmit the culture mass, particularly those parts of it which are difficult, abstract, remote from the interests of children, and likely, therefore, to be neglected by informal education. It ought to be clearly discerned by all students of education that the major function of schooling is to be stated in terms of the culture mass and its transmission to the younger generation. Too often that fact is soft-pedaled in current educational theory and practice.

Questions and Exercises

1. Why do human beings behave as they do?
2. What is meant by 'passive mentation'?
3. What is the difference between human beings and the lower animals?
4. What is the relation between education and the culture mass?
5. Distinguish between formal and informal education.
6. What are schools for? What are schools not for?
7. What is the major function of education?
8. Why is education important for human beings?
9. What implications are there for elementary-school methods in the term 'passive mentation'? Discuss.
10. With what educational theories does the argument of this chapter conflict? Discuss the differences.
11. Write a paper showing ways in which your behavior has been modified by cultural contacts.
12. In what ways can the school modify human behavior?
13. In modifying human behavior in the school what factors limit the amount of modification?

14. What conditions in the school may interfere with passive mentation or direct it into destructive channels?

15. Why do not American infants speak Chinese?

16. What ideas, attitudes, and knowledge are there in an individual that are not learned?

17. Indicate the advantages and disadvantages in seeking the truth regarding the way human beings learn in each of the following: (1) studying mice in mazes, (2) studying children in school situations, (3) studying children in out-of-school situations.

18. Make a list of the things you can do that you learned in school. Make another list of the things you can do that you learned out of school. Compare the length of the two lists and explain the difference. Make another list of the things you can do that you did not learn. Compare this list with the other two combined.

19. How 'human' should you say human beings would be without any education?

Bibliography

Finney, Ross L. *A Sociological Philosophy of Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

Judd, Charles H. *The Psychology of Social Institutions.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND EDUCATION

The Nature of Social Institutions

A civilized people, as has been pointed out, needs schools to transmit the culture mass to the oncoming generation. The culture mass cannot be transmitted *in toto*, however; it must be divided into parts. The culture mass may be divided into a number of definite components, each of which satisfies one or more of the basic or derived human needs. These components of the culture mass are commonly called 'social institutions.' They include the family, the local community, the state, the industries, the church, the school, the press, the standard of living, the customary recreations, the health-preserving activities, and others.

To be more specific than we have been in the previous chapter, we may say that we send children to school to prepare them to take their places more effectively in the institutions of society.

The family, for example, has grown up around certain fundamental human needs: the biological need for the reproduction of the species, the need for the care and education of the young, and the need for mutual aid. The great group of industrial institutions originated in the need of human beings for things to wear, for shelter, etc. Similarly in the case of every other institution, its application to the fundamental needs of human beings constitutes its real reason for existence. Conversely, the only effective way for an individual to achieve the satisfaction of his needs is by participating in the various institutions of society. In this statement we have epitomized a very basic and fundamental philosophy of human life. How can one live a satisfying life except through balanced participation in the various

institutions of society? Any individual who through some youthful blunder or social maladjustment or "foul clutch of circumstance" misses participation in any of the great institutions of society is missing something indispensable to a completely satisfying life, and there is no loss that cannot be defined in such terms.

From all this it follows obviously that the purpose of education is to prepare the candidate for participation in the various institutions of society. To satisfy the needs of human nature — and they can be satisfied only through participation in one institution or another — one must acquire the culture mass pertaining to the institutions, just as one must know the cards and the rules of the game to participate in the game of bridge.

A most helpful way, then, to think about the problem of educational aims is to realize that education is for the purpose of getting young people ready to take their place in family life, in community life, in industrial life, in political life, and in the life of all the other major institutions of civilization. Any curriculum, method, or subject matter that contributes nothing to the preparation of the individual for participation in one or another of the institutions is a waste of the taxpayer's money and of the pupil's time. That is the only practical test to which either subject matter or method can be put when we try to determine whether it is useful or otherwise.

Education for Participation in the Family

Let us first try to illustrate this general principle by reference to the preparation for wholesome participation in family life. What are some of the fields of knowledge that one ought to possess as a preparation for effective participation in a wholesome family life? To begin with, one needs to know much about biology and psychology. Marriage is a biological relationship that is normally provocative of emotions of one kind or another; and the student of psychology should understand such emotions better than the

person who is wholly ignorant of psychology. Almost any married pair is likely to discover that a thorough, comprehensive, practical knowledge of biology, and especially of psychology, is very helpful in getting them successfully, not to say peacefully, over the difficulties of the first ten years of married life. The young people of today are probably much better informed than their parents were concerning the biology and psychology involved in matrimonial experiences.

In the daily conduct of family life, including housekeeping and the nurture of children, there is abundant use for the fundamentals of all the natural sciences. So many electrical appliances, for example, are now utilized in housekeeping that everybody needs to have a practical knowledge of electricity. There is a need also, whether for cookery, general housekeeping, or health preservation, for people in charge of homes to know something about bacteriology. There are many obvious uses that a practical housekeeper can make of the sciences involved in dietetics or of the scientific knowledge involved in nursing. In short, one is hardly qualified to conduct family life on a modern civilized level without a generous acquaintance with the principles of applied science in several fields.

As for acquaintance with the various fine arts, there is need of a recognition of the elevating and refining influence upon a home of the daily use of the various fine arts. It makes a great difference whether or not a family of children is brought up in the habit of reading wholesome, stimulating literature, instead of trash. Perhaps here is an important secret to the achievement of success in character education. And as for music, there is a difference between a family in which young people are brought up to make pleasing and effective use of music and a family in which music is ignored entirely. One may also mention the so-called domestic arts, all of which have a most significant influence upon the tone, atmosphere, and conduct of home life.

But, above all, do parents in this problematical, transi-

tional period need acquaintance with the mental and social sciences as preparation for wise guidance of their children. Perhaps the most important thing that young people acquire from their home life is their ideas of what the desirable and satisfying experiences of existence really are. The parent who can do no better than to follow blind tradition is liable not to impart to his children a philosophy of life that will prove helpful. What parents label right and what they label wrong is of the most vital concern to the development of their children; an unenlightened parent fails to establish these fundamental distinctions in a way that is satisfying or convincing to intelligent young people. To tell boys and girls what is good and desirable, with wisdom and decision, requires a knowledge of the fundamentals of the mental and social sciences. This is the kind of information, therefore, that the schools ought to be imparting to young people as a preparation for family life later on.

Education for Participation in the Community

The word 'community' is used with various meanings, but it may be considered to refer to the local group of neighbors, residing near enough together so that they have social contacts and participate in teamwork enterprises, such as maintaining a post office, stores, theaters, and the like. The community is best exemplified in the small village, though in the city the community may be thought of as consisting primarily of those people who actually do neighbor together.

What, now, can the school do to prepare young people for a more effective community life? In the first place, the school can make clear to them why the community exists and what its functions are, and especially the value there is in the natural neighborliness of community life, including the teamwork programs of sociability, education, religion, exchange, and the rest. The quality of a community depends very much upon the quality of the recreations it engages in; hence one important service that the school can perform is to develop tastes and aptitudes for wholesome

community recreations. In a community where the principal amusement of the young men is, in the words of an popular old ditty, "to fight and get tight and stay out at night," community life is certainly not very wholesome; but where community life provides healthful games and sports, dramatic, musical, literary and other wholesome enterprises, community life will be far more desirable. A community in which the fine arts play a large part is likely to furnish a far more wholesome community life than one from which the fine arts are conspicuously absent. Appropriate and effective instruction, therefore, in the appreciation and utilization of the various fine arts, especially of music, is a task of the school preparatory for community life. Besides all this, the candidates for participation in community life ought to be prepared to understand the economics and politics, the political science and sociology, of the problems that are likely to confront community life — such problems, for instance, as unemployment. These needs point to other fields of understanding for which a school may properly qualify the young people.

Education for Industry

One problem that is only half solved in American schools is the problem of adequate vocational education. In recent years we have begun to pay attention to vocational and life guidance. We have begun to appreciate the responsibility of the public school to see to it that young people do not waste their youth trying to get ready for some vocation for which they are not adapted or which will soon disappear almost entirely. This is only one aspect of the problem. Another important aspect of vocational education is that of helping young people better to understand the structure and problems of our economic life. For example, business men generally are learning to take an intelligent rather than an emotional attitude toward the great experiment now going on in Russia, because it is altogether probable that this experiment may eventually present a problem to us here in

America that we cannot evade. For business men in general to know of nothing better to do about it than to lose their tempers, is likely to result in serious conflict among us; but if instead we all become capable of considering industrial evolution and economic history as causal factors in the situation, we shall be very much more likely to solve such problems by cool-headed discussion. Vocational education, therefore, involves very much more than a mere preparation for the technique of some trade or profession.

Education for Participation in Citizenship

It is obvious that prospective citizens need education for their responsibilities as citizens. This has been clear to our statesmen from the beginning, though the extent and scope of that education has not always been clear. It used to be supposed that a citizen's ability to read and write was sufficient, as that would enable him to inform himself on whatever subjects came up for public discussion and for vote. Later in our history it was realized that some knowledge of American history was desirable on the part of citizens. Still later there developed a movement for informing prospective citizens about the machinery of government, but in recent decades we have come to realize that education for citizenship involves very much more than that. It involves the preparation of the prospective voter for entertaining sound, constructive opinions about all kinds of problems that the government has to solve, since directly or indirectly the solutions that the government decides upon will be determined by the votes of the people.

An election usually involves not only the choice of candidates but also the choice of policies, for the opposing candidates usually represent opposing policies. Hence it follows that practically every problem that the government must try to solve, whether it is farm relief, or the Nicaraguan policy, or the League of Nations, or some modifications of the tax system, or what not, may be affected by the votes of the people. Since the votes of the people are very likely

to be influenced by propaganda, it follows that the citizens ought to be thoroughly fortified against misleading propaganda. The range of problems, therefore, whether political, economic, international, or sociological, about which citizens need to be informed almost outruns the imagination. Training for citizenship, if it is to be at all adequate, requires a widespread, popular enlightenment in the fields of civics, economics, sociology, history, and other social and mental sciences.

Education for Participation in School Life

Next, consider school education as a preparation for participating in the school itself as an institution. At this point we are likely to become a little confused in our thinking, for it is customary to assume that nobody but the children, a few teachers, and the schoolboard members participate in the school. But that is a narrow view of the situation. Practically all adults are likewise participants in the school as an institution. This is especially true of parents, in as much as the mere sending of their children to the school is an actual participation upon their part in that institution. And not only parents, but all the members of the community participate also, since the policy and program of the school depend in the last analysis upon the public opinion and support of the community in which the school is operated. Prospective teachers, especially those who develop into school administrators, will become acutely aware of this later on. They will come to realize that a school program or policy can seldom be carried out successfully that does not enjoy the endorsement of the community.

The school today has every opportunity to provide the schools of tomorrow with community approval for wise school policies. And yet that is a responsibility which our schools are too much ignoring. It occurs to few curriculum-makers that the pupils now in school ought to be taught something definite about the school itself, and that is a real oversight in our American school program. Pupils now in school

might well be taught many interesting and important things about American education. Our system of taxation, for example, is in process of being changed, and if our schools are to develop properly, it is decidedly important for the citizens to understand the issues involved and to advocate a just and an adequate system of financial support for the public schools.

Education for Participation in Recreation

The worthy use of leisure is becoming an increasingly urgent problem, and there can be no fine civilization for any society that does not solve it. There is scarcely anything more demoralizing for a population than unworthy use of leisure, whereas there is scarcely anything more beneficial than the worthy use thereof. Hence we confront the problem, What can the schools do to prepare young people for the good use of their own leisure time? Here is perhaps the most acceptable justification for extracurricular activities. But perhaps the keynote of what ought to be said in this connection is an emphasis upon appreciation and utilization of the various fine arts; for the use of the various fine arts, as a substitute for antisocial means of recreation, is one of the most important forward steps to be made by civilization. School instruction in the fine arts, accordingly, is no 'fad' or 'frill,' but one of the essentials to social progress.

Education for Health Preservation

Let us next consider the health-preserving institution of society, the enterprises led by the doctors and nurses, the discoveries of bacteriologists, physiologists, and psychiatrists. In order to make the best possible use of its ideas, it is desirable that young people learn the things necessary for healthful daily living. One should learn how to chose scientifically trained doctors. One should be familiar with the nature of health-destroying bacteria, perhaps visualize

them as wolves and rattlesnakes. One should know the elements of the hygiene of nutrition, the hygiene of action, the hygiene of the nervous system, the hygiene of the mouth, something of the science of disease prevention, sex hygiene, food control, water control, etc. Here, then, is outlined the basis of another and an extensive responsibility of the modern school.

Education for Use of the Press

What education does the average citizen need in order to prepare him to make effective use of the press as an institution in society? First of all, he needs to learn to read; that is obvious. Second, he needs to develop a taste for the kind of material that the newspapers ought to print. As long as the editors and publishers can claim, when they print sensational and superficial stuff, to be catering to the public taste, just so long does there exist a serious charge against the school. The schools should aim to educate the young people in such a way that nobody will want to read objectionable periodicals. Not only are the newspapers cluttered with sensational articles, but they are also loaded with all sorts of propaganda, both true and false. This raises the question of what the schools can do to render their product immune against false propaganda. It is simpler, to be sure, to cram the young people with a little algebra, Latin, and sterilized history, than to educate them in intellectual discrimination; but democracy is, after all, a race between education and false propaganda or the propaganda in the interests of special groups; and any school curriculum that does not take this into account is suffering from a fundamental oversight.

Education for Morality

We are not in the habit of thinking of morality as an institution of society, along with the family, the church, the state, etc., but perhaps it is good sociology to list it as such. Morality involves the use of an elaborate culture mass. If

the school is to train boys and girls for participation in society's institution of morality, it must teach, first of all, what is right and what is wrong. It must, in the second place, habituate the pupils in the practice of approved behavior and in the inhibition of disapproved behavior.

In the last analysis, it may be said that the function of morality is to keep the various other institutions of society operating. Certain moral rules, for instance, are for the purpose of keeping the family operating as a social institution; other moral rules are for the purpose of keeping industry operating as an effective social institution. As social conditions change, social institutions change, and there may result corresponding changes in moral regulations. In so far, then, as the members of the oncoming generation have to work out for themselves what is right conduct and what is wrong conduct, it follows that their education requires adequate understanding of the organization, functions, and present-day problems of our social institutions. Education for morality, then, really requires insight into all fields of the mental and social sciences. Nothing less is worthy of the name of education.

The Relation between Sociological Objectives and the "Cardinal Principles"

In the foregoing the aim has been to formulate a list of educational objectives that would be strictly and consistently sociological; that is, to derive educational aims from sociological considerations. The question may be raised as to the relation between such objectives, thus sociologically determined, and the doctrine of the "Seven Cardinal Principles" proposed by Clarence K. Kingsley and his committee.[1] His list of educational objectives has become a basis for the discussion of educational objectives all over the United States, having proved unusually influential in shaping the thought of educational leaders, especially in the re-

[1] Clarence D. Kingsley. "The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education." *Bureau of Education Bulletin #35*, 1918.

organization of the curriculum. The list comprises (1) health, (2) command of fundamental processes, (3) worthy home membership, (4) vocation, (5) civic education, (6) worthy use of leisure, and (7) ethical character.

As a matter of fact, in practice the two theories come out at the same place. It really makes no difference whether one specifies, as an aim of education, health or participation in the health-preserving institution; vocation or the industrial institution; worthy home membership or the family; worthy use of leisure or the recreational institutions.

However, there are two reasons for suggesting our sociological list.

One is that it tends to clarify our thinking if we insist upon thinking consistently in sociological terms. One's thinking is bound to be narrowed if one sticks to the specific question: "What good does it do Johnny to go to school?" Educational statesmanship (which we have a right to expect of our educational leaders) arises only when one becomes interested in the question: "What good does it do society to have Johnny go to school?" We must, therefore, forsake the strictly individualistic for the broadly social point of view. To do that is a major object of educational sociology; hence the foregoing theory of educational objectives.

The other reason is that our list suggests several responsibilities for the school that are overlooked in the ordinary list of objectives. For example, there is nothing in the "Cardinal Principles" about the school or the press as objectives of education; furthermore, civic education and ethical character are unanalyzed concepts, and hence fail to afford adequate educational guidance. That is the characteristic narrowness of any strictly individualistic point of view.

Nevertheless, the familiar list of objectives has so much to be said in its favor that the reader is urged to memorize and to use it. The first thing to be said for it is that it is fundamentally and essentially sound. As just pointed out, the present text is not attempting seriously to disagree with it, but merely to translate it into sociological terminology.

In the second place, this list of seven principles is in such general use throughout the country, in textbooks, classroom discussions, convention addresses, and professional literature, that the reader is sure to encounter it often in his professional career. It is convenient, therefore — practically necessary, indeed — to speak the language of one's associates. It will be no mistake, however, to carry the foregoing sociological interpretation as the background of one's thinking, especially since one ought to think not merely as a school teacher but as an educational statesman.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is schooling for?
2. Explain the meaning of "education for participation in social institutions."
3. What is meant by a 'balanced' participation in social institutions?
4. What oversights have crept into education as a result of a failure to recognize the meaning of balanced participation? Illustrate from your own experience.
5. What similarity is there between the sociological objectives of education and the "Cardinal Principles of Education"?
6. Is it possible to determine the aims of education by means of a functional analysis? Discuss.
7. What is the place of sociological philosophy in determining educational aims?
8. What is the place of scientific functional analysis in determining educational aims?
9. Can one type of approach (Questions 7 and 8 above) take the place of the other? Discuss.
10. Present the ideas of different interest groups concerning the aims of education. Begin with the following interest groups: capital, labor, bachelors, educators, fundamentalists, modernists, heavy taxpayers, workingmen, renters.
11. How can the desires and demands of these groups be unified in an educational program?
12. Suggest an outline for an improved curriculum in an elementary school or a high school.
13. Work out an outline of a curriculum for a particular grade

or a particular year in high school with the ideas of this chapter in mind. Give your reasons for what you include.

14. One aim of education is that of participation in family life. Using one of the methods of functional analysis suggested by Peters in his *Foundations of Educational Sociology*, attempt to determine some of the major topics to be studied in order to learn how to participate effectively in family life.

15. Make the same attempt for (1) participation in the community, (2) participation in industry, (3) participation in citizenship, (4) character education, (5) any other subject you care to select.

16. How can you determine objectively what *not* to teach in the school? Illustrate.

Bibliography

Finney, Ross L. *A Sociological Philosophy of Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

Jones, T. J. *Four Essentials of Education.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

Judd, Charles. *The Psychology of Social Institutions.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

Keller, A. G. *Man's Rough Road.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1932.

Kulp, Daniel. *Educational Sociology.* New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932.

Peters, C. C. *Foundations of Educational Sociology.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

Turner, Clair E. *Personal and Community Health.* St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1925.

CHAPTER XII

CULTURAL CHANGE AND THE CURRICULUM

The Principle of Institutional Interdependence

From what has been said about the aim of education it is clear that the school program should exhibit a proper relation to the culture mass. If the program of the school does not transmit the culture of its own time, then there is something radically wrong with the school. History, including ancient and modern, is full of illustrations of this interdependence of the culture and the curriculum that could profitably be enumerated in a book for students more advanced than those for whom this book is intended.[1]

An interesting illustration of interdependence is observed in the pubertal initiation ceremonies practiced by certain Australian tribes.[2] At the dawn of adolescence the boys were put through these initiation ceremonies by the adult males of the tribe; the girls, by the adult women. The ceremonies introduced the youths to the rules, beliefs, duties, traditions, and history of the tribe. The youths were subjected to mutilations; they were taught to endure pain, hunger, and hardship; then they were practiced and tested in obedience to the mores of the tribe. In short, the initiation ceremonies introduced the youths — physically, intellectually, and emotionally — to the culture mass by which the tribe lived.

Students of the Old Testament will recall passages descriptive of the instruction of the children. The Hebrew civilization was essentially a religious civilization; consequently the education of the rising generation was essentially

[1] See, for example, the treatment in Finney's *A Sociological Philosophy of Education.*

[2] Paul Monroe. *Brief Course in the History of Education.*

a program of religious education. There were the historical traditions, the moral precepts, the laws and the prophecies for the children to be taught. Much of this instruction was conducted in connection with the synagogues; much of the remainder was the responsibility of the home. "Line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little" — what could better illustrate the principle that formal education corresponds with the culture mass?

Also consider the schools of our own West a century ago. Their program consisted, in addition to the moral precepts, of the basic fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic — all parallel to the social life of the times and the region.

Another illustration may be found in the 'finishing schools' of the aristocratic class of New England a century ago. Here was a group whose social processes included, or at least aspired to include, the so-called 'accomplishments' of an aristocratic class; hence these finishing schools specialized in good social manners, a smattering of French, the etiquette of formal affairs, and so forth. That program became inconsistent when some of the niceties were introduced into the district schools in the West where living conditions and needs were decidedly different.

In a changing period like the past century one of the most noticeable aspects of schooling is the changes that have come into school programs to keep them up-to-date. With the passing of time our society became more complex and elaborate. Towns and cities gradually grew up, whereupon more complex social, vocational, and political relations naturally evolved. Consequently, the schools gradually developed a much more elaborate program. The refinements from the New England program had then to find a place in the programs of the academies and high schools that were beginning to develop. Complex commercial relations gave rise to commercial education; the various new trades and vocations called for vocational education in the schools, and the scientific agriculture that followed upon the pioneer farming of an earlier day gave rise to colleges of agriculture and scien-

tific agricultural instruction in the high schools. Education today displays a markedly different program from that which it displayed a century, or even half a century, ago.

Current Educational Changes

There are great educational changes in process now on account of the present great transition occurring in the culture mass of civilized society, in our means of communication, our economic life, our agricultural life, our governmental life, our philosophy of government, our recreational life.[3] From a study of the basic social and economic changes in our national life must come changed educational procedure if education is to have a vital place in contemporary life. Of course, far-sighted educational leaders are planning and introducing some of the necessary changes now.

Consider further our popular superstitions, which the new science has supplanted. The superstitions current a hundred years ago in the fields now occupied by geography, anthropology, psychology, economics, political science, and sociology are now most amusing. Moral standards have changed, too. Contrast the ideals now prevailing in New York and Chicago with those that dominated in the latter part of the eighteenth or even the first part of the nineteenth century. Nowadays people would ridicule many of the laws and moral practices that dominated two centuries ago, and the young people of today are inclined to laugh at the ideals of the older generation still living.

In other words, we have today a culture mass that is new, extensive, and complex beyond comparison with anything of the past. The inevitable consequence is, of course, that western civilization is passing through a complete reorganization. The program of the schools of today is as different from the school program of Lincoln's day as the modern automobile or express train is different from the oxcart of that earlier period. Many persons betray their failure to

[3] The President's Research Committee on Social Trends. *Recent Social Trends in the United States.*

understand what is happening to the schools by the way they rant about the 'fads and frills' of the modern school — especially about the new subjects in the curriculum. We need a generation of teachers and citizens who understand the trend of educational events. It is inevitable that the curriculum from the primary grades to the university be in a continual process of change. This change cannot be stopped, but it can be retarded by influential people whose minds do not follow the course of human events. With a changing culture, changes in the school curriculum and in school organization are inevitable.

School Subjects in Relation to a Changing Culture

The basic principle that the curriculum of the schools must change with a changing culture having been established, we are prepared to consider in some detail how this principle operates in several departments of the curriculum. We shall examine language, vocational subjects and recreation, art, science, and the new humanities (geography, biology, psychology, economics, political science, ethics, history, and sociology).

Language

It is a platitude to say that language is necessary for intelligent communication. The question for practical curriculum-makers to consider is whether language-teaching, as actually practiced in our schools, does serve efficiently the need for communication in the modern world; or whether it is only a traditional, conventionalized, and snobbish hocus-pocus that does not meet with the real needs of adolescent candidates for our civilization. In the selection of foreign languages in our high-school curricula, how clear it is that we are guided more by tradition than by intelligent discernment of present social needs in a world where nations are in constant communication with one another.

Similar criticisms might be made of the way we teach

even our own language. We seem to fall very short of results proportionate to the time spent on English composition. We devote a considerable fraction of every pupil's time to a mastery of the native English, but with surprisingly disappointing results. To be sure, our graduates can read the newspapers, but few of them ever acquire facility in accurate and vivid use of the English language. And the cheap magazines, or 'pulps,' are read more frequently by high-school graduates than is good literature of the kind they are supposed to have 'enjoyed' in school. Certainly we have a problem here of large proportions, even after due allowance has been made for the fact that, after all, there are limits to what formal education can do to insure the mastery of English.

Vocational Subjects and Recreation

Corresponding to the skills of industry, the school offers various vocational subjects. In this field our schools have recently been making gratifying progress, though we still have many problems to solve. A major problem for the near future will be that of deciding how much vocational education is needed in a social order where machines do most of the work while the human being becomes a machine-tender who can learn in a few weeks the simple tasks necessary in tending his machine.

It may well be that emphasis in education will of necessity be placed upon a certain minimum of specific vocational education, but with more stress upon those phases of education that will assist the student to participate with satisfaction in the finest elements of our social heritage — including recreational activities for the wise use of leisure time.

What are the curricular subjects that correspond with our recreational culture mass? Most persons would probably answer that question in terms of such extracurricular activities as athletics, sports, and social activities. But as time goes on, we shall see the inclusion of the fine arts — considered in their broadest implications.

The Fine Arts

A civilization is to be rated as much by its use of the fine arts as by its use of technology and machinery in its industries. It is in this field of the fine arts that our civilization has need and opportunity to progress in the next years, especially with respect to the use and appreciation of art by the rank and file of the people. Perhaps one of the most pertinent definitions that could be given of the word 'culture,' used in the popular sense, is that culture is the habit of using the fine arts for one's everyday recreation and entertainment, and doing so with genuine satisfaction. Teachers are rapidly becoming alive to the fact that literature is in reality one of the fine arts, and that the principal reason for teaching it is that it may subsequently be enjoyed as such. It is hardly worth while for a high-school boy or girl to become acquainted with classic English literature merely as so many selections to be scientifically analyzed. Merely to learn *about* literature and the other fine arts is as useless as to learn about bread and beefsteak. Bread and beafsteak are to be assimilated; literature is to be enjoyed. Unless the study of literature leads to its joyous use, the teaching of it misses the mark. A certain high-school student of Milton's *Paradise Lost* said of the teacher, who really was the football coach, doing part-time teaching, "he hated it as much as we did." It is safe to say that such a teacher and others like him are doing worse than wasting the students' time, for they are creating a positive aversion to a phase of culture.

The New Humanities

The 'new humanities' is a term properly applied to those subjects that deal with human nature and human relations. They include geography, biology, psychology, economics, political science, history, and sociology. These subjects consider social problems and offer answers to old problems in terms of social science.

One of the major tasks of the school is to substitute the content of the new humanities for the old popular mythologies. Not many years ago, for example, students were taught that feeble-mindedness (an hereditary trait) was a major cause of criminality. This idea has since been negatived by investigation. In all the other fields mentioned above there are the old myths, still lingering to the present time, and many untutored minds need to be disabused of them. For example, the time is coming when social science will show that the idea of *laissez faire* (each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost) must be abandoned for the principle of social planning.

The problem of the new humanities is evidently to substitute for social and individual bungling with old myths intelligent planning guided by the social sciences. The year 1933 appears to mark the beginning in America of widespread popular interest in many of the economic and social problems that are within the province of the new humanities. The need for adequate training of the young in these matters is perfectly obvious.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is 'cultural change'?
2. What parts of culture are changing the most rapidly at present in your community?
3. What parts of culture are changing least rapidly at present?
4. What is meant by the principle of interdependence?
5. What use can educators make of this principle of interdependence?
6. Indicate some desired changes in each of the following parts of the curriculum: language, the fine arts, science, and the new humanities.
7. Can cultural changes be stopped? Why?
8. What, then, are we to do about cultural change? Must we stand and watch it or may we seek to control it? Discuss.
9. What can the schools do to control cultural change?
10. In whose interest should the cultural change be controlled?

11. What can the schools do to adjust children to a changing social world? Be specific.

12. When you get a curriculum 'fixed,' how long may you expect it to stay 'fixed'? Is the curriculum more fixed or less fixed in the elementary than in the secondary school? Discuss.

13. Make a study of recent changes in any one social institution. Indicate the specific factors causing the changes.

14. Which parts of culture are changing more rapidly than the school? Which more slowly?

15. Prepare to debate the question: "Resolved, that the school should become the most rapidly changing of all social institutions."

Bibliography

COUNTS, GEORGE S. *Soviet Challenge to America.* New York: John Day Company, 1931.

CUBBERLEY, ELLWOOD P. *History of Education.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.

FINNEY, ROSS L. *American Public School.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921.

FINNEY, ROSS L. *A Sociological Philosophy of Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

GIDDINGS, FRANKLIN H. *Civilization and Society.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932.

MONROE, PAUL. *Brief Course in the History of Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

PETERS, C. C. *Foundations of Educational Sociology.* New York: The Macmillan Company, revised edition, 1930.

RUGG, HAROLD. *Culture and Education in America.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931.

UHL, W. L. *Secondary School Curricula.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

CHAPTER XIII

CULTURAL LAGS IN EDUCATION

Cultural sociology makes much use of the term 'cultural lag.' The term is a name for the tendency of a culture trait, a social practice, to persist from a previous period, though failing to fit the new social situation.

Illustrations of Cultural Lag

For example, consider the horses that one encounters in the loop district of a city. Occasionally one is exasperated by having to stop his car and wait for a team of heavy draft horses, hitched to a dray, to get out of the way. Forty years ago one would not have felt that way about a team, because heavy draft animals in the loop district of the city fitted the social situation at that time. But the transportation has changed; most of the vehicles in the loop district are fast-moving automobiles, and slow-moving horses are an obstacle to traffic.

Another illustration of cultural lag is the attitude of some old-fashioned husbands and fathers who act as if they thought it was their privilege to be tyrants domineering over the whole family. They take it for granted that their will is law, not only for their children, but for their wives as well. They quote methodically the old 'bromide': "There has to be a head to every institution, doesn't there?" Now the fact is that in modern civilization the institution of the family has so altered that these men are as much in the way of our modern ideas and customs as a draft team is in the way of our modern conveyances. Their ideas are instances of cultural lag.

Still another illustration is the typical old-fashioned county sheriff. He hustles around on foot in rural places to pick up

criminals who travel in high-powered automobiles. His office and the way it is organized and equipped for performing his function was suitable enough in the old-fashioned society of fifty years ago, when Jesse James and his crowd rode into town on horseback. But the sheriff's method of apprehending criminals no longer fits the modern situation in which bandits ride into towns in automobiles, and out again, quickly. There is considerable complaint nowadays to the effect that our rural police have not been modernized. This is a popular complaint against what a sociologist would call a cultural lag.

Another illustration is the extensive popular use, even yet, of patent medicines. Modern medical science in particular, and the whole scientific method and attitude in general, make it clear to intelligent, wide-awake persons of today that patent medicines are in almost every case a fraud. They are a hangover of the notion of magic that was prevalent in a primitive society. Intelligent minds have escaped the conception of magic, and have some realization that medicines must be specific if they are to be useful. The patent medicine bottle is a relic of a previous age, when it suited the purpose of that age as well as anything that they had; but it is ridiculously out of date in the present age of scientific medicine and surgery; it is a cultural lag.

Many other illustrations of this persistence of some culture traits might be enumerated, for it is inevitable that, in a period of invention, discovery, and scientific progress, cultural lags should be unusually prevalent. The world has been changing rapidly and extensively, and habit-ridden persons, especially if they are really ignorant of the intellectual achievements of the recent past, hang to old ideas, practices, and customs. Cultural lags are therefore one of the conspicuous aspects of the present situation. They appear, it is to be noted, in the school as in every other phase of life. One of the major tasks of educators is to discard them. This problem deserves a few words of discussion.

Cultural Lags in Education

The general explanation of cultural lags in education has just been offered, but there are some additional reasons to be mentioned. One potent reason for the existence of these lags is that teachers who have formed the habit of teaching certain traditional subjects, and learned to teach them well, dread the special effort demanded to change their practices. Teachers are no doubt as traditionally-minded as any other class of persons. They like to continue to do what they have been doing, especially if they feel that they have been doing it rather well.

Another reason for the prevalence of cultural lags in education is the fact that until comparatively recently education, especially higher education, was a privilege of the aristocratic classes. The result is that traditional curricula have become to many 'badges of aristocracy,' as it were. If children of the laboring classes can study the curricula that have been until recently the privilege of aristocrats, how easy it is for them to imagine that they are themselves thereby becoming aristocrats. As a matter of fact, that is what people often have in mind when they talk about the desirability of a 'cultural' education.

Outstanding illustrations are to be seen in the study of Latin, French, and mathematics. In the civilization of five or six hundred years ago an acquaintance with Latin was necessary to participation in the intellectual life of the period, and was especially valuable to professional people. Latin became, therefore, deeply entrenched, not only in school practices and customs, but in the aristocratic conventionalities; partly for that reason it has maintained prestige, until today it is one of the most conspicuous cultural lags we have in education. Somewhat the same thing may be said about French. French was an important acquisition of the young English aristocrats two or three centuries ago. Because of that traditional prestige it has continued in the curriculum of the secondary schools of America, and es-

pecially of the more fashionable and exclusive secondary schools. The use that is made of it by the sons and daughters of plumbers and motormen and farmers, now enrolled by the thousand in our public high schools, is probably almost negligible. The same may be said of much of the mathematics that is customarily taught in high schools and colleges.

Another example of the cultural lag in education is the failure as yet of our schools, especially of our junior and senior high schools, to provide adequate individual life guidance. We have made considerable progress in that matter, it is true; and some of our most enlightened educational leaders are diligently at work on the problem.

Next we come to an outstanding lag in our educational program: namely, the presence of many old popular myths with which the public mind is still obsessed.[1] By the popular myths are meant the beliefs about this, that, and the other which originated often in a prescientific age, but which are still prevalent among the people, notwithstanding the fact that they are now discarded by enlightened minds. Of these popular myths we may cite a few instances.

First, by way of example, is the water witch, or dowsing rod. In ancient times it was supposed that a man could take a forked stick in his hand and, by walking about over the premises in the general region of which a well was to be dug, discover by the twitching of this forked stick in his hand where water could be reached most easily and quickly. The unforked end of it would tend to turn down like a magnet over the spot where water could be most readily obtained. The idea is obviously absurd, being a hangover of the old, superstitious belief in magic; moreover, the Federal government has spent thousands of dollars in demonstrating the fact that the idea is pure myth. Yet not so very long ago, at a well-diggers' convention held under the auspices of a great agricultural college, belief in the water witch was insistently expressed by a large number of those present. The

[1] In Albert E. Wiggam's *Sorry But You're Wrong About It* will be found an interesting account of some of these erroneous popular beliefs.

Federal government's scientific demonstration of its falsity apparently had no effect on the prevalence of this popular myth.

Another popular myth is the belief in prenatal influence. A baby is born with a birthmark. Everybody is familiar with the popular explanations by which such birthmarks are accounted for: some bloody or gruesome sight was accidentally witnessed by the mother before the child's birth. No doubt many readers of this book would be unable to convince their own mothers that this explanation is nonsense, though modern science insists that it is.

Another example, drawn from a former age, is the practically universal conviction in times prior to Columbus that the earth was flat. It seems hardly believable that in the face of this conviction he could secure enough volunteers to man ships for a voyage toward the alleged jumping-off place. That myth is now no longer extant except in remote or culturally isolated regions. Its disappearance is a good illustration of what education can do. Still another popular geographical myth, which used to be taught seriously in the geography classes of fifty years ago, was that there is a warm, open sea surrounding the North Pole. That myth, too, has now generally passed out of public acceptance through the influence of the discoveries of recent years, and the spread of information.

A further example of popular misconception is the belief that primitive peoples had brains much inferior to those of their civilized descendants of today. Stand on a street corner and ask the first hundred passers-by whether modern civilized people are born with any better brains than their primitive ancestors of two thousand years ago, and probably ninety-five of them would answer: "Why, certainly!" But modern anthropological science answers quite differently.

In the field of psychology, to take a final example, the old saying that "you can't teach an old dog new tricks" is understood popularly to mean that elderly people cannot learn new things. Psychological investigation, however, has

shown that, whatever may be true of old dogs, old men or old women can be taught new things about as well as young men or young women, provided real desire to learn is there.

So much for our illustrations. Many have been cited because it is hard to say enough to open the reader's eyes adequately to the extent and prevalence of an antiquated mythology that persists in this modern age of science and new knowledge in almost every conceivable field of thought. Young men and women come to the university to study the various mental and social sciences with their minds still saturated with a popular mythology, so that a major business of the instructor often turns out to be that of convincing his students that a good part of what they think they know would be so if it were only true. One of the principal objects of a college education is to reëducate young men and women; in other words, to introduce them to the culture mass of today, instead of to that of yesterday which they already possess in part. Informal education fills their minds with cultural lags, and a chief task of formal education in an age of change like this is to eradicate these lags and substitute the richer and more precise knowledge of today.

Such reëducation neither need be nor should be postponed until reaching college. That would deny reëducation to thousands. If a young person finds himself being reëducated at college, it means that the high school from which he has recently graduated has egregiously shirked its responsibility. Such neglect is perhaps the most serious cultural lag in our educational program. Our schools teach the conventional curricular subjects, such as foreign languages, mathematics, classical literature, stereotyped history, etc., but fail to concern themselves with such vital questions as: Is it safe for cousins to marry? Is it feasible for grandpa to try to learn a new language if he wants to travel abroad? Will it injure business for income taxes to be laid heavily on the larger incomes? Will college graduates have brighter children, when the time comes, because of having obtained a

college education? How can one detect a neurotic before marriage, so as to avoid having family conflicts later on? These are merely suggestive of a thousand and one practical questions that should be considered, the omission of which from our typical school program leaves the graduates seriously hampered by cultural lags.

One of the most needful acquisitions of a young adult is a philosophy of life that corresponds with the findings of modern science and with the best conclusions of modern scholarship. By a 'philosophy of life' is meant a set of convictions, of standards, to live by that harmonizes with the best modern knowledge, and by the use of which one can approach the solution of the everyday problems of his social life, his moral life, and his intellectual life, and make worthwhile contributions to his social group.

The major task of education, therefore, is to acquaint the rising generation with the modern culture mass, especially with those parts of it that demonstratively have a practical bearing on the actual problems of life. To accomplish this task, it may be necessary to discard much of what is now being taught in our schools and to substitute, instead, programs organized around the various problems of practical daily life, the culture mass of our social institutions. Hundreds of such problems could be assembled by wise and intelligent men and women, every one of which would seem to some degree personally significant to high-school students, and in some cases to younger students as well. The solutions to such problems are to be found in the various fields of modern science, especially in the mental and social sciences. In so far as a teacher has influence in the reorganization of our schools, that influence should be aimed toward making sure that the school program transmits the culture mass that modern civilization is actually using.

Rationalization and Cultural Lag

In closing this discussion it is relevant to call attention to the fact that cultural lags always tend to become ration-

alized. 'Rationalization' is the mental process of devising ostensible reasons to justify an act or opinion. Practically all established customs and institutions tend to become rationalized; indeed, it often seems as if the more debatable they are, the more insistent does rationalization become. The rationalization that grew up around the old slave system is a striking example. Almost as striking an example is the rationalization that has grown up around the old curriculum. Professor James Harvey Robinson has a phrase: "perfectly good reasons," meaning, of course, the perfectly worthless reasons with which one humbugs himself for purposes of rationalization. Cultural lags in education invariably rationalize themselves by the accumulation of a number of "perfectly good reasons." There is no task by which young educators are confronted that is more important than to liberate their minds from the rationalization of the cultural lags in education; in short, to be frank and to be certain that adherence to educational faiths is fully justified.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is a cultural lag? Give an example.
2. How do cultural lags cause social problems?
3. What social problems can be caused by cultural lags in education?
4. Illustrate from your own experience and observation some cultural lags in education.
5. How can the schools contribute to the solution of social problems through changes in educational procedure to meet cultural lag?
6. What techniques can be used to eliminate cultural lags from the curriculum?
7. Select an insistent social problem. Explain its existence in terms of a lag between two parts of culture. In what ways can the school contribute to the overcoming of the observed cultural lag?
8. Explain the recent social economic crisis (1929–1934) in terms of cultural lag or lags. Could the schools have prevented the crisis? Explain.

9. Make a list of primitive practices in contemporary education.

10. Why do primitive practices remain in education and other social institutions so long beyond their usefulness?

11. Prepare to debate the question: "Resolved, that the school has no right to concern itself with modern social problems; its business is to stick to fundamentals."

12. Prepare a list of erroneous ideas that are still accepted by many. In what ways can teachers reduce the extent to which these ideas are held?

Bibliography

Davis, Jerome and Barnes, H. *Introduction to Sociology*, Part IV. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1927.

Groves, Ernest. *Introduction to Sociology*, Part V. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932.

Ogburn, William. *Social Change.* New York: B. W. Huebsch Publishing Company, 1922.

Young, Kimball. "Primitive social norms in present-day education." *Social Forces*, 5: June, 1927, 572–583.

Wiggam, Albert E. *Sorry But You're Wrong About It.* New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1931.

CHAPTER XIV

CULTURE AND STUDENT ACTIVITIES

The Principle of Balance

Human nature is many-sided because of its many and diverse interests. But students of the mental-social life are ever prone to concentrate their attention on some one aspect of human nature, to the neglect of others. As a consequence, the intellectual world is encumbered with many one-sided theories that, despite their pretense of scientific authority, are after all misleading half-truths. There is, for example, the so-called 'economic theory of history,' which explains the Protestant Revolt and the American Civil War, and most other historic movements, entirely in terms of dollars-and-cents conflicts. According to this theory the Reformation was not a religious conflict, but an economic; the Civil War was not fought over slavery as a moral issue, but over the tariff as a means of enriching northern manufacturers at the expense of southern planters. The economic factor is, of course, an important consideration, and it has been much neglected in the past; but it is a half-truth only. A similar overemphasis exists in the Freudian psychology; sex is undoubtedly an important motivating force in human life — one that has been underestimated in many psychological theories of human nature, — but Freud and his followers have gone to absurd extremes in accentuating the rôle of sex. The same kind of mistake is sometimes made in pedagogical theories that claim to be sociological. The teacher is wise, therefore, who aspires to gain a comprehensive interpretation of human nature.

It was in anticipation of this situation that we have stressed the need of a well-balanced sociology — one that keeps in mind the institutions of society, the intellectual resources or the culture mass, the person, and social in-

teraction. Likewise, an educational sociology, to be well-balanced, must, in drawing pedagogical inferences, keep in mind all departments of sociology. If it pays insufficient attention to the culture mass and its significance, it will lack the basis for any adequate sociological discussion of the curriculum; if it pays insufficient attention to the functions of the established social institutions, it will not treat educational objectives helpfully. The task of the present chapter is to analyze several pedagogical topics that need a well-balanced sociology in their interpretation.

Extracurricular Activities

To begin with the much-exploited topic of extracurricular, or social, activities: their discussion often betrays a sociological blindness to the function of the culture mass. Extracurricular activities are almost everywhere being carried to extremes, and their importance as an educational process is being overestimated by many educators. It has been customary for years for college students to parrot that smart saying: "Don't let your studies interfere with your education." There seems to be discernible in school life a greater tendency to act upon that adjuration than ever before, and this tendency to overemphasize the importance of extracurricular activities is even more noticeable, perhaps, in our high schools than it is in our colleges. For that matter, our junior high schools and our elementary schools are imitating this fashion that they observe in the schools above them.

One reason why children frequently prefer extracurricular activities is that in many schools the regular curriculum does not include contacts with a sufficient number of important social institutions. Extracurricular activities that make up for the cultural deficiencies of such a curriculum are to be commended and are in a different class from social and quasi-social activities.[1]

[1] Pertinent references are H. G. Miller and N. W. Chaffee, *The Auditorium Social Arts* and *The Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II.*

A student recently reported some correspondence that had come to the agency through which she was dealing. A superintendent had written her agency inquiring how apt, skillful, and happy this candidate was in the conduct of extracurricular activities, adding that he was not particular about her scholarship or her skill in the conduct of classes and recitations. That is perhaps an extreme illustration of the current tendency for the tail to wag the dog. The implication is that the practice of such natural human impulses as sociability, coöperation, and leadership is the most important business of the school. The fact is that these impulses are in some measure inherent and that there is abundant opportunity to practice them outside the school. It would be unnecessary for civilization to put itself to the expense of maintaining schools if that were all that schools were for. Opportunities for experience and practice in social arts and graces ought not to be omitted from the school, of course, but their relative unimportance as compared with the curriculum ought to be clearly recognized by all teachers. The oversight implicit in the fallacy under discussion is its failure to recognize the supreme importance of the culture mass — to recognize that the primary task of the school is to transmit to the rising generation the more complex aspects of our modern culture mass. In other words, the school is maintained for the curriculum as we have interpreted it, and the acquisition of the curriculum is by all odds the most important task with which the pupil is confronted. This is not, of course, to deny the desirability of so presenting the curriculum that pupils take toward it an attitude favorable to its assimilation.

Perhaps the appropriate advice in this connection is to suggest that extracurricular activities should be used, and their importance adequately recognized, but that their relative importance should not be overestimated. The teacher and the school administrator may properly see to it that the school does not interfere with the normal social life of young people, but in the present administration of our

schools it would seem that extracurricular activities need a bit of curbing rather than more boosting. The extracurricular activities that provide for active experience with important units of the culture mass are of much more importance than those of a distinctly social type.

The Socialized Recitation

The socialized recitation is a valuable contribution to progressive pedagogy. It emphasizes the importance of the creative, problem-solving attitudes, of sociability, coöperation, and the like. In the hands of the skillful teacher the socialized recitation often stimulates motivation and hence assists the process of formal education. But it often happens that the teacher feels quite confident that she is doing a good job of 'progressive' teaching if she is showing an interesting sample of the socialized recitation without regard to whether she is really teaching anything to the pupils or is attaining efficiency in the use of their time. If the socialized recitation can, in the hands of the artist-teacher, satisfy the needs of society for informed pupils and at the same time develop creative ability, problem-solving ability, cooperation, sociability, and happiness, it may be said to be properly used.

There is no objection on the part of the sociologist to the training of children in natural social groups. Such training is to be desired. But modern society is more complex than primitive society and hence demands more than the informal education that primitive society demanded. The slogan of Burnham [2] — "a task, a plan, freedom" — seems to satisfy the 'creative educationist' and the cultural sociologist. Burnham's idea is that the curriculum be organized into small units which may be considered tasks, that children be helped to plan their activity by the teacher, and that the children work out their tasks in a situation that is devoid of tenseness, militariness, sarcasm, ridicule, and similar inhibiting influences. Burnham pictures teachers and chil-

[2] William Burnham. *The Normal Mind.*

dren working happily together toward the more complete *understanding of*, and *efficient action in*, civilization and its social institutions, including the school.

One must not overlook, however, that there is sometimes an advantage in isolation. Social psychology teaches that some kinds of mental activity progress with greatest facility in a group environment, but social psychology teaches also that there are other kinds of mental activity that flourish only in isolation. A truly creative thinker often works best alone; the imitative thinker may be mentally stimulated and guided by a group environment. Hence, when the teacher is trying to stimulate a bright pupil to original, independent thinking, he may expect the pupil to gain a better insight into problems if the pupil sits down by himself and thinks them out alone. In other words, however useful group projects and socialized recitations may be in various situations, there are limits to their usefulness, especially when concerned with original, independent, or creative thinking. Give the bright pupil with that kind of project a chance to develop his originality undisturbed.

The Child-Centered School

Perhaps similar things are too obvious to need saying about 'the child-centered school'; it is a question just what this phrase means.[3] As a theory of method it unquestionably contains a pedagogical gospel. Almost any device is commendable by which the children's interest can be elicited, because, as pointed out before, the central problem of formal education is to interest the pupils in subject matter for which they have little or no natural, spontaneous interest. Sometimes, therefore, the idea of 'the child-centered school' appears to mean stressing the postponement of items of subject matter until children are old enough to take an interest in them. Herbart developed the principle a century ago, organizing it around the psychology of apperception. He pointed out the importance of arranging the curriculum in

[3] Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker. *The Child-Centered School.*

such a way that each new item will appeal to the learner as related to the last, and so seem interesting to him. But if 'the child-centered school' means leaving the selection of the curriculum primarily to the children, it becomes absurd. Who but a freedom fanatic would think of sending out a questionnaire to high-school students, asking them what they wanted to be taught or of what they thought the curriculum ought to consist? Medical, dental, or law students would lose faith in a faculty that asked them, at the end of their first year, what they wished to be taught during the remainder of their course. Half-civilized savages are the last people in the world to realize what else they need to know in order to become fully civilized. Similarly, in a civilized society the candidates for participation, when at the halfway stage of their introduction into the culture mass, are the last people to know, in advance of having been introduced to it, what the remainder of the culture mass is that they are going to need.

The culture mass of civilization does not rise spontaneously out of the soul of the child; the child has to be inducted into the culture mass of the society in which he is growing up. Education does not consist, as the ancients supposed, in drawing something out of the child; but, as cultural sociology reveals, of putting something into the child that exists in the objective culture mass around him. Therefore it is the business of formal education to equip the candidate, as fast as he becomes mature enough, with those items of the culture mass that he otherwise would hardly become interested in at all. It would be absurd to organize the content of a child's education out of the subjects that he is already interested in at any given moment. That would be to miss the objective of formal education altogether; it would be to "pour out the baby with the bath." A well-balanced educational sociology will be careful, therefore, to explain what is meant by 'the child-centered school,' making clear that it is primarily a theory of method rather than a theory of content. The content of education must

be inferred from the culture mass, not from the chance interaction of ideas in the schoolroom.

The advice to be given in this connection is, therefore, to appreciate the valid portion of this 'gospel' of the child's interests, but to recognize clearly the fallacy lurking in it. Adapt your methods as much as possible — and even, within limits, your curriculum — to the interests you find in the child at the particular age when he is entrusted to you, but see to it that at the same time there are gradually built into him other interests that he does not yet possess. Introduce him to bodies of knowledge that he has not yet encountered, but that will qualify him for efficient and happy participation in the program of our society.

Character and Moral Education

We need again a fully informed and well-balanced sociology when we consider the problem of moral education. We are living in a period of unusual change. Almost every department of our culture mass is in process of reconstruction and reorganization, morality along with the rest; hence many persons, educators included, feel confused, perplexed, and anxious about the moral life, especially of the young people under their charge. And it is fair to say that most educators are not equipped with an adequate sociological comprehension of the situation; hence they fail to understand what it is that is happening to us, and much of the discussion of moral education is ill-informed and misleading. A great deal of what we read and hear on the subject of character education lacks sociological insight as to what morality really is, what moral education accordingly involves in normal times, and what unusual problems are to be expected in moral education when the times are not normal. It is common for writers on moral education to stress certain aspects of social interaction to the almost complete neglect of the culture mass in the moral field. For instance, it is assumed that morality involves chiefly teamwork and cooperation. Hence, it is declared, the principal thing to do

with boys and girls in the process of moral education is to give them practice in those types of social interaction. Again, it is common for writers on moral education to overlook the fact that morality involves an extended knowledge as to what is considered right and what wrong by the groups of which the youthful candidate is a prospective member. From this sociological oversight the fallacious inference follows that young people distinguish right from wrong by intuition; whereas, as a matter of fact, they do not make this distinction, as every sociologist well knows.

In normal times, when most persons are agreed as to what is right and what is wrong, the teaching of the mores is a process of education so informal as almost to elude notice. Consequently, when, in a transition period like the present, informal moral education has largely broken down, almost no one remembers what the normal process ought to be and the theories that arise about character education are apt to be sociologically ill-advised.

The normal, undisturbed process of moral education, as it goes on in a relatively static, unchanging society, has two aspects, instruction and motivation.

Instruction imparts the mores; that is, it informs the young what is right and what wrong. Normally, there is then practically no disagreement, doubt, or debate as to what the mores are; the instruction is dogmatic; there is little chance, even little inclination, for the young to think for themselves. They do either what is regarded as right or what is regarded as wrong, and take the consequences. The fact that the reader can hardly imagine such a situation shows how unusual the times are at present.

When unusual times do arise, parents and teachers must meet the situation by teaching the young what is right and what is wrong, and must prepare themselves to explain *why* this is right and that is wrong when the young begin to discover conflicting opinions. Few parents or teachers are adequately prepared to do this teaching and this explaining. Our 'sociological illiteracy' usually goes so far

that we fail to realize that the knowledge of the *why* in the case may afford assurance of moral behavior. Merely to practice young people in teamwork, under such circumstances, is to give them stones for bread and scorpions for fish. There is teamwork among thieves and coöperation among racketeers! What is wrong with thieves and racketeers is the mores that prevail among them.

Motivation, the second aspect of moral education mentioned, is in normal times of two sorts: first, a desire for the good-will and approval of associates; second, overt social control. As for the first, the craving to be thought well of by one's intimates and loved ones is one of the strongest impulses of human nature; it serves ordinarily as the chief incentive to good behavior. In ordinary times there is but one way to secure this social approval — namely, by conforming to the mores. But in unsettled times like the present, one has only to form intimacies with a group that will approve of what one wishes to do. The characteristic of the present times is that the mores are in flux; which means that, instead of unanimity, there is disagreement, and that a group can be found for almost any standard. With parents, therefore, the problem is to induce their children to desire parental approval above all other. This calls for the development of joyous, affectionate comradeship between parents and their children. With teachers the principle is much the same; the teacher must be popular with his pupils if he is to influence their morals. But of this principle a corollary is of prime importance: the principal or superintendent should seize the earliest opportunity to discharge a teacher who is popular but whose moral standards are questionable.

Second, as to overt social control: always and everywhere societies have resorted to various devices for compelling members to obey the mores. This fact is well recognized by sociologists; but there is perhaps no more usual type of sociological shortcoming than to overlook it. One of the most questionable aspects of American civilization is this

current cult of misconceived 'democracy,' with its resulting tendency for parents and teachers to shirk the responsibilities of reasonable discipline or guidance.[4]

It must not be overlooked that morality is largely a matter of informal education. To be sure, formal education is not entirely absent under the auspices of religion, but the methods of character molding still remain essentially the methods of informal education. When a transition period interferes with this process, the school is likely to make an awkward attempt at formal education in this field — awkward because teachers are so unusually blind to the sociology of the problem. Moreover, even if their ideas were fully clear, moral education can hope to be no more than partially successful when the mores are in flux. What makes moral education, formal or informal, effective is the unanimity of the community as to what is right and what is wrong. That is just what is lacking in our society at the present time. Teachers, and even parents, must do the best they can, therefore, quite aware that their success is conditioned by the social environment.

Student Self-Government

The next of the sociological half-truths is the much-talked-of theory and practice of student self-government. Self-government, especially in the hands of a teacher with common sense enough to make it work fairly satisfactorily, is commendable in so far as it encourages a sense of honesty and responsibility upon the part of pupils. That is desirable so far as it goes, but the difficulty is that it seldom goes far enough. Besides, there is always the risk that something important, not to say essential, in government be overlooked and ignored, as a result of a one-sided sociology in the underlying theory.

Self-government, for children, is bound, in the very nature of the case, to be a rather thin mixture. We like to flatter

[4] The material that follows in Part IV, "Social Control and the School," develops this point in detail.

ourselves that democracy is a system of self-government for adults, but we all realize that there is an element of pretense even in that. What reader is even acquainted with a person who exerts an important influence in the making of the laws or the formulation of political policies? Every normal adult realizes that it is his duty to his government to obey its laws and any person who does not have that attitude, the rest of us regard as a criminal.

A book like Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization* makes one realize that there is a governing class in America to which only a few belong and that single individuals exert no very decisive influence on the conduct of government. Certainly the children are not the governing class of the American public school. The school, even the high school, was here and its policy and program were well formulated before they arrived. The children could no more plan and make their own school than they could plan and make their own food, clothing, and houses. Student government of the school is bound, therefore, to be partial and illusory. The school is furnished by organized society, and except for some minor details, it has to be governed by authorized representatives of society.

In short, the relation of the pupil to the school opens up the whole subject of social control. The very term 'student self-government' is in the nature of the case largely a misnomer, since the school is essentially a means of social control that society imposes upon the child. Society may permit student self-government within narrow and definitely restricted limits, but if it were anything more than controlled practice in government, the school would cease to be a school and not be worth paying taxes to maintain.

So far as concerns participation in government, whether school government or civil government, acquaintance with the culture mass involved is prerequisite to practice in the processes. That is why the government of a school, except for some minor details, has to be delegated by society to an educated administrator. Civil government delegates such

responsibilities to elected statesmen whom the private citizen helps to select. Selection is the citizen's important part in democratic self-government. His choice depends upon his own acquaintance with the problems that the government has to solve. It follows, therefore, that the most important contribution that the school can make to the young citizen's preparation for full citizenship is not to practice him in the less important processes of governing a school but to inform him adequately in the fields of social and political science — that portion of the culture mass of most significance in government.

√Progressive Education

One-sided theories of the kind just mentioned are often promulgated under the label of 'progressive education.' That label guarantees them popularity, for naturally we like to flatter ourselves that we are progressive. But the novel is not always an unmixed improvement, though many phases of the so-called 'progressive education' do contain a core of valid pedagogical gospel. But they all need analysis in the light of a well-balanced educational sociology.

Again, most of these new educational theories advertise themselves as 'democratic'; and democracy is always a popular rallying cry. But the popular sentiment for democracy is charged with illusion that the democracy of the future will have to correct before it can succeed permanently. The illusion is cherished by those who fail to see that a democratic society is not, after all, a society in which every individual does exactly as he pleases, practices complete self-direction, and takes orders from nobody. When this illusion is distilled out of the current cult of democratic education, many of its enthusiasms will evaporate. An education can properly be called democratic only when it transmits the essentials of the modern culture mass to the rank and file of citizens. Student activities that contribute efficiently to this end are to be approved. Many wise administrators now hold a similar point of view.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is the general point of view of the chapter?
2. Evaluate extracurricular activities. What is their purpose?
3. Evaluate the different extracurricular activities in a particular junior or senior high school.
4. Outline a well-balanced program of curricular and extracurricular activities for a junior high school. Give your reasons for including each item in the program.
5. Indicate the sociological dangers and strengths of the socialized recitation.
6. Outline a socialized recitation in your major subject that avoids the pitfalls discussed in this chapter.
7. Evaluate the child-centered school.
8. Suggest methods of character education.
9. Comment on the value and limitations of student government.
10. Outline a program for student government in a senior high school that avoids the weaknesses mentioned in this chapter.
11. Outline the general point of view that is directly opposed to the one expressed in this chapter.
12. Evaluate the different points of view.
13. What are the student activities here recommended that need but little emphasis in the school? Why do they need little emphasis?
14. Fit the discussion of this chapter into the spirit of this section of the book. Why does this chapter fit? Is the point of view in this chapter inescapable if one is consistent with the sociological interpretation of education presented in this part?

Bibliography

Beard, Charles. *The Rise of American Civilization.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

Burnham, William. *The Normal Mind.* New York: D. Appleton Company, 1924.

"Extra-Curricular Activities." *The Twenty-Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II.* Bloomington: Public School Publishing Company, 1926.

Germane, Charles. *Character Education.* Newark: Silver, Burdett and Company, 1929.

MILLER, H. G. and CHAFFEE, N. W. *The Auditorium Social Arts.* Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1932.

ROBBINS, CHARLES. *The Socialized Recitation.* New York: Allyn and Bacon, 1920.

RUGG, HAROLD and SHUMAKER, ANN. *The Child-Centered School.* New York: The World Book Company, 1928.

RUGG, HAROLD. *Culture and Education in America.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931.

PART IV

SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE SCHOOL

Social control is the constraint of individual attitudes and behavior through social interaction and culture. — Adapted from Kulp

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE CLASSROOM

People do not like to admit the fact of social control (the constraint of behavior); it runs counter to our wishful thinking. But social life simply cannot exist without it; and no individual can escape it.

The Importance of Social Control

The classic treatise on this subject in the literature of sociology is the product of Professor Ross [1] of the University of Wisconsin. Among the means of social control Ross enumerates public opinion, law, belief, social suggestion, education, custom, religion, ideals, ceremony, art, personality, enlightenment, and illusion. Some of these means of social control — law, for example — serve to restrain the individual from behaving in ways not approved by society. Some of them — art, for example — induce the individual to desire what society wants him to want.

One completes a careful reading of this book profoundly impressed with the fact that the individual is thoroughly tethered and hobbled by the coercive bonds that society throws around him. And this impression grows stronger with meditation on the behavior of human beings.

Ross might have mentioned industrial control. The boss is everywhere in industry, and his orders have to be obeyed unless one is prepared to go through life jobless. For centuries most of the world's hard work has been done by those who took orders from some higher authority. History reveals the control of war lords over soldiers and the control of the people by conscription. The political policies and

[1] E. A. Ross. *Social Control.*

programs in many societies have been decided by war, not by plebiscites. Many peoples have been victimized by the control of conquering armies.

The Problem of Social Control in the Schools of a Democracy

Many persons, however, entertain the idea that democracy means an organization of society from which social control is absent. The psychology of this illusion is obvious; it arises out of the craving of the ego for superordination. It goes against the grain of human nature to be compelled to take orders; the human personality craves insistently to be the boss. When the ego feels itself subordinated, it is in acute distress; when it feels itself superordinated, it is elated. No one likes to accept a theory of society that requires him to subordinate himself to others — hence the popularity of democracy and of 'democratic' theories of pedagogy.

But the essence of democracy is equitable opportunity for everybody, not freedom from control. Control is just as necessary in a democracy as in any other form of society; *the question is, Who exercises the control?* In a democracy, control is exercised not by some privileged class for its own benefit, but by the agents of the whole group for the good of everyone. Many thoughtful persons, therefore, fear that the tendency of our so-called 'democratic education' to promote the cult of self-direction and self-control, while discouraging social control, is a menace to orderly society. Some have gone so far as to contend that 'soft pedagogy' is partly responsible for the recent increase of criminality. While this is hard to prove and easy to overstate sensationally, a well-balanced educational sociology must recognize that an important responsibility of the school is that of fostering attitudes of respect toward properly constituted authority.

At the same time, educators have rightly given thoughtful attention to the social psychology of antagonism. Clearly, there is a dangerous tendency, as pointed out elsewhere in

this book,[2] for children to react antagonistically to arbitrary dictation, and the antagonism thus provoked may finally develop into lawless insubordination toward any and all authority. It makes children angry to be bossed about. When they get angry and stay angry, they want to 'get even.' They get even by being mean, disobedient, or even criminal. Thus there has been developed in teachers a fear lest their discipline may arouse antisocial attitudes and even make criminals of their pupils.

This tender sort of social psychology may at times be carried to ludicrous extremes. For example, a certain professor once declared to his class that for a parent to grasp his child's head between his hands and hold it so firmly that the child could not move would make a Bolshevik of the child. There happened to be a reporter in the class, who, realizing that this statement would make a sensational story, reported it to a local city daily. The next day, to the professor's surprise, it was transmitted all over the country by the Associated Press. The professor, much embarrassed by the publicity, blamed the reporter instead of himself. Nevertheless, despite such absurd exaggeration to which it is sometimes subjected, there is an important core of truth in the social psychology of antagonism, and teachers do well to keep this core in mind, as our illustrations drawn from classroom experiences attest.

Here we encounter, accordingly, a perplexing dilemma. To inculcate social control and habituate pupils to obedience to duly constituted authority is necessary both to an orderly school and to training for citizenship; yet over-rigorous school discipline is likely to provoke antagonistic attitudes toward the school itself and criminal attitudes toward society at large. What is the solution of this dilemma?

The hundreds of reports collected by the authors (see especially the chapters on conflict, withdrawal, accommodation, school morale, and social control) make this much clear: neither young children nor adolescents resent the

[2] See especially Chapter VI.

exercise of authority if it is *impersonal* and if it is *fair*. They do not object to obeying if they feel, even dimly, that they are obeying a just society, represented by duly constituted authority. What they do resent is feeling their personalities subordinated to some individual person. In more colloquial language, they resent being bossed about by someone who they feel is just enjoying himself privately at their expense. It all condenses, then, to the spirit and manner in which the discipline is exercised. It must be impersonal. The pupil must be made to feel that the control is by and for the larger social group — that is, the school group or the community which the teacher represents. The pupil must not feel that there is a personal conflict between him and the teacher in which he is defeated merely because he is weaker than his antagonist. He must not feel himself arbitrarily humiliated before his fellow pupils, or degraded in the good-will of his teacher. The teacher who can administer discipline kindly but firmly is not in much danger of provoking an antagonistic attitude. But the teacher who is either a spineless or a spiteful disciplinarian is in danger of doing social harm.

Some teachers are such artists in social control that they are able to induce the child to desire to behave according to the standards of the group. Other artist-teachers are able, by means of superior methods of teaching subject matter, to develop in children an identification with the major social institutions and their purposes.[3]

The Techniques of Social Control in the Classroom

The problem of discipline and social control in school deserves careful consideration; many otherwise capable teachers have failed in the work because they could not find a technique that would enable them to get the students to work dependably together. Other teachers have controlled students in such a manner that the students could not re-

[3] See Chapter VIII, on Accommodation.

spond effectively to the controls used by society; in general it is doubtful whether teachers who fail in social control can contribute professionally to the strength of the social fabric, even though their students may attain high grades in geography, arithmetic, and other school subjects.

One purpose of social control in the school is to obtain some unity of interaction among the students in order that socializing processes may run smoothly. A second purpose, not less important than the first, is to provide for the persons in the school, experiences in being controlled and in controlling that are commonly used in the society of which it will be necessary for them to become members.

Without control of some kind there may be anarchy; with some kinds of control individual initiative may be thwarted and submerged. It appears to many persons that the school should place emphasis upon the kinds of controls that tend to keep individual persons working dependably together but at the same time do not interfere too much with opportunities for the satisfaction of love, security, and activity. The control need not be always the same, or the same for all; for experience has indicated that no one technique of social control will work at all times with all members of a group (unless, perhaps, it is a selected group). Some children come to school with the desire to coöperate with the school program and to respond to the control by reason and by the mores of the school. Other children may not desire to coöperate, or they may not know how to respond to the control by reason and by the mores, because they have always been controlled at home by sarcasm, threats, and punishment. It becomes necessary, therefore, for the teacher to know how to use all kinds of controls because she may, especially at the first of the year, need to use them all. The teacher, however, who is interested in contributing to the development of students who will coöperate with the social order and yet possess a reasonable amount of initiative may well think of reason, rather than of punishment, as her ideal method of control. The teacher must,

however, deal with the children as she finds them and lead them to understand and appreciate reason as a means of control.

The following is a crude scale of the techniques of social control. The scale tends to range from controls that get social order with consideration for the nature of the individual to controls that get it without such consideration and by thwarting the desires of the individual. The merit of this scale is limited by its crudity, but it may serve as a tentative method for classifying various means of social control.

Scale of the Techniques of Social Control Used in the Classroom

(Ranging from techniques that may obtain group unity and at the same time satisfy the desires of the child for security and activity to techniques that may obtain group unity but are liable at the same time to thwart the desires for security, approval, and activity.)

1. Reason
2. Prestige
3. Mores of Good Order
4. Praise
5. Rewards
6. Flattery
7. Laughter
8. Sarcasm
9. Ridicule
10. Commands
11. Threats
12. Punishment

The following pages will analyze and illustrate certain uses and limitations of these techniques of social control in so far as their use in the school is concerned. It may be that the future will see adequate objective or experimental investigations in the field of social control in the school; at the present time, however, the number of controlled experiments in this field is decidedly limited. With the development of tests of attitudes it may be possible to use two different methods of social control on two equated groups and to measure the attitudes of the pupils toward their group and toward authority, before and after the application of the two methods of control. The accomplishment of the pupils in various school subjects could be measured at the same time. Some experimental studies will be cited in the discussion to follow.

Reason

When the teacher controls the pupil by means of reason, she has simply helped the child to realize that coöperation with the activities of the school is the best thing for the group, for society at large, and for the individual child. The control is based upon abstract ideals. Reason is hard to use as a means of control in school because it appears that more potent than intellectual responses to disciplinary problems are emotional responses. Those children, however, who can be controlled by reason (and most children can be some of the time) will of necessity have chosen the same course of action as has the teacher. Control by reason will not thwart the basic desires of the child. The following case study, taken from William E. Stark,[4] indicates how reason may get results where threats and punishments may fail:

> In a fourth grade a boy slyly kicks the boy in front of him. The latter turns around and scowls and goes back to his work. Presently the kick is repeated, the kicker enjoying the impotent rage of his victim. He keeps a furtive eye on the teacher and is apparently intent on his book when her attention is attracted by the movement of the boy in front. The latter is just turning back to his work and is told sternly to pay attention to his own affairs. This delights the tormentor, and he snickers in a carefully measured tone. At the next kick, a few minutes later, the boy in front is out of his seat like a flash and raining blows on the other.
>
> The teacher is horrified. She seizes the pugilist by the collar and drags him protesting into the principal's office. She is very much excited and feels that the boy's offense is unpardonable. She starts to pour out her story in the presence of several persons.
>
> The principal says, "Wait a minute," and clears the office. Then he says calmly, "Now let's get at the facts. Bob, tell me just what happened." The boy is still angry and at first is incoherent in his reply, but cool questioning,

[4] William E. Stark. *Every Teacher's Problems*, pp. 42–45. (Copyright, 1922, by American Book Company, publishers. Quoted by permission.)

with no suggestion of distrust or contempt, gradually brings out the facts and calms him down. The principal then says, "Now, while I am talking with Miss E, I want you to do an errand for me. When you get back, we will decide what must be done to straighten this matter out."

The other boy is then summoned. He is not inclined to accept much blame, saying that he was just having a little fun with Bob by making him mad. When asked what he would have done if Bob had done the same thing to him, he said he would have "laid for him after school." He is then told to wait outside the office until sent for.

"Now, Miss E," says the principal, "I think we have the facts. What shall we do?"

"I think both boys should be whipped," she replies. "Bob had strong provocation, but such behavior in the classroom is intolerable. He could have told me that Jack was kicking him. He acted like a wild beast. It was a disgrace to the school and an insult to the teacher."

The principal replies, "I feel as strongly as you do that such a thing must not occur again, but we must not allow ourselves to be so overcome by the disgracefulness of the occurrence as to regard these children as criminals. Both of them were following deep-seated instincts. One of them took a mean advantage of the other and rejoiced in his discomfort, but that is a trait of human nature which is very strong in many individuals and which has to be trained out of them. The other boy lost his self-control and became for the moment a savage. A part of his nature, for which he is not responsible, is still savage, along with much that is civilized and lovable. We must not judge these boys by ourselves. We could not possibly have behaved as they did, although I suspect that we sometimes do things in a more refined way which are based on the same instincts. We have built up ideals and habits and customs which control our natural impulses. Bob's control apparatus is not strong enough to prevent the explosion. It must be developed.

"Now in trying to devise the proper method of treatment, we shall have to consider the interest of the boys and the influence of the affair upon the class. I doubt if whipping would help the boys much. Both of them were prepared

for a fight in which they would probably receive more physical punishment than if they were whipped. We don't care especially to make their bodies sore, but we do want to put some restraining influence into their minds. My notion is to have the boys come in for a conference, let them see for themselves, without preaching at them, that the good name of the school and the welfare of the class have been injured by their behavior, and that we must find a way to overcome the injury and prevent its recurrence. I should like to tell them a little about instincts and habits and how people have become civilized. I hope they will feel ashamed of having let their feelings control them as if they were animals, and will be anxious to prove that they are their own masters. They may possibly offer to try to make things right with the class, although that is expecting a good deal from youngsters of their age. If they do not offer to do it, you can talk the matter over with the class yourself, and if the boys show a good spirit, the other children will suffer no harm.

"As to punishment, it seems to me that, since the boys have shown uncivilized behavior unworthy of the class, the natural penalty would be to consider them not full members until they have proved that they can be counted upon to be good citizens. They might be denied some privileges for a few days and then be reinstated by vote of the class, or they might not be permitted to take part in the class activities, simply working as individuals and reciting after school during the probationary period. If the emphasis, until the affair is settled, is placed consistently upon self-control and regard for the rights of others as essentials of good citizenship, the occurrence may result in real progress for the class as well as for the boys themselves."

The development of control upon the basis of reason, in addition to having value from the point of view of intelligent coöperation, may tend to develop in children a scientific or at least a quasi-scientific point of view toward social control and social problems. This attitude, once developed, may be of great value in the higher levels of social life and in democratic meetings and committees.

Prestige

Prestige is a means of social control that is readily accepted by those who are controlled. In fact, many persons desire to be controlled by prestige. Prestige has been defined by Cooley [5] as follows:

> A sense of power in others seems to involve a sense of their inscrutability; and, on the other hand, so soon as a person becomes plain he ceases to stimulate the imagination; we have seen all around him, so that he no longer appears an open door to new life. . . . This power of mere inscrutability arises from the fact that it gives a vague stimulus to thought and then leaves it to work out the details to suit itself.

The factors that may give prestige to the teacher are position, ideas, age, and learning. There are other subtle factors that may give prestige, such as one's bearing. One cannot be haughty, and yet a teacher, as we have noted in an earlier chapter, must not allow herself to become an intimate of the pupils. She needs to behave in such a manner that she is considered a lady in every respect. Being a lady is consistent with the maintenance of a certain reserve. One must always reserve a few cards to be played at another time. This can be done with all politeness, courtesy, and consideration for the rights of others.

Some pedagogically unprepared teachers manage to make their way in the classroom by the use of prestige techniques before they are 'discovered,' but those who possess real learning and the ability to obtain lasting prestige will find that pupils and students will follow any reasonable suggestions in their assignments — and enjoy the work. The continuance of prestige is dependent upon efficient, dignified teaching and control in the schoolroom, plus the possession of superior knowledge and personality traits. A teacher with prestige will find that students will follow the pattern of be-

[5] Charles H. Cooley. *Human Nature and the Social Order*, pp. 313–314.

havior she suggests. The socially-minded teacher can have an excellent influence through the proper use of prestige.[6]

Mores of Good Order

It has been observed that in primitive societies the children often follow without question the traditional and customary ways of behaving. They seem to take for granted that the ways of behaving characteristic of the adult society are the only ways of behaving. In fact, many investigators have pointed out that primitive men seldom make any attempt to find out the reasons for doing a thing: the fact that it has been done and is being done is sufficient for them. The result of this almost complete acceptance of the folkways and mores by those who are becoming members of a primitive society is that the parents and other adults have relatively few problems of discipline; punishment, commands, and threats are not so common as in modern society.[7] In the primitive society there are few, if any, standards of behavior competing for dominance; there are few, if any, other patterns that suggest other ways of behaving. (This does not mean that there is no crime in primitive societies.) In primitive society, school and society are not separated by brick walls, as in modern societies; in primitive societies the educational and the social process are one and the same thing. The young can easily perceive the utility of every suggestion of the adult.

On the other hand, it is easy to observe that in modern society there are many culture patterns seeking for dominance. The child often cannot tell which pattern to follow, and since the young find zest in adventurous activities, activities that provide excitement may often be preferred to the stereotyped activities of the conventional schoolroom.

[6] See Gardner Murphy and Lois B. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology*, pp. 143–155, for experimental evidence from Vitali, Binet, Henri, Vaschide, Aveling, Hargreaves, and others indicating that prestige has definite value in education.

[7] Wilson Wallis. *An Introduction to Anthropology*, Chapter 30.

It is also true that the modern child often fails to see the relationship between what is demanded in school and life activities outside the school. Of course, life activities are so complex that a modern child cannot possibly perceive the need for certain types of knowledge. It becomes necessary for the child to do certain things (depending upon the wisdom of the teacher for guidance) merely because he is told that they are the things to do.

To a certain extent the modern teacher can use in her classroom the principles of control used effectively in the primitive society, the mores. It may be necessary for her to use at first (not always) means of social control at the lower end of our scale of controls. As time goes on, perhaps within a few days of the beginning of the term, she may be able to establish a 'fashion of good order' in the schoolroom. This fashion of good order becomes the standard of behavior of the group; a pupil who violates this standard is brought into line by the other members of the group through whatever means of control it appears necessary to use. By the same process, if disorder is more or less approved by a majority or by an influential minority in the room, teachers confront difficult problems in discipline. Suggestions for the development of a fashion of good order may be found in the chapters on morale and accommodation.

In a training-school room in a certain teachers college it was observed that a new pupil had come to the room who desired to disturb others rather than to participate in the constructive activities of the school. He tried several 'stunts,' but he failed to attract the teacher's attention and the other children frowned upon him. In a few days the would-be disturber behaved like the rest, with never a word of reproof from the teacher. The mores had controlled his conduct.

In a school where the mores of good order control, the following conditions will be found: (1) teacher and students like one another; (2) teacher and students are working together on interesting and valuable activities; (3) the con-

structive work of the school is considered more important than anything else.

Social workers, school officials, and visiting teachers have found that often the behavior of problem children can be changed by transferring the child to a school where there is a fashion of good order.[8] Sometimes children have voluntarily requested to be returned from the regular school to the school for problem children because they said that they could "be good" in the special school (managed by highly trained teachers), but not in the regular school.

Praise

The experimental studies of Hurlock and Briggs and others have shown that children improve in their school work more when they are praised than when they are blamed.[9] The studies have not indicated, however, how long praise can be used before the point of diminishing returns may be reached. Praise certainly tends to "water the roots of human energy," to release activity, and to establish a cooperative attitude toward the person who gives the praise; but certainly also, there can be too much praise.

Praise is recognition. Praise gives higher social status to the individual who receives it. In school, praise can be a reward where money or prizes cannot, and praise may get better results than money as a reward for accomplishment, especially in school situations. In school, children are exerting considerable effort over relatively long periods of time. If all this effort appears valueless, if it reaps no apparent reward, if it raises no light of enthusiasm in the eyes of the person most competent to judge, children may become discouraged and indifferent.

The techniques of praise have not been worked out experimentally. It appears to the authors that a teacher can praise her pupils by acting toward them and speaking to

[8] Miriam Van Waters. *Youth in Conflict*, Chapter III.

[9] Gardner Murphy and Lois B. Murphy. *Experimental Social Psychology*, pp. 452–453.

them in such a manner that they feel she respects them, likes them, and is eager to help them improve their social status. In other words, it is possible to praise a person by one's attitude although one says very little to him. In the absence of experimental evidence one may venture to suggest the following techniques of praise for teachers:

1. Listen courteously to the student's recitations.
2. Assume that the student is doing his best.
3. Make the most of the points offered by the student.
4. Do not ridicule a poor recitation.
5. Allow your students to believe that they are becoming more and more able individuals as a result of their efforts.
6. Make use of such statements as "Good work, John!" "This is a hard assignment, class, but I have no doubt of your ability to do it." "I was very much interested in reading your papers last night."

The teacher can make use of gestures and nods of the head, as well as of verbal approval. It is probably good practice to follow the mood and ideas of the reciting student with appropriate facial gestures, not too much emphasized.

A few specific instances of how skillful teachers have used praise "to water the roots of human energy" follow:

> Helen was in the fifth grade in school. She was a dreamy and listless child and was not interested in her work. If a book was handed to her to read, she would look through it and then look around the room to see if any one was watching her neglect it. One day the teacher went down to her desk and said, "Helen, I have a book here which I am sure you will like. No one else has a book like it. You will enjoy learning some new things about our problem from this book. Then tomorrow, when we have a recitation period, you will be able to contribute material that no one else has had a chance to see. I am sure you can do this very well and so I will leave it to you." The result was that Helen worked like a trooper to do her bit of work.
>
> I was a freshman in high school, when the entire class had to read library books and keep a filing box with their

book reports. I was not interested in the work and so was about the last one to go to the library to get my book. By this time there were very few books left in the library, and none that interested me. The librarian found a book and said: "I know you will like this book. Your English grades show that you are capable of doing good work; so I am sure you will like this and will be able to understand it, too." Knowing that this teacher who kept the library had confidence in me, I naturally put forth more effort to appreciate and understand the book than I otherwise should have done. She had aroused my interest and a desire to be appreciative of good books.

In our first-grade class, we had been doing much cutting of designs with scissors. One day our teacher brought a very difficult pattern to class. She held it up and some one said, "Isn't that too hard for us?" The teacher replied: "Do you know, boys and girls, that is just what some of the teachers in the other grades asked me? They said it would be difficult for their pupils. Now I am wondering if this is too difficult for us to do. You have been doing good work in your cutting so far. I told the other teachers I was sure you could do the work. Do you think you can handle this difficult piece of cutting? If we do well with it, we shall be allowed to display our work on the school bulletin board." Of course, we all agreed that we could do such a piece of work. I still have this work I did in the first grade. I looked it over recently, and I believe that it is indeed a difficult task for the first grade. However, with the teacher's statement of her belief in our ability to accomplish such a task, the excellent work resulted. We were proud individually and as a group of our work.

One needs, however, to be cautious not to overuse praise generally and not to show partiality in its use. One cannot continue to praise favored individuals before a class and retain the good-will of the pupils. In general, it is probably much better to praise the class as a whole and to praise individuals privately. All such 'rules,' of course, are subject to many exceptions.

Rewards

As society is constituted, individuals are given rewards, within certain limits, in proportion to the relative amount of their achievement as measured by more or less crude standards. Since rewards are 'the way of the world,' it may be necessary — some would say it would be desirable — for the school to use them in order to stimulate effort. Rewards, when given in the school, should probably be for conduct and achievement that are of the most value to the individual and to the society of which he is a member. Rewards undoubtedly should be given for positive achievement rather than for mere negative 'goodness.'

Rewards should be designed to satisfy ambition and if possible also to stimulate others to achieve — certainly not to provoke feelings of inferiority or antagonism in the minds of those who do not succeed in meeting the standards. It is to be remembered that rewards should be given for achievement in various aspects of school activity, manual and social as well as intellectual. To give rewards in one field of endeavor alone will discourage those students who do not have ability in that particular field.

Probably the highest type of reward is the joy that accompanies accomplishment. The teacher may well make every effort to arrange the work of the school in such a manner (see the chapter on accommodation) that students can find joy in accomplishment on all levels. It should be possible for all the students to be rewarded by the joy of accomplishment and success.

Another desirable reward is simply the appreciative approval of the teacher for work well done. Since a child has his social status determined by the ratings of others, he is willing to struggle hard for a good social rating. The successful teacher is the one who makes the children feel, rightfully, that they are making places for themselves in the world.

If such rewards as gold stars, blue ribbons, colored slips of paper, candy, etc., *must* be given, they should be im-

partially awarded upon the basis of some entirely objective criterion. If this is not done, partiality may easily result, and the arousal of antagonistic attitudes of many of the class may be the unfortunate outcome.

The authors believe that the highest and most satisfactory reward is the kind that comes from participating in activities similar to those described in the chapter on accommodation. Since, however, many teachers will not follow these suggestions because of lack of interest, or because the school system will not permit those activities, or for some other reason, a few illustrations of the use of traditional rewards will be given.

The following plan for rewards was productive of results because it tended to satisfy ambition and to stimulate others to achieve, and apparently avoided any appearance of partiality.

> Spelling was a weakness in District Six. Some method had to be devised to arouse the pupil's interest and in that way gain better results. The teachers decided on the following little contest: If a child could receive a perfect mark in spelling for one week straight, he was to be given a star. At the end of the year all those who had obtained ten stars were to receive a little prize. We found this very successful. Many children received their prizes and were proud of them. Those who failed to do so realized that they, also, could have done as well if they had tried harder. There was no ill feeling at all on the part of the losers. One loser said, "Believe me, next year I'm going to study my spelling and get a prize."

The advantage of this plan is that it was fair and gave all who succeeded a chance for the same rating. Notice the difference in probable result between it and plans that would give only one a chance, next described:

> *Teacher:* "The one who gets one hundred per cent in spelling this month will win this book."
>
> *Mary:* "Oh! Gee! I can't win anything."
>
> *Helen:* "What's the use of trying? Louise will win it."

> The teacher said, "To the child that is the best citizen in the school this year, I will give a reward at Christmas time."
>
> At Christmas time the teacher gave a boy the reward. The rest of the children were hurt immensely, each because he was not chosen the best citizen. On the playground they teased the boy and called him "sissy" and "teacher's pet." This caused the child the embarrassment of being ridiculed by his playmates. The children grew antagonistic toward the teacher as well as toward the poor 'best citizen.'

In this latter case the pupils would probably have cooperated in the teacher's program if they had participated in the selection of the best citizen.

Flattery

Flattery smacks somewhat of insincerity and therefore is not to be recommended as a means of social control. Nevertheless, there are many persons who are controlling others in the social world by means of flattery. It may be well for the teacher to be somewhat aware of the effects of flattery. Like praise, flattery may "water the roots of human energy." Possibly flattery may be called deliberate overpraise, ordinarily overpraise by inferiors of superiors in social status. It may be possible, however, for teachers to use a modified kind of flattery in the control of children, as the following experiences suggest:

> When I was in the fifth grade I was one of the lowest in the class in my subjects. One day we went to the board to play 'races' in doing arithmetic problems and examples. Of course, it was my bad luck always to be put up against the best students. This time I was quite angry. I stepped to the board and took the problem down. The teacher said, "Ready, go!" I finished first with the right answer. This put me at the top of the class for that day. When I left the board, the teacher said, "Kenneth is going to be a fast thinker and a good racer if he keeps that up. The rest of you will have to work harder." This flattery set me to work, and I was at the head of the class in mathematics from

the fifth grade through the high school. The remainder of my school year in the fifth grade was spent with less spitball shooting and looking at pictures.

Flattery used by one teacher with a junior-high-school student resulted in getting the necessary work done for the junior-senior banquet.

Teacher: "Mary, you certainly do know how to do almost everything. You even know how to plan meals."

Pupil: "Oh, I like to do that and I have done quite a bit of it at home because I have to help mother with the work."

Teacher: "That surely is fine because it is going to help out the whole class in planning this banquet. If any of the other faculty members ask me whom they should go to for help, I'll say 'Mary,' as she always does any work that you want done."

The foregoing illustrations show how overpraise, one technique of flattery, was used to get coöperation in the school. There are other techniques that may have value for teachers; for example, listening to the ideas of others (needlessly), asking advice of others (needlessly), and avoiding the giving of annoying advice.[10]

Even though its recipient recognizes flattery as flattery, it has the effect of raising one's notion of his importance in life; this is satisfying to the individual and makes him well disposed toward the person who is giving him this feeling of superiority — provided, of course, the flattery is not overdone or obviously done with some ulterior motive.

Laughter

Laughter is another possible means of social control. It appears that in school it may have any one of the following effects, depending upon the particular situation in which the laughter occurs: (1) it may be used to break down tense situations; (2) it may be used to keep pupils in conformity with the standards of behavior of the room; (3) it may

[10] F. E. Lumley. *Means of Social Control*, Chapter 4.

stimulate feelings of inferiority (a process closely associated, obviously, with ridicule, to be discussed presently).

Illustrations of each of these effects are given in the following cases reported by students.

> Mr. X had just given the class a severe lecture on the poor work we had done, and without knowing it had spent half the period in the process. During the entire lecture on our poor scholarship, there was not a single noise or movement among us students who felt the earnestness of his convictions. He must have noticed the unnatural quiet while he talked. After he had finished and while he was getting ready to deliver his regular lecture, he looked up and said, "Now every one laugh." Every one certainly did; it took the sharp edge off the 'bawling out' we had just been given without ruining the effect of the earnestness of the first talk.

> In our high-school assembly the habit of chewing gum during study hours was prevalent. After asking for the students' coöperation in the matter of gum-chewing and finding that unsuccessful, the teacher tried a new method of attack. Any one caught chewing gum was put on the stage in front of the assembly and ordered to chew his gum. Within a week the 'anti-gum' rule was easily enforced.

> In the second grade we were all to read an article in the paper and then try to give it to the class. The teacher gave all of us simple paragraphs especially planned for that class and that day. The word 'comfortable' appeared in one paragraph and a boy pronounced it incorrectly, putting the emphasis on the second syllable. The teacher laughed cynically and encouraged the rest of the class to laugh with her. The boy was tremendously hurt, and he still remembers that experience. This lad now attends the university, and he said just the other day, "I have such an inferior feeling when I get up to speak. I'm afraid some one is criticizing me or laughing at me for some error. It was that crazy Miss Z that makes me feel that way, because I never shall forget the day she made the whole class laugh at me for mispronouncing a word."

Sarcasm and Ridicule

In sarcasm and ridicule we come to the point on our crude scale of controls where the control tends to thwart the desires of the child for love, security, and activity. Social control may be obtained by the use of sarcasm, but the interest of the child in the work of the school and in the teacher may often be greatly dampened.

In the illustrations of the use of sarcasm by teachers that follow, the reader should observe the discouraging effect of its use upon the activities of students.

A teacher remarked to a student who had not understood the question: "Oh, so you were not here today. Where have you been?" We all laughed except the student who had been humiliated. She started to cry. When she came out of the classroom, she said, "Gee, I hate that woman."

A seventh-grade boy had the habit of grinning all the time, and the teacher, who was new in the school and didn't know that this was a habit, said, "Fred, I wish you would take that sickish, smirkish, disgustful grin off your face."

Fred lost his grin, his spirit, and his interest in school. He went from the head to the foot of the class, became a problem in discipline, skipped school, etc. Before the sarcastic remark of the teacher, he had been an ideal student with the exception of his harmless smile.

Ridicule consists of remarks concerning a person which are designed to show contempt and at the same time to cause others to laugh at him. Sarcasm is a cutting jibe designed to hurt mentally the individual at whom it is directed: sarcasm is a sort of intellectual punishment. Sarcasm and ridicule of course are similar in nature and in their effects. The following illustration reveals how ridicule may be used:

A group of fifth-grade boys had been divided into two groups for a series of ball games. Tom, a well-liked chap, was not a good batter, was possibly among the poorest.

On the second day of the ball games, the teacher, observing Tom's failure to hit the ball, said: "Well, Tom, it seems as if you don't care to play; unless you do better, this side has no show of winning."

The game went on and instead of Tom's feeling that he was out to win, he felt, as he expressed it, "I don't give a darn."

Another inning came and went. Again Tom failed at the bat. Said the teacher, "What are you trying to do, Tom, make a record of 'outs'?"

Tom snapped back, "Let's see you knock a couple of 'homers.' Show us how to hit it!"

With this, all those on Tom's side threw off their mitts and picked up the bats and balls.

"We're through!" they cried.

For weeks these fifth-grade boys were separated into these two groups. One side 'teacher's pets'; the other side 'quitters.' Nothing that the teacher would say could help matters now.

Instead of two friendly groups of players, there was now a disappointed group of wrangling boys.

Commands

A command is a decisive order given by a presumed superior to presumed inferiors and is designed to halt at once one line of action and start another. Commands do not necessarily consider the desires of the individuals commanded. It is presumed that the 'authority' giving the commands knows exactly what should be done. Frequently a feeling of resentment is aroused in those commanded. Of course, the emotional response to commands depends upon the situation and the prestige of the leader who gives the commands. Commands are obviously in place in the army, in many organized games, and in other similar situations.

In modern schools the use of peremptory commands is often not considered necessary by the students, and resentful and antagonistic attitudes often follow. In any event, commands thwart or negative individual initiative. Commands are not to be confused with instructions. When stu-

dents are ready to learn something about which they know the teacher is informed, they are willing to follow her instructions — even though in some cases, these may be equivalent to commands. It is when the teacher issues orders in the "theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do or die" attitude that students feel thwarted. The types of commands we have in mind here are the authoritative thrusts that are given in such a manner that they suggest there is opposition that must be controlled. In school there will be a great social distance between the 'commanding' teacher and the students; both teacher and students feel this social distance. The 'commanding' teacher knows no other way to get students to do things.

Students are willing to accept authoritative direction from a teacher with prestige, but will coöperate as little as possible with the teacher who "shouts and hollers." In order to indicate clearly the paralyzing effects of schoolroom commands, the following abbreviated verbatim report of a visit to a fourth-grade room in a large city is given.[11]

> "Sit up tall — every one of you!" commanded the teacher. Forty-six boys, ranging in age from nine to twelve, their arms crossed behind them, their chests swelling to bursting, strained themselves against the backs of their seats. The teacher regarded them fixedly until the last child was frozen into immobility.
>
> "Arithmetic books — out!" At the signal forty-six books appeared on the desks. "Begin at the top of page 47 and work examples 12, 13, 14, and 15. All except you, Nathan, and you, Davis, and you, Paul. You three go to the board and write down what I tell you."
>
> "These dull fellows need a little extra drill," declared the teacher in a loud voice aside to the visitor. "I always say the dull child has as much right to be educated as the smart one. That means giving him a hand once in a while.

[11] Agnes de Lima. *Our Enemy the Child*, Chapter II (abridged). (By permission of Agnes de Lima and The New Republic, Inc.) There is less of this type of teaching now than some years ago, but it has not disappeared.

Now then, boys, clear the board. Put down 6, 327, 542. Divide by 915. Nathan, where are your eyes?"

[Next follows a description of the room, which is omitted.]

At the end of a quarter of an hour the teacher ordered the arithmetic papers to be collected and then announced with a show of liveliness that the class would write a composition about a trip to Central Park, planned for the morrow.

The children brightened visibly. Here was a real event worth discussing. They waited cautiously, however, for directions as to how to proceed to discuss it. The teacher wrote the heading on the board: "A Trip to Central Park."

"Put that down," she commanded. Forty-six pencils wrote as a unit. Then the children waited again.

"Next write in your own words all the things Miss Perkins has told you not to do on the trip." Not a child moved.

"Oh come," she urged, "you remember what those things are. Tell us one, Nathan."

"Not to knock no papers on the floor."

"You mean, to throw no papers on the grass. Yes, we must leave everything orderly. What else, Benjamin?"

"Please, we should listen on your whistle and come right back."

"Yes, nobody is to go beyond the sound of my whistle; and the moment I blow it, you must return instantly."

After a sufficient number of these negative reminders had been given, the children set about writing them down. The task seemed a more congenial one than the previous one. To discuss a real coming event, even in the negative, was far more agreeable than to work arithmetic sums *in vacuo*.

The writing period was soon over, and the readers were ordered out. "Turn to page 62; read each sentence aloud." The children rose mechanically and read the sentences in shrill, labored tones, chopping off each word with meaningless emphases. A number yawned and squirmed miserably. The teacher then scanned her watch nervously.

"Time for music!" she announced.

The class stuffed the readers out of sight and sat woodenly erect.

"Sit up tall," said Miss Perkins for the twentieth time

that morning. "Make your mouths nice and round." She drew a little pipe from her pocket and blew 'A.'

"La-a, everybody!" Her right hand waved through the air.

The class rose to its feet.

"Now then — 'Happy School Days.' Sing as if you meant it. Wake up, can't you? Some of you look only half alive. Remember we must sing our best on commencement day." . . .

The spelling match was conducted without the slightest animation. As the noon bell rang, a shiver of expectancy went over the room. The door opened, and a child entered with a note for Miss Perkins. Instantly, a score of heads craned down the hall and one boy involuntarily thrust his foot in the direction of freedom.

"John!" snapped Miss Perkins. "You may stay after class for fifteen minutes." She began to count slowly, the signal for the children to get their wraps. Each row rose in turn, faced about, and marched in dead silence to the clothes closet, got their wraps, and returned to their seats. They were given the signal to rise. All, save the luckless John, fell into line and marched to the door.

"We shall stand here until every head is still," announced Miss Perkins.

"The boy who has his elbows up, put them down." There was another half minute of anguished immobility.

"Good morning, boys," she said finally.

"Good morning, Miss Perkins," came the reply in a roar of spontaneity, the only sincere response of the morning.

Miss Perkins watched the line file down the hall where it was met by the other lines. Only at the downstairs door was vigilance relaxed, when the children burst out into the free air of the streets like so many exploding shells.

Commands of the type used by this teacher usually fail to stimulate inner interest in the work at hand. If Miss Perkins had been able to stimulate the children's interest sufficiently in the work at hand to get them to want to know how to do certain things, they would probably have been willing to follow her instructional directions. If Miss Perkins' commands had stimulated reflection in the children

they would have been more effective as an educational measure. The case of Miss Perkins reminds one of the blind leading the blind. Her kind of control is not to be recommended for the public schools. It is a type of control more suitable, if anywhere, to leadership in an autocracy than in a democracy.

Threats

When other means of social control fail, one may have to use threats or punishment. Perhaps some children may know no other methods of social control. A threat is a promise of punishment if certain things are done or are not done. If a teacher carries out her threats regularly, she will probably be obeyed and obtain a certain kind of control of the children. The control is based, however, upon a fear of punishment and not upon a desire to coöperate with the group or with the program of activities of the school. Threats may control, but they may often interfere with a child's desire for love, security, and activity.

Some illustrations are given which indicate how threats as a means of control have worked, and illustrate the attitudes of the students toward threats.

First is presented an illustration of the ineffectiveness of threats in school when it becomes known that the teacher does not carry out his threats.

> This occurred in a school where the teacher had little prestige of any kind. During recess period, from the back steps of the teacherage the principal and I heard Harry, a fifth grader, shouting at one of the other boys, "You Finn."
>
> The principal walked over to Harry and said with some vehemence, "If I hear you using such language again, you'll get a good strapping and no recess periods for a week." The boy was not noticeably concerned.
>
> That afternoon I had a chance to get acquainted with Harry. I asked, "Weren't you afraid this morning when Mr. A came over to talk to you?"
>
> "Naw," said Harry with a shrug of his shoulders. "He's

always telling us kids things like that, and he ain't done nothing to anybody yet."

Thus the entire student body reacted, paying no attention to anything the principal said. If he had strictly enforced his first threats, perhaps it would have been possible for him to discontinue that means of attempted control.

It is possible, too, for a student to control a teacher by means of threats, especially if the student is backed up by some influential member of the school board or school district. The following is a case in point.

Butch comes from a home environment that is not desirable. His father has a reputation of 'bulldozing' the entire district. The school is a pet subject of his. Butch is his oldest son and in the fourth grade. He is very arrogant and always 'blowing' about what his father says. Of course, he has a few followers. One day he became unmanageable, and his teacher punished him by hitting him across the hand with a ruler. That evening the father had a special conference with the teacher and let her know that he would sue her if it ever happened again. Butch knew all about this. The next day he came to school and immediately began blowing about what his 'pa' said. He met his friend, Joe, in the hall and said, "Joe, you should have heard my pa give teacher heck last night. He's going to sue her if she touches me again. I'd just like to see her hit me. I'd knock her down. I'll tell pa and he'll sue her. He can even take her contract from her."

All that day Butch showed signs of being arrogant. If the teacher spoke to the class, he'd mumble in undertones. Finally she could stand it no longer. She approached Butch and asked him to be quiet. He said, "You just better leave me alone or I'll show you something."

The teacher said nothing. All the children gasped and snickered. The teacher continued her class. From that day to the end of the term Butch had no interference.

Punishment

"Punishment is the fulfillment of threats; it is the completion of activities of which satire, laughter, calling names, and uttering threats are the beginnings; it is the imposition

of a penalty, the infliction of pain or loss, the forcing of the recalcitrant to suffer retribution; it is the limiting of victims to only one opening — suffering and loss." [12] It is designed as a final attempt to get a person or persons to conform to the standard of behavior set by the leaders.

In school, punishment should be used as a means of reconstructing the child's attitude toward the school and society as a whole. The punishment that does not contribute to this goal may be of little constructive value. The retributive idea is to be subordinated, if not eliminated from the teacher's mind.

First are presented some examples of the use of punishment where conformity resulted but other results were negative. Following this are examples of the use of punishment in such a way as to obtain little of worth.

> The pupils in the lower grades were inclined to whisper. I wanted to put a stop to it; so I said, "For each time that I see you whisper, you will have to stay for five minutes after school." For a while every one was very quiet. But before the day was over, I caught one little boy in the act. He stayed his five minutes. Throughout the year there was very little whispering because the pupils dreaded the idea of remaining to serve their 'sentence,' as they called it. [Whispering is not to be considered as disapproved of by the authors.]

> We were all seated in a classroom in the sixth grade, and I was in the middle front seat, trying to show off. I made a face at the teacher and made a motion toward her with my fist.
>
> She noticed this and said furiously, "Dick, leave the room and go into the cloakroom and wait for me." I got up with a silly grin and walked boldly into the cloakroom. The class laughed loudly, and this made the teacher more angry. She came into the cloakroom with a pointer in one hand and a ruler in the other. She said upon entering, "Aren't you one of these fine big boys we're all proud of,

[12] F. E. Lumley. *Means of Social Control*, p. 363.

or are you one of those babies that always has to be watched?" I said, "I never did anything." By this time I had tears in my eyes. Knowing that I was to be punished, I thought that if I cried, she would not hit me so hard.

Then she said, "There, crying like a little first-grader. I'll give you something to cry about." She slapped my face with the ruler. I got angry and said, "Get out of here, or I'll tell my dad on you. You can't hit me. You're not my father." And I kicked her in the shins. She dropped the ruler and, oh, she just laced me with the pointer until I was black and blue in several places, and I heard the class having a good time over it.

I cried and howled and swore, and the more I howled, the more she pounded. Finally she eased up and said, "Now I'll go with you to the principal and show him what kind of boy you are."

"Please, Miss M," said I, "I won't do it again. I'll be good; please don't take me to him."

I knew I'd get laced from him also; so she finally made me sit in the cloakroom, and when she entered the room where the other children were, you could have heard a pin drop as she said, "That's going to happen to every one of you who doesn't behave."

[A note was also sent to the father, and he supported the teacher in the matter.]

I went to school the following day, and the kids laughed and razzed me. The teacher told them that if any one laughed again, they would get the whipping of their lives.

There were no more disciplinary problems that year. I always received 'A' in conduct and became one of the best students in the class. [This kind of punishment is not recommended by the authors.]

Sometimes severe measures of punishment at the beginning of the term have achieved control for the remainder of the year. There is before the writers a case of a superintendent who was promoted to a higher school position because of his success with the vigorous use of the rubber hose on one student before the other students at the beginning of the year. Of course, these methods of control are

based on fear, and the control does not appeal to the inner desire to behave according to approved standards; furthermore, this type of punishment is against the law in many places and is not recommended.

The following are some illustrations of the use of punishment in such a manner as to get no constructive result of any kind. Fear and disrespect were the only visible results.

All through junior and senior high school we were made to learn parts of the Constitution for punishment for whispering. We learned to hate this material and became disinterested. This disinterest carried over into college, so that when 'Government' was taken, it was hard for me because I wasn't interested. I had learned to hate it.

Teacher: "Boys, come here. Do you remember what you were told about leaving the school grounds during noon hour? You remember I asked you not to leave the grounds without permission."

Boys: "Why, there was a man with a monkey on the street. The man played a funny instrument and the monkey danced and picked up pennies when thrown to him and put them in his pocket. We wanted to see him. We had not seen monkeys often before."

Teacher: "You should have asked permission."

Boys: "Yes, when the monkey was gone."

Teacher: "You boys all march into the schoolroom."

Boys: "Oh! She sure is some 'hen.' What does she think we are, a bunch of babies?"

Sulkily they marched into the room.

Boys: "There were some girls on the street, too. Why shouldn't they have come in?"

Teacher: "You will now take out paper and pencil and write fifty times, 'I should not leave the school grounds without permission.'"

Everybody sulked and got busy.

After school the conversation among the boys ran high with disgust at the teacher, and they called the girls 'pets,' and other things.

It took some time before this feeling was forgotten.

The first instance in the foregoing group illustrates how the making of school work a form of punishment may have unfortunate results. The second report indicates the possibility of the development of antagonistic attitudes through the enforcement of rules that are in general reasonable, but should not apply in a particular case.

The form of punishment may be simply social disapproval, the performance of distasteful activities, the loss of privileges, or corporal punishment. Any one of these forms may be used in such a manner as to develop in the students disrespect for the teacher and antagonistic attitudes toward both the teacher and the school. If the punishment is accepted by the students as just, is administered with a lack of anger, and is absolutely impartial, it may be expected to obtain in many cases desirable results. If the punishment, regardless of its particular form, is unjust, administered in anger, and if the individuals to be punished are selected by a criterion that smacks of partiality, more disobedience and increased antagonistic attitudes may be expected.

The following are cases from our records of the use of some form of punishment that has been so administered as to secure desirable results — increased conformity, more cooperative attitudes, improved effort in school work. Observe how they fit the criteria of justice, lack of anger, and impartiality.

> It was winter, and grade five was having considerable trouble over snowball throwing. Finally the teacher found it necessary to discuss the matter with the children. After giving her objections to snowball throwing, she told them that the next child who threw snowballs would be punished by ten slaps with the ruler. The children agreed that this would be fair punishment.
>
> That afternoon, Robert was reported as violating the rule. Just before school was dismissed in the afternoon, the teacher said, "I'm sorry to hear that Robert disobeyed our ruling about snowball throwing. Robert, please remain in your seat."

After the other children had left the teacher said, "When you threw snowballs, you knew that you would be punished, didn't you, Robert?"

Robert hung his head and sheepishly answered, "Yes, Miss Jones."

Miss Jones then got her ruler and proceeded to administer the hard slaps. Robert winced and held back a tear.

When she was finished, Miss Jones said, "I'm sorry, Robert. Good night."

Robert rose manfully to the occasion and said, "Good night, Miss Jones."

The next day work went on as usual; Robert willingly contributed his part. No more was heard of snowball throwing. Robert's mother reported later that Robert had said, "I like my teacher because she is fair." [A privation would have been a better punishment than the slaps with the ruler.]

The children were deciding who was to be leader for the line while passing home at noon. The children and the teacher talked the matter over at the beginning of the year. They decided that a child who did not talk, stood up well, and saw that the rest of the line behind him was straight would be a good leader. The child that behaved the best during the morning session was to become the leader for that day, provided he could carry out the standards decided upon.

One morning, Donald, about six years old, was chosen by the rest of the children to lead the line. He went to the head of the line.

"Hurry the others up with their wraps," said the teacher.

Donald looked around but made no effort to hurry up the line.

"The line is not straight yet, and some children are talking," said the teacher. Donald looked around again, but made no effort to ask the children to stop or to make a straight line. A moment later when the teacher went across the room to help some children with their wraps, Donald took a 'cricket' from his pocket and began to make a loud noise by pressing it.

"I don't think we have chosen the right leader for our line today, do you, boys and girls?" said the teacher.

"No," replied the other children.

"Go to the end of the line, Donald, because you have not shown us that you want to be our leader."

Donald had a very dejected look upon his face when he took his place at the end of the line. The other children did not choose Donald again for a leader. One day some time later the teacher asked Donald if he would like to try to be leader once more. He was very much pleased and performed the duties of a good leader well. He was chosen for this job by the children many times after that, because he knew what sort of leader the teacher and children liked, and he won back the respect of the other children.

The foregoing illustrations suggest that punishment, even corporal punishment, can be used successfully to get coöperation of children in the work of the school. It does not seem to the writers that punishment should be used until other methods of control suggested by this chapter have been found to be of no avail. The reason for this view is that punishment too often thwarts the natural desires of the child, while the methods of control at the upper end of the scale proposed at the beginning of the chapter are more likely to stimulate effort constructively and also provide for happiness in the individual. Reason, mores of good order, and praise cannot always be used, but their use is fitted to the natural motives of the individual. Threats and punishment may be necessary at times, but it is difficult to use them with satisfaction and with permanently valuable results.

We conclude the chapter with the following suggestions or rules for the use of punishment when punishment becomes necessary in school. These suggestions have been found helpful by experienced teachers.[13]

1. Punishment should be given in a manner consistent with the purpose of education — not by rule.
2. Punishment should not be inflicted in a spirit of revenge.

[13] William E. Stark. *Every Teacher's Problems*, pp. 37, 38, 53, 54, 73, 74. W. R. Smith. *Constructive School Discipline*, Chap. VIII.

3. Punishment should accomplish its purpose without frequent repetition.

4. Punishment should fit the offense and the individual offender.

5. Enforced idleness is a poor form of punishment.

6. A child should not be punished unless it is clear he is to blame.

7. The whole class should never be punished for the fault of an individual.

8. An enforced apology is valueless.

9. The certainty of punishment is of more value than its severity.

10. Punishment should include fairness tempered by kindness.

11. Rebukes, assignments of tasks, and deprivations are of some value as school punishments, when better forms of punishment fail.

12. Corporal punishment, suspension, and expulsion are likely to be accompanied by antagonistic attitudes and may do the child and the school more harm than good. These methods should be used with extreme caution.

13. All penalties should have a constructive purpose.

14. Punishment should aim to improve order and to reconstruct the child's attitude toward the school.

15. Study individual reactions to the same punishments; fairness does not mean that all should be treated alike.

16. "Be sparing of commands, but whenever you do command, command with decision and accuracy" (Herbert Spencer).

A reëxamination of the studies included in the section on punishment will reveal the value of many of these rules.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is social control?

2. Can social control be avoided? Why?

3. What is the problem set by social control in the schools of a democracy?

4. What are the dangers of a 'hard pedagogy'?

5. What are the dangers of a 'soft pedagogy'?

6. What is the middle course?

7. How is the scale of techniques of social control arranged?

8. How can punishment be used with success?

9. Indicate the effects of each of the twelve methods of social control in the school.

10. Why does sarcasm often defeat its purpose?

11. What are the dangers of flattery?

12. Distinguish between commands and directions.

13. In what ways may one experiment to determine the effects of various means of social control on learning?

14. The important thing in education is to transmit the curriculum. Why is the study of methods of social control in the classroom nevertheless important?

15. Under what conditions is it possible for a modern type of teacher who knows how to use only reason as a means of social control to fail in discipline?

16. What is meant by the statement: "Deal with children as they are, considering what they may become"? How does it apply to the understanding of problems of social control in school?

17. Give an account of one of your attempts at social control. Indicate why you succeeded or failed.

18. Visit a school for several hours. Observe all methods of social control used. Describe, name, and classify the methods used, and observe the effects of each upon the attitude and effort of the students.

19. Compare the methods of social control used by a teacher who has trouble with discipline with the methods used by the teacher who has few disciplinary troubles.

Bibliography

Bagley, William C. *School Discipline.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.

Cooley, Charles H. *Human Nature and the Social Order.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, revised edition, 1922.

De Lima, Agnes. *Our Enemy the Child.* New York: New Republic, Inc., 1926.

Lumley, E. E. *Means of Social Control.* New York: The Century Company, 1925.

Murphy, Gardner and Murphy, Lois B. *Experimental Social Psychology.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931.

Ross, E. A. *Social Control.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

SMITH, WALTER P. *Constructive School Discipline.* New York: American Book Company, 1924.

STARK, WILLIAM E. *Every Teacher's Problems.* New York: American Book Company, 1922.

VAN WATERS, MIRIAM. *Youth in Conflict.* New York: New Republic, Inc., 1925.

WALLIS, WILSON. *An Introduction to Anthropology.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1926.

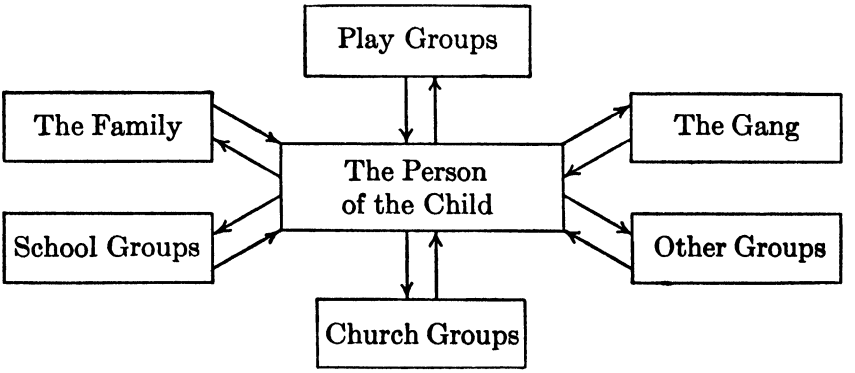
CHAPTER XVI

SOCIOLOGICAL DIAGNOSIS OF INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR

It has been observed by specialists in the field of human behavior that the behavior of the child in school may frequently be traced to the social situations in which he has been placed.

The Social Situation

The social situation may be conceived as the sum total of group relationships (primary and secondary) that impinge upon a person. The social situation may be illustrated in a crude way by the following diagram:



In order to understand a child from the sociological point of view, it is necessary to know the following facts about the social situation of the child:

1. The culture of the groups to which the child belongs or has formerly belonged.
2. The social relations or interactions between the child and the groups with which he has contact.
3. The social status of the child in each different group.
4. The attitudes of the persons in each group toward the child.

5. The desires of the child that may remain unsatisfied as the result of his group relations.
6. The attitudes of the child toward the values represented in the culture of the groups.
7. The attitudes of the child toward the persons in the groups.
8. The child's attitude toward his own present behavior or, in the case of the problem child, his present behavior difficulties.
9. Methods by which the child is controlled in each group.

When information on these sociological factors is secured, a properly trained person may be in a position to judge why a given child behaves as he does. This statement emphasizes the sociological approach to the study of human behavior; there are other approaches — the medical, the biological, the psychological — and all these approaches would be used to make a really complete study of the behavior of the individual.

It is sometimes forgotten that the classroom teacher is trying to teach individuals as well as groups. She often finds that no single plan of instruction is suitable for all and that individual difficulties of various kinds arise. A knowledge upon her part of the facts in connection with the nine sociological aspects would help her to determine the causes underlying the behavior and the attitudes of a child.

But this knowledge is not always easy to secure. In earlier times the teacher often lived for some time in the community where the child had all his social contacts. She then frequently became familiar with the social situation of most of her children and could act more wisely because she had this knowledge. The present tendency in education is away from intimate knowledge of individuals or intimate contacts with them and toward mass education. The result is that the teacher makes many assignments and many requests without due consideration of the social situation of many of her pupils. This oversight may develop children with problems in behavior (major and minor) or a teacher who fails to treat these problems of behavior.

The need for teachers who have an insight into problems of social interaction and social situations is revealed by the following case described by Zorbaugh:

> A boy in a mid-western 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 transferred for study, got in touch with his old school to which he must return, explained his problem, and talked to 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 his trouble was. The boy said that the school wouldn't give him a new deal, but treated him just as before he was sent away; and that 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.[1]

This case shows that it was not possible for the sociologically untrained teachers of a regular school to understand enough about social interaction and social situations to provide a proper environment for a child with conduct difficulties, a child that was not incorrigible, for teachers who had studied behavior problems in their various aspects were able to handle him effectively. The teachers in the special

[1] Harvey Zorbaugh. "Mental hygiene's challenge to education." *Journal of Educational Sociology.* 5: 1932, 325–333. (By permission of the *Journal.*)

school were able to provide a social situation for him that led to socially adjusted behavior.

The question, What knowledge is needed in order to obtain an understanding of the social situation of a child? has been answered, in part, by the nine points given at the beginning of the chapter. In order to put more meaning into the concept 'social situation,' excerpts are here introduced from a study reported by Shaw and McKay.[2]

The Problem of Nick

Nick was graduated from the eighth grade at the age of twelve and one-half years, but he was unable to make an adequate adjustment to life situations. At the age of fourteen the parents complained to the juvenile court that Nick was lazy and unreliable, used vile language, stole money from home, quarrelled with the family, and was subject to violent outbursts of temper. It was also found that Nick had run away from home and that he refused to work at the parents' request. The sociological investigators [Shaw and McKay] who took up the study of the boy found the following:

Family Situation. — The family lived in a four-room house bordering on the type called a 'shack.' The house faced on an alley and was dirty and poorly furnished. The parents slept in one bed, and the ten children slept in the other two beds. There was little privacy in the home.

The attitudes of the family toward the child are represented by the following statements of the mother made to the investigator in the presence of the child:

> Nick no wanta work. He big man, fourteen, and wanta play ball all day. Father say, "You go today and work in restaurant and work with uncle, for he pay you and you learn the business." What does he say? He makes faces, cusses, laughs, and runs out to play ball. He cusses everybody, hollers, and runs away. He very bad boy. He no like restaurant business. He no wanta work. He tell me to

[2] This material on the study of Nick has been abridged and adapted from the account given by Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, pp. 1–20. (By permission of the U. S. Superintendent of Documents.)

"go to hell," "shut your mouth," and "why do you holler all the time."

In America kids curse father and call him "old man" and make faces at him and gets mad and fights when father licks him. That is not right. Kids are bad and need lickin', lots of lickin'. But father can do nothing, just lick and lick, but kids only fight.

He lies lots and steals. Maybe you scare him, mister, so he work.

Mister, I got ten kids, work hard, lots o' worry. I lick Nick hard every day. Father lick him; brother-in-law lick him; sister lick him; everybody lick him. Still he bad boy; say he kill us. Mister, he bad boy; scare him, mister, please. Tell him, "Nick, work, or I'll put you in jail for a long time." Then he be good, maybe.

The Play Group, or Gang, Situation. — Nick's play group, or gang, consisted of about twenty boys in the neighborhood who were about the same age as Nick. These boys did not have to work, went to school in the American fashion, and enjoyed playing baseball, swimming, and running around the neighborhood. Only one of the boys had a delinquency record. Nick was at first called "dago" and "wop" by these boys. But Nick won his way into the intimate companionship of these boys by 'licking' those who had called him names and by playing excellent baseball on the team. Nick liked the boys and they liked him. The boys in the play group told Nick that he had a "heck of a mother and father" because the father and mother would not let him play, but made him work and broke up the ball games. Nick, of course, had accepted the ideals of this play group, and this led to a conflict relationship between Nick and the home.

The Neighborhood Situation. — The neighborhood was not a delinquency area. It was a stable Irish and German area. However, Nick's family lived on a lower socio-economic status than most of the families in the neighborhood and also nearer to the traditional European peasant idea. The neighborhood was hostile to the presence of Nick's family and did not include them in any of their social activities. Some of the neighbors appeared to like Nick and defended him against the attacks of his family. The attitudes of the neighbors are revealed by the following typical statements:

> The whole family is always fighting in the back yard. There must be something wrong with the kid. The whole family is loud and hot-headed. Nick gets so mad he could kill somebody. He throws himself on the ground and yells and kicks and curses so that all the neighbors can hear. We called the police sometimes because it got so bad we thought they was killing the kid . . . The old folks are poor and they want him to work, but of course, he wants to play ball. You can't blame either one of them. The old folks want the money and the kid wants to play; so there you are.
>
> Say, that's the worst family in the neighborhood. I don't want to knock them, but they're poor stuff. They're some foreign nationality, and when you've said that you have said a mouthful. . . .

The School Situation. — The school had apparently graduated Nick without much of any constructive effort in the direction of changing his behavior or his attitudes. The school had taught him reading, writing, and arithmetic, but it had not taught him how to live in the situation in which he found himself.

The Child's Attitude. — In a conversation with one of the investigators the child told his attitude toward the situation and his problem as follows:

> I've had a lot of trouble at home. They all fight and hate me. They don't want me to play and have any fun with the fellows. They say I ought to work all day and then only play a little at night. The other fellows my age don't work, and I don't see why I have to if they don't. . . .
>
> They kick me and say they are going to put me out of the house. My father puts pepper in my eyes and hits me with an iron or anything when he gets mad. They're all against me except the guys on the street. They all like me. . . .
>
> The other night when I was playin' ball with the guys out in the street my ma came out, becan to scold me, broke up the game, and made me come in. She whipped me with a big stick. The next time I met the guys they made fun of me and asked me if I asked my ma if I could come out. I whaled into Irish and beat him up, but I got a black eye. Then my dad beat me for fighting and for not asking my ma if I could go out and play.

That's the way they're all against me. I feel like I don't belong there. They tease me and nag me and I get mad and feel like I could kill them. That's why I hit them with a chair or anything. I can't have any fun. If I work hard, they still fuss at me and don't give me any of my money. I get filled with mad feeling and I tear into them; I can't help it. They all think I am a liar and a thief. I get blamed for everything. I wish I wasn't living with them. They don't want me to have any fun. I don't tell the guys I have to work all the time.

Sociological Analysis

The concrete material collected by the patient sociological investigators of Nick's case reveals information about most of the nine points mentioned earlier as useful in analyzing the social factors underlying conduct. It was revealed that the home insisted upon certain European family standards that thwarted the desires of the boy. He was required to work, not allowed time to play, and had to give the money he earned to the parents. When the boy disobeyed, the method of control used was severe and emotionalized force. The gang to which Nick belonged enjoyed playing instead of working and characterized Nick's parents as odd. The neighbors apparently were hostile to Nick's family and probably told Nick how they felt.

The relations between Nick and the home were clearly those of sharp conflict, with all the accompanying antagonistic attitudes. The conflict was both overt and covert. There was some conflict between Nick and his gang when Nick was considered as a representative of his home, but Nick, the boy, was apparently accepted by the gang, and the accommodation process was the major one. Nick also was not in conflict with the neighbors. The neighbors took the side of Nick. The information on the relationships with the school is lacking in this study probably because of the fact that the school had made little attempt to understand the boy. Probably the school might have done a great

deal toward helping Nick if it had made and used studies such as this one.

In the home group Nick was a bad boy and a thief, a trouble-maker and a "lazy one." In the gang he was considered an excellent ball-player and therefore was given, with certain limitations due to what was considered his unfortunate family connections, a standard membership in the gang.

The parents thought he was so bad that he probably should be put in jail and that the only way to control him was to beat him. The gang accepted him as a normal boy and liked him. His parents and relatives thoroughly disliked him.

The child found that the gang activities satisfied his desires for love, security, and activity while the home thwarted his desires, gave him no recognition, and made him feel that at any moment he might be disowned by the family.

Nick thoroughly disliked the policies of the home and the persons in the home and hoped that he could find some other place to live. He liked the boys and constantly struggled to keep the boys from knowing much about his unpleasant home situation. He felt that his difficulty was due entirely to the policies, attitudes, and acts of the persons in the home. He longed for an opportunity to live and play as the other boys in the neighborhood were doing.

If changes in the behavior of any child are desired, it appears that they commonly may not be made without some change in the social situation of the child, or in the attitudes of the child toward his social situation, or both. Practical sociologists, psychiatrists, and other students of child behavior have found that the eradication of conflict relations and the improvement of the social status of a child bring about changes in his behavior.[3]

In the remainder of this chapter there will be presented methods and techniques that have been found to be of value in the sociological diagnosis of individual behavior.

[3] Mary Sayles. *The Problem Child in School*, all chapters. Ira Wile. *The Challenge of Childhood*, all chapters.

These methods and techniques are presented in the form of a detailed outline. It is not assumed that a teacher will be able to analyze any case in terms of the complete outline, but that it will be possible for a teacher to utilize some items from the outline in connection with problem cases with which she must deal. The teacher can obtain a *point of view* from the outline that is helpful in daily work.

Outline for the Study of the Social Situation of an Individual Child

1. Identification

The first data to be secured include the name of the child, the address, the date of birth, the race and nationality, the school, the grade in the school, the name and address of the parent or guardian, and the age, place of birth, significant characteristics, and occupation of all other members of the household in which the child lives.

2. Occasion for the Study

There should be indicated the reasons why this particular child has needed special study. There may be made a brief statement of the relations between the child and the other persons and groups with which he has contact. In the case of a problem child, a statement may be made of what undesirable or antisocial things the child has done and in turn what the teacher or other adults have done or tried to do to remedy matters.

Nearly every child can profitably be studied by each teacher who has professional contact with him. It may be argued that theoretically the mere presence of a child in the school is itself sufficient occasion for detailed individual study with a view toward adjusting him more adequately to the school situation and to life, and adjusting the school situation to him. The record of the child might well be cumulative for the complete duration of his school attendance. The intelligent teacher with a new group of pupils

might find that, if time permitted, a study of the cumulative psycho-sociological record would assist her in her dealing with every child in the group. Such a cumulative record would aid a teacher who desired to help a child in his transfers from one school to another or the child who was promoted from the elementary grades to the junior-high-school grades. Social workers and educators who see the evidences of maladjustment upon the part of school children realize the desirability of such sociological study in making continued adjustment of school children.

3. Outstanding Behavior Characteristics

The outstanding behavior characteristics of the child may be described more easily than otherwise by reference to the items in the following group of characteristics, taken from Wickman,[4] which indicate types of problem behavior listed in the order of their seriousness according to the judgment of thirty behavior specialists. The presence in a child of a given behavior characteristic should be checked or mentioned and then followed by a detailed description of the manifestations in that child. The fifty-four behavior characteristics are:

unsocialness
suspiciousness
unhappiness
resentfulness
fearfulness
cruelty
bullying
easily discouraged
suggestibility
overcritical of others
sensitiveness
domineering
sullenness
dreaminess
nervousness
stubborness
unreliability
truancy
untruthfulness
cheating
heterosexual activity
lack of interest in work
enuresis
writing obscene notes
obscene talk
inattention
slovenly appearance
laziness
impertinence
defiance
carelessness in work
thoughtlessness
restlessness
masturbation
disobedience
tardiness
inquisitiveness
destroying school materials

[4] E. K. Wickman. *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, p. 127. (By permission of The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications.)

stealing	tattling	disorderliness in class
shyness	attracting attention	profanity
physical cowardliness	quarrelsomeness	interrupting
selfishness	impudence	smoking
temper tantrums	rudeness	whispering
	imaginative lying	

It is to be observed that, in general, the behavior specialists consider the withdrawal types of behavior (unsocialness, suspiciousness, unhappiness) most serious and the conflicting types (disorderliness, profanity, interrupting) least serious.

If such an outline is used as a basis for a cumulative record card, progress in the elimination of weaknesses can be indicated.

The child may also be rated according to the presence of certain desirable traits as suggested by the following list of traits taken in much revised form from the Olson Behavior Rating Scale.[5]

even-tempered	vigorous	active mentally
persistent	neat	interested
cheerful	mentally alert	attention good
calm	self-controlled	courageous
magnetic	responsible	flexible
courteous	coöperative	

Progress in the development of character traits mentioned in this list may be checked from time to time.

4. Health History

Health history should be obtained from the school nurse or by consultation with a physician. Sociological diagnoses of behavior cannot be considered as a complete explanation of behavior if the child's condition is complicated by physical ailments. A feeling of social isolation, for instance, may be a concomitant of some physical inadequacy.

[5] W. C. Olson. *Behavior Rating Scale.* Bureau of Educational Research, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

5. Test Record

A section of the case study may be devoted to a record of the results secured from standard intelligence and achievement tests. There should be recorded the name of the test, the date given, the score, and the meaning of the score for the school system in which the tests are given.

6. Scholarship Record

A place should be provided for the recording of all scholarship records for the subjects in the various grades as the child passes through the school. Rate of progress in school should be indicated, and the meaning of the scholarship record should be made clear.

7. Vocational Interests

The vocational interests, the hobbies, and the actual vocational and recreational activities of the child should be carefully listed. In so far as possible, there should be stated the social situations that stimulated these interests and activities. This matter of interests and hobbies cannot be overlooked, even in the first grade. Experience has revealed that often a child may be reached and understood by an approach through his interests.

One of the writers knows a child who developed a lifelong interest in birds from the study of bird pictures given as tokens in a household staple. This interest was developed by the suggestions of the grandmother as the young child sat on her knee, and as time went on, the child grew into a genuine amateur authority on birds.

8. The School Situation

In analyzing the school situation of the child the teacher can obtain help through knowing as much as is possible about the following aspects: the culture of the school, the social interactions of the school and schoolroom, the social status of the child at school, the attitudes of the teacher

and schoolmates toward the child, the extent to which the basic desires of the child are thwarted or satisfied, and the attitudes of the child toward the school and the children and adults in the school.

9. The Home Situation

In connection with the home situation the teacher or sociological student finds help in knowing the details of the major points mentioned in the foregoing paragraph as they would apply in the home. In addition a rating of the cultural level of the home made upon the basis of inspection or better upon the basis of the use of the Chapin *Scale for Rating Living-Room Equipment* is desirable.[6] Local conditions, however, do not always allow home visitation. The teacher is advised to 'go slow.'

10. The Community Situation

Here may be placed a statement of the nature of the culture in the area, the social interactions, and the socio-economic status of the area in which the home of the child is situated. If the school is in a district that has been analyzed by a sociologist, data will be available on the characteristics and general status of the various segregations. The racial and nationality factors should be recorded. It should be observed whether the home of the child is similar to others in the area or whether it is different, and how. The methods of social control used in the home are important. A consideration of social control is implied in the term 'social interaction.'

11. Gangs and Play Groups

The gangs and play groups to which the child belongs and has belonged should be identified and the nine points studied as for the other groups.

[6] F. Stuart Chapin. *Scale for Rating Living-Room Equipment.* Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota, 1932.

12. Social Attitudes of the Child

As has been previously stated, there should be secured, so far as feasible, information about the attitudes of the child toward the persons in every group to which he belongs and toward the culture traits of every group to which he belongs. Some kinds of attitudes that may be of help in diagnosis of the child's behavior are: (1) his attitude toward games and his play-group experiences; (2) his ideas of success in school and his ambitions generally; (3) his likes and dislikes in school; (4) his attitudes toward his teachers, playmates, parents, and others; (5) his attitude toward fighting; (6) his likes and dislikes at home; (7) his attitude toward his daydreams; (8) his fears; and (9) his attitude toward his own conduct.

13. Techniques for Interviewing

In interviewing children one must avoid all strained formality. The aim is to develop a feeling of friendliness and confidence between the adult and the child. Whitley prefaces interviews with statements similar to the following: "I am interested in working with boys. I want to teach them in school and work with them in boys' clubs. But in order to do this, I must know what boys think and what they like to do. Boys have been helping me by telling me the kind of games they like to play, the kind of school they like, the kind of teachers they like, and the kind of movies they like to see. I also want to know why boys get into trouble, so that I can help them. I thought that you might help me, and so I called for you. Do you want to tell me about these things?" [7] This introductory statement gives a general idea of the attitude and approach of the interviewer that have been found by experience to work.

An organization of detailed attitudes toward children and

[7] R. L. Whitley. "Interviewing the problem boy." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 5: 1931, 91. (By permission of the *Journal*.)

adults that have been found by experience to be successful was made by Zeleny [8] and is given below:

a. Let the child feel that he is dealing with a friend who knows the worst about him (or the best about him) and is still a friend. The interviewer must realize that the purpose of the interview is to understand the child and not to shame him or frighten him into better social adjustment. Experts in the study of children have found that it does not pay to lecture children during an interview.

b. Discuss the child's problems with him from his point of view. It is common practice for the teacher to do most of the talking in an interview, but this procedure does not give the teacher time to obtain an insight into the child's attitudes. It is not good technique for the teacher habitually to make up her mind what should be done by a child before she has had a chance to discuss the child's problems with him from his point of view.

c. Do not embarrass a child by frequently mentioning his past mistakes. Rather help him to avoid making mistakes in the future.

d. Be 'non-shockable.' Words or facial expressions that show that the interviewer is shocked by what the child says tend to prevent the child from revealing his innermost thoughts and attitudes. The teacher who is easily shocked makes the students feel that they are 'bad,' and a child will be unlikely to talk if he gets the idea that what he says will put him in a bad light.

e. Search for strength and build on it. Look for the strong points in the child and make the most of these. The possibilities of judicious praise have already been mentioned.

f. Use a clear, low voice. Voices that are high pitched and excited imply a degree of nervousness and emotion that may be imitated in the child. Suggest peace, calmness, and confidence through the tones and quality of the voice.

[8] L. D. Zeleny. "An outline for social interaction studies of school children." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 2: 1928, 239–342. (By permission of the *Journal*.)

g. Do not hurry the child. Trifles in the adult's eyes may appear as mountains in the child's eyes. He desires that his problems be carefully considered and welcomes some plan for their elimination.

h. Assume that the child is willing to coöperate. There is a tendency for human beings to act in accordance with the suggestions or actions of others. Never appear to doubt that the child will be willing to work out a plan with you, and frequently he will — sometimes much to your surprise.

i. Adjust your interview to the child's mood. You cannot induce a crying child to laugh in a moment. Begin with the child as he is and work toward a mood that will be helpful in carrying on the interview.

j. Talk the child's language. Children do not know the meaning of many words commonly used by adults — especially by educated adults. The teacher may expect to fail if the child cannot understand the details of what she says. Frequently words have a different meaning for children from what they do for adults. Time must be taken to clear up possible misunderstandings.

k. Allow the child to tell his own story in his own way. This is the technique used by Healy, Shaw, Whitley, and many others that has enabled them to get much information and many insights into children's ideas and attitudes that they did not realize existed. The interview is designed, in part, to gain information. Let the child be free to give the information in his own way.

l. Help the child make his own decisions. Lead the child, by means of helpful suggestions, direct or indirect, to accept certain solutions for his problems and then wait for him to propose them to you in his own way. Then proceed to help him plan for the carrying out of his ideas. Lead the child toward new insights into his own difficulties as the result of your superior understanding of the social situation in which he is placed.

m. Do not let the child feel socially isolated. It has been observed by specialists in the field of criminology that when

a child feels that adults no longer think he has any possibilities, he gives up trying to adjust to the standards of these adults. People live, it appears, in large part for social approval and for the satisfaction of playing some rôle in some group. If they feel that they can no longer play a rôle in a group because one of the leaders of the group tells them that it is impossible, some part of their social world collapses and they tend to look for something to replace it. Such activity, long continued, may lead to a pattern of behavior characterized as 'delinquent.'

n. Use the 'yes-response technique.' By the 'yes-response technique' is meant the use of questions and suggestions, especially in the early part of the interview, to which it is easy for the child to give the answer 'yes.' The habit of answering 'yes' may thus be built up during the course of the interview, and the child may find it easier to answer 'yes' to some fundamental suggestions toward the end of the interview. This method tends to make a child feel that many of the ideas that he may advance, although they were earlier suggested to him by the interviewer, are his own ideas. The fact that the child feels that the decision is his own tends to make him more willing to carry it out.

o. Maintain an entirely objective attitude. It is intelligence, not an emotional attitude, that will help a child out of his difficulties.

An Illustrative Case[9]

The teacher who had the problem of interesting Rex in classroom activities shows that she had learned how to use the foregoing technique for interviewing, as well as many of the suggestions made in the outline for the study of the social situation that has been presented in this chapter.

> Rex was frequently uninterested in school work. He denied all knowledge of acts he had committed. He was defiant of discipline in school and very contrary. When the class was

[9] Adapted from Leslie D. Zeleny. "Pupil-teacher relationships." *Sociology and Social Research*, 13: 1929, 265–275. (Study by Marian Hammond.)

told to sing softly, he would shout at the top of his voice; when told to sing slowly, he would sing as fast as he could. He would talk incessantly when the teacher wasn't looking; when she looked at him, he would slide down in his seat and grin. When called upon to recite, he would blush and grin, and in singing class he refused to sing alone. He was very critical of authority and very stubborn.

He is now in the fourth grade at the age of nine years. His teacher last year did not promote him, partly because of his disciplinary troubles, but his teacher this year promoted him regardless of his standing.

He lives in Shanty Town near the quarries. The home has two rooms for the family of three. The father is a regular wage-earner, but lives out of town. Rex is the last of seven children. Three have died, two from tuberculosis and one by drowning. His father comes home every few months and then is very severe with him.

During the previous two years Rex has had the type of teachers that "yell and holler," to use his phrase. He and another boy enjoyed irritating these teachers, receiving their slaps, and winking at each other over the trouble they had had. These former teachers called him 'dumb' in their official reports. He is now rated 'bright.'

In an attempt to make some improvement in Rex the 'ordering and forbidding' techniques of previous years were abandoned and instead genuine interest in his case was exhibited. This changed attitude seemed to improve his co-operation with the school. His special music teacher said to him one day, "Miss L said you made a good demonstration to the class of how to splice a rope; I wonder if you could show me how to do it?" Rex's response was, after an initial withdrawal when the teacher first approached him: "Sure, when do you want to?" An appointment was made for two days later. Rex appeared to become so interested over his chance to show a teacher something that he asked his regular teacher many questions about the probable arrival of his special teacher. At the appointed time Rex showed the teacher how to splice the rope, and he had invited a large number of his schoolmates to watch this demonstration.

Two more 'rope interviews' were held with Rex. Finally

the teacher showed him that she had learned something about splicing a rope. During some of these interviews the teacher listened to his talk about his home and his teachers. The teacher took care to avoid 'ordering and forbidding' techniques in her music class and commended him for good work.

Now Rex is less critical of authority, conforms quite willingly to school procedure, is less obstinate, less critical of others, cheerful rather than hilarious, and less negativistic. He will now sing before the class and coöperate in singing lessons, where he sings well. Three months after this new approach began, his conduct is still reported 'satisfactory.'

14. Sociological Analysis

The sociological analysis, or diagnosis, should be made largely in terms of the nine major points mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. If the analysis reveals that the social situation is such that the child can find no opportunity to function therein in ways that will gain him social status and that will also satisfy reasonably the needs of society, then the child is a presumptive behavior problem. The analysis, however, will probably reveal also interests possessed by the child upon which opportunities may be built for him to function in ways that will satisfy his needs and those of society. Of course, certain attitudes of the members of the groups or some of the groups to which the child belongs may need to be changed as well.

15. Social Adjustment

As has been suggested, the social adjustment of a child having difficulties of adjustment may involve changes in the attitudes and ideas of the child and in the attitudes of the members of the groups to which the child belongs. It may perhaps be necessary to assist the child in forming new group contacts that promise to provide more desirable patterns of behavior for the child. That this feature of adjustment is important in education has been stressed by Zorbaugh,[10] who enthusiastically hopes that the time may

[10] Harvey W. Zorbaugh. *Op. cit.*

come when our public schools recognize "the prevention of maladjustment to be an educational problem and . . . provide children with an education adapted to their individual needs and directed towards their successful social adjustment."

Conclusion

This chapter has given suggestions for the detailed and intensive study of children in relation to their social situations. This material, when assimilated by the regular classroom teacher, will serve at least two valuable functions: first, it will enable her to understand what the visiting teacher or other specialist is doing; second, it will make it possible for her to give more adequate attention to these matters herself. It is quite possible for a teacher, although lacking the time to carry on intensive studies, to interview children intelligently (she has to interview them anyway) and to obtain as complete pictures of social situations as her time permits when she visits homes and examines neighborhoods as a matter of regular routine. She could, if she would, record her observations on a permanent, cumulative record form for use by herself and by other teachers. As time went on, the school would have a fairly complete picture of each child compiled by the regular staff of teachers. This accomplishment is not impossible. Teachers must know something about these matters, for the behavior specialists, who cannot take many children out of the hands of teachers, can do little without the intelligent coöperation of these teachers.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is meant by the term 'social situation'?
2. Explain the meaning of each of the nine facts that must be known about the social situation of a child.
3. In what ways do different schools provide different social situations?
4. Point out how the story of Nick illustrates each of the nine points about Nick's social situation.

5. Make a complete study of a child covering an analysis of the nine facts mentioned under the study of the social situation.

6. Give your own meaning of each of the techniques for interviewing children. Why do these techniques work successfully?

7. Regular classroom teachers, obviously, will not have the time to make complete studies as suggested by the outline in this chapter. In what ways, however, can classroom teachers utilize parts of the outline?

8. Which part of this chapter is of most use to the classroom teacher every day? Why?

9. What is meant by the professional handling of information collected about individual children?

10. Construct a cumulative pupil record card.

11. Interview a child with a problem in behavior and obtain his own story.

12. Study the social situation of a child with a problem.

13. Outline common types of treatment for several different types of behavior difficulties.

14. Make a study of a person whose vocation grew out of an early hobby.

15. Interpret sociologically the salient points of your life history. Write out a report.

Bibliography

Sayles, Mary. *The Problem Child in School.* New York: Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency, 1925.

Shaw, Clifford and McKay, Henry D. *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency.* Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931.

Strang, Ruth. *The Rôle of the Teacher in Personnel Work.* New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

Whitley, R. S. "Interviewing the problem boy." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* 5: November, 1931, 140, 151.

Wickman, E. K. *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1928.

Wile, Ira. *The Challenge of Childhood.* New York: Thomas Seltzer, Inc., 1925.

ZELENY, L. D. "An outline for social interaction studies of school children." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 2: December, 1928, 239–342.

ZELENY, L. D. "Pupil-teacher relationships." *Sociology and Social Research*, 13:1929, 265–275.

ZORBAUGH, HARVEY. "Mental hygiene's challenge to education." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 5: February, 1932, 325–333.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CONTROL OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES

The term 'attitude' has become part of the stock in trade of the present-day writer on educational themes. We are constantly being reminded, for example, that the business of education is to develop "knowledges, skills, attitudes, and appreciations," though, too frequently, it is not at all clear what such a conglomeration of objectives really means.

The psychologist defines an 'attitude' as a fairly permanent mental set or disposition toward certain experiences whereby these experiences are modified, or as a condition of readiness for a certain type of activity.

The Importance of Attitudes

To those interested in education as a means of perpetuating and improving our social institutions, the nature of the attitudes of children toward our basic social institutions, toward authority, and toward various social groups becomes an important study. These attitudes are likely to be those of like or dislike and of coöperation or non-coöperation, and they are likely to contribute to social organization or to social disorganization. The importance of the study of social attitudes has been neatly summarized by Andress [1] as follows:

> An attitude is a set of mind which determines one's response to particular situations [or values].
>
> Knowledge and habits fail ultimately to affect behavior unless accompanied by proper attitudes.
>
> Attitudes influence the learning process, determine lasting interests and one's adjustment to life.

[1] J. M. Andress. "The development of wholesome attitudes." *Journal of the National Education Association*, 18: 1929, 305.

Education is a failure if it does not stimulate wholesome desires and attitudes.

To establish wholesome desires and attitudes, associate satisfaction with what is wholesome.

Occupational Attitudes

The studies of Lehman and Witty,[2] and of Counts,[3] show that teachers and students in the schools give different social-status ratings to different occupations. The social ratings given by 368 high-school and college students and 82 teachers for forty-five occupations are, according to Counts, in rank order as follows:

banker	farmer	typesetter
college professor	merchant	plumber
physician	travelling salesman	tailor
clergyman	rural-school teacher	motorman
lawyer	grocer	chauffeur
automobile manufacturer	bookkeeper	barber
superintendent of schools	electrician	factory operator
civil engineer	locomotive engineer	blacksmith
army chaplain	insurance agent	coal-miner
high-school teacher	policeman	janitor
foreign missionary	mail-carrier	waiter
factory manager	railroad conductor	teamster
elementary-school teacher	carpenter	hod-carrier
dry-goods merchant	salesman	ditch-digger
man of leisure	soldier	

Similar ratings of occupations were obtained by one of the writers in the administration of an occupational-distance test (a test measuring the distances in sympathetic understanding between occupational groups) to seventy-seven teachers-college students who had recently completed the courses of instruction in various schools of Minnesota. The

[2] Harvey Lehman and Paul Witty. "Further study of the social status of occupations." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 5: 1931, 101–112.

[3] George S. Counts. "The social status of occupations: a problem in vocational guidance." *School Review*, 33: 1925, 16–27.

rank order of a few occupations was found to be as follows: manager, doctor, lawyer, teacher, bookkeeper, capitalist, clerk, salesman, machine operator, laborer, driver, minister, socialist, quarryman, bootlegger.[4]

These studies reveal that the pupils in our schools recognize a social hierarchy of occupations and that a large number of students desire to enter directly or by marriage into the social status represented by the business and professional occupational levels. The study of Middletown, however, reveals the fact that not more than 29 per cent of the workers may be classed in the business and professional class.[5] Therefore, since many children now go far in school, it seems certain that not all graduates of the schools who desire to enter the upper sections of the pyramid of the social classes will find it possible to do so. This situation may be expected to cause much frustration and resulting unhappiness among the graduates of the schools. It may become necessary in the future for the schools to teach in such a manner that children will consider all occupations that contribute to human welfare as equally honorable, and the occupation for which an individual appears to be the best fitted as the one for him to follow. It might be possible for all persons, regardless of their occupational levels, to be taught in such a manner that they could use and enjoy the finer things in our culture.

Racial or Nationality Attitudes

By the social-distance test it is also possible to get some idea of the racial attitudes held by the products of the public schools. To the seventy-seven college students who took the occupational-distance test there was administered a test of racial distance.[6] The percentage of seventy-seven teachers-college students who indicated a willingness to

[4] L. D. Zeleny and M. Moon. Unpublished manuscript.

[5] Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd. *Middletown.*

[6] The test of social distance was adapted from the Borgardus social-distance tests. See Emory S. Bogardus, *The New Social Research*, Chapter X.

marry into each of certain race or nationality groups is as follows:

Race or Nationality	*Per cent*	*Race or Nationality*	*Per cent*
German	93	Hungarian	25
Norwegian	88	Italian	24
Irish	86	Czecho-Slovak	22
Swedish	86	Bulgarian	16
French	81	Armenian	10
Danish	62	Greek	5
Polish	42	Mexican	5
Spanish	35	Turkish	3

These figures reveal decided differences in racial preference among these students. Such findings are corroborated by other studies of a similar nature.[7] The students tend to prefer the race or nationality groups to which they already belong; all other groups are held in less esteem — at least so far as willingness to enter them by marriage is concerned.

It is interesting to note in this connection that, although the students tested tend to prefer to remain in their own racial or cultural group, they tend to prefer to move into the occupational groups that are above those of their parents. This fact has been revealed by a study of the occupations of the parents of the students in the college.[8] The group of students analyzed appears to be representative of the products of the schools of the state; it seems, therefore, that one may expect further studies to reveal similar data.

The implications of these findings, especially when substantiated by other studies, are important. It appears that the school system of a great state — and this is probably true of most states in the United States — is, through its teaching or its neglect, graduating many persons who seek happiness in life outside of their occupational group yet inside of their racial or nationality group. The young teacher, in turn, will usually return to some community in the state to perpetuate these attitudes. One wonders whether these desires are likely

[7] Bogardus. *Op. cit.*

[8] L. D. Zeleny and H. Jensen. Unpublished manuscript.

to be satisfied in the present social order where the increasing mobility of persons is rapidly breaking down divisions between groups and tending to separate persons from their racial groups (a process that makes certain types of social adjustment difficult for those who hold decided racial or nationality biases) and where the present pyramid of social classes does not make it possible for many graduates of the schools to find a place at the top. It appears that it may be necessary for the schools, in order to secure happiness and satisfactory social adjustment for many of its graduates, to adjust their teaching to assist the assimilation process that children may live successfully in the world that they will find. Students probably should be freed from occupational or racial bias. At the same time, it may be necessary for the social order to be arranged in such a manner that the best traits of culture may be utilized and enjoyed by all persons regardless of their occupation.

How Racial Attitudes May Be Acquired

Modern anthropology teaches that there is, in fact, no justification for racial prejudices. However, many graduates of the schools still retain many racial attitudes quite out of harmony with contemporary scientific thinking. Ways in which young people acquire racial attitudes are described somewhat in detail in the following pages. An insight into these ways should help teachers to devise ways for substituting in children sympathetic and appreciative attitudes toward all races in place of contempt and suspicion. The instances listed are taken from the experiences of college students.[9]

> When I was ten years of age, we moved to the northern part of —— where the population was largely Nationality A. My first few months were all right, for my name did not reveal my nationality. However, after residing there for a while the fact leaked out that I was a B and the name —— was tagged

[9] Letters of the alphabet are used instead of nationalities or races in order to prevent misunderstanding and embarrassment.

on me and my brother. At first I didn't mind it, but after a while it became tiresome, and I received quite a few beatings because I argued with some of the elongated A boys about nationalities. It seems that nationalities are something that boys like to talk and brag about, and this place was no exception. I was always outside, though, for the A's and their friends both went after me. Finally they started to yell "——," and then a great many new forms of that mean word for my nationality were originated. I went home and told the folks that I wanted to go to the south-side school, but they told me there were as many A's there as there were on the west side; so I stayed. I only lived there a year, but the razzing I got made me dislike the A's for a long while, and I still use the expression 'dumb A' for one of my crowning insults.

I attribute my dislike of the C people to a certain incident that occurred when I was about nine years old. We were waiting for a street car, and there was a fruit shop near by. I wanted some peaches and was given the money to get them. I made my purchase and came outside and passed the peaches around. One of the girls got a badly spoiled peach. My aunt made me take it back for a good one. Afterwards she said, "My child, always watch a C. He'll try to get the better of you every time — just see what that one tried to do." Ever since, if I've made a purchase from a C, I've remembered this. What a very little thing it takes to change one's attitudes!

I was in a department store when I remarked to my mother what a nice-looking D woman was cleaning around the place. Mother said quickly, "Oh, but they are dishonest. Don't leave your purse around but hang on to it or she'll steal it." I looked over at what I had before thought to be a nice-looking lady, but now I saw a bad woman — one who stole people's purses. Whenever I see a D person at any time I always think of that incident, and always think of dishonesty.

At the Christmas season, following the signing of the Armistice, in the school in which I was teaching, the music teacher asked the class what song they would like to sing. A song traditional in the music of one of the recent enemies was

suggested. The music supervisor said, "No, that is an E song, we cannot sing an E song, can we?" The children responded meekly by saying, "No."

There was a man in our community who had been nicknamed "pumplifter." There was quite a bit of gossip about this person. He was an F and had been stealing pumps around the neighborhood and selling them outside the community. If there was a pump put down into a well, it had to be watched very carefully or the "pumplifter" would lift it out and sell it. Hearing this story when I was very young, I got the impression that all F's were crooks and stole. This man's son robbed a bank and was placed in the reformatory. This helped to confirm the first impression.

These instances or experiences indicate ways in which attitudes of racial or national dislike are acquired by young people. The following reports suggest types of experiences that develop attitudes of liking:

The first recollection I have of hearing about the G's and H's is from a third-grade geography book. I have forgotten the name of the book, but it was a story about the customs and habits of the G's and H's. The teacher presented this material in such a way that I have developed a keen interest in these people and an appreciation for them. The teacher explained the reasons for the different customs of these people, which made these customs appear very sensible.

There was a group of I boys on the train going to the coast. We saw them and were very much interested in them. They were also very much interested in us. I was charmed by the manner in which they pronounced the name of our city. This was a very happy experience and I wish I could have more of such experiences.

I have always enjoyed being with the J people with whom I have come into contact. I enjoy listening to the stories and songs which every good J knows. I get a great deal of pleasure out of visiting the J people.

When I was in the fifth grade, we had in our room a K boy whose father worked in a restaurant up town. 'Billy,' as we

called him, had a younger sister in the same school. Both were extremely neat in their appearance. Their clothes were of the latest style; they were very quiet and very bright. Billy was usually at the head of his class. He was a fine sport on the playground and very well liked by every one in the school. He had travelled a great deal and always made our geography classes interesting by telling of his experiences. Before that I had thought of the K's as being a race of sneaky, underhanded people, but after knowing Billy I have had a great deal more respect for his race.

When I was a small lad, living in a small town, I had an experience that always made me feel sympathetic toward all L's in general. Bob's skin was not white, but I know of few men I would prefer over Bob as a friend. He was a stone-cutter by trade and would get very dirty, but every night and every morning during the summer he would take a bath. His room was always kept in a most orderly manner. I can well remember this, even though I was just a small boy. Bob was the type that knew his place and if he thought he was not wanted, he would quietly slip out. I have seen several men who would say mean things to Bob get knocked down by Bob's friends.

The foregoing reports, believed to be typical, indicate that racial and nationality attitudes come from the following types of experience: listening to some older person express himself, actual contact with some limited sampling of a group, and reading about races and nationalities. The control of attitudes may therefore be expected to come from a control of the statements of others, of experiences with others, and of reading materials.

The experiences of college students that have just been cited are similar to those indicated by Lasker [10] and make it reasonably evident that pleasant or unpleasant contacts had with a very limited sampling of a racial or nationality group tend to determine attitudes of like or dislike toward that group as a whole. Of course one usually likes his own

[10] Bruno Lasker. *Race Attitudes in Children.*

group. Attitudes of dislike toward other racial or nationality groups appear to be common. The existence of these dislikes must certainly interfere with the socialization and organization of our nation as a whole. It seems that the public school can well afford to be interested in changing ethnocentric attitudes of dislike of racial groups as a whole *by providing for the students, experiences that will tend to give them a sympathetic appreciation for the culture of the various races that have come to this country.* Suggestions for the changing of attitudes will be given at the end of this chapter.

Attitudes of Honesty and Integrity

The attitudes of honesty or dishonesty that may be developed in the children in our public schools are worth extended and careful study, for our civilization is organized upon the assumption that people possess integrity. The cheating, ever present in our schools, and the lying and stealing of children of school age both in and out of school are familiar to every one who has taken the trouble to study the matter. The investigations of Hartshorne and May reveal that no school group they studied was without dishonest pupils. The percentage of dishonesty ranged from 6.6 in the most honest group to 96.7 in the most dishonest group tested.[11]

The experimental studies of Hartshorne and May have further shown that the "concomitants of deceit are, in order of their importance, (1) classroom association; (2) general personal handicaps, such as relatively low I. Q., poor resistance to suggestion, and emotional instability; (3) cultural and social limitations in the home background; and (4) such other miscellaneous facts as are loosely correlated with deception." [12] These authors, in their conclusions and impli-

[11] Hugh Hartshorne and Mark May. *Studies in Deceit*, vol. I, p. 118. The student interested in this problem will find the two volumes of Hartshorne and May of high scientific and practical value.

[12] Hartshorne and May. *Op. cit.*, p. 412. (By permission of The Macmillan Company.)

cations, stress the importance of the social situation, or "situation," as they call it, and the personal relations, or the "social interaction," in the school and elsewhere.[13] They also stress the need for the more progressive types of teaching. The problems in connection with social interaction in the school and other places have been developed in detail, from a sociological point of view, by the authors in Part II on "Social Interaction in the Classroom" and in the other chapters in this section, Part IV. These may now be reread with a view to discovering the techniques and attitudes necessary for the development of a social situation in the schoolroom that will tend to provide for coöperation, happiness, and the development of honesty.

What has been said in these chapters now assumes even more importance in view of the serious conclusions of Hartshorne and May based upon the results of thorough experimental research:

> As long as there is conflict between the teacher and the school authorities generally on one side, and the pupils on the other, there will be deception. Some pupils, because of the out-of-school environment in which they live or because for some reason they do not feel the conflict, will not deceive. Others will be afraid to. Others will have too little ambition to take the trouble to cheat. Others, although responsive to the ideal of honor, will be unable to resist temptations to cheat, particularly when urged to do better work than their ability warrants. If there is anything in school procedure which puts a premium on subterfuge, it would be folly to imagine that any teaching of honesty, whether in school or out, would greatly alter the actual practice of the children. Hand in hand with the development of codes must go the types of experience in which honor is the natural and rewarded behavior, to be learned by practice in those situations where the child finds himself ethically at home. Only when thus learned, is it to be expected, that, as his experience enlarges to include areas of life which have not yet been brought under the dominance of ethical ideals, the child will possess

[13] Hartshorne and May. *Op. cit.*, pp. 412–414.

the insight and self-mastery to challenge an imperfect world with a high ideal. . . .

That is, the main attention of educators should be placed not so much on devices for teaching honesty and any other 'trait' as on the reconstruction of school practices in such a way as to provide not occasional but consistent and regular opportunities for the successful use by both teachers and pupils of such forms of conduct as make for the common good.[14]

Attitudes toward the Law

It is probably true that attitudes toward the law may be established in much the same manner as other attitudes are and may be treated or changed in much the same way as has been suggested in the foregoing section. It is not well for the parent or teacher to assume that children are developing automatically a respect for the law or that lectures on respect for the law are getting the desired results.

The administration of the scales: "Attitude toward the Law," and "Attitude toward the Constitution of the United States," [15] to twenty to twenty-three adults in five different culture districts of a typical small American city revealed that uniformly the adults possessed a neutral attitude toward the Constitution of the United States and only a moderate respect for the law.[16] The extent to which these attitudes are held by the children of these adults is not known; it is probably not dissimilar. The following statements were made by a group of boys who habitually hung about a confectionery store in a city being studied by sociological investigators. They typify the attitude toward law and order of some fraction of our youths: "It costs too much

[14] Hartshorne and May. *Op. cit.*, pp. 400, 401, 414. (By permission of The Macmillan Company.)

[15] A. C. Rosander and L. L. Thurstone, *Attitude toward the Constitution of the United States*, and Daniel Katz, *Attitude toward the Law.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

[16] L. D. Zeleny, William Whitaker, Richard Ebert, Harriet Formoe, Sophie Raen, and Clement Sanford. Manuscripts on file in the sociological research files of the St. Cloud State Teachers College.

to have a good time in this dump." "Did you ever see such a dead town?" "Wish I was in M; there is where you can have a good time. My brother says you can raise h—— in M, and the cops don't say anything." [17]

Another boy, from a less-favored area, when asked by a sociological investigator under the direction of the authors what he intended to do when he grew up, said: "I don't want to work when I get big. I'm going to play all my life. I'll get money — there's lots of it around town. I'll steal — then I won't have to work." [17]

Granted that the majority of children have desirable attitudes toward the law, it still is important for teachers to give specific attention to the development of such desirable attitudes lest there may be graduated from the public schools many students who disrespect the law.[18]

Attitudes toward Crime and Criminals

An analysis of the opinions of one hundred representative teachers-college students revealed that many believe that the conflict system of treating crime and criminals is the best one. For example: 44 per cent believed in punishing every criminal severely; 72 per cent believed in making punishment of criminals more severe than at present; 71 per cent were not in favor of making the jails comfortable for prisoners.

These opinions very likely reflect those of many intelligent adults. It may be noted, however, that the results of the conflict system of crime control have been decidedly disappointing. Attitudes favoring the scientific treatment of criminals, based upon modern findings in psychiatry, psychology, sociology, and criminology, ought probably definitely to be developed in our educational training. Briefly,

[17] Quotations from sociological manuscripts on file in the St. Cloud State Teachers College.

[18] Suggestions for the development of proper attitudes toward the law may be found in Chapters XIII and XVIII, on Accommodation and Morale.

the best thought is this: that heredity and social environment determine the behavior of the criminal, and that there is some chance of modifying the criminal for the better if we can treat the causative factors underlying the individual case instead of imposing a standard punishment laid down by a state legislature without any reference to causative factors. Many specialists in the field of criminology have indicated that conflict situations often lead to the further development of antisocial grudges and tendencies rather than to a reform in behavior.

Attitudes toward Change

The studies of Watson and others have indicated that many graduates of our schools hold certain beliefs and attitudes so firmly that they can with great difficulty be changed.[19] This tendency toward permanency of convictions makes it difficult for persons to adjust to a changing social world. The cultural anthropologists and cultural sociologists have indicated that culture is continually changing and that in the future, culture may be expected to become much more complex than it is now.[20] A mind that changes its opinion with every social breeze is not to be desired, but a dynamic, flexible mind appears to be the only kind that can be expected to adjust adequately to the cultural changes that are inevitable.

How Attitudes in General Are Acquired

As has already been indicated in our discussion of racial attitudes, attitudes of various kinds appear to be acquired through the experiences of the individual — that is, through his social contacts. Attitudes may be acquired through experiences in connection with the family, the play group, and the school. In school, attitudes of children may be acquired from the teacher, from textbooks, or from other children. In the community, attitudes may be acquired

[19] Goodwin Watson. *The Measurement of Fairmindedness.*
[20] William Ogburn. *Social Change.*

from games and athletics, motion pictures,[21] reading, pageants, etc. It is the pattern of behavior suggested by these contacts that tends to determine social attitudes. In the following paragraphs some illustrations, selected in large part from Lasker, are given to suggest ways in which some of the factors mentioned above have determined the attitudes of children:

Attitudes Acquired from the Family

> Walking across the playground, a settlement worker found a little Italian boy crying bitterly. She asked what was the matter. "Hit by Polish boy," the little man repeated several times. Inquiry among the bystanders showed that the offender was not Polish at all. Turning again to her little friend, she said, "You mean hit by a naughty boy." But he would not have it thus and went on repeating that he had been hit by a Polish boy. This struck the worker as so curious that she made inquiries about the little fellow's family. She learned that it lived in the same house with a Polish family and that the Italian mother, by constant quarrelling with her Polish neighbor, had put into the heads of her children that notion that 'Polish' and 'bad' were synonymous terms.[22]

Instances of this sort have been collected in large numbers by Lasker. In this case the child simply lived in a situation which taught him, through what we have termed 'passive mentation,' that certain attitudes were to be held. Most investigations point to the idea that it is the *example* set by adults and by other children that is potent in influencing attitudes and behavior.

Attitudes Acquired from the Play Group

> An American-born boy of about ten years of age entered the neighborhood house playground. His eyes fell upon a

[21] Henry James Forman. *Our Movie-Made Children.* A review of a report of the effects of movies on children; compiled by The Payne Fund in nine volumes.

[22] Bruno Lasker. *Race Attitudes in Children,* p. 98. (By permission of Henry Holt & Company.)

couple of little girls of about twelve years of age who were playing with jacks. One was a Syrian and the other an Italian. The little Syrian girl was a child with very black hair and dark complexion. The boy said, "Hi, you're Dagoes." Although they became angry, they called back in a rather playful strain:

"If we are Dagoes
You're a Wop.
We eata spagett,
And you eata slop."

A five-year-old, whose parents were not aware of ever having taught or suggested to him any kind of race feeling, was playing at the kindergarten with a small colored boy. When this child came a little too close for his liking, he remarked (in a tone of disapproval rather than of alarm): "Look out, little black child, don't breave your black bref on me." [23]

These quotations indicate the nature of ideas that may be passed from one child to another in the play group. Racial attitudes, attitudes toward crime and criminals, etc., may be passed on through the simple contacts of the play group. How delinquent attitudes may be spread has been clearly shown by Shaw and McKay.[24]

Attitudes Acquired from the School

The attitudes of teachers and principals may have great influence upon pupils. The prestige of those in immediate educational authority is so great that the things they say and do and the attitudes they exhibit concerning various social values and social groups have obvious influence upon their charges. Studies have indicated that the teachers of America come largely from the great middle class, and it is to be expected that, on the whole, they will hold the attitudes of the middle class rather than the attitudes of the leaders

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 8 and 16. (By permission of Henry Holt & Company.)
[24] Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay. *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency.*

of thought in America. When teachers show definite favoritism in school toward certain races, when teachers suggest that certain manual occupations are "not nice," when teachers indicate that a person does not "amount to anything" unless he aspires to one of the money-making occupations, one cannot expect the children to graduate from the public schools with the broadly democratic spirit and sympathetic understanding characteristic of many of our greatest leaders. When teachers are thus prejudiced, it is not to be expected that they will contribute to the increasingly necessary world-mindedness and catholicity of view of their pupils. When teachers are decidedly biased on many social, economic, and political issues, they cannot well help their pupils to become broad-minded citizens. There is little doubt that many teachers hold the undesirable attitudes here mentioned.

The textbooks of a school may also influence the racial attitudes and other attitudes of children. A few illustrations of the influence of textbooks on racial attitudes are taken from Lasker and given here as illustrations of how various attitudes may be acquired. The examples cited by Lasker, it should be added, would be difficult to find in a modern textbook; both authors and publishers have become fully aware of the desirability of avoiding statements that tend to develop unfortunate racial attitudes, sectional animosity, or religious bigotry.

> Even courses in ethics and civics which are intended to create friendliness sometimes do the opposite. A Chinese boy returned to his friend's home in Hartford one day with bright red spots burning through his olive cheeks. In the civics course a brief paragraph was given to other nations to show their good qualities. The glowing tribute to China was, "The Chinese eat rats." The answer of the state commissioner of education to the letter calling his attention to this was that the author of the textbook was out of town![25]

[25] Quoted by Lasker from A. J. Meyers in "Literature for children and its Influence," *Religious Education*, April, 1926, p. 219.

I feel outraged when I turn back my memory and think how the imaginative and idealistic years of my impressionable childhood were poisoned by the stuff called history — extensive rehearsals of the way the heroic forefathers killed so many very mean, wicked and perfidious British or properly butchered so many barbarous, treacherous and cruel Indians who richly deserved killing. (What are your children getting now?) [26]

When I was about to finish the grades, we were studying the races of men (says a colored woman) in the geography class, and I remember distinctly the picture of the African savage that was used as our representative. I was quite innocent of the fact that I had the same racial lineage as he. Underneath the picture it said, "Ethiopian — he belongs to the most backward race on the face of the globe," and my white school-mates turned around to me and said, "Now that is your folk." Nothing else was said concerning the Negroes in any textbook we used, except that they were slaves. This made a profound impression on my mind and resulted, many years after, in my touring the country for four years in a Ford coupé, carrying with me a two-foot shelf of Negro literature in the hope of doing something to offset the silence of the textbooks with regard to the achievements of the colored people.[27]

How Attitudes Can Be Changed

The problem of the changing of attitudes is partly complicated by the fact that people do not always agree upon what the new attitudes should be. For any one to decide just what occupational attitudes, or racial attitudes, or international attitudes should be held by all the school children of the United States may seem easy, but to obtain the agreement of teachers, taxpayers, and various 'special-interest' groups is another problem that just now appears well-nigh impossible of solution.

The writers have adapted from Lasker [28] these suggestions

[26] Quoted by Lasker from J. Russell Smith, "Racial Superiority," *Friends' Intelligencer*, October 24, 1925, p. 845.

[27] Bruno Lasker. *Op. cit.*, pp. 160–161. [28] *Op. cit.*, pp. 267–268.

as to methods of changing attitudes in general. (1) Teach children the need for a regard for justice in dealings between individuals and groups; (2) counteract influences that may lead to misinformation and misunderstanding of one group upon the part of another group; (3) create appreciation upon the part of the group with which one is dealing for the qualities and achievements of other groups which are in harmony with the cultural values shared by all groups.

The changing of attitudes will be done more effectively if experiences in real social situations are added to the example and precept of adults. This is doubtless one reason why travel, especially travel that brings one into contact with foreign peoples, commonly modifies for the better one's attitude toward other races and other nationals. Teachers should set an example by treating all pupils, regardless of social status or racial backgrounds, with absolute impartiality and fairness. Teachers will do well also to study and become acquainted with the problems and attitudes of the community in which the school is located, with a view toward working with the existing agencies, such as the church, the Y.M.C.A., the motion-picture companies, the health centers, the child-guidance clinics, the playground directors, and with the home and parents, to change the attitudes of the children.

A program of the sort just mentioned has been carried out with unusual success by Miss Julia Spooner, principal of the Demonstration School of the Public Schools of Portland, Oregon. In a few years' time Miss Spooner changed attitudes of suspicion and hostility among various races and social economic groups in and out of the school by means of a leadership that practiced in every way the principle of justice for *all* individuals and groups. Of course, she practiced also the second and the third of the principles we have recommended. In her school, children of every race and social group play and study together without hostile attitudes of any kind. The teachers are just as willing to place their hands upon the shoulders of a Negro

or Chinese boy and chat pleasantly with him as upon the shoulders of a white boy. One thing that Miss Spooner did early in her administration of this school was to point every effort of her staff toward getting every child in the school clean and free of disease. The children in her school all have bodies that are clean and clothes that are clean regardless of their quality. It is easier to like persons that are clean.

It is the common observation of sociologists that the group tends to take on the attitudes of the leader and that new members of the group tend to take on its attitudes. This process goes on through passive mentation. The nature of the attitudes prevailing in the social groups in the school is probably as important as the content of textbooks when it comes to developing desirable attitudes in newcomers. Miss Spooner reports that there are no troubles in her school due to unfortunate attitudes, though out of an enrollment of about five hundred and fifty, over a hundred students are transferred each year and over a hundred new ones enter. It is remarkable, therefore, that her school can assimilate this large number of newcomers of varied racial extraction fast enough to avoid conflicts and their accompanying antagonistic attitudes. She has created mores of friendliness among all in the school.

Teachers, of course, can exert their efforts to select textbooks that present facts about various social, racial, and national groups in an interesting manner. Again, exercises, demonstrations, excursions, lectures, Boy Scout activities, Camp Fire Girl activities, and participation in the Junior Red Cross may be carried on in such a manner that stimulating and enlightening contacts are made with other groups. Measures of this sort will help to counteract unfortunate attitudes that have arisen from lack of adequate knowledge.

Social attitudes apparently are acquired through certain strong emotional experiences and through a cumulative series of less emotional experiences that have been had in certain social situations. If it is desired to change attitudes, it may

be done, therefore, by providing for the children other social situations that will make necessary the practice of other attitudes. The leadership of adults may be expected to be helpful provided the adults have clearly in mind the attitudes that they wish acquired and arrange especially for the *first* social experiences of children to be favorable to the development of the desired attitudes.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is an attitude?
2. Why are attitudes important?
3. How are occupations ranked by people in general?
4. How are races ranked? Where do people rank their own racial or nationality group?
5. In what ways are racial attitudes acquired? Illustrate.
6. What are causes of dishonesty in school?
7. What are typical attitudes of young teachers toward crime and criminals? Criticize these attitudes.
8. In what ways can attitudes be changed?
9. Devise a questionnaire that will allow for the indication of occupational attitudes. Administer the questionnaire to each of the following: a class of college students, a class of high-school students, a class of junior-high-school students. Report your results. In what ways do they agree or disagree with the chapter?
10. Do the same for racial attitudes.
11. Do the same for other attitudes.
12. Conduct an experiment, based upon the suggestions in this chapter, in changing attitudes in children.
13. Visit a classroom where the teacher is a specialist in the development of desirable attitudes. What are her techniques?
14. Outline a social-science curriculum for a certain year in the junior or senior high school designed to change attitudes.
15. Suggest desired changes in teacher attitudes toward delinquency and crime.
16. In what ways have your attitudes been acquired? Which ones had been appreciably modified? By what means?
17. How can honesty be developed in the school?
18. Conduct an experiment in honesty by observing the reactions of a typical class of pupils to two different types of social situations.

19. What difficulties arise from the preference in the public schools for the so-called higher occupations?

20. What can be done to meet these difficulties?

21. What conflicts in the United States may we expect to continue if occupational and racial attitudes are not changed?

Bibliography

Andress, J. M. H. "The development of wholesome attitudes." *Journal of the National Education Association*, 18: December, 1929, 305.

Bogardus, Emory S. *The New Social Research.* Los Angeles: Jesse Ray Miller, 1926.

Counts, George S. "The social status of occupations: A problem in vocational guidance." *School Review*, 33: January, 1925, 16–17.

Forman, Henry James. *Our Movie-Made Children.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

Hartshorne, Hugh and May, Mark. *Studies in Deceit.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.

Lasker, Bruno. *Race Attitudes in Children.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929.

Lehman, Harvey and Witty, Paul. "Further study of the social status of occupations." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 5: October, 1931, 101–112.

Lynd, Robert S. and Lynd, Helen M. *Middletown.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

Neumann, George. *International Attitudes of High School Students.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926.

Ogburn, William. *Social Change.* New York: Viking Press, 1922.

Pierce, Bessie Louise. *Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Shaw, Clifford and McKay, Henry. *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency.* Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931.

Watson, Goodwin. *The Measurement of Fairmindedness.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.

Zeleny, L. D. "Race and culture." *Sociology and Social Research*, 14: May-June, 1930, 438–449.

CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIAL MORALE IN THE SCHOOL

The Significance of Morale

Morale is the feeling among the members of a group that stimulates them to work happily together toward the realization of shared aims. It is a spirit that changes latent antagonisms, feelings of inferiority, and unhappiness into happy, collective action or joint effort toward the achievement of a common goal. Morale is a preventive of disciplinary problems in the school.

Some schools have morale; some schools do not. Some schools have many disciplinary problems; some schools have few of them. This difference in the 'fashion' of good order is partly due to the difference in morale.

Factors Underlying Morale

What, then, are the elements in morale? Can morale be deliberately fostered or is it an accident of fortune?

The studies of Shaw and McKay show that conduct problems among juveniles tend to be associated with areas of social disorganization.[1] Conversely, conduct problems among juveniles are least frequent in areas where there is definite social organization — areas where patterns of behavior are made clear by the elders and where there is relatively little conflict between groups interested in different standards of behavior. These studies and others of the type made by Mowrer [2] lead us to believe that individual human behavior tends to be most integrated in organized social groups. Similar conclusions have been suggested by various students in

[1] Clifford Shaw. *Delinquency Areas.*
Clifford Shaw and Henry D. McKay. *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency.*

[2] E. R. Mowrer. *Family Disorganization.*

the field of morale reviewed by Zeleny.[3] The elements that appear to enter into morale in a social group, as indicated by these studies, are as follows:

Elements in Morale [4]

1. Teamwork
2. Zeal
3. Spirit
4. Hope
5. Confidence
6. Fitness of mind for purpose at hand
7. Contentment
8. Buoyancy of spirit
9. Adjustment to the environment
10. Acting in accord with one's best knowledge
11. Sum of motives that find expression in support of action
12. Health of mind
13. Full acceptance of the aim of the group
14. Sharing of knowledge
15. Understanding of one another
16. View of a more abundant life

If we use this list of elements as a basis, we may arrive at this formulation:

> Morale is that feeling that develops among the members of a group or a society when they work together toward the realization of shared ideas, ideals, and goals that appear to lead to a more abundant life. The presence of leaders who inspire the confidence of the followers is necessary.

If we apply these ideas to the school as a social institution, it appears that in order to develop morale the school may need to provide the following conditions:

1. Goals, possible of realization, that appear to lead to a more abundant life.
2. Specific goals for various subjects.
3. Specific goals for small units.
4. The acceptance of goals by students and teachers.
5. Coöperative effort toward the attainment of the goals.
6. Tactful leadership of the instructional staff.

[3] L. D. Zeleny. "Some fundamental considerations underlying the development of morale in high schools." *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 9:1923, 487–497. (This article has been drawn upon for the present chapter.)

[4] L. D. Zeleny, *Op. cit.*

How schools may realize the conditions that lead to morale will be outlined in the paragraphs that follow.

The Goals of Education

When persons can perceive clearly that their efforts are directed toward goals that appear to lead to more abundant living, they willingly put forth effort. The determination of educational goals that can be understood by students as well as by teachers is an important problem for schools and important in establishing morale.

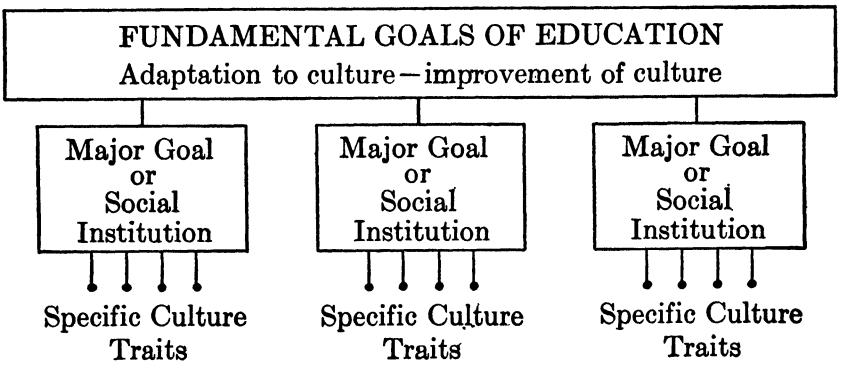
The determination of the goals of education is a problem that is difficult because so many different interest groups in society have different goals. For example, the labor leader and the capitalist probably have different concepts of the goals of education. In its broadest aspects, however, education may be conceived of as that process which assists the person in becoming more adequately adjusted than he otherwise would be to the fundamental institutions of the societies or cultures in which he may be expected to live. Education may also be expected so to train students that they will coöperate with others in improving these societies or cultures. Improvement may be conceived of as a movement in the direction of a social organization that more effectively satisfies human needs.

These main goals of education may be achieved through many minor goals. The smallest goal would be one suitable for achievement during a comparatively short period of time. In other words, first we have the fundamental goals of education; then we have the major goals — sub-goals of the fundamental ones; and finally the small specific units that may be expressed in terms of traits of culture or in terms of small units of work in the classroom.

These specific traits of culture make up the actual subject matter of education, the things that are to be mastered by students. Many investigators have been attempting to determine in some objective manner the traits that can be taught in order that the major and the fundamental goals of

education may be realized. The major and the fundamental goals probably must be determined by some philosophical method (as we have sought to do in Chapters X and XI), but the specific traits of culture must be determined by some process of analysis and inventorying. Peters, for example, has used systematic job analysis, careful descriptions of the traits of outstanding citizens, and an analysis of the traits of good citizens appearing in a wide range of literature in order to compile a comprehensive list, or 'blueprint,' of the traits of a desirable citizen.[5] The accompanying diagram may be helpful in envisaging the nature of the several goals of education just described:

THE GOALS OF EDUCATION



One of the functions of the teacher is to perceive the relationship of her professional work to the fundamental goals of education and to be able to make clear to her students, in so far as they have the maturity to understand, the relationship of each daily activity to the major and fundamental goals of education.

Peters lists as major goals of education: vocational efficiency, cultural efficiency, civic efficiency, vital (health) efficiency, moral efficiency, and domestic efficiency.[6] The committee on Cardinal Principles of Education proposed the

[5] C. C. Peters. *Foundations of Educational Sociology.* An important contribution to the determination of specific goals by scientific methods.

[6] C. C. Peters. *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

following major goals: health, command of fundamentals, worthy home membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character.[7] Zeleny has proposed the following major aims: individual efficiency, social efficiency, cultural efficiency, and vocational efficiency.[8] These major aims are, of course, simply convenient classifications of the sum total of the social institutions or the culture mass.

The important point is that the aim of education is to initiate the child or adult into the institutions of the civilization or culture in which he must live. In order to be properly initiated into this culture, he must acquire the traits of the culture, unit by unit, for he cannot acquire the whole culture at once. The problem of the educational sociologist in the field of the curriculum is, therefore, that of drawing up a complete list of the traits of the culture in question that are useful traits for effective living in that culture, and then of determining which of these traits are not likely to be acquired efficiently unless they are deliberately taught in the school. Another problem confronting the educator is grade placement; *i.e.*, the problem of determining the specific traits of culture that will be the most useful for pupils at different ages or different levels of school advancement. Still another problem of the educator is the psychological problem of determining the methods of teaching, or better, the methods of learning, that will surely develop in the learner the desired social habits.

Lists of specific traits to be taught have been worked out by various workers in the field of educational sociology; see, for example, the writings of Peters,[9] Bobbitt,[10] and Charters.[11] In this book the authors have given attention primarily to the development of the meaning and bearing of the major goals of education. These are presented briefly in the follow-

[7] *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.*

[8] L. D. Zeleny. "A conception of a liberal education in American high schools." *Education*, 44: 1923, 15–24.

[9] C. C. Peters. *Op. cit.*, Chap. 6.

[10] Franklin Bobbitt. *The Curriculum.*

[11] W. W. Charters. *Curriculum Construction.*

ing paragraphs; they have been developed at length in Part III, on Culture, Social Institutions, and Education.

One general conception of the major and minor goals of education is presented here, not as a final statement on the subject, but as a reasonable point of departure. Zeleny analyzed the conceptions of education held by Matthew Arnold, Thomas H. Huxley, John Dewey, Abraham Flexner, David Snedden, and the committee on the Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.[12] The aims of education were set down as they were mentioned by the persons named and were then classified under certain major headings as follows:

Individual Efficiency. Free use of ideas without being bound by them; power of appreciating beauty; power of intellect and knowledge; power of conduct; controlled life and fire; hatred of vileness; respect of others as for himself; wise use of leisure.

Group Efficiency. Knowledge of social life and manners; sympathetic appreciation of all classes; an attitude of sweetness and light; knowledge of government, social life and social problems; utilization of knowledge for social service; ability to contribute to wholesome family life; ability to contribute to all social institutions.

Cultural Efficiency. Desire to make the best that is known and thought current everywhere; understanding of the great and fundamental truths of nature and the laws of her operations; knowledge of letters and science; mastery of the fundamental tools of knowledge.

Occupational Efficiency. Ability to earn a living through some occupation; intelligent adjustment to a world of changing occupations.

The items in this list should be, and for teaching purposes must be, resolved into many specific traits by means of the available scientific techniques of curriculum construction.

The Acceptance of the Goals

It is necessary that teachers and superintendent accept, at least tentatively, some conception (like the foregoing) of

[12] L. D. Zeleny. *Op. cit.*

the goals of education. Such acceptance would provide for the sharing of certain clearly understood common purposes. It may be found worth while for the students, too, in so far as their maturity will allow, to have explained to them some of the fundamental goals of education, as they apply to the particular school and the particular community in which the school is located.

In addition to the intellectual appeal for students is the emotional appeal based upon certain commonly used techniques for the development of confidence of the followers in the leaders — in this case the teachers.

Techniques for the Development of Morale

Morale appears to depend upon the intellectual recognition that there exist certain goals that lead to more abundant life. There may arise the question, however, what percentage of young students can really understand many of the major goals of education. It is even difficult for many teachers to understand these goals in their full significance. Many pupils are more influenced by their feelings of personal loyalty to their teacher-leader than by their understanding of the major aims of education and the bearing of these aims upon the activities that go on in the school.

Some of the ways in which successful teachers have tended to establish morale through personal contacts are as follows: [13]

1. Interest of teachers in their pupils
2. Adjusting the teacher's interests to the social background of pupils
3. Studying the interests of pupils
4. Listening to the ideas of pupils
5. Letting pupils help in the making of plans and decisions
6. Showing pupils how the immediate and remote goals of education may satisfy their needs and wants as well as society's needs

[13] The arrangement of this list has been influenced by Webb and Morgan's *Strategy in Handling People.*

7. Considering the work of the school more important than oneself
8. Giving pupils due recognition for what they have done
9. Making the welfare and success of one's pupils a matter of personal concern
10. Building in pupils habits that facilitate the work of the school

The paragraphs that follow describe ways by which teachers have carried out or failed to carry out these methods of developing morale.

Interest of Teachers in Pupils

Recently I had the experience of studying under two instructors teaching similar subjects.

The first was a teacher who displayed a genuine interest in the individual pupils in the class. He spent much time talking with the students after hours and giving them helpful suggestions. The course itself was not interesting to me, but after I found that the instructor was interested in my getting ahead, I worked a little and got by all right.

The second teacher was the direct opposite of the first. We came to class, recited, and were made to feel that it was a case of sink or swim. The teacher did not care a whole lot which it was. As a result a good share sank, and those who could arrange their programs avoided the classes.

Olga was of Russian ancestry and had been in American schools for some time. Her home life had been dominated by her mother and grandmother, who had never forgotten the good old days in Russia. Her small friends outside the family were few, and these friends were in no way interested in reading; hence, whenever she read any books she had to 'talk to herself' about them. Her friends did not appreciate her reading and her schoolmates did not take to her foreign nationality. She was developing an inferiority complex. Her teacher, noticing this situation, took the trouble to explain the importance of reading to the grandmother and to talk about books with the child. The result was that a new light shone in the child's eyes and her work in school improved immensely.

Some students evidently respond to a teacher who takes a genuine interest in them personally, a teacher who can talk about the small affairs in which they may be participating. The result of this interest upon the part of the teacher may be in many cases a personal loyalty toward a teacher and her professional program.

Adjustment of the Teacher's Interests to the Social Background of Pupils

I taught in a school that a great many poor and rough youngsters attended. This particular school had been named the "Bloody Ninth" on account of the rough element. Most of the boys and girls in the third grade lived in cheap shacks on the outskirts of the city. Being very much interested in social backgrounds, I visited as many of the homes as I could. Earl's home was one of extreme poverty and neglect, and I wondered how he managed to stay in school at all.

The next day I overheard Earl say, "Miss S visited us yesterday. You know that is the first teacher that has ever done that." After the visit I did all I could to recognize the interests of Earl; everything I did seemed to meet with his approval, and we worked together better than ever before.

In the towns next to the one in which I lived the parents seem to feel that schools are nonsense because most of those who graduate from the local school do not continue their education and the few that do never get far. The children do not take the proper attitude toward their school work because they are not encouraged to do good work by their parents.

Several years ago a teacher went from our school to this neighboring town to teach. She had been a success in our school, but in her new position she was a failure. This was because she did not adjust her interest to the social backgrounds of the students. These children were from an agricultural community and had been encouraged by their parents to believe that poems, book clubs, history, and grammar did no one any good after he got out of school. The teacher got into serious difficulty with both pupils and parents when she tried to make them read a library book a week. The children

were slow readers and had to take their books home to read them. This made the parents angry, because they wanted the children to help with the chores. If the teacher had understood the situation, she would have given the sixth-grade pupils fewer books to read. She failed to understand the social backgrounds of the children.

These reports indicate how a knowledge of social backgrounds may assist the teacher in understanding the child. They show that the teacher who fails to consider the nature of the social backgrounds of the school may find difficulty in accommodating her teaching to the needs and interests of the children. However, a teacher must be cautious in studying the social backgrounds of her pupils, for some citizens may object to visitation by the teacher or other school representatives. The following case illustrates this difficulty:

In a small town that I know of, the teachers did not attempt to go to the homes, but the county or school nurse did. The people thought she was 'snoopy,' and I heard one mother say, "Oh, she just wanted to see how my house was fixed." The nurse's intentions were absolutely for the good of the children, but the parents grew antagonistic toward her.

In the spring of the year some of us were asked to campaign to raise money; some of this money was to be used for the county health nurse. I happened to be one of the campaigners and the door was often practically slammed in my face as soon as the word 'nurse' was heard.

Study of the Interests of Pupils

Last summer, in summer school, I had eleven seventh-grade boys who came from many different parts of the city and from different backgrounds from the ones to which the school was accustomed. The boys did not respond to the usual successful methods of instruction. Investigation of their social backgrounds revealed that one of the boys was on parole, another had been until a few months before, and a third was likely to be put on parole. Several others had been problem cases in their regular schools. A questionnaire given to the boys revealed their interest in the rough-and-ready types of litera-

ture. The pupils were therefore invited to study poems and stories of cowboys and lumberjacks. The interest of the boys was immediate. One paroled boy who came early to school said, "Gee, I never thought schools thought anything about this kind of stuff!"

Little Alvin came from a poor home and from a family that was not in good standing. Alvin seemed depressed most of the time. The teacher tried to interest him in different activities, but seemed to fail. She studied Alvin and discovered that he did like dramatics. At the next program Alvin was given a part. This pleased him immensely. He enjoyed reciting and dancing. When that was discovered, it appeared that other children mingled with him more. The teacher was liked by Alvin, by her other pupils, and by the parents.

It has been shown in this text that pupils come from different social backgrounds, and that these social backgrounds make up the social worlds of the pupils. The helpful teacher is the one who tries to find out the interests of pupils as conditioned by their social backgrounds, and to relate the work of the school, in part at least, to these interests. This process will often secure the personal loyalty of the pupils, and they will then more readily follow the suggestions of the teacher, who may thus lead them away from their limited interests toward the broader interests of society.

Listening to the Ideas of Pupils

Once while in the junior year of high school I offered one of my priceless ideas to an instructor, and it was turned down with a big laugh. The idea wasn't such a good one, I found out later, but at the time it seemed excellent. I didn't dislike the teacher for his action, but it did put a damper on my interest in physics. I found that my duty was to study the book and not to have ideas.

In a certain room we used to wave our hands continually for an opportunity to express our ideas, but the teacher would never stop talking. If we did not forget what we were going to say, we devoted our effort to some other thing, which usually annoyed the teacher. We did not like this teacher be-

cause we had no chance at all in the classroom work. The morale of the room was very poor. There was no loyalty to the teacher or interest in the work. We dreaded the time when we would have to go to this class and not get a chance to speak.

It appears that the plan of listening to pupils may frequently obtain their loyalty and effort because they then feel that their ideas are worth something, that their personality has been respected, and that they are sharing in the progress of the school work; conversely, pupils who are seldom allowed to express themselves often feel that, since their ideas are not worth listening to, it is of little value to have any.

Letting Pupils Help in the Making of Plans and Certain Decisions

My seventh-grade teacher in geography always solicited the aid of the pupils in the making of assignments. At the end of each class period we decided upon the phase of the country that we were interested in learning about. The teacher skillfully led this interest in the channels she desired us to follow. As the class outlined the assignment, one pupil put it on the board. We felt that we were studying the things that we were interested in and became enthusiastic workers in the subject.

None of us boys was particularly keen about taking manual training in the eighth grade, but we had to. I pictured it as an endless period of sawing and planing wood. However, the class was happily surprised when the first week was over and the work was going so well. We even looked forward to the class very much. I believe this interest was due to the fact that we were allowed to help the instructor decide what we wanted to make. He explained that if we worked on one or two things for the next few weeks, we could help one another and he could cut all the rough boards for us. He then presented a short list of possible things to make and showed us pictures of them. He called for a vote of the boys on the things they would like best to make. We voted on a bird house for the first project, a tie-rack for the next, etc. We

heartily enjoyed the class because we believed we were making the things only because we wanted them and they could be useful to us.

Many teachers have found that pupils who participate in the making of plans feel to some extent identified with the purposes of the school and tend to develop some feeling of responsibility for the success of the school. This is a very simple principle, but many teachers have not realized the full potentialities of their charges because of a somewhat exaggerated opinion of their own judgment. They fail to see how they are thwarting the expression of the ideas of their pupils.

Showing Pupils How the Goals of Education May Satisfy Their Needs as well as Society's Needs

In making general class assignments and in individual conferences with pupils, teachers may find opportunities to bring out the value to their pupils and to society of the goals that are being sought. Obviously, to do this, the teacher must possess a clear understanding of the goals of education and the relationship of her subject and of the specific assignments in her subject to these goals. The individual who cannot feel that the work of the school tends to satisfy his needs and wants will find it difficult to exert effort, and the society, the educational system of which produces individuals who are not interested in maintaining that society, destroys itself.

Considering the Work of the School More Important than Oneself

I know two teachers who never spent a week-end in the town where they taught. They expressed themselves to me this way, "In this —— town you couldn't have a good time without every one knowing about it, and you can't have company without every one talking about it." These teachers were primarily interested in a good time. They were not re-elected for the following year.

The teacher whom I have in mind had not established favorable attitudes in the class. One day during recitation

she said, "I'm just here for pay. It doesn't make any difference to me whether you work or not; I receive my salary in any event." That seemed to be the attitude of this teacher at all times. She cared nothing for the pupils or for the work of the school. She received little coöperation from us.

The two illustrations are negative, indicating attitudes that some teachers take who are not interested in their work. The teachers that, other things being equal, are likely to be more successful are those who find their work so interesting that it absorbs a great deal of their attention. Such enthusiasm on the part of the teacher is likely to be contagious, to be 'caught' by the pupils, thus tending to satisfy some of the conditions for morale.

Giving Pupils Due Recognition for What They Have Done

I was very poor in arithmetic and could not do as many problems as the others in the same time. But the teacher never scolded me; she tried to encourage me. She always told me when I was improving, even though my score was lower than the others. That little touch of kindness made me loyal to her and want to work for her.

During the first week of school in a fifth grade, the teacher discovered that Delia was having difficulty with her arithmetic. She gave Delia special help, and by December Delia was a good pupil of arithmetic. In a monthly test Delia was one of two pupils to make a perfect score. The teacher told Delia before she went home at noon and at the beginning of the afternoon session she announced to the class that Delia had made a perfect score. The whole class applauded, and every one felt happy over the achievement.

The first assignment made by the sixth-grade teacher was to write a paragraph on "My Pet." Her motivation was good, and we all worked hard. We handed the papers in, but the teacher never looked at them. When one of the pupils asked her whether she was going to hand the papers back, she replied, "We'll see." This occurred often and we finally said, "What

should we care how we do our lessons? The teacher doesn't look at them anyway."

Sometimes a superintendent will appear on the stage before some excellent program that has been supervised by certain pupils or a teacher and tend to give the impression to the audience that he is responsible for the production. This act is likely to take all enthusiastic interest for future work away from those whose thought and time have gone into the construction of the program. The giving of credit where credit is due tends to stimulate human energy.

Making the Welfare and Success of One's Pupils a Matter of Personal Concern

Miss Y was always ready to give help to those who needed it. If a pupil made a failure in his work, she was ready to help and sympathize with him. If she met and walked with the pupils on the street, she was vitally interested in all their affairs. Her pupils always worked hard for her.

Teachers like Miss Y appear to be more successful than others without the qualification of sincere interest in student welfare. This is probably due to the fact that sincere interest in student welfare on the part of the teacher makes the students feel, justly, that the teacher is helping them find higher social status. In fact, one general principle for teacher leadership seems to run through many of the suggestions in this and other chapters. It is this: *when the teacher acts in such a manner that she provides increased opportunity for the student to satisfy his basic needs, the student responds by means of loyalty and affection toward the teacher and interest in the work.*

Building Habits that Facilitate the Work of the School

I recall the formation of the C.C.C. club, which stood for courtesy, consideration, and cleanliness. At first only a small group of students belonged — one representative from each room. Some of the best speakers were chosen by their classmates to give the three C's publicity by talking to the

home-room groups in order to arouse enthusiasm. Those wishing to join the club purchased pins and some staged an assembly program for further publicity.

"Aren't you a C.C.C.?" was the question often asked by a classmate of the person who slyly attempted to drop his waste paper on the stairs or toss it into the corner of a classroom. This activity led to more thought on matters of courtesy, consideration, and cleanliness, and second offenders became rare. Even going up and down stairs on the right side became a matter of courtesy and consideration. To have some one gently take you by the arm at the bottom of the stairs and point out the signs "Up" and "Down" while others looked on made one more careful the next time.

The lunchroom changed in appearance from a disgraceful lunchpaper-bestrewn room to one where we took our friends to lunch with pride.

I had a teacher in the third grade who had certain little habits in her room that led to morale. One of these was having all pupils working on definite tasks. Some had 'eraser duty,' others 'chalk duty.' These tasks seemed to give the pupils an interest in the room and cause them to have pride and responsibility for it.

Charters and Waples' analysis of teachers' activities suggests the desirability, among others, of establishing the following habits: observing school regulations, complying with social customs and conventions, acting courteously toward others, respecting the desires and welfare of others, meeting personal obligations as a member of the school, showing appreciation of the teacher, showing appreciation of other pupils, conforming to school customs, moving about the buildings in an orderly fashion, participating in the school programs and activities, following proper health rules, coöperating with others, and caring for school property.[14] The teacher who can follow these suggestions with some degree of success will go far toward ensuring a satisfactory morale in her classroom.

[14] W. W. Charters and Douglas Waples. *Commonwealth Teacher Training Study.*

Summary and Conclusion

This discussion of morale is based upon a study of the principles that have been developed by persons of experience and insight in this field. It may be expected to have considerable validity. Nevertheless, experimentation is needed. It may soon be possible to compare schools and classrooms conducted under different methods of control and to measure the results in terms of accomplishment, participation in school organizations, tardiness, truancy, absence, and other evidences of good or poor morale.

The two chief factors contributing to the development of morale in the school or among the persons in any institution seem to be: (1) the perception of common goals and working toward the realization of the goals that mean a more complete satisfaction of human needs, and (2) the satisfaction, to some reasonable degree, of the basic human needs while working toward the realization of the desired goals.

Questions and Exercises

1. What is morale?
2. Why should teachers study morale?
3. What are the elements in morale?
4. What are some useful goals of education?
5. Why will an understanding of the goals of education contribute to morale among students?
6. What are the two central keys to the development of morale by personal influence?
7. Which of the two central keys to morale is most important for use with children in the primary grades? Why?
8. Which of the two central keys to morale is most important for use with children in the upper grades? With college students? Why?
9. In what ways do school traditions influence morale?
10. Is it possible to foster deliberately the development of desirable school traditions? How?
11. Visit a classroom with good morale. In what ways does the teacher foster it? Write a report.

12. Could you distinguish good morale from poor morale by a few minutes' observation of a classroom? How?

13. Illustrate from successful practice each of the techniques for the development of morale.

14. Make out several statements of the goals of education suitable to be understood by each of the following groups: (1) primary children, (2) intermediate children, (3) junior-high-school children, (4) senior-high-school children.

Bibliography

Bach, C. A. "Leadership." Chicago *Sunday Herald*, December 2, 1917.

Bobbitt, Franklin. *The Curriculum.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918.

Bogardus, Emory S. *Fundamentals of Social Psychology.* Revised edition. New York: The Century Company, 1931.

Charters, W. W. *Curriculum Construction.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

Charters, W. W. and Waples, Douglas. *Commonwealth Teacher Training Study.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928.

Goddard, Harold. *Morale.* New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918.

Hall, G. Stanley. *Morale.* New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1920.

Hocking, W. E. "Morale." *Atlantic Monthly*, 122: December, 1918, 721–728.

Mowrer, E. R. *Family Disorganization.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927.

Peters, C. C. *Foundations of Educational Sociology.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

Shaw, Clifford. *Delinquency Areas.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Shaw, Clifford and McKay, Henry D. *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency.* Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931.

U. S. Office of Education, *Bulletin No. 35, 1918.*

Webb, E. T. and Morgan, J. B. *Strategy in Handling People.* Chicago: Boulton, Pierce and Company, 1930.

ZELENY, L. D. "Some fundamental considerations underlying the development of morale in the high school." *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 9: November, 1923, 487–497.

ZELENY, L. D. "A conception of a liberal education in American high schools." *Education*, 44: September, 1923, 15–24.

GLOSSARY OF SOCIOLOGICAL TERMS USED IN THE TEXT

(This list of terms includes most of the sociological terms recommended by the special committee for the study of the introductory course in sociology of the American Sociological Society, Cecil C. North, Chairman. See *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 7: September, 1933, 81–82.)

ACCOMMODATION — A process by which two persons, two groups, or a person and a group mutually identify their interests with one another.

ADJUSTMENT — A mutually satisfactory relationship among individuals or between an individual or group and the social environment.

ASSIMILATION — The merging of a larger group and a smaller group into a single entity characterized by the patterns of the larger group.

ATTITUDE — An established tendency in an individual to like or dislike or approach or avoid some culture trait or some person.

BEHAVIOR PATTERN — A neuro-muscular organization of a person based on the biological heredity, but modified and added to by group contacts.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR — Two or more persons or groups acting together toward the achievement of a common aim or objective.

COMMUNICATION — "The basic medium of social interaction, expressed in symbols, pantomimic gestures, facial gestures, spoken language, written language, art symbols, etc." (Bogardus).

COMMUNITY — "A social unit within certain territorial boundaries, possessing a degree of functioning unity and comparative self-sufficiency" (McClenahan).

CONFLICT — The interaction of persons who are in opposition to each other in purpose.

CONTACT — "The first stage of social interaction which conditions and controls the later stages of the process" (Park and Burgess).

COÖPERATION — The acting together of two or more groups or persons as one unit in such a way as to produce a common effect.

CULTURAL CHANGE — A modification of the pattern of a particular culture.

CULTURAL LAG — A delay in change in one or more of several interdependent parts of a changing culture.

CULTURE — "The sum total of the ways of thinking and doing, past and present, of a social group" (Bogardus).

CULTURE AREA — The geographic area over which the culture of a particular major group is spread.

CULTURE DISTRICT — A part of a city, town, or county populated by a segregated group and possessing certain outstanding characteristics.

CULTURE TRAIT — The smallest unit of culture; examples — piece of chalk, sled, wheel, custom of saying 'good morning,' etc. The sum total of all the culture traits equals the culture, or culture base.

DIFFUSION — The spread of a culture trait or culture traits to another culture or culture area.

DISORGANIZATION — The lack of unity in mental and social life.

ETHNOCENTRISM — The tendency for the members of the we-group to believe that their own social heritage or culture is superior to the culture of all others-groups.

FOLKWAYS — All the ways of acting and believing that grow up in a culture as a result of the struggle for ways to satisfy the social forces.

GROUP — An entity of two or more persons in active or suspended social interaction (Eubank).

IMITATION — A response made by an individual or individuals as the result of observing a similar response in another.

INSTINCT — An unlearned tendency to respond to stimuli. The present tendency is to reduce the number of instincts to a list about as follows: hunger, sex, fear of loud noises, and fear of falling.

INSTITUTIONAL INTERDEPENDENCE — The interrelationship of the different institutions in culture in such a manner that change in one institution causes changes in other institutions in varying degrees.

INVASION — The movement of representative people from an area or district of one segregated group into the area or district of another segregated group.

INVENTION — The combination of existing culture traits into new forms.

ISOLATION — Lack of contact due to spatial, organic, cultural, or attitudinal factors.

LEADERSHIP — The situation in which individuals in a group accept one individual as the dominator or director of their activities.

MORES — Certain of the folkways that are considered indispensable for group welfare.

OTHERS-GROUP — The group to which one does not belong and toward which one tends to have a suspicious and unfriendly feeling.

PASSIVE MENTATION — The absorbent process by which individuals accept traits of the culture without critical scrutiny and creative effort.

PERSONALITY or THE PERSON — "It is the sum total of the ways of acting and thinking of any human being; it includes his individuality and his sociality" (Bogardus).

PRIMARY GROUP — A group characterized by intimate face-to-face association. It is fundamental in the forming of personality.

PRINCIPLE OF BALANCE — The idea that human behavior and social life are to be understood best through a variety of approaches and not through relative overemphasis upon one avenue of approach to the neglect of others.

PROGRESS — Cultural change in the direction of the more complete expression of the social forces for more persons and groups.

RACE — A biological classification of mankind based upon physical attributes, such as skin color, cephalic index, hair texture, etc. — not to be confused with 'nationality,' which is a political or cultural classification.

RATIONALIZATION — A process by which man justifies a line of action or a belief that is contrary to fact.

SECONDARY GROUP — A number of persons, not in face-to-face contact, and yet in interaction.

SEGREGATION — The process by which persons of the same socio-economic or cultural status tend to gather in a culture district or culture area.

SOCIAL CONTROL — The control of individual attitudes and behavior through social interaction and culture.

SOCIAL DISTANCE — The difference in sympathetic understanding that exists between persons, groups, or persons and groups.

SOCIAL FORCES — The motives that drive men to exert effort and to associate with others.

The following social forces are utilized in this text: (1) *Hunger* — the desire for food; (2) *Love* — the desire for the mutual expression of tender affection; (3) *Security* — the desire for the maintenance and improvement of socio-economic status, including the desire for the recognition of this status and the approval of actions directed toward the securing of this status; and (4) *Activity* — the desire for mental, physical, and social activity.

SOCIAL HERITAGE — The part of the culture that is transmitted to the oncoming generation.

SOCIAL INSTITUTION — A definite unit of culture organized to satisfy one or more of the social forces. Illustrations — the family, the church, etc.

SOCIAL INTERACTION — The action that takes place between and among the members of a group.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION — "The differentiated unity of mental and social life" (Cooley).

SOCIAL PROBLEM — A recognized inequality between groups resulting from conflict or cultural lag.

SOCIAL SITUATION — The configuration, or pattern, of groups that tends to modify the behavior of a person.

SOCIALIZATION — The movement of persons toward more complete identification with the group and away from inequalities.

STATUS — The rating given a person or group by others.

STRATIFICATION — The process that creates social classes of a recognized hierarchy in status.

STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE — The struggle upon the land among persons and groups for the satisfaction of the social forces.

UNIVERSAL CULTURE PATTERN — The pattern of social institutions that is common to all cultures. Different cultures differ not in the types of institutions, but in traits within the institutions.

VALUE — An object or person toward which an attitude is expressed.

WE-GROUP — The group to which one belongs and toward which one has a feeling of loyalty.

WITHDRAWAL — The avoidance of conflict or of the possibility of conflict.

A SUGGESTED LIBRARY LIST

BAGLEY, WILLIAM C. *School Discipline.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.

BLUMENTHAL, ALBERT. *Small Town Stuff.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

BOGARDUS, EMORY S. *Contemporary Sociology.* Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1931.

COOLEY, C. H. *Human Nature and the Social Order.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902.

CULBERT, JANE. *The Visiting Teacher at Work.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929.

DAVIS, JEROME, and others. *An Introduction to Sociology.* Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1927.

DE LIMA, AGNES. *Our Enemy the Child.* New York: New Republic Inc., 1926.

HART, HORNELL. *The Science of Social Relations.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

KELLER, A. G. *Man's Rough Road.* New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1932.

KRUGER, E. T. and RECKLESS, W. C. *Social Psychology.* New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1931.

KULP, D. H. *Educational Sociology.* New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932.

LEE, PORTER R. and KENWORTHY, MARION E. *Mental Hygiene and Social Work.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1929.

LYND, ROBERT S. and LYND, HELEN M. *Middletown.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology, Second Yearbook: Objectives of Education. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University Division of Publication, 1929.

OGBURN, WILLIAM. *Social Change.* New York: B. W. Huebsch Publishing Company, 1922.

PALMER, VIVIEN. *Field Studies in Sociology.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928.

PAYNE, E. GEORGE. *Readings in Educational Sociology.* New York: Prentice-Hall, 1932.

REUTER, E. B. and HART, C. W. *Introduction to Sociology.* New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1933.

Ross, E. A. *Social Control.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912.

Sayles, Mary. *The Problem Child in School.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1925.

Shaw, Clifford. *The Jack Roller.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1930.

Thrasher, Frederick. *The Gang.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927.

Van Waters, Miriam. *Youth in Conflict.* New York: New Republic, Inc., 1925.

Waller, Willard. *The Sociology of Teaching.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1932.

Wickman, E. K. *Children's Behavior and Teacher's Attitudes.* New York: The Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications, 1928.

Wissler, C. *Man and Culture.* New York: T. Y. Crowell Company, 1923.

Zorbaugh, Harvey. *The Gold Coast and the Slum.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1929.

Periodical

The Journal of Educational Sociology. The Journal of Educational Sociology, Inc., 883 Broadway, Albany, New York.

It is recommended that all volumes of this journal be kept on file for reference.

INDEX

Accommodation, defined, 33, 142 f., 329; by use of tact, 143 f.; techniques for developing, 143–159; by conformity to social standards, 145 f.; by emotional balance, 145 f.; by child counseling, 146–148; by organizing curriculum into activities, 148–157
Activities in a lumbering and resort community, 42–44
Activity, as end of education, 110 f.
Activity program, 148–157
Adjustment, social, 285 f.; defined, 329
Agricultural world, a typical, 45–51
Analysis, of rural community, 58–61; sociological, 285
Andress, J. M., 289, 309
Anticipation in formal education, 104
Areas, *see* Primitive culture, Segregated areas
Arnold, Matthew, 315
Assimilation, 329
Attitude, 289, 329
Attitudes, of young people in a typical agricultural world, 47 f.; toward schools of a mining community, 53; importance of, 280, 289 f.; occupational, 290 f.; racial or national, 291–297; of honesty, 297–299; toward the law, 299 f.; toward crime and criminals, 300 f.; toward change, 301; how acquired, 301–305; how changed, 305–308; in two segregated areas, 11 f.
Aveling, F., 241

Bagley, William C., 265, 333
Balance, emotional, 145 f.; principle of, 215 f.
Barnes, H., 214
Barr Scale for Occupational Intelligence, 11
Beard, Charles, 225, 227
Behavior, and culture, 166, 173; characteristics of, named, 276 f.; rating scale for, 277
Behavior pattern, 329
Binet, Alfred, 241
Blanchard, Phyllis, 36
Blumenthal, Albert, 36, 57, 72, 151, 160, 333
Boarding places, 68 f.
Boas, Franz, 175
Bobbitt, Franklin, 314, 327
Boettiger, L. A., 86, 98
Bogardus, Emory S., 36, 163, 291, 292, 309, 327, 329, 330, 331, 333
Boy Scouts, 87
Briggs, T. H., 243
Bronner, Augusta, 91, 98
Burgess, E. W., 85, 329
Burnham, William H., 147, 160, 218, 227

Campfire Girls, 87
Cardinal Principles of Education, 194, 314, 315
Chaffee, N. W., 216
Change, attitude toward, 301
Chapin, F. Stuart, 163, 279
Chapman, Corinne, 37
Character education, 221–224
Charters, W. W., 314, 325, 327
Cheating, 125 f.
Child, needs of, in education, 110; individual study of, 147
Child counseling, 146–148
Child welfare work, 78–82
Child-centered school, 219–221
Churches, 50 f.
Citizenship, 190 f.

Clubs, 51
Coercion, opposed to passive mentation, 104
Collective behavior, 329
Collings, Ellsworth, 152, 160
Commands as social control, 252 f.
Communication, 329
Community, participation in life of, 63–66, 188 f.; study of, in diagnosing behavior, 279; definition of, 329
Conflict, defined, 33, 329; sources of, 113–120; results of, 120–128
Cooley, Edwin, 75, 98, 240, 265, 332, 333
Counseling, 146–148
Counts, George, 205, 290, 309
Crime, attitude toward, 300 f.
Cubberley, Ellwood P., 205
Culbert, Jane, 147, 160
Cultural change, defined, 329
Cultural lag, defined, 34, 206, 329; in curriculum, 109; illustrations of, 206 f.; in education, 208–213; in teaching of languages, 208 f.; in preserving of popular myths, 209–211; in providing guidance, 209
Culture, nature of, 165–169; and behavior, 166, 173; and social institutions, 168 f.; modern, evolved from primitive, 169–171; changes in, 171–173; and the individual, 176–178; acquiring of, 177 f.; defined, 330
Culture areas, 165, 330
Culture district, 165 f., 330
Culture groups in a mining community, 52
Culture mass, *see* Culture
Culture trait, 330
Curriculum, the, as aim of education, 100; organized upon an activity basis, 148–157

Davis, Jerome, 214, 333
Dawson, Edgar, 112
DeLima, Agnes, 253–255, 265, 333
Delinquency, 30
Desires, basic, 113
Dewey, John, 96, 315
Diffusion, 330
Dishonesty, 297–299
Disobedience, sources of, 120–125
Disorganization, 330
Dissatisfaction, 139
Dixon, Roland, 175
Doran, Mary, 80
Dreaminess, 135–138
Dress, in a rural community, 60; of teachers, 69

Education, formal, 103–105, 180 f.; informal, 103–105; distinguishing means and ends in, 110; importance of transmitting culture, 180 f.; purpose of, 186; for family life, 186–188; for the community, 188 f.; for industry, 189 f.; for citizenship, 190 f.; for school life, 191 f.; for recreational activities, 192; for health, 192 f.; for use of press, 193; for morality, 193 f., 222; major task of, 212; character, 221–224; progressive, 226; goals of, 312–316
Educational changes, current, 200 f.
Employment in a mining community, 54 f.
Ethnocentrism, 33, 330
Eubank, E. E., 330
Extra-curricular activities, 216–218

Family, the, in a rural community, 60; welfare work in, 77 f.; participation in, 186–188
Fear, of punishment, 125 f., 132; of scolding, 126; of persons, 139
Finney, Ross L., 176, 184, 197, 198, 205
Flattery, 248 f.
Flexner, Abraham, 315
Folkways, 330
Forman, Henry, 302, 309

Formoe, Harriet, 299
Four-H Club, 87 f.

Gang, activities of, 17–25; 'shack' gang, 25 f.; importance of, in diagnosing behavior, 279
Gate City, a typical agricultural world, 45–51; appearance of, 45; history of, 45; segregation in, 45 f.; industries in, 46; local trade in, 46 f.; attitudes of young people in, 47 f.; gossip as a means of control in, 48 f.; loafers in, 48; reading activities of, 49 f.; churches in, 50–53; schools in, 50; clubs in, 51; social trends in, 51
Gault, Robert, 98
Germaine, Charles, 228
Giddings, Henry, 112, 205
Girl Scouts, 87
Givens, Willard, 96
Glueck, Sheldon, 85, 91, 98
Goals of education, determination of, 312–316; diagram of, 313; named, 315; acceptance of, 315 f.; value to pupils, 322
Goddard, Harold, 327
Gossip, as a means of control, 48 f.
Group, defined, 33, 330
Groves, Ernest, 214

Habits, 324 f.
Hall, G. Stanley, 130, 327
Hammond, Marion, 283
Hargreaves, H. L., 241
Hart, C. W., 333
Hart, Hornell, 130, 160, 333
Hartshorne, Hugh, 113, 130, 297–299, 309
Health, relation to dreaminess, 138; preservation of, as an institution, 192 f.; history of, 277
Healy, William, 80, 91, 98, 282
Hebel, Elizabeth, 153
Henri, V., 241
Hill, Patty, 152, 160
Hocking, W. E., 327
Home, problems of, in two segregated areas, 13 f.; importance of, in diagnosing behavior, 279
Homes, of workers in a mining community, 55–57
Honesty, 297–299
Humor, relation of, to conflict, 119 f.
Hurlock, E. B., 243
Huxley, Thomas, 315

Ideas of pupils, listening to, 320 f.
Imitation, 124, 330
Incomes, of families in lumbering community, 40
Industries, of a lumbering and resort community, 39; of an agricultural world, 46; of a rural community, 58
Industry, social work in, 85 f.; participation in, 189 f.
Inferiority, feelings of, 137 f.
Instinct, 330
Institutional interdependence, 198 f., 330
Institutional social work, 89–92; in the orphanage, 89 f.; in schools for feeble-minded, 90 f.; in state schools, 90
Institutions, universal, 57 f.
Instruction, faulty, 123 f.; to impart mores, 222 f.
Interaction, 33
Interdependence of institutions, 198 f., 330
Interest, in school, 135 f.; of teacher in pupils, 317 f.
Interests of pupils, 319 f.
Interviewing, techniques for, 280–283
Invasion, 32 f., 330
Invention, 330
Isolation, 330

Jensen, H., 292
Jones, T. I., 197
Journal of Educational Sociology, 334
Judd, Charles, 178, 184, 197

Keller, A. G., 197, 333
Kelly, Fred J., 96
Kingsley, Clarence, 194
Kruger, E. T., 333
Kulp, Daniel, 197, 229, 333

Language, in relation to changing culture, 201 f.
Lasker, Bruno, 296, 302 f., 304, 305, 309
Laughter, as social control, 249 f.
Law, attitudes toward, 299 f.
Leadership, 330
Lee, Porter, 333
Lehman, Harvey, 290, 309
Lumley, F. E., 249, 258, 265
Lying, 125 f.
Lynd, Helen, 36, 72, 93, 98, 151, 160, 291, 309, 333
Lynd, Robert, 36, 72, 93, 98, 151, 160, 291, 309, 333

Machine Town, employment and unemployment in, 54 f; an industrial community, 54–57; homes of workers in, 55–57
McClenahan, Bessie, 329
McKay, Henry, 130, 270, 287, 303, 309, 310, 327
Marshall, Leon, 96
Mason, Otis T., 169, 175
May, Mark, 113, 130, 297–299, 309
Mead, Arthur, 145, 160
Mead, Margaret, 174, 175
Mearns, Hughes, 152, 160
Militarism, as a cause of conflict, 116
Miller, H. G., 216
Mine City, culture groups in, 52; a declining mining community, 52 f.; politics and the police in, 52 f.; attitudes in, toward the school, 53
Monroe, Paul, 198, 205
Moon, Maria, 291
Moore, C., 96
Moral education, 221–224
Morale, factors underlying, 310–312; defined, 311; conditions for developing, 311–325; techniques for developing, 316–325
Morality, education for, 193 f.
Mores, attitude of teacher toward, 63 f.; observance of, 66 f.; instruction in, 222 f.; of good order, 241–243; defined, 330
Morgan, J. B., 316, 327
Motivation, in informal education, 103 f.; in formal education, 103–106; artificial, defined, 105; examples of, on professional level, 105 f.; on elementary level, 106 f.; in secondary schools, 107 f.; marking system as a form of, 108; suggested type of, 108–110; in moral education, 223 f.
Mowrer, E. R., 310, 327
Murphy, Gardner, 241, 243, 265
Murphy, Lois, 241, 243, 265
Myers, A. J., 304

Nagging, 118 f.
National Society for the Study of Education, yearbooks of, 112, 216 f.
National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology, Second Yearbook, 333
Nervousness, a cause of conflict, 116 f.
Neumann, George, 309
New humanities, in relation to changing culture, 203 f.
Nilson, Margaret, 14

Occupations, of a lumbering and resort community, 39 f.
Ogburn, William, 214, 301, 309, 333
Olson, W. X., 277
Organization, community, 92–96
Orphanages, 89 f.
Others-Group, defined, 331

Palmer, Vivien, 333
Park, R., 329
Partiality, a cause of conflict, 114 f.

Passive mentation, nature of, 103 f., 331; as a means of acquiring culture mass, 177 f.; as a means of acquiring attitudes, 302
Payne, E. George, 333
Person, defined, 331
Personality, defined, 331
Peters, C. C., 197, 205, 313, 314, 329
Pierce, Bessie, 389
Plans, making of, by pupils, 321 f.
Play activities of children in two social worlds, 16–26
Play groups, in a typical small city, 17–21; in a segregated area, 26
Politics and the police in a mining community, 52 f.
Praise, as social control, 243; techniques of, 244
President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 94–98
Press, education for use of, 191
Prestige, as social control, 240 f.
Primary group, defined, 331
Primitive culture, 165
Probation and parole, 84 f.
Progress, defined, 215 f., 331
Property in a rural community, 60
Punishment, fear of, 125 f., 132; defined, 257 f.; as a form of social control, 257–264; rules for use of, 263 f.

Race, 331
Racial attitudes, 291–297
Raen, Sophie, 299
Rationalization, and cultural lag, 212 f., 228; defined, 213, 331
Reading activities, 49 f.
Reason, as a social control, 237–239
Recent Social Trends in the United States, 200
Recitation, the socialized, 218 f.
Reckless, W. C., 333
Recreation, in relation to a changing curriculum, 202 f.
Recreational activities, of a typical small city, 26 f.; participation in, 190
Reuter, E. B., 333
Rewards, as social control, 246–248
Reynolds, Bertha, 80
Richmond, Mary, 76, 98
Ridicule, 115 f., 132–134
River City, a typical small city, 3 f.; struggles in, 3–8; comparison of two segregated areas in, 9–26; play activities of children in, 16–26; recreational activities in, 26 f.; truancy in, 29; educational significance of studies in, 30–33; delinquency in, 33
Robbins, Charles, 228
Robinson, James Harvey, 213
Rosander, A. C., 299
Ross, E. A., 96, 231, 265, 334
Rugg, Harold, 112, 151, 160, 205, 219
Rules, 121–123
Rural community, examples of typical forms, 37–61; sociological analysis of, 58–61

Salisbury, Ethel, 149, 152, 160
Sandford, Clement, 299
Sarcasm, 115 f., 251 f.
Sayles, Mary, 274, 287, 334
Scholarship, relation of, to conflict, 117; in diagnosing behavior, 278
School, the child-centered, 219–221
Schools, in a typical agricultural world, 50; as a socializing agency, 73 f.; for feeble-minded, 90 f.; purpose of, 181–183; participation in, 191 f.
School subjects, in relation to a changing culture, 201–204; languages as, 201 f.; recreational, 202 f.; vocational, 202 f.; new humanities, 203 f.
Scolding, fear of, 126, 132
Secondary group, 331
Segregated areas, comparison of two, 9–26
Segregation, in a typical small city, 9; cause of, 32; defined, 32, 331; in a typical agricultural world, 45 f.

Self-government, student, 224–226
Shaw, Charles B., 175
Shaw, Clifford, 130, 270, 287, 303, 309, 310, 327, 334
Shelter, in a rural community, 59
Shumaker, Ann, 112, 152, 160, 219, 228
Smith, J. Russell, 305
Smith, W. R., 263, 266
Snedden, David, 287
Social backgrounds of pupils, 318 f.
Social case work, general nature of, 74–86; steps in, 76; in family welfare, 77 f.; in child welfare, 78–82; medical, 82–84; probation and parole, 84 f.; in industry, 85 f.
Social control, defined, 34, 331; importance of, 231 f.; means of, 231; in classroom, 232–234; problem of, in a democracy, 232–234; techniques of, 234–263; purpose of, 235 f.; scale of techniques in, 236
Social distance, 33, 331
Social forces, 32, 332
Social group work, 86–89
Social heritage, 331
Social institutions, and culture, 169; nature of, 185 f.; participation in, 186–194; defined, 332
Social interaction, 332
Social organization, 332
Social problem, 332
Social progress, 34
Social situation, diagram of, 267; facts needed to understand, 267 f.; illustrations of, 269–274; outline for study of, 275–286; defined, 332
Social status, struggle for, among children, 27–29; defined, 33
Social trends, in a typical agricultural world, 51
Socialization, defined, 33, 232
Socialized recitation, as a method, 218 f.
Society, needs of, in education, 110
Sociological diagnosis of behavior, techniques of, 274–286
Sociological objectives, 194–196
Sociology, a well-balanced, 215 f.
Spencer, Herbert, 264, 266
Spooner, Julia, 31, 306 f.
Stark, William, 237–239, 263
Status, defined, 332
Stealing, 126 f.
Steiner, J. F., 93 f.
Stevens, Marion P., 152, 160
Strang, Ruth, 287
Stratification, 332
Struggle for existence, in a typical small city, 4; in the stone industry, 5; in machine shops, 6; among business men, 6–8; results of, in a small city, 8; defined, 332
Suspiciousness, causes of, 140
Sympathy, 117 f.

Tact, use of, 143 f.
Taussig Industrial Classification, 11
Teacher, attitude of, toward mores, 63 f.; participation of, in community life, 64–66; failure of, 65; relations of, with citizens and patrons, 67 f.; with the school, 69–71; problems of, 68 f.; as leader of organizations, 88; domineering, 133; traits of, 143 f.
Techniques, of social control, 236; for interviewing pupils, 283–285; for developing morale, 316–325
Temper, a cause of conflict, 116 f.
Test record, in diagnosing behavior, 278
Thrasher, Frederick, 36, 334
Threats, as social control, 256 f.
Threlkeld, A. L., 147, 148, 160
Thurstone, L. L., 299
Timber Town, a typical rural town, 37–44; culture districts in, 38–39; industries in, 39; occupations in, 39 f.; incomes in, 40; conflicts in, 40–42; activities in, in getting a living, 42–44

Trade in a typical agricultural world, 46 f.
Truancy, in a typical small city, 29
Turner, Clair E., 98, 197

Uhl, W. L., 205
Unemployment, 48, 54 f.
Universal culture pattern, defined, 332
United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35, 327

Value, defined, 332
Van Waters, Miriam, 130, 243, 266, 334
Vaschide, N., 241
Vitali, V., 241
Vocational interests, in diagnosing behavior, 278
Vocational subjects, in relation to a changing culture, 202 f.
Vold, George, 85

Waller, Willard, 72, 334
Wallis, Wilson, 241, 266
Waples, Douglas, 325, 327
Warner, Queen, and Harper, 76, 79, 80, 98
Watson, Goodwin, 301, 309
Webb, E. T., 316, 327
Weil, Blanche, 16, 36
Weiss, Carl, 161
Whipple, Helen D., 91, 98
Whitaker, William, 299
Whitley, R. L., 280, 282, 287
Wickman, E. K., 130, 276, 277, 287, 334
Wiggam, Albert E., 209, 214
Wile, Ira, 274, 287
Wissler, Clark, 57, 58, 112, 175, 334
Withdrawal, from conflict, caused by: fear of punishment, 132, ridicule and criticism, 132–134, domineering teachers, 134, lack of interest, 135 f., lack of companionship, 136 f., feelings of inferiority, 137 f., poor health, 138, dissatisfaction with life, 139, fear of persons, 139; followed by suspiciousness, 139; defined, 332
Witty, Paul, 290, 309
Wolf children of India, 176 f.

Y.M.C.A., 88
Y.W.C.A., 88
Young, Kimball, 214

Zeleny, L. D., 281, 283, 285, 288, 291, 292, 299, 309, 311, 314, 315, 328
Zorbaugh, Harvey, 92, 99, 269, 288, 334