UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_160155
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

OSMANIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Call No. 373|S74H Accession No. G11986

Author Spears, Harold.

Title High schools for to day. 1950.

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

THE HIGH SCHOOL FOR TODAY

THE HIGH SCHOOL FOR TODAY

Harold Spears

ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT
SAN FRANCISCO PUBLIC SCHOOLS
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

Illustrated by the Author

AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

New York Cincinnati Chicago Boston Atlanta Dallas San Francisco

Copyright, 1950, by AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

All rights reserved. No part of this book protected by the above copyright may be reproduced in any form without written permission of the publisher

to JEN, DAVID *and* STEPHEN

INTRODUCTION

The American high school is deserving of serious study. Experienced teachers find it worth their while to take a year off for graduate study of their school problems, or while continuing their active service organize workshops within school for the experimental study of local needs. Prospective teachers in training, desirous of doing their best work, look eagerly for help in understanding the new developments in high-school aims and techniques.

This book has been written with both groups in mind, for their enterprise is a common one. Both the beginning teacher and the experienced teacher need a clear understanding of the modern high school, where it is going and where it has been. Rather than reviewing the various aspects of secondary education in this introductory statement, the writer will refer the reader to the Table of Contents, which sets out the topics in some detail.

In starting to write a story such as this of the American high school, a fellow first jots down what it is that the school has, and he comes out with:

1. An idea of somebody, else the school never would have existed
2. A curriculum, a program to carry out this idea
3. A teacher, to handle the curriculum
4. An organization, to enable the teacher to handle the curriculum to carry out the idea
5. An evaluation of how the idea has turned out

That's the story that is told here. Of course, most of the book is about today's high school, but there are some indications of what seems to be coming tomorrow, and a synopsis of the account of the meanderings of the forerunners of the present school. The few cartoons are thrown in because the author likes to draw them.

Working at the job of boosting up the high school to achieve democratic stature, worthy of maximum public faith and support, is at times discouraging. Reassuring in the task are those high-school teachers having a vision of the school's ultimate possibilities, who patiently work for its achievement, encouraged one day, discouraged the next.

The balance of realism and idealism, that is such an essential feature of the bag and baggage of this too limited army of stellar teachers, is expressed in this note received from one of them — a significantly expressive note that has no business being left here on the desk after all the chapters are closed and ready for the printer.

Excerpts of the Letter

We are ambling along here at the high school, but *Order* isn't what it should be. The carvings in the study hall desks are deeper, the pencil drawings there are larger, the charm of playing hookey no less alluring, the knots of friends around the hallways somewhat noisier. This in spite of obviously strong-arm methods.

The anxious seats outside the office of the Dean of Boys are always fully occupied, suspensions are so frequent that they have become a joke, and the first step in handling a matter of discipline is to shout, "Shut up! I don't want to hear a word out of you." There is a bit of satisfaction to me in seeing the doubt over the efficiency of such methods beginning to show up in the minds of certain members of the faculty who a year ago thought these methods were the only way.

Of course there are always some to whom an adolescent boy or girl is a subhuman creature. I wonder why they ever went in for teaching. As for me, the sight of a boy being pushed around by an angry man gives me a sick feeling that lasts for hours.

. . . . . .

Also there is no blinking the fact that we do not have the teachers to do the job — our program is an all-absorbing way of teaching, and few teachers are willing to give it what it has to have.

When things become confused, older teachers reach for their bag of tricks; young things fall back upon what they saw their high-school teachers do. They can see nothing salutary in confusion; it is a bugbear to them. Helping a group of young people to make order out of confusion is all very well in theory, but when it comes to practice they turn tail and run. I believe the teachers' colleges have the key to educational change in their hands — teachers' colleges and some kind of apprentice system with older teachers who do know classroom procedures.

Sincerely,
GOOD TEACHER

Reply to Good Teacher

The mythical key to open the doors of *The High School for Today*, and to which you refer above, may be unearthed in the training institution, beneath the debris of archaic subject matter heaped high into departmental piles — but it is most doubtful.

The key is more elusive. When found, it is going to be located somewhere near the spot where boys and girls of high-school age are engaging in their everyday activities — working in the corner drugstore after school, — having a coke in the hole in the wall around the corner from the school, — day dreaming, — doing the chores before school in the morning, — dating, — playing on the team, — brooding over a pimply complexion, — organizing a social club, — tinkering with a radio, — trying to maintain order in a class meeting, — reading the picture magazines, — getting permission to use the family car, — raising a prize pig, — reading a good book, — playing the latest popular recording, — working on the carburetor of the jalopy, — and just loafing on the lawn and talking big and little talk.

Many teachers are too busy with the tasks they have inherited to give any thought to the key. Those who are earnestly seeking it must not compromise with complacency. And there's plenty of that. Wishful thinking is the easy and smoothly paved road to compromise. If this book helps just a little in locating a clue to the key, the writer will indeed be happy. The reader must be warned that the vicarious experience of reading about changes in the high school, and the mental excitement that may come with it are poor substitutes for the actual personal implementation and experiencing of such changes in the reader's own school or classroom. The beginner may not enter his first classroom with the key, but he should have the vision of it well in mind.

Harold Spears

CONTENTS

Part 1. THE SCHOOL AND ITS PROMISE

Chapter 1. THE AMERICAN DREAM — EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY 3

High-School Graduation — A Report to the Stockholders: The Case for the High School, The Case Against the High School — Equality of Educational Opportunity — The Public Mind — The Plan of the Book

Chapter 2. FACT AND FANCY 12

The High School Loses Ground — Judging Educational Progress — The Equal Distribution of Public Education — The Curriculum Challenge

Chapter 3. PURPOSES AND PROPOSALS 24

The Late Wave of National Commissions: The Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, The New York Regents Study of High Schools in That State, The Studies of the American Youth Commission, The Study by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, The Educational Policies Commission's "Education for All American Youth" and "Planning for American Youth," The Harvard Report "General Education in a Free Society," The Report of the John Dewey Society, The United States Office of Education and the Prosser Resolution — The Goals Are Marked

Part 2. THE CURRICULUM AND THE STUDENT

Chapter 4. AMERICAN YOUTH AND THEIR SOCIETY 47

Youth: A Distinct Population Group — The Nature of Youth — The Wartime Situation — The Social Setting of American Youth — The American Way — Time and Place

Chapter 5. PREPARING FOR CURRICULUM REORGANIZATION 57

Useful or Ornamental — The Curriculum Approach — Where Are We? — The Passing of Mental Discipline — An Educational Discord: Ends and Means — Beginning Curriculum Reorganization — Keeping the Democratic Function in Mind — Establishing Principles of Operation — The Machinery for Curriculum Change — Looking Back and Ahead

Chapter 6. GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION 80

Fighting Dual Concepts of Schooling — The Role of General Education — Essential Nature of Vocational Education — The Role of Work in Education — A Model for Work Experience: The Building Trades — Realism Asked of Youth

Chapter 7. APPROACHING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH CORE COURSES 98

Rededication to Passive Citizenship — The Place of the Core Curriculum — The Story of a Four-Year Core Curriculum — Active, Not Passive Learning

Chapter 8. A SCHOOL FOR THE COMMUNITY 121

The School a Social Institution — The Story of a Small School — A Community Project — Building Citizens at Pine Mountain — School-Community Projects and Relationships

Chapter 9. LEARNING TO DO BY DOING 137

The Divided Curriculum — The Recent Development of Activities — The Unified Curriculum — Limiting and Encouraging Participation — Student Growth as the Measure of Activities — Sound Policy Within Program Limitations

Chapter 10. TECHNIQUES OF TEACHING 165

Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow — Characteristics of Classrooms — Broader Methods of Instruction — The Unit Plan of Teaching — Administrative Devices Have Encouraged Formality — Ability Grouping — New Directions for the Classroom

Chapter 11. GUIDANCE AND LEARNING 184

Guidance Does Not Mean Telling — The Job Opportunity Survey — The Nature of Intelligence — Organization for Guidance — Equality of Opportunity

Part 3. THE TEACHER AND THE SCHOOL

Chapter 12. THE PUBLIC AND THEIR SCHOOLS 205

The Public Will — Public Attitudes About Schooling — The Organization of Public Education — The Superintendency — The Support of the Public Schools — The Federal Stake in Education — The Private Secondary Schools — The Structure of American Education — Some Realities of Life — The High-School Accrediting Associations — A Curriculum on a Platter — In Closing

Chapter 13. THE TEACHER WITH THE FULL VISION 227

Yesterday's Formula — The Qualities of the Good Teacher — A 44-Hour Week for Teachers — What Disturbs the Beginning Teacher? — Code of Ethics — Seeing the Whole Job

Chapter 14. THE TEACHER'S SALARY 243

Concern for Salary — Equal Pay for Equal Work — Experience as a Factor — The Question of Salary Range — The Question of Merit — Extra Pay for Extra Service — The Factor of Training — Salary Differentials Based on Marital Status — Preparation Type Schedules — The School District's Ability to Pay — Service in Return

Chapter 15. DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP 259

Is There a Leader in the House? — Beginning Teachers Need Help — The Needs of Beginning Teachers — The Determination of School Policy — Democratic School Administration — Good Supervision Means Good Relationships — Supervision as Curriculum Reorganization — The Department Headship — The Possibilities of the Principalship — A New Role

Part 4. THE SCHOOL AND ITS PAST

Chapter 16. FORMATIVE YEARS 287

New England Beginning — The Second Model — A Third Attempt — Court Decisions Open Democratic Doorways

Chapter 17. GROWING PAINS 300

Secondary Education in Search of a Purpose — Inspirational Values — Preparing the Preparatory School — A Pledge to Democracy — Purposes in Conflict — Similarity of the Two Secondary Schools — Those Other Committees

Chapter 18. GREAT EXPECTATIONS 317

The Fear of Lowering Standards — High-School Students: Then and Now — Extending High School Downward: The Junior High School — Extending High School Upward: The Junior College

Chapter 19. THE PRINCIPAL-TEACHER 331

The Principal-Teacher — The Duties of Early Principals — Demands Made Upon the Position — Supervision of Teachers — Responsible Head of the School

Chapter 20. SUPERVISION'S MEAGER BEGINNINGS 341

The Advent of Supervision — The Line-and-Staff Organization — A New Type of Supervisory Officer — Distinction between Supervision and Administration — Traditional Patterns of Supervision — The Classroom Visit — The Follow-up Conference — False Premises of Supervision — Science and Supervision

Part 5. RESTING THE CASE FOR THE PEOPLE

Chapter 21. THE PEOPLE'S HIGH SCHOOL 363

New Glory in a Reconceived Program — Obsolescence of the Curriculum — The Luxury of High-School Attendance — Broadening the Meaning of a Liberal Education — The High School's Great Obligation — Democratic Practices — Co-ordination of Educational Resources — Continuous School Improvement — A Final Note

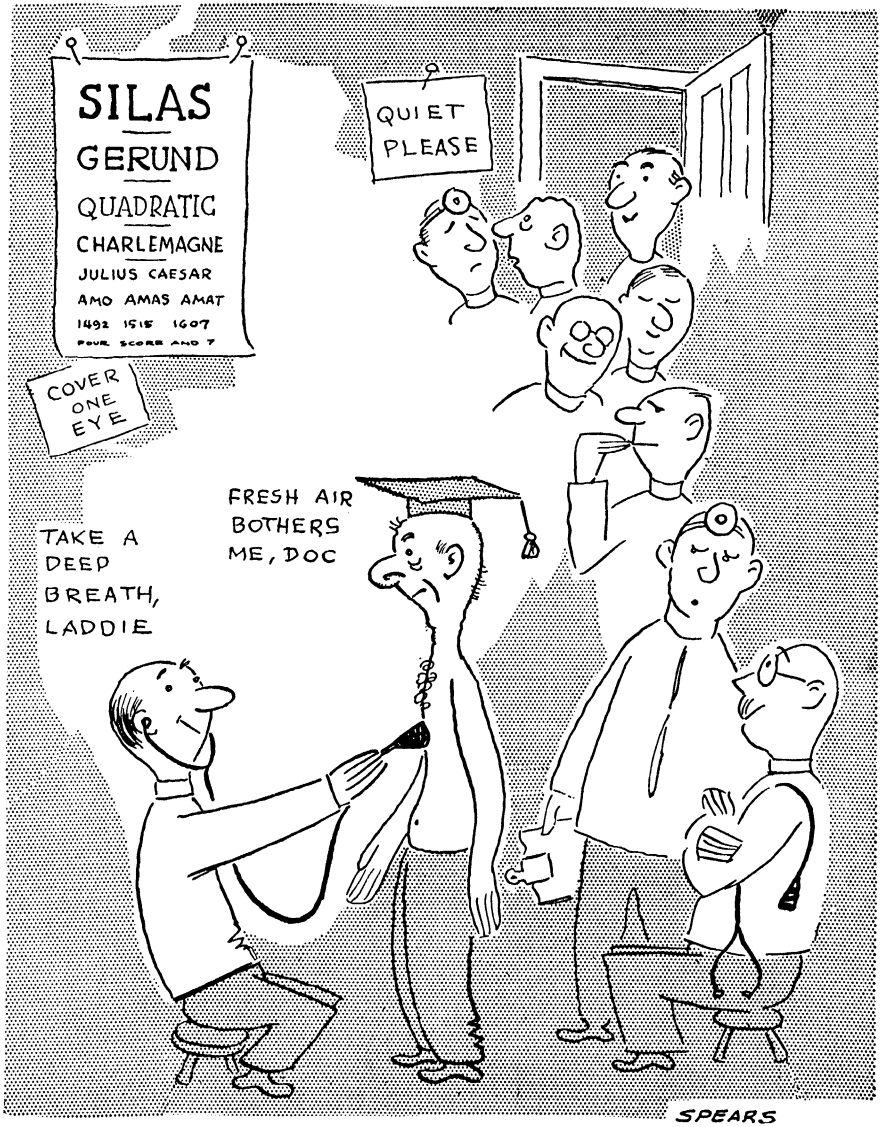
Part I

THE SCHOOL AND ITS PROMISE

Chapter 1 THE AMERICAN DREAM—EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Chapter 2 FACT AND FANCY

Chapter 3 PURPOSES AND PROPOSALS



HIS ANNUAL CHECKUP. *Within recent years the high school has undergone examinations by nine national commissions (Chapter 3).*

Chapter

I

THE AMERICAN DREAM—EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

America's guiding star, in her progress as a nation and in the advancement of her people as individuals, has been — and still is — equality of opportunity. And in this persistent search for equality among men, America has cherished the public secondary school as a symbol of that dream, as the promise of better things to come. In spirit, if not in actual legislative action, we have long since amended our original statement of equality to read:

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness *and a high-school diploma.*

HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATION

The Diploma

For years the high school has been an accepted part of the American common school, and the diploma is recognized as standard equipment of the American youth. Even though it may carry no presto-chango or open-sesame powers, the diploma has come to mark a point of attainment on the American ladder of progress through life — an attainment calling for celebration in pompous style. In more than twenty-five thousand cities, towns, hamlets, and city neighborhoods, at least once a year the clans gather in the school auditoriums, the town halls, or the basketball arenas to pay homage to the year's crop of youth who have reached the point in growing up that can be symbolized by the presentation of a high-school diploma.

Almost ritualistic in some of its common features, such as the reading of the recipient's name by the principal and the actual bestowing of the diploma by the school board president, the commencement is a part of the American folklore that is here to stay. The seriousness of the occasion is marked by the townspeople's willingness to listen to long commencement speeches on hot June nights, and by the graduates' willingness to sacrifice individuality in favor of the monotonous uniformity of long togas thrown from their shoulders and flat boards perched precariously on their heads, the tassels

to be tossed from one side to the other at a given moment in the course of the ceremony.

The quite common use of the college cap and gown at the high-school ceremony reflects something beyond the business aggressiveness of the collegiate cap and gown companies, for even before the high school's phenomenal growth this century it was being hailed by its advocates as *the people's college.* Furthermore, in keeping with the school's guiding star of equality to all American youth, these ceremonial robes have been accepted by school administrators chiefly because of the equalizing effect upon the dress of a class of graduates representing the country's most extreme range of economic backgrounds.

Regardless of the variation of high-school courses and the range of scholastic achievement that are presented by the graduates as evidence of accomplishment, straight-thinking and democratically minded school administrators have long since adopted the idea of the same diploma for all, with no distinctions in the wording of its civic rights and immunities. Commencement time has its "all-is-forgiven" touch, as the scholastic discriminations of the classroom life of the school are erased with this last grand flourish.

A few schools, though maintaining that the purposes of their efforts are much broader and more social in nature, still follow the earlier academic custom of tallying all the records and then designating one graduate as the valedictorian and his runner-up as the salutatorian. But most of these schools have at least rescinded the custom of automatically designating speakers on the basis of scholastic standing, such action reflecting on the one hand a concern for the audience and on the other the eventual acceptance of the fact that scholastic achievement does not necessarily beget oratorical proficiency.

No longer does the diploma in its wording discriminate among the graduates, as was once the case when it carried the name of the course in which the student went through school, consequently implying that the accomplishments of the youth who did not take the highly academic lane were less worthy. No longer does the diploma bear any report of the graduate's scholastic record in high school, a practice that was once followed by some overconscientious school administrators who still shook their heads in doubt at some of the school's products.

Time of Celebration

No commencement exercise has ever been a failure, for it marks something even more profound than the words of the speakers. The demand for admittance to this ritual always surpasses the seating capacity of the hall, whether the class includes 23 or 523 graduates. In fact, the distribution of the tickets among the cousins, aunts, uncles, and other family followers is perhaps the only part of the whole affair that threatens to mar the serenity of the occasion.

High-school graduation is a crowning achievement in the life of the typical American family, a joyous occasion, a moment of happiness calling for embossed invitations, gifts, congratulations, and tears, followed by dancing and joy-making long into the night. Commencement night has become such a momentous moment of celebration, such an expression of freedom-feeling, that parents and school administrators alike share an anxiety and keep vigil by the telephone until the final breakfast of the merrymakers is over and the very last diploma-toter is home in bed. When senior classes begin, weeks ahead, to plan the school's commencement week's festivities, each senior individually begins to plan his diploma-to-dawn routine. Although a majority of such individual programs are never consummated, the mere thought of such an overt declaration of independence of home and school is satisfying in itself. Days before the school administrator steps upon the commencement platform to bestow his last blessing, a feeling of mixed anxiety and pride comes over him.

A REPORT TO THE STOCKHOLDERS

While the citizenry sit in the auditoriums applauding the presentation of the diplomas, educators sit in the wings pondering the case of the American high school — of free public secondary education for all American youth, the greatest experiment in all educational history. Although the parents in the audience are in a poor position to receive anything but a roseate view of the undertaking, an exact accounting of this vast and unique enterprise in American democracy, to date, can be drawn together and summarized for the investors — the public stockholders. In fact, it is almost as though there is forthcoming a report of an annual directors' meeting of *Public High Schools, Inc.* Around the conference table to hear the latest report are gathered the officers and the directors of the school. Since, as usual, only a small portion of the public stockholders find it convenient to take the time from their personal affairs to hear the report, the officials of the school will have to be trusted to acquaint the public in some way or other with the latest statement of affairs. The account has both a credit and a debit side, the assets being recorded as follows:

The Case for the High School

1. There are between a million and 1¼ million American youth being graduated from high school this year, as compared with 16,000 in 1870 and only 311,000 as late as 1920.
2. The number graduating from high school was over one million per year for the nine years ending with 1943–44, the year when the decreased wartime enrollments started a decline in the number graduating.
3. There are between 6 million and 7 million American youth, fourteen to seventeen years of age, attending high school, as compared with 350,000 in 1890 and only 2½ million as late as 1920.

4. While the population of the country was increasing less than 20 per cent in the twenty years from 1920 to 1940, the number of graduates of the high school was increasing 300 per cent.
5. At the time war broke, and thus interrupted high-school enrollments, there were approximately 18½ million high-school graduates living, and over 20 million other Americans who had attended high school but had not completed the work.
6. While as late as 1910, the number of youths graduating from secondary school equalled only 9 per cent of the number of youths of seventeen years of age, by 1942 the percentage had risen to 51. In 1880 the number graduating was equal to only 2½ per cent of the number of persons who were seventeen at that time.
7. The number of American secondary schools has increased to approximately 29,000 public and 3,000 private.
8. The number of youths in American secondary schools exceeds the number in all other nations of the world put together.
9. By 1940, the number enrolled in secondary school per 100 population, fourteen to seventeen years of age, was 73.
10. America has long since accepted the principle of high-school graduation as the right of all her youth.
11. Township high schools, served by well-planned bus service, bring the diploma within easy range of rural youth.

The Case against the High School

In themselves the figures seem satisfying. In contrast to the selectivity of secondary education in foreign countries, they speak of a democratic institution. They tell of a phenomenal growth since the court cases of the 1870–1880 period legally established the right of the people to tax themselves for the support of this school above the earlier eight-grade common school. The facts on enrollment imply the true democratization of the school, but in spite of its pleasant implications, the report does not go unchallenged. On the debit side of the ledger stand such facts as these:

1. The high school is highly selective from an economic point of view, there being a high positive correlation between a youth's possibility of graduation and the position of his family on the economic scale. Those students who drop out of high school before graduation are usually from homes in the low or below average income brackets.

   One student of this situation found that children born to families in the topmost economic groups continue in school beyond the eighth grade with a relative frequency eleven times as great as that observed for those children who come from families in the lower end of the family income scale, and that only one out of every ten of the relatively few economically underprivileged youths who got into high school actually

continued on to high-school graduation.[1] Such findings have been duplicated in one study after another.

2. The high school represents not only an economic selection but also an aristocracy of aptitude, the odds of graduation being 3 to 1 in favor of the student of 110-or-above I.Q. as opposed to the student of 90-or-less I.Q.

   Not only does the curriculum hold tight to its early scholastic lines, but the liberal arts training that is the major equipment of a major share of the high-school teachers marks their attitudes and methods as unsympathetic to the so-called nonacademic — that youth who will never get satisfactions from the printed page and consequently must develop his concepts, attitudes, and skills for living largely through other means.

3. For each American father and mother who sit at the commencement exercises, glowing at the achievement of their son or daughter, that night there sit — at home or in the neighborhood movie, or in the corner tavern — another father and mother whose son or daughter had quit the school before graduation time came around. Although two thirds of American youth of high-school age are in attendance at any one time, not many over half of those who start the ninth grade in this country complete the school course.

4. Alertness to local civic problems is clearly not a part of the citizenship equipment of the average youth who graduates from the school today. That far too many are reluctant to assume responsibility for civic improvement, or to commit themselves to peacetime action which will involve personal effort or sacrifice, has been generally known for some years.

   The wholesome response of these youths to civic responsibility in time of war is not to be mistaken as civic consciousness in peacetime. Even in the average high school, which is a miniature society in itself, responsibility for the group welfare is seldom assumed by the average student, and teacher-policing in study halls, corridors, assembly room, and football bleachers is the order of the day.

5. The high-school curriculum is much more apt to be geared to what students think about social problems of the past than to what they think of those of the present, and to talking about things than to doing things.

Planning

As evidenced by this and other accounts coming annually from the press, the story of the high school is still untold — one that can never be adequately told until secondary education for all American youth becomes a practice rather than merely an ideal or the title of a committee report. Nevertheless, the account to date, when coupled with the planning now underway for

[1] See Harold Hand's Chapter I in *General Education in the American High School*, Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company.

change, is an intriguing one that must be clearly appreciated by those students and workers in the profession who would ally themselves with the present struggle to have the dream come true.

Education for all American youth in itself is not enough; it is education *fitted to* all American youth for which we must strive, lest both taxpayer and student are swindled in the public investment. America has too long committed the error of half-truthing by assuming that offering a free high-school education to all young people was synonymous with offering them equal educational opportunity. An institution which in offerings and teacher training and attitude is attuned to the needs of only a portion of its possible population certainly cannot be held up as an example of equality of opportunity. But this institution, the public high school — unique in the world in opening its doors at public expense to all the children of all the people — reveals *the will to serve*, even though it is still up to the profession to find *the way*.

EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

The struggle to give each American youth his birthright by assuring him of the chance to go to school at public expense has indeed been pronounced from the early days of our country right down to the present.

Jefferson's Proposal

Thomas Jefferson, the cultural advocate of his time for Virginia, proposed in 1779 a system of public education for his state, highly selective in the French manner of administering schooling. He was interested in the perpetuation of the learning class as a direct guarantee of leadership, and so he passed out to the masses only three years of elementary schooling. From those who completed the three years, the best minds would be selected to be supported in schools above that level.

He apparently had no disillusions concerning what could be done in the classical secondary schools for all individuals in the interest of either themselves or their society. Jeffersonian democracy, applied to education, evidently gave forth a philosophy that disregarded the doctrine of equal opportunity, and emphasized public education on the upper levels for just *the geniuses*, as he described them. In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, he gives the following summary of his plan:

> This bill proposes to lay off every county in small districts of five or six miles square, called hundreds, and in each of them to establish a school for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic. The tutor to be supported by the hundred, and every person in it entitled to send their children three years gratis, and as much longer as they please, paying for it. These schools to be under a visitor, who is annually to chuse the boy, of best genius in the school, of those whose parents are too poor to give them further education, and to send him forward to one of the grammar schools, of which twenty are proposed to be erected in different parts of the country, for teaching Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of numerical arithmetic.

Of the boys thus sent in any one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years, and the residue dismissed.

By this means twenty of the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expense, so far as the grammar schools go.

At the end of six-years instruction, one half are to be discontinued (from whom the grammar schools will probably be supplied with future masters); and the other half, who are to be chosen for the superiority of their parts and disposition, are to be sent and continued three years in the study of such sciences as they shall chuse, at William and Mary College.

Although Jefferson did not live to see it, the nation as a whole adopted not only three years of free elementary education but eight. And the examinations once used to determine those who could pass freely to the high school have also been removed. However, it cannot be denied that American educational practice has leaned heavily upon the principle of selectivity at the secondary-school level — selectivity in an economic as well as an academic sense.

Jefferson's plan implied, if not advocated, social status and leadership for those who would go ahead, and he minced no words when he proposed that "the best geniuses will be raked from the rubbish annually," to go ahead at public expense and "the residue dismissed." The social status and leadership concept of secondary education did definitely establish itself in the public mind, where it still remains today. So by chance, rather than by legislation, elements of his educational proposals have seeped down into our present schools.

Of side interest here is Jefferson's proposal to make school masters of those who could not make the grade into William and Mary College. This placement of teachers below the level of other civic leaders can readily be seen in the plans drawn up by the trustees of Franklin's Publick Academy in Philadelphia as far back as 1751. (See Chapter 16.)

The Jacksonian Influence

The other function of education, as conceived by the public in general and as usually attributed to secondary schooling, emerged some time later, and can be termed as the more truly American of the two. The ideas and interest cherished in the American society at the time secondary schools really received their impetus, which was soon after the Jacksonian era, became a part of the school's fabric and have persisted to a marked degree down to the present moment. Everybody in the new country, by 1825, was pictured on an equal footing, as having equal opportunity to fame and fortune, and the believing eyes rested upon secondary education as one of the rather well-marked highways to that goal. Along with free public lands, the frontiers beyond, and utopias such as Robert Owen's venture at New

Harmony, Indiana, public schools, especially secondary schools, took their place to march down the century as givers of equality to all men.[2]

THE PUBLIC MIND

Enriched living, personal satisfaction, and better adjustment to life were hidden by the glamour of the economic-reward promise of postelementary education. Education-for-status was but a natural side show of the big tent, existence-for-status. The idea of equality for all individuals in government, economy, and cultural opportunity was definitely strengthened by the idea of a free public high school. This mirage of a golden ladder to a more respected position in life, made up of as many steps as there were grades in the elementary and secondary schools combined, never left the American's mind from the time the country started experimenting with types of secondary schools.

The interesting thing about the public-high-school idea is that in the records there is no evidence to show that any educational leader in this country during the last century advocated or even envisioned the popular extension of the school that was finally to be reached in 1940. Education for all American youth was an idea that caught the fancy of the average citizen as he grew up with American democracy, and to the parents who persisted that their children have a better chance in life than they had had must go the major share of the credit of the universality of the present high school.

While Jeffersonian democracy had seen an intellectual aristocracy at the peak of its pyramid, and Jacksonian democracy had conceived an economic aristocracy at the peak of its pyramid, these two functions assigned to public education were alike in that both implied that education is for status of some sort or other, and that both looked beyond elementary schooling for this realization. While the former may have implied perhaps more strongly the direct selection of an elite, the Jacksonian dream was none the less inviting to the common citizen — to the father and mother who pictured their boy ultimately on a higher rung of the economic and social ladder than the one occupied by themselves.

When we look ahead, we keep in mind that the constitution of America gives no special privileges to any one class or interest. We can ask no less of the public high school. The vast optimism of the American in reaching his noble goals is heartening, and will mean much in this continued drive for a truly democratic secondary school. When found, that school will reflect the warp and woof of the American dream — opportunity for each to be able to attain the fullest stature of which he is capable, opportunity for each according to his ability or achievement. This volume relates the account of the search for that school, and stands as an invitation to renewed effort.

[2] See Educational Policies Commission, *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association.

THE PLAN OF THE BOOK

It is well to call attention to the arrangement of the remaining chapters. The book records the continuous search for a people's high school from the 1635 beginning in New England through the present Operation America at crossroads from coast to coast. A large portion of the discussion represents an extension of the search into the future.

Nobody could expect to make changes in the American high school without a full appreciation of the earlier blueprints of the school. However, the five chapters that give this background of the present school — 16 to 20 — have been placed near the end so that they need not delay the reader from moving directly into the story of the emerging high school.

In other words, the more logical chronological sequence has been sacrificed for the sake of immediate attention upon today's school. For the reader who wishes to follow the historical arrangement, the following order of chapters is suggested: 1, 16–20, 2–15, 21.

Chapter 2

FACT AND FANCY

Will 1940 go down in the records as the all-time peak achievement of American secondary education, as the peak in the school's drive to serve all American youth? That spring it hung up its all-time record — 73 per cent of all youth of high-school age in attendance; and that fall it reached the phenomenal enrollment of 7¼ millions.

THE HIGH SCHOOL LOSES GROUND

Then came the tail spin of the war years, with youth rushing out every which way to handle the important duties that awaited them on both the military and the home fronts. The study of dangling participles and Charlemagne seemed so useless in comparison. And as high-school administrators today still stand at their doors awaiting the return of the populace, they are beginning to wonder if for many youths the high school is merely somewhere to go when there is nothing more important to occupy them. For, after all, it is recalled that those peak years of attendance came when there was still heavy unemployment in America, when there was little place for youth in active American life.

The decade-by-decade doubling of the enrollment from 1890 to 1940 had placed the secondary school on a dizzy educational jag that left it in no position to absorb intelligently the blow that came in the form of decreasing popularity. In 1941–42 the enrollment dropped 200,000; in 1942–43 it skidded another 300,000; in 1943–44 still 600,000 more slipped away. For some time thereafter, the decrease of 1¼ millions from 1940 to 1945 was rationalized away as one of the natural casualties of war. But the failure of the school to recoup its losses in any noticeable numbers since the close of war leaves it in an embarrassing position. Even the statistics relative to the decline in birth rates are not big enough for the school to find shelter behind.

And so the high-school leader, who first marked off the school's population losses to wartime military and industrial service, now is not only adding the falling birth rates of the depression years to his accounts, but is wonder-

ing if he shouldn't add such factors as: (1) lack of availability of schools in some sections of cities and states, (2) poor instruction as evidenced in such practices as blanket assignments and overuse of formal recitations, (3) an antiquated curriculum in such commonly required fields as English and social studies, (4) the unrealities of the traditional school, and (5) the attractiveness of the out-of-school realities of life that tend to give youth those necessary human satisfactions such as security, importance, and belonging.

TABLE 1 *Secondary-School Enrollment, 1890 to 1944* [1]

YEAR	ENROLLMENT, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE		POPULATION, 14–17 YEARS OF AGE		NUMBER ENROLLED PER 100 POPULATION, AGES 14–17
	Number	*Per Cent Increase over 1889–90*	*Number*	*Per Cent Increase over 1889–90*	
1889–90	357,813		5,354,653		7
1899–1900	695,903	95	6,152,231	15	11
1909–10	1,111,393	211	7,220,298	35	15
1919–20	2,495,676	598	7,735,841	45	32
1929–30	4,799,867	1,241	9,341,221	75	51
1939–40	7,113,282	1,888	9,720,419	82	73
1941–42	6,923,538	1,835	9,619,110	80	72
1943–44	6,020,890	1,583	9,298,244	74	65

A position outside of school that gives a youth a chance to show what he can do best is much more satisfying than a school program built around his shortcomings, and so many of the youths who drop school before graduation are those for whom the school felt obliged to provide so-called remedial instruction in English, or reading, or mathematics, or what not.

Graduates Decline

As total enrollments and percentages of total age groups fell, so naturally did the number of graduates. The totals graduating by years from 1930 to 1945, as reported by the United States Office of Education, follow:

	HIGH-SCHOOL GRADUATES		
1930	666,904	1938	1,120,079
1931	746,948	1939	1,170,777
1932	826,991	1940	1,221,475
1933	870,922	1941	1,231,925
1934	914,853	1942	1,242,375
1935	965,099	1943	1,162,284
1936	1,015,345	1944	1,019,233
1937	1,067,712	1945	944,536

The number of graduates for 1945 slipped back to less than the number for 1935.

[1] U. S. Office of Education, *Statistical Summary of Education*, 1943–44.

Even though pride can be taken in that peak enrollment of 7¼ million high-school boys and girls in the school year 1940–41, in the graduating class of that year were only 462 survivors for every 1,000 children who had been a part of that class when it had been in the fifth grade. For every 1,000 in the fifth grade there were only 836 when the class reached the eighth grade, 792 when it entered the ninth, 688 in the tenth, 594 in the eleventh, 512 when it entered the senior year of high school, and only 462 when the class graduated.

This selective process is seen in any set of figures that breaks down a high school's enrollment by years. For instance, the public-high-school enrollment for the early war year of 1941–42 read:

First year	1,927,040 students
Second year	1,705,746 students
Third year	1,450,788 students
Fourth year	1,273,141 students

Large City Losses

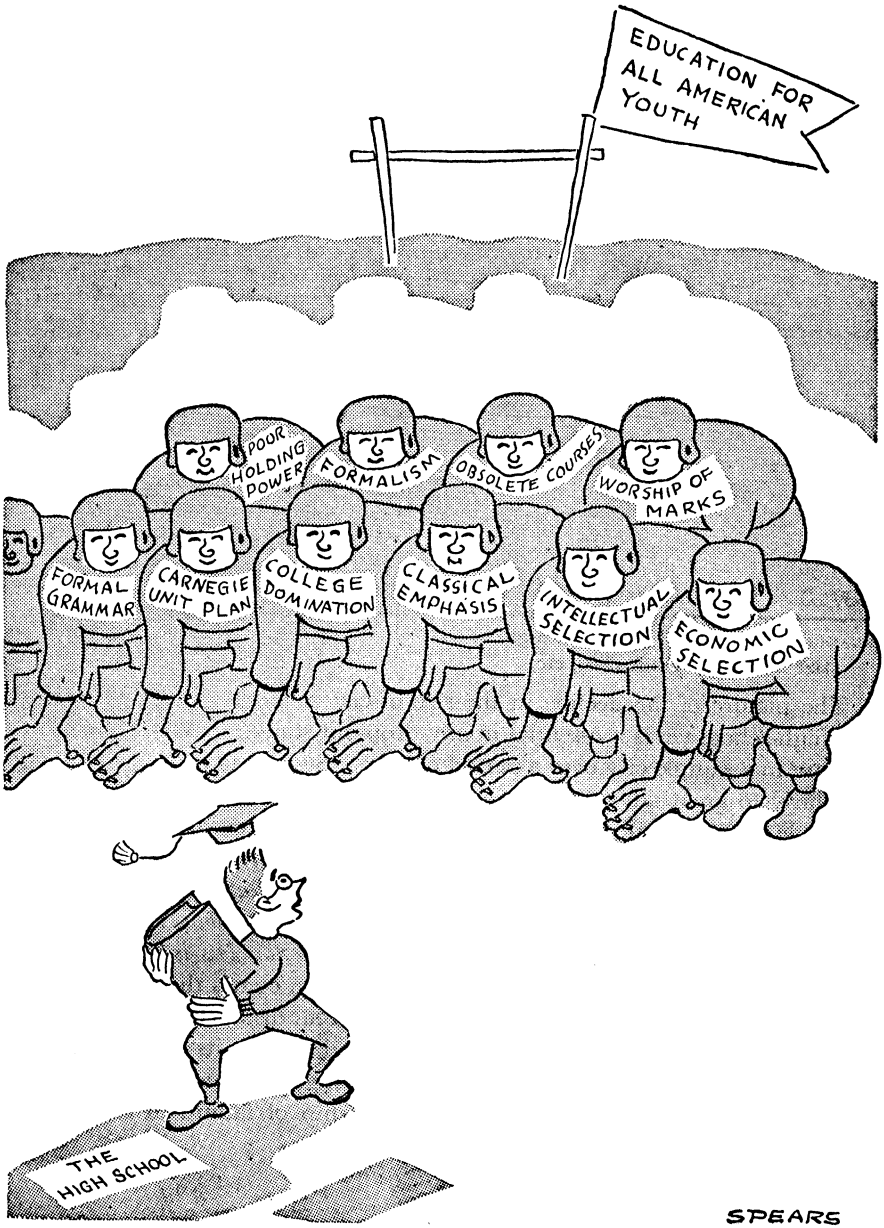
The story of what is happening in the large metropolitan centers is revealing. In spite of the "second gold rush" of population to California, that has been in progress in recent years, the San Francisco high-school enrollment decreased 19 per cent from 1939 to 1948. A recent sounding of the situation elsewhere shows this condition to be general over the country, that youth from state to state are highly consistent in their attitudes about the merchandise on the counters of our secondary schools.

During this past decade the high-school enrollment (grades 9 to 12) has decreased heavily in all the following cities: Chicago, Kansas City, Cleveland, Denver, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Minneapolis, New Orleans, St. Louis, Rochester, Indianapolis, Louisville, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston, Seattle, and San Francisco. One large city reports 39 per cent fewer high-school students than ten years ago, two 37 per cent less, one 30 per cent less; six others range from 29 to 22 per cent in their losses; and the other seven from 19 to 13 per cent. This same situation would be found in about any set of cities picked for study.

JUDGING EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

Studying Holding-Power

Among the means by which school systems help to judge their educational effectiveness are these: (1) testing programs to measure pupil achievement, (2) follow-up studies of the youth who complete school, to determine success at the next endeavor, be it college, civic life, homemaking, or occupation, (3) surveys conducted by impartial parties, and (4) studies of the holding-power of the school system. In the case of the last mentioned, when other variables can be screened out, it is considered that *the success of the*



NO NEED TO UNDERESTIMATE THE OPPOSITION

*

school in holding the students who once enter it is a direct reflection of the effectiveness of the curriculum. The curriculum, as referred to, comprises such factors as offerings, methods, teaching quality, out-of-class program, and guidance service.

TABLE II *Decline in Size of Classes as They Progress Through San Francisco Public Schools, Grades 9 to 12* [2]

CLASS SIZE, AS 9TH GRADE, YEAR OF:		GRADE 10	PER CENT OF ITS 9TH GRADE SIZE	GRADE 11	PER CENT OF ITS 9TH GRADE SIZE	GRADE 12	PER CENT OF ITS 9TH GRADE SIZE
1944–45	5554	5033	91	4299	77	3528	64
1943–44	5621	5110	91	4077	73	3506	62
1942–43	5721	5143	90	4135	72	3298	58
1941–42	5788	5292	91	4155	72	3308	57
1940–41	6123	5683	93	4010	66	3165	52
1939–40	6078	5823	96	4698	77	3046	50
1938–39	6355	6091	96	5279	83	4079	64
1937–38	6361	6089	96	5385	85	4494	71
1936–37	6601	6223	94	5451	83	4597	70
1935–36	6665	6347	95	5281	79	4572	69
1934–35	6648	6149	93	4984	75	4390	66

READING THE TABLE: The twelfth-grade class of 1946–47 represented 62 per cent of its size as a ninth-grade class, etc.

The picture of the decline in the size of classes as they progress through the high-school years is essential in any drop-out study. Table II shows this picture in a sample city over a period of years. Such data could be recorded regularly to great advantage by any school system. Comparisons can then be made with the state and the national situations, as revealed in Table III, which presents the state data to parallel the city study.

Studies such as these just treated reveal repeatedly that at least one third of the boys and girls who enter the ninth grade of the typical American public school system do not remain to be graduated. For the country as a whole this loss is between a third and a half. Once the factual story is collected, then comes the more difficult problem of determining causes for losses. The great distance that some youth travel to attend school is a factor that is bound to play its part in the case of the borderline student who becomes an infrequent attender and finally drops out of school. Then too, the relationship of failure in school performance to school drop-outs needs no elaboration.

Studying Failure Statistics

Table IV is included here as a sample of the more simple studies of failure that some school administrators carry through from time to time to bring teachers' attention to their actual classroom practices. As revealed in this

[2] Statistics from Bureau of Research, San Francisco Public Schools, March reports.

TABLE III *Decline in Size of Classes as They Progress Through California Public Schools, Grades 9 to 12* [3]

CLASS SIZE, AS 9TH GRADE, YEAR OF:		GRADE 10	PER CENT OF ITS 9TH GRADE SIZE	GRADE 11	PER CENT OF ITS 9TH GRADE SIZE	GRADE 12	PER CENT OF ITS 9TH GRADE SIZE
1943–44	99,309	94,055	95	85,773	86	*not available*	
1942–43	99,993	90,792	91	78,998	79	68,651	69
1941–42	99,737	92,287	93	75,294	75	59,903	60
1940–41	99,949	96,453	97	80,605	81	58,117	58
1939–40	100,898	99,270	98	88,838	88	70,132	70
1938–39	97,868	96,315	98	87,583	89	74,653	76
1937–38	96,590	94,139	97	86,282	89	75,732	78
1936–37	93,102	90,278	97	83,130	89	73,605	79
1935–36	90,822	87,906	97	79,800	88	70,910	78
1934–35	85,784	82,503	96	73,878	86	64,874	76

brief study, the rate of failure is 50 per cent higher in the ninth grade of the four-year secondary school than in the upper three grades — tenth, eleventh, and twelfth. This problem of one local school system bears out the national studies that show the American high school to be a selective institution in respect to scholastic aptitude. Many of those who fail in the ninth grade will not be in attendance in the tenth because of such discouragement. *In spite of any idealistic view that the elders may take, youth are just like adults in that they get little satisfaction in doing the things at which they show poor performance; and as adults, they will as soon as possible turn to something else at which they feel more successful.*

TABLE IV *Failures by Departments, Four-Year Public High Schools, 1947–48, San Francisco, California*

	PERCENTAGE OF FAILURES BY DEPARTMENTS										
	MUSIC	HOME ECONOMICS	ART	INDUSTRIAL ARTS	COMMERCE	SOCIAL STUDIES	SCIENCE	FOREIGN LANGUAGES	ENGLISH	MATHEMATICS	ALL SUBJECTS
Grade 9	4.6	3.8	1.5	6.8	6.0	8.2	7.1	16.7	9.4	12.1	9.4
Grades 10, 11, 12	1.9	2.4	2.5	3.7	4.3	6.3	6.8	7.3	7.4	11.7	63 .

READING THIS TABLE: 8.2 per cent of all the students enrolled in ninth-year social studies failed the course, etc.

[3] Statistics from California State Department of Education, Bureau of Research and Statistics.

Since the development of the junior-high-school idea early this century, the ninth year of schooling, regardless of whether located in the 6–3–3 or the 8–4 framework, has been accepted as an exploratory year for the student — one in which his abilities, limitations, talents, interests, and needs are carefully studied in relationship with a tryout in school studies and activities, one in which his appetite for further schooling is whetted rather than dulled. The entering class of any school, whether elementary, junior high, senior high, or four-year high, presents us the special challenge of orientation and successful performance for the child, and thus careful direction into the next grade.

The study of failures by departments leads naturally into a study of how students distributed themselves among these subject fields. It is not uncommon to find that in a typical American high school the four or five departments in which the student is most likely to succeed, as revealed by a study of failures by departments, are the departments least populated by students. Failures are often heaviest in the fields requiring most bookwork, and often these are the areas in which most of the credits for graduation are required. There is no justification for this prevailing condition.

Things to Do

Statistics are often not a part of the bag and baggage of the classroom teacher who deals in questions, answers, assignments, and what not; but simple service-research such as has just been treated in this chapter should become an essential feature of any school administration, and should find its way into the faculty meetings. Any faculty group could profit by engaging in a few simple statistical gymnastics such as these:

1. Study the holding-power of the specific school, by tracing one by one the students who entered during a chosen school year, to see how many were held until graduation, and to determine what actually happened to each who left before that time.
2. Maintain an annual report of all who left the school during the year — their reason for leaving and what happened to each.
3. Of each graduating class, complete within a half year after the class leaves, a survey of the adjustment distribution of those youths into life endeavors. What percentage went to colleges, and which colleges; what percentage to other schools; what percentage into occupations, and which; and how many into homemaking. The implications for curriculum planning and guidance are evident.
4. Spot, among the entering class, before they enter, those boys and girls who because of shortages in economic or academic background are most likely not to remain to be graduated, and make curricular as well as other adjustments immediately. Case studies and attempted adjustments after failure are not nearly as effective.

Such data must command the interest of all teachers rather than present information merely for guidance specialists.

THE EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

America fancies that she operates a free public high school, in keeping with the principles of our democratic way of life. No doubt her intentions are sound, but fact must be considered along with fancy. For instance, a recent tally of the average number of days attended per pupil enrolled in the public schools reveals this range by sections of the country:

SECTIONS	SCHOOL DAYS
New England States	157
Middle Atlantic States	155
East North Central States	163
West North Central States	148
South Atlantic States	146
East South Central States	129
West South Central States	140
Mountain States	145
Pacific States	143

The range from low to high, a matter of 34 school days, or seven school weeks, indicates something more significant than the whims of school administrators concerning the length of the school term. The fact that Michigan children average 170 and Wisconsin children 168 school days a year, as opposed to 118 for Mississippi children and 128 for those who happen to have been born in Arkansas, is something quite tangible for those who wish to equalize educational opportunities over the country as well as to equalize them over a state, a city, or a student body within a given school. In this book we can but mention — and leave to others to treat — such matters of far-reaching administrative significance. It is an elementary step in arithmetic to figure that 170 school days are 44 per cent greater than 118 school days.

How many years make up the common schooling that the extension of public high schooling this century has assured the American citizen? This is indeed difficult to answer, for it is often a matter of fancy; but the facts of how many years the citizenry actually get are readily available. For instance, the U. S. Bureau of the Census includes in its census statistics a tabulation of the median years of school completed by persons twenty-five years old and over, it being felt that in ordinary times a person will have completed his schooling by age twenty-five. These data are reported in Table V.

For fear of belaboring the inequalities that present themselves so glaringly in this table, in passing we will merely suggest a study-approach:

1. Compare, up and down, one section with another.
2. Compare, across, the amount of schooling secured by the various racial groups.

3. Compare, across, the amount of schooling secured by city residents with the amount secured by farm residents.
4. In all comparisons, figure percentage differences. For instance, 7.5 years of schooling is only 2.5 years more than 5.0 years, but it is also 50 per cent more schooling than 5.0.

The original table from which these data were taken carried the story for each state. For instance, South Carolina residents average 6.7 years of schooling as compared with 10.2 for Utah residents. The median years of school completed by native whites in South Carolina[4] is 8.7 as contrasted

TABLE V *Median Years of School Completed by Persons 25 Years Old and Over* [4]

STATES, BY SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY	MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED							
	Total	*Native white*	*Foreign-born white*	*Negro*	*Other races*	*Urban*	*Rural: non-farm*	*Rural: farm*
United States	8.4	8.8	7.3	5.7	6.8	8.7	8.4	7.7
NEW ENGLAND	8.8	10.0	7.3	7.8	7.0	8.8	8.9	8.6
MIDDLE ATLANTIC	8.4	8.8	7.2	7.5	6.1	8.4	8.3	8.1
EAST NORTH CENTRAL	8.5	8.8	7.3	7.5	7.5	8.7	8.5	8.1
WEST NORTH CENTRAL	8.5	8.7	7.6	7.4	7.0	8.9	8.5	8.1
SOUTH ATLANTIC	7.8	8.5	7.7	4.9	5.3	8.6	7.7	6.5
EAST SOUTH CENTRAL	7.5	8.1	8.0	5.0	3.3	8.4	7.7	6.7
WEST SOUTH CENTRAL	8.1	8.7	4.5	5.3	7.0	9.0	8.1	7.1
MOUNTAIN	8.9	9.4	7.5	7.8	2.7	10.0	8.7	8.2
PACIFIC	9.7	10.5	7.9	8.3	7.7	10.4	8.9	8.4

NEW ENGLAND: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut

MIDDLE ATLANTIC: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania

EAST NORTH CENTRAL: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin

WEST NORTH CENTRAL: Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas

SOUTH ATLANTIC: Delaware, Maryland, District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida

EAST SOUTH CENTRAL: Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi

WEST SOUTH CENTRAL: Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas

MOUNTAIN: Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, Nevada

PACIFIC: Washington, Oregon, California

READING THE TABLE: For the United States as a whole, the median number of years of school completed by persons age 25 or over is 8 years and 4 months.

[4] Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census Reports (1940), Population*, Vol. II.

with 3.9 for the Negroes. In California the range between the two is not nearly so wide — 10.8 for the native white and 8.3 for the Negro. This 8.3 is greater than the median for all residents in three of the state groups — South Atlantic, East South Central, and West South Central.

It is appreciated that the problem of the extension of public education, in the present less educationally privileged sections of our country, stems back to the roots of the economic and social problems of those sections, but this makes even greater the challenge to set up a functional secondary school program that will bear so much meaning to the life of the local community that youth will feel the necessity of attendance. *Continuous curriculum development is necessary in every individual school, and in every city-school and state-school system.*

THE CURRICULUM CHALLENGE

Unfortunately — or perhaps fortunately — *a curriculum is not described by its outward features*, but rather by the point of view of the thinking from which it springs. A curriculum is something *to be felt* rather than something to be seen. Many a would-be reformist has visited, has thought that he saw something, and has transplanted to his own school the structural aspects of a promising program without realizing that they were but the scaffolding serving a more sensitive educational plant whose true core was the blueprint in the minds and the hearts of the teachers. Revisionists, who have played around with changing the high school by placing their faith in external patterns, are beginning to appreciate that the teacher forms the heart of the educative process, and that it is folly to attempt to germinate instructional plants from more synthetic seeds. *An ounce of teacher enthusiasm and insight is worth a pound of curriculum masterminding.*

The curriculum consultant, the national commission, the state department of public instruction, the curriculum director, and the principal may afford the leadership called for, but to change the curriculum significantly is to change the learning situation that is represented by pupil-teacher relationship.

In the reorganization of the school, this line of reasoning shifts attention from the cleverly stated philosophy, the bulky course of study, the state-prepared list of objectives, and the nationally conceived school pattern to the teacher and the group of students at hand, working in their own unique community situation. It places a premium upon the enlistment of as many teachers and administrators as possible in this gradual transformation of schools. It simply asks secondary-school educators to apply here the principles of learning that they are discussing. It asks that the philosophy of "learning to do by doing" be applied at their adult level, just as it might be with the child.

To hand the teacher a new "assignment" of which she has not been a part,

and with which she has no feeling of belonging, is as psychologically undesirable here as is the practice of giving high-school youngsters assignments for which they feel no need, and in which they have no interest. In other words, the curriculum-building program can be no more a "telling" or a "handing out" program than can the classroom program itself. And just as teachers set up and direct the growth situations for youth, so might curriculum leaders set up these growth situations for teachers.

The Principal's Part

School change will not depend entirely upon the principal's leadership, but it cannot come without his active help. His is a most strategic position. This point has been developed recently and at length by the author elsewhere.[5] The beginning teacher, as well as the experienced teacher, should look to him for leadership.

In one sense it is discouraging to know that such a great percentage of the principals of the country are actually still principal-teachers, having a full teaching load in addition to their administrative and supervisory responsibilities (see Chapter 19). But on the other hand it is promising to know that they are so close to the instructional process. As noted in Table VI, approximately a third of the public high schools of the country have fewer

TABLE VI *Distribution of Public High Schools by Size*[6]

NUMBER OF PUPILS ENROLLED	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	SOME PERCENTAGES
1–9	234	29 per cent of the schools enroll fewer than 75 pupils each.
10–24	975	
25–49	2,686	40 per cent enroll fewer than 100 pupils.
50–74	3,117	
75–99	2,548	64 per cent enroll fewer than 200 pupils.
100–149	3,654	
150–199	2,266	75 per cent enroll fewer than 300 pupils.
200–299	2,643	84 per cent enroll fewer than 500 pupils.
300–399	1,462	
400–499	914	3 per cent enroll more than 1,500 pupils.
500–749	1,440	
750–999	772	Only 3 per cent of the schools fall between 750 and 999 pupils, the ideal size for a high school.
1,000–1,499	784	
1,500–2,499	544	
2,500–4,999	130	The median-size high school is between 100 and 149 pupils.
5,000 and over	12	
Ungraded schools	133	
Total	24,314	

[5] Harold Spears, *The Emerging High-School Curriculum*, New York: American Book Company, 1948.

[6] Figures released in 1949 by the United States Office of Education to the Research Division of the National Education Association.

than 75 pupils, two-fifths have fewer than 100, two-thirds have no more than 200, and three-fourths have fewer than 300 pupils. This situation reflects the principal's time, or lack of time, for instructional leadership.

Nor does it follow that the principal who is free from instructional duties is automatically marked as a reform leader. About 10 per cent of the principals are in schools so large that they may easily have fallen into the error of looking upon efficient school management and the regimentation of their large student bodies as representing the best use of their time and energy. In passing, it can be said that the emerging of the new school demands the harnessing of all the resources available.

Fact or Fancy

Is the American public high school, in form and function, to be a leader in our country's drive for the complete achievement of the democratic way of life, or is it to follow behind the parade, trying to catch up with democratic action as exercised in the many ramifications of our social and civic life?

In 1949 the author summarized this state of the high school into five major problems that it must solve if it is to achieve the noble place set for it in American life by its supporting public. These are outlined in The California Journal of Secondary Education, February, 1949. They are:

1. The problem of holding to high-school graduation a greater percentage of the children who complete the elementary school.
2. The problem of accepting graciously in the high school all the children who are sent up by the school below.
3. The problem of using methods that respect the principles of learning and other findings of educational research and psychology.
4. The problem of establishing with youth a genuine feeling of social and civic responsibility.
5. The problem of establishing with youth a genuine respect for the dignity of labor.

Chapter

3

PURPOSES AND PROPOSALS

The purposes of the American secondary school are not new; it is only the proposals for attaining those goals that keep shifting with the times. At heart America has known for a long time what she wanted the school to accomplish, even though the curriculum did not reveal the secret. Over thirty years ago, a national commission reviewed the will of the people with the now famous seven cardinal principles — (1) health, (2) command of fundamental processes, (3) worthy home-membership, (4) vocation, (5) citizenship, (6) worthy use of leisure, and (7) ethical character; and introduced that 1918 report with a paragraph that might have been written this morning:

> Secondary education should be determined by the needs of the society to be served, the character of the individuals to be educated, and the knowledge of educational theory and practice available. These factors are by no means static. Society is always in process of development; the character of the secondary-school population undergoes modification; and the sciences on which educational theory and practice depend constantly furnish new information. Secondary education, however, like any other established agency or society, is conservative and tends to resist modification. Failure to make adjustments when the need arises leads to the necessity for extensive reorganization at irregular periods. The evidence is strong that such a comprehensive reorganization of secondary education is imperative at the present time.[1]

But even then, the emphasis placed upon citizenship and vocational preparation was not new to leaders in the field. For instance, Elmer E. Brown was expressing a growing sentiment in the schools when he expressed this view at the opening of the century:

> So our secondary education looks forward to the citizenship which awaits all of our students, and consciously prepares them for its duties. Whether they are destined for the more extended training of the university or not, it undertakes to direct their attention toward public affairs, well knowing that the time is already come for them

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

to take anticipatory interest in such things. It takes account, too, of the fact that each citizen must have a life work peculiarly his own, in order to discharge his full obligation to the body politic. How secondary education may pay due regard to this fact and yet avoid the injustice of binding our youth at an early age to a course in life which may not be rightly their own, is one of the hardest problems with which we have to deal.[2]

And back two hundred years ago, Benjamin Franklin, in proposing his secondary school, the academy, made a plea for a curriculum through which the pupils would "learn those things that are likely to be most useful . . . regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended." Yes, the desire for a school that trains for both citizenship and an occupation is nothing new to America. This feeling is just a natural reflection of the practical outlook of our people, a people who asked its postelementary school to lead all its youth into the midst of the community life, rather than a selected few into an ivory tower, from which they might look down upon this civic life of the masses. The people's high school has been sought for a long time.

THE LATE WAVE OF NATIONAL COMMISSIONS

That there are two intertwined phases of the school's form and function — general education and specialized education — calls for no new commissions to determine. That general education deals primarily with the activities common to all citizens, and that specialized education deals more specifically with the individualization of human effort which includes, among other things, occupations, is a proposition too widely accepted to call for its rediscovery by a national study group.

Leaders of secondary educators need spend no more time establishing the worthy purposes of the school. Perhaps no better case can be made for this statement than to review the work of the notable national groups that have been set to work since 1918 to determine the place of the high school in American life. While the statement of the cardinal principles was the final chapter of the series of commissions that labored from 1893 to 1918 to settle the case of the high school, it can be said that the last fifteen or twenty years has produced a second wave of study groups even more significant. As revealed in the summaries of the work of nine of these commissions, that follow, the close relationship of thinking from one group to another marks the current problem of secondary education to be not *Where are we going?* — but rather, *How are we going to get there?*

The Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education

Leading this second parade of national commissions setting out to establish the function, and to toy at the form, of the high school, was the Com-

[2] Elmer E. Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1903, p. 437.

mittee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, a sounding board for the Department of Secondary School Principals of the NEA. First proposing ten issues of secondary education, with the answers tossed in for good measure, it hurried on to its more important 1937 pronouncement of the *Functions of Secondary Education.*[3] The report was devoted entirely to a discussion of ten functions, which were:

1. To continue by a definite program, though in a diminishing degree, the integration of students. This should be on an increasingly intellectual level until the desired common knowledge, appreciations, ideals, attitudes, and practices are firmly fixed.

2. To satisfy the important immediate and probable future needs of the students in so far as the maturity of the learner permits, guiding the behavior of youth in the light of increasingly remote, but always clearly perceived and appreciated, social and personal values.

3. To reveal higher activities of an increasingly differentiated type in the major fields of the racial heritage of experience and culture, their significant values for social living, the problems in them of contemporary life, the privileges and duties of each person as an individual and so as a member of social groups; to make these fields satisfying and desired by those gifted for successful achievement and to give information as to requirements for success in these fields and information as to where further training may be secured.

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

5. To systematize knowledge previously acquired or being acquired in courses in such ways as to show the significance both of this knowledge and especially of laws and principles, with understanding of wider ranges of application than would otherwise be perceived.

6. To establish and to develop interests in the major fields of human activitity as means to happiness, to social progress, and to continued growth.

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

8. To use in all courses as largely as possible methods that demand independent thought, involve the elementary principles of research, and provide intelligent and somewhat self-directed practice, individual and co-operative, in the appropriate desirable activities of the educated person.

9. To begin and gradually to increase differentiated education on the evidence of capacities, aptitudes, and interests demonstrated in earlier years. Care must be taken to provide previous to and along with differentiation as balanced and extended a general education as is possible and profitable.

[3] T. H. Briggs and others, "Functions of Secondary Education," Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education, *Bulletin of the Department of Secondary-School Principals*, No. 64, January, 1937, Vol. 21.

10. To retain each student until the law of diminishing returns begins to operate, or until he is ready for more independent study in a higher institution; and when it is manifest that he cannot or will not materially profit from further study of what can be offered, to eliminate him promptly, if possible directing him into some other school or into work for which he seems most fit.

In spite of the fact that the ten functions were highly academic in language and lacking in actual precept, all over the land high-school principals fell upon this offering from their national headquarters with much gusto. Supplemented with study guides, it became the topic of discussion in state principals' meetings and graduate courses from one coast to the other. There had been a twenty-year dry spell in the land of high-school objectives since the cardinal principles had been discovered, and school administrators lapped up this new report in the manner of a forty-niner finding a fountain after a trip across Death Valley.

But nothing of significance happened in the schools themselves. The activity seems to have been limited largely to the conference rooms, the lecture platforms, and the graduate classrooms. School administrators gorged themselves heartily, but the boys and the girls in the high schools were continued on their starvation diet of Silas Marner, geometry, Caesar, and the Articles of Confederation.

The New York Regents Study of High Schools in That State

A few years back, New York State made a searching inquiry into the cost and character of her schools, and in the case of secondary education, the investigators set out to determine how well the schools were meeting present-day needs of youth. This survey, known as the Regents' Inquiry and costing half a million dollars, was so carefully done that it bore as much national attention as any of the other studies treated in this chapter.

Although the research staff had at their disposal, and made use of, the latest techniques and instruments of research, they used a minimum of statistical data in reporting their findings in the series of books issued in 1938. The student of education is given in these reports a fine example of how research can be made palatable. Boys and girls seem to take precedence over probability curves, coefficients of correlation, means, and standard deviations. The high-school study was headed by Francis T. Spaulding, and of the eleven books issued, these pertained to this phase of the work: *High School and Life*, *Education for Citizenship*, *When Youth Leave School*, and *Education for Work*.

A few of the findings, as revealed by Spaulding in the first of these, will be sufficient to indicate the challenge that was carried to the schools by this staff of workers.[4]

[4] By permission from *High School and Life*, by Francis T. Spaulding, Copyrighted, 1938, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.

1. Among the boys and girls leaving school every year are a considerable number whom the schools themselves are unwilling to recommend for responsible citizenship. So far as their pupils' readiness for citizenship is concerned, the high schools decline to stand back of one-fourth of all who are ending their schooling. Among those who leave without graduating, the schools consider every third pupil not adequately prepared for the duties he must assume as a citizen.

2. The survey revealed that irrespective of the schools' judgment of their readiness for citizenship, the leaving pupils as a group are seriously deficient in their knowledge of the problems, the issues, and the present-day facts with which American citizens should be concerned. However, they are familiar with such facts as the number of senators in Congress, some of the provisions of the Ordinance of 1787, and Herbert Hoover's having gained prominence as U. S. food administrator during the first World War.

3. Alertness to local problems is clearly not a part of the equipment for citizenship of the boys and girls leaving school.

4. Although they are ready to give verbal allegiance to the principles of democratic living and government, even among high-school seniors there are as many as a fourth who give no clear indication that they know what freedom in a democracy means.

5. There is unmistakable evidence that the boys and girls who are on the point of leaving school, whatever they think about the desirability of certain kinds of action, are reluctant to assume responsibility for civic co-operation, or to commit themselves to action which will involve effort or sacrifice. In respect to civic affairs in peacetime, "Let George do it" seems to be the prevailing philosophy.

6. Once he is out of school, the ordinary youth does practically nothing to add to his readiness for citizenship nor does he even keep alive the knowledge of civic affairs or the interest in social problems which he may have had when he finished his schooling.

7. The subjects that high-school pupils have a chance to study are usually restricted to the general academic subjects required or accepted for college admission, to subjects intended as preparation for commercial work, and to courses in home economics. More than three-fourths of all the work that boys and girls were taking in New York State high schools at the time of the survey was highly academic in nature.

8. Most of the teaching of general subjects in the high schools consists of drill or technical skills, and memorization of a kind of factual material which is significant to pupils chiefly because it is useful in passing examinations. For instance, the treatment of current events in social studies is generally restricted to items of knowledge rather than loyalties, ideals, or ways of thinking.

This survey exposed the traditional program of the New York secondary schools by showing the deficiencies of its products and by then reviewing the traditional nature of the curriculum. It was accepted as bearing implications for secondary education in the nation at large. Citizenship and individual advancement were emphasized in the purposes.

The Studies of the American Youth Commission

Standing out boldly among the educational bodies that turned their backs upon purpose stating and curriculum tinkering of the subject-revision

variety, and instead labored diligently to cast American youth itself in the title role, was the American Youth Commission. Formed in 1935 by the American Council on Education, in its period of existence from then until the war, it championed the cause of American youth, and in doing so played the spotlight upon actual lives — revealing the glaring deficiencies in the provision for the employment, the education, and the health of the population in the ages from seventeen to twenty-two.

The Commission set out to consider the needs of youth and to appraise the facilities and resources for serving those needs, to plan experiments and programs which would be helpful in solving their problems, and to popularize and promote desirable plans of action through publications, demonstrations, and conferences. Such studies as *How Fare American Youth?*, *Youth Tell Their Story*, *Matching Youth and Jobs*, and *Equal Educational Opportunity for Youth* were among the publications released. The work of this Commission deals with the plight of our young people that was apparent in the depression years. These particular problems were for the moment forgotten or erased with the coming of war which brought a job for everybody. The following statement, taken from one of the studies, shows the typical appeal that was carried throughout the series published:

National survival and progress look inevitably to the future and must be concerned primarily with the young people who will be the America of the future. If our democracy is to continue, it is the young especially who must have a true conception of democracy, of its moral basis, and of the results that attend its successful operation. To them democracy must seem to be worth every sacrifice and to offer the brightest opportunities for happiness and the good life. Otherwise, any effort to preserve it will be a waste of time.

The survival of the nation therefore demands that conditions be established under which the young may have confidence in our institutions — that our deficiencies in the fields of employment, education, and health must speedily be corrected. The health and general physical well-being of young people must be safeguarded and improved in every possible way. Opportunities for adequate education must be made available for all. Useful employment must be provided to deliver youth from the bondage of unemployment.

The fact that much has been left undone in the past and that past neglect cannot be overcome in a year or ten years is no cause for discouragement now. Morale is built not only by accomplishment, but also by hope.

The American people have a great destiny. The fulfillment of that destiny requires a restoration of confidence in our ability under divine guidance to cope with our problems. A program for strengthening the nation that looks to youth and to the future will in itself be a source of vitality and of spiritual strength even though physical accomplishments are still to come.

In the face of the present world crisis, the Commission therefore urges the government, the schools, and all other organizations concerned with the welfare of youth to expand their programs and redouble their efforts. The immediate objectives should

be improvement of the health, education, and employment opportunities of young people, to the end that they may have a sense of quickening life and power in this nation. Yet in all of this, youth must become increasingly aware of higher spiritual values and be led to approach that understanding of human nature and of human destiny which gives democracy its reason for existence. Only if they have that understanding and our democracy is still a living force may we expect young people confidently to devote to it their best energies throughout their lives.[5]

The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools Study

The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the accrediting agency for twenty states, has an opportunity to influence curriculum improvement in more high schools than any other single official agency in the country — unless it be the United States office of Education.[6] While the Association, in its annual reports from the high schools, has shown a major concern for the meticulous details of school operation, it nevertheless has shown curriculum leadership on more than one occasion. One of these was its pronouncement on general education.

Not until the North Central's Commission on Secondary School Curriculum issued its book, *General Education in the American High School*, was the concept of general education developed and clarified at the high-school level. That was in 1942. The work represented a three-year study by a committee of fourteen educators, all but two of whom were from the Middle Western states.[7] The short definition of that major phase of the school's work, as set down in the introduction of the book, still stands as a directive to the student of secondary education:

> What is general education? General education is general in at least three respects.
>
> First, *general education is intended for everyone* — not merely the select few who become scholars or who enter the professions. No longer will preparation for college entrance dominate the curriculum of the high school which is committed to the objectives of general education. The program of such a school will be planned to meet the varied needs of all of the young people of the community which it serves.
>
> Second, *general education is concerned with the total personality* — not merely with the intellect but with emotions, habits, attitudes. General education regards the student as a single unified being rather than as compartments of knowledge, one of feelings

[5] American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, *A Program of Action for American Youth*, October, 1939, p. 5.

[6] The United States Office of Education, an advisory agency in respect to school improvement, has never been given the staff of workers, the financial support, and the liberty necessary to make any noticeable change in the traditional pattern of secondary education.

[7] B. Lamar Johnson, chairman, Stephen M. Corey, Samuel Everett, Harold C. Hand, Robert J. Havighurst, Paul B. Jacobson, B. Lamar Johnson, Gordon N. Mackenzie, Daniel A. Prescott, Fritz Redl, Francis C. Rosencrance, Harold Spears, Ralph W. Tyler, Matthew H. Willing, and George A. Works, *General Education in the American High School*, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1942.

and another of beliefs. This means that specific general education programs must be defined in terms of what the learner is or does rather than in terms of course content or a body of knowledge.

Third, *general education is concerned with the individual's nonspecialized activities.* It consists of preparation for efficient living, no matter what one's vocation. This does not at all imply a lack of concern for vocational training. Since two of the responsibilities of every person are a contribution to society and the earning of his own living, general education should include the choosing of a vocation in relation both to one's own aptitudes and interests and to the needs of society.

DEMOCRATIC VALUES. A major plea in the report of the curriculum commission of the North Central Association is for a truly democratic high school, one that in organization as well as in curriculum-provision and teacher-approach respects the key values of our way of life. These were itemized as follows:

1. Human life, happiness, and well-being are to be valued above all else.
2. Within the limits imposed by nature, man is master of his own destiny.
3. The people are sovereign and governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.
4. Government for the people can be assured only if there is government by the people.
5. Men have the ability to govern themselves wisely, and the distribution of such ability follows no social or economic lines.
6. Human happiness and well-being can be advanced only if there is an unrestricted play of free intelligence upon all problems and difficulties, this faith in human intelligence and ability to build a better world being revealed by the guarantee of the freedoms of thought, belief, speech, assembly, and press.
7. All human beings are intrinsically of equivalent moral worth.
8. The majority-will shall prevail with reference to the determination of social policy at any given moment, but minorities shall be fully protected in their right to attempt to become the majority through persuasion based on reason, free discussion, and majority standing as the road to decisions.
9. There shall be freedom for peaceful social change through the operation of the majority-will, and the insistence upon the right to peace and to the peaceful settlement of disputes.
10. There shall always be recognized the right of individual freedom — the right of the individual to resist excessive social pressures, to think his own thoughts, to speak his own mind, and to worship in his own way, as long as he does not thereby deny the same right to others.

In the course of the report it is pointed out that the American high school, both in its selection of a student body and in its organization of the school program, either violates or ignores many of these basic principles of American democracy. The extensive development of this point in the opening chapter stands as a contribution that should be in the kit of every staff of workers setting out to reorganize the secondary school.

WORK EXPERIENCE ENDORSED. Work experience is endorsed as a common need of all youth, as a part of general education rather than vocational training. The treatment is developed with examples from schools in Sedan, Kansas; Clayton, New Mexico; Philadelphia, Mississippi; Brevard, North Carolina; Salina, Pennsylvania; De Forest, Wisconsin; Springfield, Illinois; Framingham, Massachusetts; Wells, Texas; Chicago, Illinois; and Rochester, Minnesota. Broader aspects of the program of general education are explained through descriptions of practices in general education in high schools in Eugene, Oregon; Moultrie, Georgia; Chicago, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; and Shorewood, Wisconsin. Among the practices that stand out as features of modern high-school programs are these:

1. The maximum use of community resources by the school
2. An extensive student government, providing realistic practice in citizenship
3. The use of the experimental method of inquiry in the classroom
4. The co-operation of teachers in developing the framework for the school's curriculum
5. The co-operation of teachers in core or integrated programs
6. The correlation of subjects in bringing the program closer to student needs
7. The unusually fine handling of controversial questions meaningful to the students and teachers
8. Social responsibility assumed by students and teachers
9. The democratic participation of students in determining objectives, content, methods of work, and evaluation of progress
10. The participation of school youth in community improvement
11. The provision of work experience for a maximum number
12. Effective guidance programs
13. The development of community studies in improving the work of the school
14. Studies of boys and girls in the improvement of the school's curriculum
15. Extensive student-activity programs carried out on a democratic plan

General Education in the American High School represents one of the most carefully thought out treatments of the secondary school that has ever been produced. Were its principles to be followed in full, the resulting school would indeed be radically different from the typical one now serving the age group from twelve to seventeen.

The Educational Policies Commission's Education for All American Youth

It remained for the National Education Association, through its Policies Commission, to coin the expression that has caught the spirit of America's search for a truly democratic secondary school — *Education for All American*

Youth. The Policies Commission's 421-page treatment of the case of the public secondary school appeared under this title in 1944.[8]

WHAT YOUTH HAVE IN COMMON. Although the report plays heavily upon the differences of youth and the significance of such in offering proper schooling, in its statement of what they have in common is revealed the basic purposes of the school, the goals of its endeavors.

All American youth are citizens now; all (or nearly all) will be qualified voters in the future; all require education for civic responsibility and competence.

All American youth (or nearly all) are members of family groups now and will become members of other family groups in the future; all require an understanding of family relationships.

All American youth are now living in the American culture and all (or nearly all) will continue to do so in the future; all require understanding of the main elements in that culture.

All American youth need to maintain their mental and physical health now and in the future; all require instruction to develop habits of healthful living, understanding of conditions which foster health, and knowledge of ways of preventing disease, avoiding injuries, and using medical services.

All American youth will be expected to engage in useful work and will need to sustain themselves and others; all therefore require occupational guidance and training, and orientation to current economic conditions.

All American youth have the capacity to think rationally; all need to develop this capacity, and with it, an appreciation of the significance of truth as arrived at by the rational process.

All American youth must make decisions and take actions which involve choices of values; all therefore need insight into ethical values. Particularly do they need to grow in understanding the basic tenet of democracy — that the individual human being is of surpassing worth.

THE IMPERATIVE EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF YOUTH. Throughout the book there is found this emphasis upon the goals of the educational program. It was here that the ten imperative educational needs of youth were first outlined, the ten that three years later were to be treated more fully in a bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals.[9] The needs as outlined were:

1. All youth need to develop salable skills and those understandings and attitudes that make the worker an intelligent and productive participant in economic life. To this end, most youth need supervised work experience as well as education in the skills and knowledge of their occupations.

2. All youth need to develop and maintain good health and physical fitness.

[8] Educational Policies Commission, *Education for All American Youth*, Washington, D. C.: National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, 1944.

[9] "The Imperative Needs of Youth of Secondary-School Age," Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, Vol. 31, No. 145, March, 1947.

3. All youth need to understand the rights and duties of the citizen of a democratic society, and to be diligent and competent in the performance of their obligations as members of the community and citizens of the state and nation.

4. All youth need to understand the significance of the family for the individual and society and the conditions conducive to successful family life.

5. All youth need to know how to purchase and use goods and services intelligently, understanding both the values received by the consumer and the economic consequences of their acts.

6. All youth need to understand the methods of science, the influence of science on human life, and the main scientific facts concerning the nature of the world and of man.

7. All youth need opportunities to develop their capacities to appreciate beauty in literature, art, music, and nature.

8. All youth need to be able to use their leisure time well and to budget it wisely, balancing activities that yield satisfactions to the individual with those that are socially useful.

9. All youth need to develop respect for other persons, to grow in their insight into ethical values and principles, and to be able to live and work co-operatively with others.

10. All youth need to grow in their ability to think rationally, to express their thoughts clearly, and to read and listen with understanding.

PROPOSALS FOR ACTION. Among the recommendations or endorsements of school practice made in this report of the Educational Policies Commission are: (1) the comprehensive type of high school, (2) compulsory education to the eighteenth birthday, (3) in its broad outlines, the same curriculum for all pupils up through age sixteen, (4) guidance counselors who were formerly classroom teachers, one for each two hundred students, (5) community occupational surveys conducted each year by the students, (6) community study as prevalent as book study, (7) a student's first serious love experience as much a concern of the counselor as her choice of a college, (8) a farm operated by the school as a part of its work experience program, (9) work experience as an integral part of vocational education, (10) the study of public problems, (11) family-life education for all students, (12) the rural high school as the center of social life, (13) a two- or three-hour core course in common learnings, up through twelfth grade, meeting needs in citizenship, economics, family living, appreciation of literature and the arts, and use of the English language, and (14) a school camp operated as a year-round institution.

Although a curriculum study group may not find in this document the action patterns for its own school, it will find in no other report of this century a clearer and more direct statement of the school rights of American youth than is made in this one page of the Educational Policy Commission's work:

When we write confidently and inclusively about education for *all* American youth, we mean just that. We mean that all youth, with their human similarities and their equally human differences, shall have educational services and oppor-

tunities suited to their personal needs and sufficient for the successful operation of a free and democratic society.

These youth are created male or female, black or white, halt or hale. Birth and environment have tended to make some of them more alert or more shrewd or more bold than others. Environment and education have made them rich or poor, law abiding or delinquent, employed or idle.

Their names are Dumbrowski, Oleson, Cabot, MacGregor, Veschinni, Adamatoulous, Okada, Chin, Valdez, Descortes, Kerchevsky, Schmidt, Smith, and Smythe.

They reside in farmhouses, cabins, trailers, packing boxes, skyscrapers, tenements, hotels, housing projects, houseboats, dormitories, mansions, prison cells, and just plain houses.

Among these youth are many of great potential talents. The American system of education has laid great stress on the development of these talents, wherever they may be found, for the benefit of the nation as well as of individuals. In the years to come, the nation will stand in even greater need of the leadership, the resourcefulness, and the creative abilities of its most capable citizens; and education must prize and cultivate their talents accordingly.

These youth — all of them — are to be the heirs and trustees for all that is good or bad in our civilization. What humanity will achieve a generation hence depends largely on them and their education now.

Each of them is a human being, more precious than material goods or systems of philosophy. Not one of them is to be carelessly wasted. *All* of them are to be given equal opportunities to live and learn.

Planning for American Youth

Recovering the typographical fumble that the Educational Policies Commission had made with its dull format of the bulky *Education for All American Youth*, the alert National Association of Secondary-School Principals unveiled the same year a 64-page attractive graphic summary of the mother publication, and distributed it widely at a quarter a copy with substantial discounts for two or more. It is called *Planning for American Youth.* They even added a program for the seventh to ninth grades, not contained in the original.

In the original publication the proposed school practices were presented through the description of two high schools, one in Farmville, a typical rural community, and one in American City, a typical industrial community serving commercially a much wider area. Reproduced here are two of the pages taken from the summary issued by the principals' group, pages which reveal the graphic treatment given the former textual material.

The Harvard Report — General Education in a Free Society

Secondary school educators had just settled themselves in their easy chairs with *Education for All American Youth* and *Planning for American Youth*, when along came the Harvard report — *General Education in a Free Society*,[10] 267

[10] The Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1945.

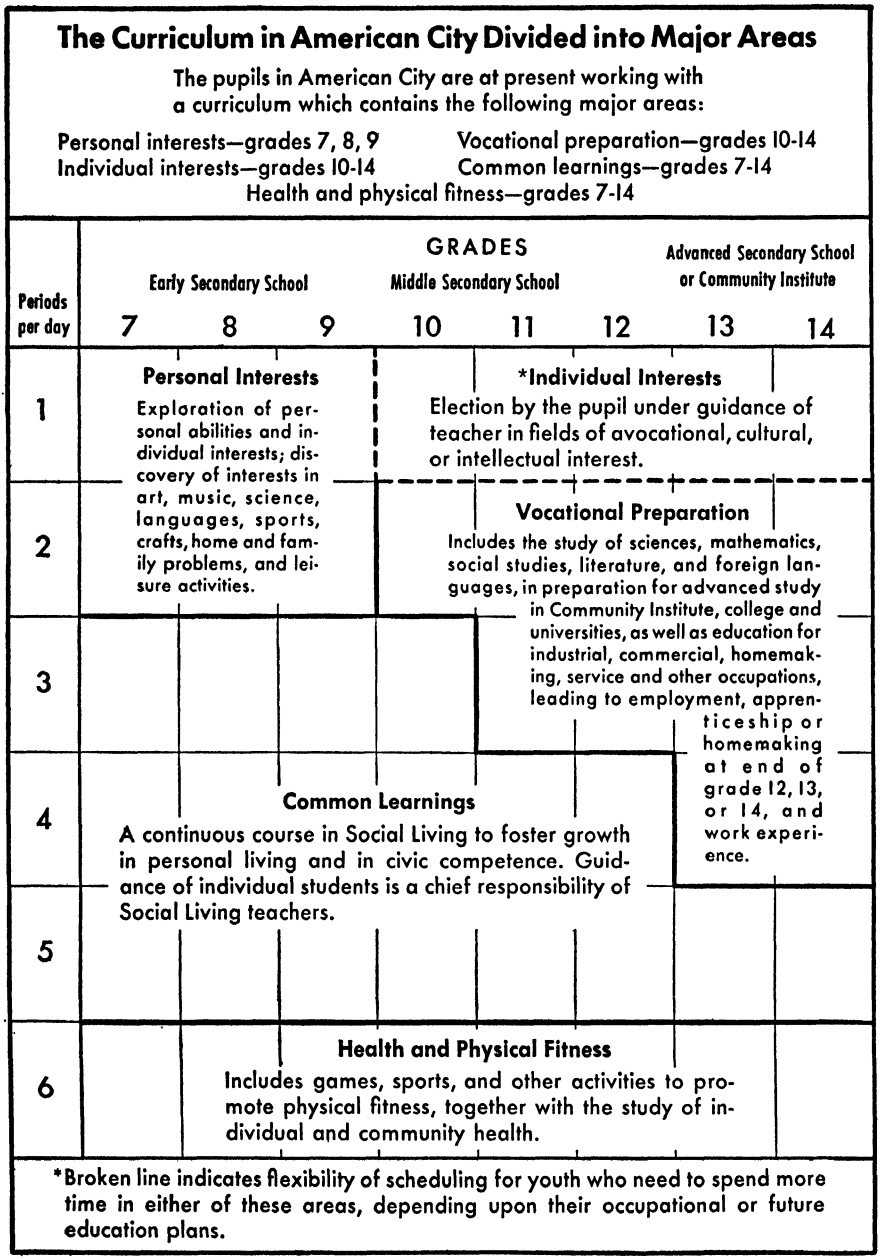


FIGURE 1. A Curriculum for a City High School [11]

[11] Adapted from National Association of Secondary-School Principals, *Planning for American Youth*, p. 47.

Planning the Daily Schedule in Farmville Secondary School, Flexible Enough to Meet the Regular and Special Needs, Is a Joint Responsibility of Principal and Teachers.

The daily pupil schedule at Farmville is flexible. The basic plan for all eight years provides for a seven-hour day—seven periods of 55 minutes each and a lunch hour—for 40 school weeks. Each pupil normally has six scheduled periods and one free period.

The daily schedule is planned by the teachers and principal once a year and reviewed whenever necessary. Large blocks of time are needed for special projects at special times. The teachers of leisure-time activities, for instance, want double time preceding the annual Community Festival; four full-day trips a year to American City are scheduled to be taken; and other activities are planned as needs arise. The tape on the office clock does not control the school.

The daily schedule varies yearly and may vary monthly. As an illustration, grade 10 might look like this for one year:

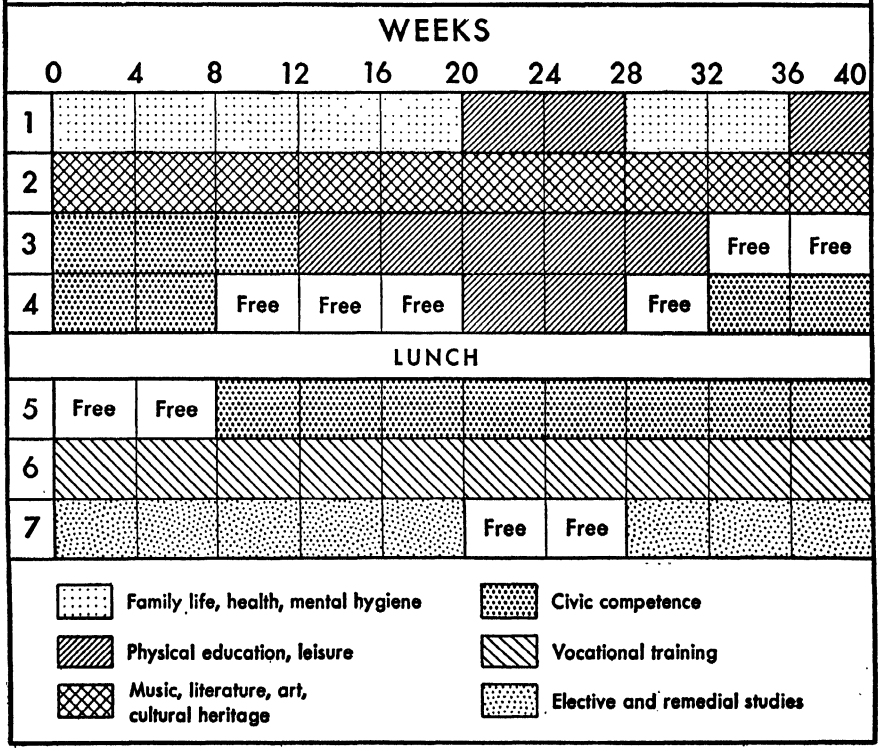


FIGURE 2. A Curriculum for a Small Rural High School [12]

[12] Adapted from National Association of Secondary-School Principals, *Planning for American Youth*, p. 33.

more pages devoted largely to the high school's obligation to live up to its obligations. That was in 1945.

DEFINITIONS AND PROPOSALS. In the report general education is described as education for an informed responsible life in our society, as dealing with common standards and common purposes. Special education is described as the more competitive in spirit, as looking more directly to worldly success by equipping people for certain specific tasks. Harvard's committee rounded out its statement with this proposal of the whole task of education, or rather this endorsement of a point of view that has been generally accepted for years: "Taken as a whole, education seeks to do two things: help young people to fulfill the unique, particular functions in life which it is in them to fulfill, and fit them so far as it can for those common spheres which, as citizens and heirs of a joint culture, they will share with others." In other words, they reiterate the point that in the secondary school the student will receive an education having two aspects, the general and the specialized. The nature and the proportion of the two, and their relationship as well, consistently persist as the problem of curriculum planners.

The report makes much of such facts as the high-school enrollment having multiplied ninety times while the general population increased only three times over, and the social scene having changed so much this century; yet it gives comfort to traditional school practices with such a statement as this: "Education, like all society's prime needs, changes as society changes. Yet, since the general character of a culture changes more slowly and human nature more slowly still, if at all, there exist also relatively constant elements in education."

In statement, if not in program proposal, the report recognizes the differences among youth, giving over twenty pages to the problems of diversity. It is asked that the differences of mind and outlook on the one hand, and of opportunity on the other, be fully recognized in setting up the school's curriculum.

CURRICULUM PLANNING. The book has three major sections, each commanding approximately a third of the text. The college group in New England, who made the report for Harvard, set out in the first section a general review of the conditions now operating in the secondary-school field, and present the sentiment for change that had been accepted long before Pearl Harbor by the secondary-school administrators who were working actively with the curriculum problems of the school. This section of the study was immediately accepted by these secondary-school people as a well-written review of the school's functions and social setting, as they saw them.

Since the last third of the book was devoted to Harvard College, it remained for the committee to state in the middle third its curriculum proposals for carrying out the noble goals that had been established earlier for the high

school. While the earlier section had dealt with the life needs of youth and with the areas of living common to them, the curriculum proposals did not begin with these. Rather, they began with the existing school subjects that have been so common to the schools for so many generations. The curriculum must remain, according to the Harvard group, a strict subject curriculum. The samples of these proposals are included here as examples and not as a comprehensive summary of the curriculum recommended in the book. They follow:

1. In a four-year high school, three years of English, three of science and mathematics, and two of social studies, as a minimum requirement for all. For those not going to college "another course in each of the three seems nothing short of essential," and for those who are going to college "a deeper knowledge of one or more of the areas is not less so."
2. "For example, relatively simple narrative (*The Jungle Books*, *Treasure Island*, *The Odyssey*) and poetry of fairly open and uncompacted meaning will naturally come early" in the English curriculum.
3. In respect to extracurricular activities — "It is rare that such organizations or activities can help develop materially that sense of perspective which ordinarily follows only upon the study of instances and ideas removed in space, and usually in time as well as in space, from immediate experience."
4. "Those aspects of mathematics that should be prescribed for all students can be mastered by the end of the eighth grade or by the middle of the ninth."

The Report of the John Dewey Society

The American High School appeared late in 1946 as the yearbook of the John Dewey Society, and represented a three-year study made by eight educators who individually have spoken frequently for the school.[13] These issues were raised as the ones calling for proper solution if the public secondary school is to live up to the early promises made for it:

1. Who shall go to school and for how long?
2. Shall we equalize educational opportunity for all youth?
3. What proportionate amount of our national resources shall be spent on children and youth and what on old age and security?
4. Will high schools provide education for the common life?
5. Shall education be designed primarily to inform youth of their heritage and status or shall it become one of the chief forces in improving community life and democratic living?

[13] Hollis L. Caswell, editor, Stephen M. Corey, Donald P. Cottrell, Hamden L. Forkner, Will French, J. Paul Leonard, Gordon N. Mackenzie, and Harold Spears, *The American High School*, Eighth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946.

6. Will schools provide vocational orientation and preparation?

7. Shall youth be encouraged to seek constantly to climb to the top of the ladder, or shall youth be urged to seek a rung suited to their capacities and interests, spread out horizontally, and be rewarded accordingly?

8. Will we provide employment for all youth?

9. Will society permit the school to proceed definitely to solve such social issues as the problem of racial minorities?

10. Will secondary education provide opportunity for personal-social advancement?

11. Should secondary education assist in modifying the culture?

12. Should high schools become community educational centers?

13. Should high schools become custodial agencies, in the sense of caring for youth until the supporting society provides work for them?

14. What should be the pattern of organization for secondary education?

It can readily be seen that most of these are not issues that can be resolved by educators alone, but rather are questions of social policy, the answers to which must come from the supporting society as well. What America has expected of her schools, the public conception of the high school, and the employment situation at the moment are factors that limit the attempts of schools to serve all American youth to the *n*th degree. It is reasonable to believe that school administrators and other leaders of the profession must take the responsibility for alerting the general public to such issues and in pressing ahead for solutions and directions. This list, which has been compiled from various sections of the report of the John Dewey Society, can stand as a study-approach for any high-school faculty or group of students of secondary education concerned with the improvement of the high-school situation. Something more than a *yes* or *no* answer to each issue is asked, it is the *how* that must be determined.

In its emphasis upon a high-school program built with full consideration of the present needs of those being served, the report includes a revealing chapter on the developmental tasks of youth, the principal ones outlined and discussed being: (1) coming to terms with their own bodies, (2) learning new relationships to their age mates, (3) achieving independence from parents, (4) achieving adult social and economic status, and (5) acquiring self-confidence and a practical and satisfying system of values. Such concerns of all youth are set out as necessary learnings to be provided for in the curriculum.

CORE PROGRAM ENDORSED. It was asserted by the committee that (1) there are certain common experiences which all youth should have in order to take their appropriate place in adult society, and (2) to provide this general education it is necessary to have in the students' program a broad core course which would act as a planning center for his various experiences. Here he would be under the direction of a teacher who knows him well through

actual work with him. In other words, common learnings in such areas as oral and written expression, and citizenship training, would be integrated into a common core course directed by a teacher who would assume also the guidance responsibility.

Here is an idea — the core course — that came into our thinking and practice, in a timid manner, as early as 1935; its persistence from one national study to another, and the promise shown in its occasional trial, mark it as a curriculum approach for the common learnings that should be generally adopted by our junior and senior high schools. The training asked of the core teacher in the John Dewey study is somewhat severe, but should not deter school administrators from adopting the core idea. The experience of the author in developing core programs leads him to feel that a good percentage of the teachers of many years' experience in the traditional courses will respond enthusiastically to the core idea if proper help and leadership are provided on an in-service basis. The principles of the plan are discussed in a later chapter in this book.

In the Society's report, a clear-cut case for vocational education and work experience follows these proposals for general education; and the problems of organizing and administering secondary education for all youth are anticipated and treated.

SOCIAL PURPOSES OF THE SCHOOL. This brief summary of the social goals, toward which the committee thinks secondary education should be directed, is set out in the book:

1. Secondary education should give primary attention to developing citizens competent and willing to make every needed sacrifice to make democracy work for all men.

2. A concomitant of this primary responsibility is the task of developing a consuming desire for that kind of public behavior toward other nations which produces peaceful international relationships.

3. Secondary education should be committed to teaching youth that we have adequate resources to meet the economic and social needs of all our people and that these resources must be used for this purpose.

4. The high school should direct the attention of youth to the fact that successful living depends upon adequate personal and public health and to physical fitness for employment and for social and family life.

5. The high school should teach youth that America is committed to an economic system of private enterprise, and that this system must be healthy, but government regulation is required to insure its serving the public good.

6. Youth need to learn that all men must work to produce for individual and group welfare and that opportunities for work must always be available.

7. The high school should see that each young person has the knowledge he needs to improve his social and economic status to the limit of his capacities. He should know that each occupational level carries its own rewards and affords each individual an opportunity to enrich his life. He should not strive to rise to levels where he cannot succeed.

The United States Office of Education and the Prosser Resolution

For some years now, the United States Office of Education has been concentrating on what it has stated as "the achievement of educational provisions suited to the needs and abilities of each and every individual of high-school age." Through a series of conferences held over the country, to be followed by school change sparked by the leadership of that Office, it set out to achieve in fact the ideal of universal secondary education for American youth.

THE PROSSER RESOLUTION. This chain of events, which is treated here as one composite study, found its origin in a conference of vocational educators in Washington, D. C., June 1, 1945, meeting under the auspices of that division of the United States Office of Education. It was the resolution of Dr. Charles A. Prosser, adopted unanimously by the delegates, which was to lead to that Office's more intensive study of the secondary school. The resolution reads as follows:

> It is the belief of this conference, with the aid of this report in final form, the vocational school of a community will be able better to prepare 20 per cent of its youth of secondary-school age for entrance upon desirable skilled occupations; and that the high school will continue to prepare 20 per cent of its students for entrance to college. We do not believe that the remaining 60 per cent of our youth of secondary-school age will receive the life-adjustment training they need and to which they are entitled as American citizens — unless and until the administrators of public education with the assistance of the vocational education leaders formulate a similar program for this group.
>
> We therefore request the U. S. Commissioner of Education and the Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education to call at some early date a conference or a series of regional conferences between an equal number of representatives of general and of vocational education — to consider this problem and to take such initial steps as may be found advisable for its solution.

The U. S. Commissioner of Education followed the suggestion, and there were set up five regional conferences and one national conference in which were explored the solutions to the problem of the secondary school — namely, the problem of not having been able to provide a curriculum that comes to grips with the realities of the lives of the youth to be served. Regional conferences, to which were called leaders from the fields of vocational education, general education, and school administration, were held in 1946 as follows: New York City, April; Chicago, June; Cheyenne, September; Sacramento, October; and Birmingham, November. The national conference was held in Chicago in May, 1947.

PROCEEDINGS. Without question the regional conferences validated the existence of the problem referred to in the resolution. In other words, the school systems of the country are eager for somebody to show them what

they can do to solve a problem of which they are well aware. As can be appreciated, the percentages set out in the original resolution were retracted since the groups in question are not so clearly defined. Likewise, the term "life-adjustment training" was extended to represent a general education needed by 100 per cent of youth. Dr. Galen Jones, Director, Division of Secondary Education, U. S. Office of Education and Dr. Prosser gave the keynote addresses at the gatherings. As later reported from Washington, it was the consensus of those participating in these regional meetings:

1. That secondary education today is failing to provide adequately and properly for the life adjustment of perhaps a major fraction of the persons of secondary-school age
2. That public opinion can be created to support the movement to provide appropriate life-adjustment education for these youth
3. That the solution is to be found in the provision of educational experiences based on the diverse individual needs of youth of secondary-school age
4. That a broadened viewpoint and a genuine desire to serve all youth is needed on the part of teachers and of those who plan the curricula of teacher-training institutions
5. That local resources must be utilized in every community to a degree as yet achieved only in a few places
6. That functional experiences in the areas of practical arts, home and family life, health and physical fitness, and civic competence are basic in any program designed to meet the needs of youth today
7. That a supervised program of work experience is a "must" for the youth with whom the resolution is concerned

Although each conference set out (1) to determine who these neglected youth are, (2) to state the type curriculum they need, and (3) to show how such educational opportunities can be provided, from the reports it is apparent that it is still easier to spot the needy youth than to prescribe a new curriculum for him, or to make room in the traditional school for such a curriculum if it could be found. The consensus of opinion on the seven points as listed above is easier to secure than consensus on steps such as these that might eventually be necessary if we are to build a functional secondary school:

1. The redirection of the Carnegie unit-and-credit plan
2. The retooling of the traditional marking system
3. The adjustment of the subject curriculum to recognize more fully areas of living as represented by the life activities of youth and their elders
4. The use of the school plant as the crossroads of the learning activities promoted and supervised by the school staff
5. The reconsideration of the high-school promotion practices
6. The provision of a year-round program overlapping with work, camping, and similar experiences

These six things were not suggested in the regional conferences, nor were they a part of the national conference that convened in Chicago for three days in May, 1947. However, such obstacles as the following were at least realistically pointed out in the Chicago regional conference: (1) many state departments not effectively organized to give the needed leadership, (2) too large a number still of small school districts, (3) the persistence of the objective of college preparation, (4) the continued high prestige of academic subjects, (5) the standardization of certain procedures as the Carnegie unit, (6) inadequate and inequitable finances, (7) excessive teacher load, (8) inadequacy of teacher training, (9) vested interests of the subject fields, (10) reluctance and inability to make use of community resources, and (11) the status quo advocates in our society. It remains for teachers and administrators working at the local level to hurdle such obstacles.

THE GOALS ARE MARKED

The purposes of the people's high school demand no further confinement of secondary-school educators in smoke-filled conference rooms. The work of the nine commissions just discussed will suffice for years. Fully ample statements of purposes are posted on the schoolhouse door, as a challenge to the teachers who would enter there. As the beginner steps up to the door he hears some activity inside, he discovers the beginning of remodeling taking place — remodeling that is treated in Chapters 4 to 11 that follow.

Part 2

THE CURRICULUM AND THE STUDENT

Chapter 4 AMERICAN YOUTH AND THEIR SOCIETY

Chapter 5 PREPARING FOR CURRICULUM REORGANIZATION

Chapter 6 GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Chapter 7 APPROACHING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH CORE COURSES

Chapter 8 A SCHOOL FOR THE COMMUNITY

Chapter 9 LEARNING TO DO BY DOING

Chapter 10 TECHNIQUES OF TEACHING

Chapter 11 GUIDANCE AND LEARNING

Chapter 4

AMERICAN YOUTH AND THEIR SOCIETY

It is almost axiomatic in American public affairs that if you do not have the answer to a question, the thing to do is to appoint a committee. This is standard operating procedure from coast to coast, and from a neighborhood Kiwanis Club to Congress in Washington. And so it has been with educators. In school operation it has been standard procedure right down the line — from improving assembly order in Swayzee High School to understanding on a nationwide basis what happens to adolescents in growing up.

YOUTH — A DISTINCT POPULATION GROUP

It is high time that the complexity of growing up be recognized as something more troublesome to the boy and the girl than to their elders, as something calling for understanding rather than routine committee study. Standard equipment for the high-school teacher must include a knowledge of the changes which take place in boys and girls during those years. The relationship of the complex factors in the girl's first date bear much more significance to her than the relationship of the parts of a complex sentence.

The entrance of youth into American society as a distinct population group has been within our time. Only within the past quarter of a century has America been speaking and writing of *youth* — a collective term marking a somewhat nebulous stage of human development between childhood and adulthood. Coming noticeably to the public attention for the first time during the 1930–1940 depression period, this population group again lost itself in the hustle and bustle of the war years when everybody was made to feel important by having something meaningful to do.

During the depression years boys and girls were leaving school to face a curt, unsympathetic sign which read, "Youth not needed." Within a relatively short period of time our society reversed its position, and America's high-school students were being attracted, many of them before they were graduated, by a brilliant sign reading, "Youth wanted for major respon-

sibility." *The fact that, within five years, conditions completely outside their control can move millions of youth from a position of economic and social insignificance over to one of key importance, or vice versa, cannot be overlooked by those who serve in an educational or a parental advisory capacity.*

The approach of the educator seems rather clear. When he sets up his school procedures he should get his cue from (1) the student he is to serve here and now, (2) the society that invests in the school here and now, and (3) the interplay of the two. It cannot be said too many times — education is a matter of time and place.

Needless to say, the work of the school and of any teacher must respect the total life setting of the ones being served at the moment. When adolescent boys and girls are busily engaged with important things to do — responsibilities provided them by their society and accepted as meaningful and important to their lives — then such youth do not stand out as a sore thumb on the community hand. They do not stand out as a distinct population group. Instead, they blend gracefully into the civic and occupational scene, into the normal activities of community life. But in such periods as the last depression decade, when the shortcomings of the social and economic structure kept them from doing the important things that it is within their nature and maturity to do, then they attract attention. When it is impossible to hold a part-time or full-time job, to support a girl friend, to plan for marriage, or even to feel the security of a financially adequate home life — then the elders suddenly realize that here is a collective group of young people who might be called *youth*, with neither the carefree irresponsibilities of childhood nor acceptance into the rights and responsibilities of adulthood.

Primitive civilizations did not recognize any break between childhood and full maturity. The boy became the warrior by age fifteen, and the girl by then had become his mate. There were no careers to prepare for, no intricate system of community life that left out as yet unprepared a class of people physically and mentally mature. The family unit was self-sufficient, and the young learned to do by doing under the direction of the elders.

But man became more ingenious, and with invention came modern community life, the division of labor, and the intricacies of an ordered society. Man took on stature but what happened to his son? Labor became specialized, and entry into the skilled trades became regulated by those already in them. As one lad faced the odds against acceptance into a trade or the long period of apprenticeship, another faced the problem of scholastic acceptance into a professional school and an even longer period of study for his occupation. Marriages were postponed in accordance with the delay in reaching self-sufficiency.

As machines were invented to replace hand workers, the economic embarrassment of youth was accentuated. As the span of life was gradually pushed ahead by the study of health and hygiene, man's productive years in the

occupational world were lengthened, which meant the postponement of the entrance of the newcomer. This mounting dependency of boys and girls upon their elders was further accentuated by child labor laws and compulsory school attendance. Adulthood was thus pushed farther and farther from the grasp of the adolescent, and there began to stand out quite sharply a period of life unknown to earlier civilizations, a period unknown even to the earlier years of America's twentieth century — the period we have come to speak of as *youth.*

THE NATURE OF YOUTH

In spite of the demotion that teen-agers have suffered in modern society's highly complex scheme of things, there has been little biological change in the human species since the Stone Age. The story told by the biologists is that (1) the nervous system and the brain are fully grown by age sixteen or seventeen, (2) in the case of both boys and girls the physical basis of reproduction is mature well before twenty, (3) attitudes and habits are firmly fixed in early years, and (4) a person reaches the peak of his development by age twenty-five.[1]

In spite of the limited opportunities offered youth by modern society to feel important, all the biological and psychological urges are found in modern youth just as they were with his primitive counterpart. That the one warred and married at the age the other is now entering the high school is a reflection on social rather than biological differences. Certain general characteristics of high-school-age boys and girls stand out.

1. *The Desire for Independence*

There comes naturally the feeling of self-assurance, the desire of independence. This has been true as long as the human race has existed. It is true in spite of the fact that most high-school administrators treat grown youth as children by placing teachers to guard them in study halls and assemblies.

The teen age, a period corresponding roughly with the high-school years, has always been one when youth reach out and step out farther and farther for freedom, for the right to make their own decisions — in the selection of clothes, in the use of their leisure time, in the choice of their companions, and in the hundreds of other activities natural to their lives. It is a period when youth, without realizing it, attempt once and for all to free themselves from that already long period of human infancy.

It is a period of moving away from close parental care, of wondering if the teacher after all can't be wrong on one or two matters at least. They

[1] In developing this section the author was helped in his thinking by W. W. Weaver's article, "Modern Youth — Retrospect and Prospect," in *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1937, p. 1.

have ideas of their own and wish to try them out. Those schools and those homes in which the adults alone have always been right have the most difficulty in understanding and meeting these natural inclinations of youth. They act as real obstacles to the growing-up process.

2. The Desire to be Accepted

Although not entirely distinctive as an adolescent characteristic, the desire to belong, to be accepted, reaches such a state of significance at this age that it often means the difference between staying in school and quitting. Group pressures supersede parental influence quite frequently when differences come up.

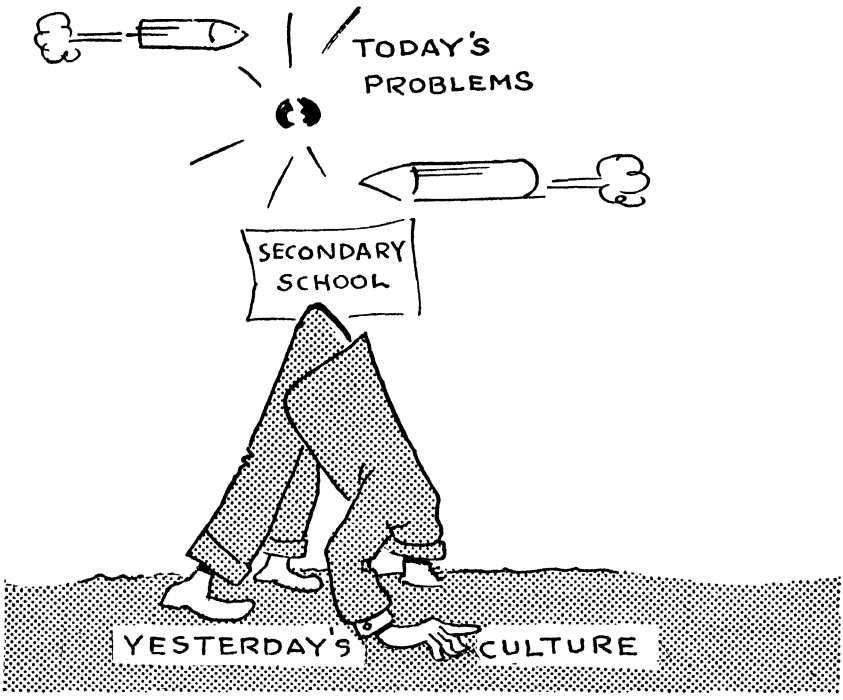
The high-school student wants to be respected by his group, his associates, for something that he can do fairly well. Some crave more than others the satisfaction, the feeling of importance, that a uniform, an automobile, or a pay envelope will give them. The students who make the better marks are receiving their satisfactions in school; it is those who receive poor marks who are most apt to drop school early to seek success elsewhere. Those who make the teams usually feel an acceptance. The failure to feel important in the socially accepted activities may turn some to gain attention through unsocial action.

3. Achieving Proper Social Relationships

Even though a high-school student may have grown up with his classmates through the earlier years, there comes with adolescence a new jockeying for true relationship with one's mates. Part of it is due to the new independence from family that is felt, an independence that is wanted without loss of parental approval of action. The responsibility of choosing companions and similar actions calling for decisions proper to the group are real tasks in growing up. The parent who didn't question the companions of her ten-year-old, may be greatly concerned about those companions six years later.

This jockeying for group approval involves the selection and wearing of clothes, attitudes toward study and how much one dares earn good marks, the spending of spare time after school, language habits, and the type of part-time job one dares hold. It involves learning the rights and responsibilities in the relationships with his own sex as well as with the opposite sex. Many a teacher fails regularly in his appreciation of the group pressure that operates with the high-school student. This is no wonder, for so often the student who is experiencing that pressure doesn't fully appreciate it himself — nor do his parents.

This achievement of proper group status involves the acceptance of one's physical make-up, which again is not an easy matter for many youth. The eleven-year-old boy who becomes infatuated with the ripple in his arm that



WITH HIS HEAD IN THE SAND

he refers to as "my muscle" may at sixteen face personal frustration because of lack of normal bodily size. The girl who at eleven may never have been aware of it, at sixteen creates anxiety over a faulty complexion. Are such things the concern of the school?

4. A Set of Values

In addition to these pressures that are felt by most youth, there are other common needs that must be met if satisfactory adulthood adjustments are to be made. There is the whole matter of *proper values* as a guide to behavior. Besides providing an opportunity in the curriculum and the guidance program for the individual student to clarify his own set of life values, the school needs to give help to him as he tests it out in group situations. What may seem sensible and reasonable in a conference may be difficult to practice with the gang on the week end. How a youth develops his philosophy of life, his code of ethical values, needs to be appreciated by the school and all-out aid given.

Thus as high-school youth move from childhood toward adulthood, they need help in achieving maturity, citizenship, occupational efficiency, and home membership. These are curriculum matters calling for the extensive reorganization of secondary education into a modern school. Two of the

best summaries of this struggle of the adolescent to grow up are found in: (1) "Scientific Study of Developing Boys and Girls Has Set up Guideposts," Chapter 4, *General Education in the American High School*, Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company; and (2) "The Developmental Tasks of Youth," Chapter 5, *The American High School*, New York: Harper and Brothers. They include the best thinking of Robert Havighurst, Daniel Prescott, Fritz Redl, and Stephen Corey on the subject.

THE WARTIME SITUATION

A sad commentary on modern civilization is that only in wartime is there the full acceptance of youth into a socially and economically significant position in the community life. This has been true in America for thirty-five years. The full responsibilities of citizenship and maximum contribution to the welfare of the state, and the full obligation of carrying one's share of the work of the state, were felt by American youth during the war as never before this century. How educational needs shift with the times was demonstrated by the contrasting depression and war periods.

Square root and the unknowns X and Y had meant nothing to ninety-five out of a hundred of the 1930–1940 graduates in their everyday activities. The senior who faced unemployment after graduation back in those depression days didn't need more mathematics or more of the theory of Ohm's law. The wheels of our technical world were idle, and engineers were going at a dime a dozen. Mathematics would have given him neither the technical ability to move the wheels that were idle because of man's inability to cope with his intricate social machinery, nor the mental discipline or power to think himself through a depression that had stumped his elders — elders who by and large had taken their schooling in the days when the theory of mental discipline was the theme song and when algebra and geometry were required of all.

But with the coming of war, the demands of technical military warfare immediately placed more mathematics courses on a functional basis for the moment; and not only did schools encourage such courses, but the boys applied themselves to this work beyond expectation. They saw mathematics as leading to the ability to pilot a bomber, to navigate a boat, or to qualify for V–12 or some other specialized training in the service schools. In other words, they saw mathematics as a part of their everyday experiences and thereby interest was enhanced.

Thus student needs and interests, and consequently curricular offerings and emphasis, shift with the times. While engineers were walking the streets a few years before, they were at a premium during the war. We were not complaining of a shortage of doctors and nurses in 1940, but we were soon thereafter. We didn't need bomber pilots and gunners in 1940, but we did soon thereafter. Some of youth's needs are the normal developmental needs that persist throughout the ages, but others are those that come and go with

the times. *Any school program must respect time and place.* The larger social setting of education, as seen in the differences among countries, must be considered.

THE SOCIAL SETTING OF AMERICAN YOUTH

State and Individual

An educational system takes its cue from the society that it serves, which in turn sees its educational needs in terms of its conception of the individual. Rooted in a particular culture is its conception of the individual. Standing out above the mosaic of such conceptions existing in the world are two major and divergent views of the relationship of the individual to his society. The *democratic state* exists for the sake of the individuals who compose it, and its ends are determined by those of the individual; while the *totalitarian state* exists for its own sake, and is made up of individuals whose action is always to be bent toward, and judged in terms of, the welfare of the state.

In the particular view of the individual held is seen not only the experience of the race but the hopes of the future. Within our time we have seen how, in such states as Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain, and Russia, the individual was used as merely an instrument for the attainment of the state's ends. Duty, and not liberty, is the highest ethical value in the totalitarian state. The individual is brought up through a strongly centralized educational program to believe that there are others better fitted to lead than he, and that in turn he is to be thankful for the security offered by these leaders who have usurped the power, or who have come by it in ways other than through the popular will of the people at the polls. The U.S.S.R. has severely attacked the cultural experience of its people as it has sought a new culture through strong state action penetrating deeply the life and thought of the individual. Propaganda through the schools and a curriculum rigidly maintained from the central source are significant in this drive of the totalitarian leaders of the Russian state.

That actual school practice will depend upon such conceptions of the individual has likewise been seen in other countries. For instance, in France, where existence has been logical and planned, the schools emphasize a logical training of the mind, those passing up to higher education always being skimmed from the masses by means of rigid examinations. In England, where the true Englishman is seen as one who practices fair play in his everyday life, character education through "playing the game" has been the marked feature of secondary education. And, as has been treated at length in other chapters, the American secondary school has had much in common with the average American's conception of the individual's place in the life of the country.

Social Intelligence

Individual behavior does not necessarily indicate social intelligence. And even though it has been noted that one's intelligence is actually always a social matter, yet individual intelligence does not necessarily assure social intelligence of the proper sort. Social intelligence means a social consciousness on the part of the individual. It calls for deliberate training through organized education.

When we speak of a program of citizenship training we are speaking of developing the individual personality, but doing so in relationship to the social good. Such a program is no simple matter, for the learner's culture is already loaded with ready-made patterns for behavior — customs, mores, taboos, beliefs, faiths, habits, ideals, values. The crystallization of patterns has meant laws to guide action. This already active, interacting environment of the high-school youth has led the modern curriculum planner to point out that the teacher needs to know more about American life itself, even if such appreciation comes at the expense of training in his particular subject field.

Individual intelligence may be developed to an advanced degree of clever action, and yet have no sound social purpose behind it. A clever scientist or a clever national leader, lacking worthy social values, may devote his energies to the destruction of mankind. Social intelligence can be built, else there would be little excuse for schools. Building intelligence for service in respect to a worthy social goal is the duty of organized education.

To build social intelligence need not mean intellectual regimentation as it is practiced in the totalitarian countries, but rather the fullest possible development of individual personality. The form that organized education takes in content and method is the field force that plays upon native intelligence. We must encourage the growing respect for individual personality in the American high school.

THE AMERICAN WAY

Democracy, above all other forms of social-political organization, carries the challenge to create a better culture. Schools must be free to help lead the way. The extension of human values demands constructive experience of the creative and intelligent sort. Organized secondary education must show youth how they can better avail themselves of their culture — in the light of proper values. Cultural continuity is served by education, for society is affected by the outlooks, attitudes, and expectations set up in the individual. Education, if social intelligence is to result, must provide equipment that will mean not only insight in respect to social problems, but values that will drive to action.

As youth seek to free themselves from the close controls of their elders, in the development of their own capacity for maturity, such freedom to decide and to behave must

be anchored into proper values for living — and in our case values for living in a democratic society. Schools can establish such values through practice in democracy.

America, organized education must recognize, lacks a continuous reinterpretation and reconstruction of beliefs and institutions. The social organization that served an agrarian or pioneer age is found wanting in today's highly complex industrial society. The American tradition of rugged individualism, that meant so much in the pioneer days of new land and frontier promise, now flickers as a candle flame before the hurricane of complex interdependence. How can its values be preserved through adjustment to a current situation? Inside the schoolhouse, removed as it has been from the social confusion, that highly individualistic flame has been shielded by competitive practices that have pitted students of unequal ability against each other at every opportunity. The school still seeks the means of encouraging initiative, integrity, and individuality, without doing so at the expense of other students.

Meeting Obligations

Gradually schools are assuming social obligations. There has always been much talk of training for citizenship, especially since the cardinal principles of 1918, but there still exists a broad gap between actual school practice and this social function. The compartmentalizing of interests and fixed standards in society are obstacles to the free use of intelligence for human well-being, and tend to keep the school program static.

Proposed innovations that would liberate individual intelligence for the social good, and that would replace formal practices with content and method social in aim, find opposition in forces that are treated repeatedly in this book. Without reviewing them here, it can be said that throughout all of these obstacles to change there runs a thread of complacency, a blind faith in a supernatural turn for the better. Public faith, long having interwoven privileges into its concept of secondary education, still persists in spite of any misapprehensions on the part of the educator, to look to the high school to furnish youth an economic-status equipment for modern American life, the general social function of the school having to no marked degree been appreciated by either the lay or the professional body.

The concept of the community-school, treated here in Chapters 6, 7, and 8, indicates the attempt of an ever-increasing number of schools to build the curriculum into the actual social and economic life of the community. Open-mindedness needs to be brought into contact with information and proper social values in the schools. For the individual to be able to think for himself with respect to the common good is an American ideal that need not fear indoctrination. This emphasis upon social intelligence need not detract from the school's obligation to the individual. In fact, only through the education of the individual may any democratic society

expect to progress; only as the individual develops may social improvement be promoted.

A close study of the cultural setting of a nation will reveal the fine distinctions in social pattern that account for the variations in school programs from one nation to another. For instance, in the Republic of Chile there is vested in the Ministry of Education the right to change the curriculum of all schools in the state by administrative decree. This accepted pattern of governmental administration is a limiting factor in a secondary school's attempt to teach the principles of co-operative planning, thought, and action.[2]

Our National Belief

To speak of social intelligence as the goal of organized education is to speak of a true appreciation of American democracy. That this country in peacetime often takes its blessings for granted, that the educational program has failed to emphasize adequately practice in democratic principles, and that there is always in this closely interwoven world a power actively engaged to destroy the rights of the individual — can be accepted without elaboration.

As the student of secondary education sets out to refashion the school by injecting a maximum of democratic values and practices into it, he has at hand any number of manifestos reviewing the meanings of the American way of life. Particularly worthy of the consideration of any teacher, as he reviews his own beliefs, is the pamphlet *Democracy and Education in the Current Crisis*, issued by the faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University.

TIME AND PLACE

The time — now; *the place* — the people's high school at the crossroads of American life, in any neighborhood, suburban community, hamlet, or township.

The task — (1) understanding the imperative needs of youth, which after all are real, everyday needs, appearing in the setting of American democracy, and (2) offering a school program in keeping with these needs. Preparing for curriculum reorganization is a *must* that comes to every high-school staff.

[2] It was the author's privilege to direct a staff of twelve educators from our country who served in Chile for a year (1945–46) as advisers to the Chilean Ministry of Education in the reform of secondary schools there. The program was a co-operative program of the two countries, initiated by the United States Office of Inter-American Affairs.

Chapter

5

PREPARING FOR CURRICULUM REORGANIZATION

As present-day high-school teachers and principals continue to try to cram into the high-school curriculum all the newly proposed subjects that are on the instructional market, and to do so without gracing the garbage pail with an equal amount of the traditional stock on hand, they would do well to hark back to the wisdom of Benjamin Franklin. He, too, set out to provide a modern secondary-school curriculum, just two hundred years ago, and as he meditated his problem he concluded — *As to their studies it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short. It is therefore proposed, that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and more ornamental.*

USEFUL OR ORNAMENTAL?

As teachers and principals sit in their curriculum workshops, sorting over the accumulation from the past, attempting to pick out that which is most useful and that which is more ornamental, they must soon determine which is more important to the high-school youth today —

To find out what's under the cover of Scott's *Ivanhoe*, or to find out what's under the cover of Ford's Mercury?

To be able to recognize a gerund, or to be able to recognize a distributor?

To repair the weak construction of a complex sentence, or to repair the weak construction of a complex relationship in one's home?

To be able to date the Battle of Hastings, or to be able to date the captain of the football team?

To prove in geometry that a straight line is the shortest distance between two points, or to prove in human relationships that the shortest line is directly between the two parties concerned, and not through a third party?

To recognize a split infinitive, or to recognize a split personality?

To be able to recite the pronouns that rightly govern the accusative

in German, or to be able to recite the forces that falsely accuse the Congress in Washington?

To conjugate a verb in the workbook of a classroom, or to use the verb in a forceful defense of his classmate's rights in a group situation?

To find the unknowns in an algebraic equation, or to find the unknowns in his occupational equation?

To understand Ohm's law, or to understand the law of supply and demand?

To spend six weeks on *The Tale of Two Cities*, or to spend six weeks on the tale of his own city?

To value the questions that the teacher assigns each day, or to question the values that one's classmate practices each day in skipping school to avoid those questions?

Yes, as to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental. But art is even longer than in Franklin's day, and their time is even shorter. *It is therefore proposed, that they learn only those things that are likely to be most useful.*

THE CURRICULUM APPROACH

1. *Where are we?*
2. *Where do we want to go?*
3. *How will we get there?*

These are the three questions that must be answered by curriculum workers who expect to move the secondary school down off the hill and on into the life of the community that supports it. The first is relatively easy to answer, but it is extremely difficult for many people to realize that it is not also the place we want to go. Where we want to go has been pretty well agreed upon by most secondary-school leaders ever since 1918, but it is the third — how to get there — that causes the differences of opinions, that causes opposing camps to be pitched.

Curriculum planning should be no stranger to a teacher, not even to a beginning teacher. The questions involved and the search for their answers must become common to all teachers.

The first question calls for only a short review of our present subject curriculum. Although entire books have been written on the philosophy and purposes of secondary education, the second question will be likewise dismissed with a summary of two or three pages. The remainder of this chapter, as well as a number of those to follow, must be devoted to the question *How will we get there?* In American secondary education, it is this implementation of our worthy intentions that always causes us the difficulties. As was discussed in Chapter 3, commission after commission sets out to treat the ills of the American secondary school. but once they have

stated those shortcomings they run into extreme difficulties in bringing forward a blueprint for the new school. It is never drawn to scale. Or it doesn't follow the specifications of the public — the people's high school, a secondary school for *all* American youth.

WHERE ARE WE?

Firmly entrenched in the public mind, in the teacher-training institutions, and in 99.44 per cent of America's 28,000 high schools, stands *the subject curriculum* — fortified on either side by complacency and sentimental faith. In the very description of its major features are openly revealed the limitations that have marked it as the popular target of the current uprising:

1. The field of knowledge — the culture to be studied — is broken down into subject fields, each of which is further organized into innumerable one-semester or one-year sections, each usually calling for five periods a week of classroom attention by the student. This particular organization of knowledge goes back to the work of Aristotle.
2. Subjects are endorsed as bodies of content to be covered for mastery, and for which successful coverage the student is to receive compensation in marks and credits to be applied toward graduation.
3. Subjects are arranged in vertical compartments, according to subject field, there being little if any relationship of one to another. The student studies five or six subjects each day, putting out of his mind the subject of the last hour as the passing-bell sends him into the classroom of the next.
4. The subject fields are commonly organized by departments for the sake of emphasis and specialization. The fields, and thus the departments, found in a high school of above average size are English, social studies, mathematics, science, foreign languages, commerce, home economics, industrial arts, art, music, and physical education. Rural schools add agriculture.
5. In each subject field there is a vertical sequence of subjects, supposedly representing a logical difficulty progression. For instance, in mathematics the order reads: beginning algebra, plane geometry, higher algebra, solid geometry, and trigonometry. So great is the faith in this difficulty progression that many schools in administering such departments as English look upon failure on one grade level as lack of preparation for taking the subject in the next grade — regardless of general maturity of the student.
6. The subject curriculum has encouraged the high-school staff to expect all entering students to come with an ability in fundamental academic skills and habits sufficient to enable them to master the subjects set out for them at the grade level in question. It has encouraged teachers to think of readiness for high school in these terms rather than in terms

of chronological age and social maturity. Under the subject curriculum, low ability in such areas as reading or computation would mark an entrant as "unprepared" for high school.

7. Progression through high school, under the regime of the subject curriculum, has been conceived not as a natural maturity progression meaning the same number of years there for all, but, rather, as a constant struggle of the pupil to amass the marks and the credits in subject attainment necessary to lift himself from one grade level to the next, and eventually to graduation.
8. In the organization of the school by departments, the loyalty of the teacher to his particular department, and the endeavor of the department head to further its interests, have tended to widen the gap between subject fields. The department head is selected for his ability in his specialized field, rather than for a broad point of view.
9. An idea for a new offering is much more apt to be accepted by a school if it fits an existing subject department. For instance, global geography was readily accepted by many schools because it fit the social studies department; but consumer education has for years been given the cold shoulder because it suggests no natural departmental classification.
10. Since the subject curriculum was organized around a logical classification of early cultures, rather than around the life activities of the learners, incentive for study has been sparked with a system of marks, honors, and credits. It may be said that such extrinsic satisfactions can result in concentrated effort of many students, but once the final demands of the course are met, the knowledges maintained up to this point have served that purpose and often hold little further meaning for the student. For instance, for most students, the literature and the history studied in high school seldom carry over into continued life interests in such fields.
11. Curriculum revision under this plan has often meant curriculum addition. Another elective, or an elective moved up to the position of a required course, is a common operation in reorganizing a curriculum by subject fields. When the best thought in the field of English endorsed more functional and creative courses, such as dramatics and journalism, these were added as electives without replacing or altering any of the existing more formal courses in English.
12. The subject curriculum gets its continued life from the college preparatory institution, since higher education is organized on the same subject field plan, and vested interests are well entrenched in these higher institutions.
13. This organization of knowledge for the younger generation brings with it the related formalities of daily lessons and timetables, daily assignments, and questions and answers. This classroom approach of daily

dosages is in harmony with the original organization of knowledge that was begun by Aristotle.

14. The fixed subject curriculum encourages teachers and administrators to look upon subjects as absolutes which must be mastered by the students before they can pass on to the next grade. In this approach there is every invitation to bend the student to the curriculum rather than to bend the curriculum to the student.

THE PASSING OF MENTAL DISCIPLINE

The Ancient Theory

The subject curriculum has long carried with it a public faith in hidden values of certain subjects — in their ability to do something for the student regardless of the degree of his interest in or need of such subjects. It can be said that the subject curriculum has received much of its strength from such educational fallacies as the theories of mental discipline and transfer of training.

The modern behavior-psychology leaves no place for the old mind-psychology. Mental discipline as a theory was in keeping with the traditional dualism of mind and body — the mind in control of the body, and reached its heyday when the curriculum was represented by the formal classroom program consisting of the cultural heritage selected and logically organized by adults to be appreciated and mastered by the pupils — regardless of capabilities and destinations. If the pupil failed to absorb, a natural rejoinder of the teacher was that he was lazy or incapable, of the parent, that he had not been taught how to study or that he was distracted by the extra-curricular life of the school.

Mental training was assigned to the early high school as a feature of the program distinctive from the task assigned to the elementary school. One early superintendent expressed it this way:

> We send our children through the lower-grade schools as a matter of course; to do less would be to defraud them. But to send them through High School should be regarded as a privilege rather than a duty. The instruction of the former they must have; it is our high privilege that they may have all the superior advantages of the latter. It is just here that the mistake is made which brings discredit upon the school and disappointment to parents. A sharply defined line divides the High School from those below it. Its studies open into broader fields and require a severer mental discipline. Its pupils must understand this, or it is useless to send them there.[1]

A Misguided Faith

There has too long been held a general faith that a particular body of subjects assures preparation for life, that schooling is mental training, that

[1] Manchester, New Hampshire (Superintendent Joseph G. Edgerly's statement), *Annual Report of the Public Schools*, 1874, p. 20.

education is something that is done to the mind. Experimental psychology has exposed the doctrine of mental discipline and has revealed as scientifically unacceptable a strict interpretation of transfer of training, showing that hard subjects cannot be endorsed as mind-trainers — that one cannot depend upon geometry, Latin, or any other so-called hard subject for strengthening his reasoning, memory, or any other so-called mental faculty in preparation for facing such after-school problems as getting married, buying and paying for an automobile, and losing one's job.

Mental power available for use in other life situations is not so simply developed as this educational fallacy would have it seem. Practice in a specific field results primarily in facility in that field alone, it was demonstrated years ago by Thorndike and others, the transfer to other activities usually being slight or negligible. In keeping with these findings it was revealed that no set of subjects taken in high school better prepares a pupil for college than any other. In spite of high-school curriculum practices often indicating otherwise, the mind is not made up of faculties such as attention, will power, judgment, memory, and reason, to be strengthened by particular subjects. As F. M. Rich so well expressed this exposé:

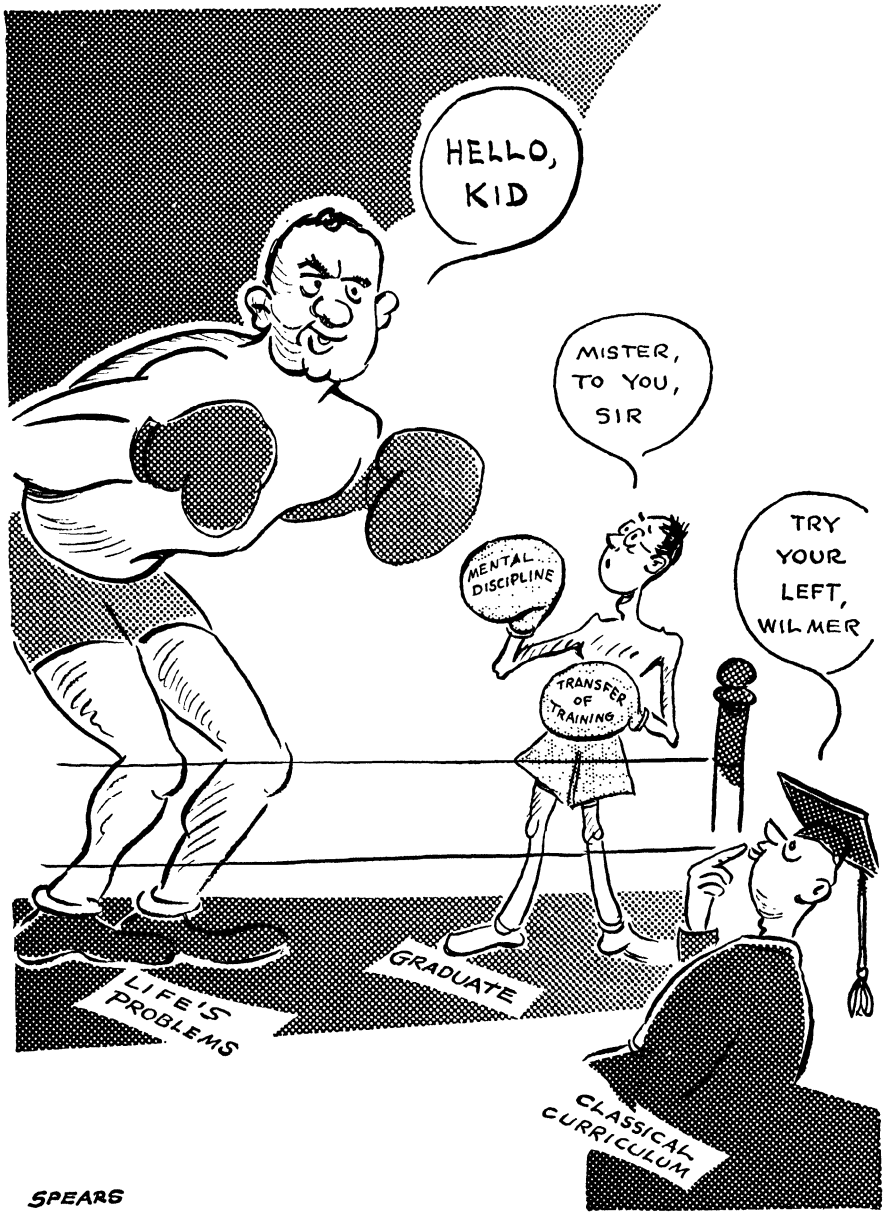
> A college-bred gentleman who has memorized the vocabulary of half a dozen languages cannot remember a list of errands or a dinner order for a table full of people, any better than the illiterate but intelligent stage driver or waiter with no mental discipline but with experience.
>
> A professor of mathematics, highly trained in logical reasoning in his subject, does not think his way through a balky automobile or a defective plumbing system any better than a clear-headed farmer who has never got beyond the rule of three.
>
> The mathematics student may be able to reason out new problems in mathematics through the help of old ones, but in doing so he is not made any more logical about inheritance taxes, higher criticism, or learning to sail a boat.[2]

And he could very well have added — We know that a graduate student may develop a keen observation of elements in the chemistry laboratory, but his power of observation in respect to the clothes that his wife wears, the decorations she places in the home, and the little things upon which happy family relationships depend may remain exceedingly low. If fact, instead of a transfer of training, the improvement of observation in the one area may seem to injure observation in the other.

The Believing Public

The surprising and disconcerting thing about the exposure of these fallacies of education is that, although the truth has been discovered for years, there is an apparent ignorance of, or lack of concern for, the facts. Often the layman, the beginning high-school teacher, the high-school curriculum, or the college admissions office may reflect this disregard of educational research. That

[2] F. M. Rich, *Journal of Education*, November, 1939.



SPEAKING OF INADEQUATE DEFENSE!

the graduate of the college, in matters outside the actual subject fields that he has studied, is no more capable than the unschooled person of equal intelligence and experience is a blow that American faith in schooling of the old order has refused to take.

The local school administrator who would prepare his community for a general reorganization of the secondary school could do no better than to begin with an attack upon the faith in these ancient doctrines. Most criticism of emerging promising school procedures, whether from the layman or the teacher, tie back into some phase of this theory of mental discipline. One thing is certain, the curriculum reformist is going to be misunderstood and plagued by these fallacies until the simple truth is publicly accepted. *If the general public is to appreciate the fact that learning is growth rather than an additive process dealing with mind training, the school personnel itself must first appreciate the true situation and assume the responsibility for passing on the news.*

The Fallacy of Selection

One of the bugaboos behind this false thinking has been the "fallacy of selection." Because one who took Latin in school has succeeded in after-school life, it is often concluded that Latin "did the trick," thus again paying homage to the mental discipline theory. Of course, the truth of the matter has been that selection of students operates in the case of such a subject, the subject of Latin itself demanding good intelligence and certain qualities of perseverance and concentration of the student who would succeed at it. Such a subject *selects* the more intelligent students in the first place. He who is able to succeed in Latin has the intelligence that will quite likely enable him to succeed at after-school work calling for similar intelligence, perseverance, and concentration.

As for Latin as a transfer agent, those who would attest that through Latin a student may improve his use of English more than those students not taking it, must still answer whether this is a sound economy of school time. Today we believe that if the student needs A, he should take A directly, rather than to be taught B in the hope that it will carry over to an improvement in A. If one is in Cleveland and wants to get to New York, it is true that he can go by the way of Chicago; but common sense indicates that he will get to New York more quickly if he goes directly East from Cleveland. Improved usage of the English language is best handled through the proper study of and practice in that language.

Transfer Possibilities

Although psychologists have turned their backs completely upon the mental discipline theory and the transfer theory as originally advanced in close connection with the endorsement of hard subjects, they do not relinquish all faith in transfer possibilities. To deny transfer completely would

be almost the same as denying the school any value as preparation for subsequent living. The teacher is invited to be reasonable in his expectations of his teaching, to be aware of what he wishes students to carry over or to transfer from their work with him to other life situations, and to work toward such ends.

Ideals, beliefs, attitudes, and generalizations are getting psychology's nod of approval as having transfer possibilities, but needless to say, sound educational thought expects nothing automatic in this respect. The modern thinking, in respect to transfer, ties into the thought that the purpose must be the learner's. Relationships between situations, identical elements in the learning experience and the experience to which the learning is to transfer, the learner's awareness of such relationships, and his desire to carry something from one to the other are pointed out as possible keys to the teacher who wants to make his work socially effective. Orata's *Theory of Identical Elements* stands as an interesting treatment of transfer possibilities.

AN EDUCATIONAL DISCORD: ENDS AND MEANS

It must be honestly recognized that the secondary-school educator is quite inconsistent today in setting his goals and in establishing his practices for reaching them. The inconsistency is that ever since the cardinal principles of secondary education appeared in 1918, the goals of the high-school program have been stated in terms of what people do in the world, but the curriculum — the means provided for arriving at such goals — has been organized not on the basis of what people do in the world, but rather on the basis of a logical organization of the culture of the past.

Ineffectual Practices

That educational aims are at variance with actual practice shows up in almost all areas of study. Citizenship as a major objective of secondary education implies that we would set up the best training program possible to achieve the goal, one true to our knowledge that people learn by doing and that civic consciousness is established by practice in civic action to clinch the values emphasized in study and discussion. It is rationalizing if we think that citizenship is taught through our typical social studies program, for this program ignores practice in civic action and resorts to the easier classroom assign-study-recite process.

The curriculum fails when it emphasizes history alone. The study of what happened to men in the past is not enough. It ignores the civic life of the student in his own school, home, and community situations as having any bearing on the goal of training for citizenship. It exalts right answers and good marks in the classroom rather than right actions and good citizenship around the school and the community. A student can continue to get A ratings in a social studies class, and at the same time can violate school regu-

lations and otherwise reveal no feeling of civic responsibility about the school. His unsocial action outside the classroom will never bring him to trial in the social studies classroom.

An amusing curriculum byplay takes place continuously in connection with these two incompatibles: (1) the functional aims of secondary education and (2) the formal subject curriculum. New subjects are developed in relationship to the modern functional aims of the school, and are then injected into the old subject array that was originally developed on the earlier academic and nonfunctional approach. For example, a school develops courses in aeronautics, driver training, and family relationships, because they reflect life activities, and it then sets them up in the curriculum beside such courses as history and grammar.

Local Studies Reveal Shortcomings

This leads us back to our discussion in Chapter 2. Among the studies that can be made by any local school in an attempt to judge the effectiveness of its curriculum, are these:

1. Study the holding-power of the school, by tracing one by one the students who enter the high school, to see how many are held until graduation, to determine what actually happens to each who leaves before graduation, and to determine the causes of leaving.
2. Of each graduating class, the school should complete, within a half year after the class leaves, a survey of the adjustment distribution of those youth in various life endeavors. What percentage went to colleges, and which colleges? What percentage to other schools? What percentage into occupations, and which? How many into marriage and homemaking?
3. A study, beyond this distribution in areas of life activity, could be made to determine success in these endeavors, thus having another check on the school curriculum.
4. Study the success of each department, as revealed by the distribution of marks by the teachers in the department.
5. In the case of those students who leave school before graduating, study such items as the general intelligence and the economic background of the family of each, to determine if the subject-centered school practices economic and intellectual selection.
6. Make a job-opportunity survey of the community to determine how the workers are distributed in the various types of work, and to measure the instructional efforts of the school against the occupational realities of the community outside.

BEGINNING CURRICULUM REORGANIZATION

Curriculum study and reorganization in a high school may very well begin with such studies as those just suggested. In any case, it must begin

where the curriculum and the teachers now are. Blind faith cannot long endure the penetrating light of honest research.

High-school curriculum revision of recent years has revealed a gradual departure from the strict subject curriculum that was described by the twelve points above. In this departure certain signposts have marked the extent of the progress, certain terms that can best be used in describing the movement.

Subject Mergers

Subject mergers, sometimes called fusion, represent the absorption of certain courses by others, in an attempt to reduce the number of courses in a subject field. This has resulted from the pressure exerted by an ever-increasing number of offerings in the high school. The merging of ancient, medieval, and modern histories into a one-year world history course, and the merger of civics, sociology, and economics into the American problems course are representative of this fusion principle. This practice can hardly be termed a departure from the subject curriculum. Rather, it represents operation within the existing pattern.

Integration

The term *integration* has commonly been injected in this and other related attempts to market a number of former subjects in a combination package under a new trade name. Psychologists have suggested that it is better to think of a personality being integrated rather than to use the term for subject matter. A still better reason for not using it as a descriptive title of curriculum planning is that it has never been descriptive. It has been used to describe too many different forms of courses.

Educators have difficulty in talking to each other about their practices. So loosely have such terms as correlation, integration, and core curriculum been used that the plight of curriculum planners at times has resembled the plight of the laborers who were constructing the Tower of Babel. Practices are more significant than labels, but after all, the intelligence of the race is dependent upon name-calling that is consistent.

Correlation

Correlation represents an attempt to relate one existing subject field to another, by creating some common strands or bridges of interest and relationship to run horizontally between the fields. This approach accepts the pattern of the subject curriculum, but represents an attempt to overcome one of its most serious indictments, the lack of relationship within the pattern as the student goes from subject to subject.

One of the most common examples of correlation in the high schools has been that of United States history and American literature, the two subject contents being rearranged chronologically so that a certain period

may be treated at the same time in both courses for the student. Occasionally the two courses have been combined into a double-period course, taught by a single teacher who is experienced in both fields. More commonly, the work is handled as two separate classes, the two teachers planning their work together to accomplish the correlation.

SCHEDULING FOR CORRELATION

For two or three teachers to engage in the effective correlation of the work of their respective classes, it is first necessary that the students be scheduled so that the class that goes to teacher A remains intact for teacher B, and for teacher C if there is the third teacher in the program.

CORRELATIVE INSTRUCTION. Among the schemes that have been developed was that at San Jose High School in California, where English, social studies, and science were correlated for the entering tenth-grade students. A closer union of guidance and instruction, as well as a closer relationship among studies, was provided. The accompanying diagram, Figure 3, illustrates the manner of scheduling two of the six blocks which embraced the entire entering low tenth-grade class one fall.

Block Scheduling of the Basic Course of English, Social Studies, Science

BLOCK NO.	TEACHER	ADVISORY SECTION	PERIODS				
			First	*Second*	*Third*	*Fourth*	*Fifth–Sixth*
I	A (*English*)	(1)	(1) ENGLISH	(2) ENGLISH	(3) ENGLISH	FREE	OTHER CLASSES
	B (*Social Study*)	(2)	(2) SOCIAL STUDY	(3) SOCIAL STUDY	(1) SOCIAL STUDY	FREE	OTHER CLASSES
	C (*Science*)	(3)	(3) SCIENCE	(1) SCIENCE	(2) SCIENCE	FREE	OTHER CLASSES
II	D (*English*)	(4)	FREE	(4) ENGLISH	(5) ENGLISH	(6) ENGLISH	OTHER CLASSES
	E (*Social Study*)	(5)	FREE	(5) SOCIAL STUDY	(6) SOCIAL STUDY	(4) SOCIAL STUDY	OTHER CLASSES
	F (*Science*)	(6)	FREE	(6) SCIENCE	(4) SCIENCE	(5) SCIENCE	OTHER CLASSES

FIGURE 3. Scheduling for Correlation at San Jose High School

In the first block (No. I), English Teacher A taught Section No. 1 during the first period, Section No. 2 the second period, and Section No. 3 the third period. Social Studies Teacher B, having the same students, taught Section No. 2 the first period, Section No. 3 the second period, and Section No. 1 the third period. Science Teacher C taught Section No. 3 the first

period, Section No. 1 the second period, and Section No. 2 the third period. In this three-hour period the three sections or classes rotated among these three teachers, allowing freedom for any type of correlated activity considered mutually desirable without interference with the other blocks or divisions of the high school. The three-class programming offered maximum opportunity for vertical as well as horizontal correlation with minimum interference with the rest of the school schedule. The remaining five blocks were scheduled in like manner, but at various consecutive periods throughout the day.

CORRELATIVE GUIDANCE. The students met these same teachers in their respective advisory periods (listed in the diagram above as Sections No. 1, No. 2, No. 3) three times weekly for additional guidance and activities as individuals, in separate groups or combined again as a block. Three teachers, with one as chairman responsible to a general chairman, constituted a "block committee" with primary responsibility for guidance (both group and individual) of their students and for all correlated efforts between subject fields within the block.

The large majority of these students carried the three required "basic course" subjects, together with one elective. Exceptions were made for certain students whose vocational or educational objectives required special subjects beyond the one elective. This small group, however, always had one subject teacher as adviser.[3]

Other Approaches

The term *broad fields* has at times been used in speaking of high-school reorganization. However, the author's experience is that the term as used has been descriptive of college approaches and is not applicable to the high-school situation. Therefore, why bother with its description here?

Core curriculum and *community school* are two most promising curriculum patterns, to be discussed as the development of this and the next chapter calls for their treatment.

KEEPING THE DEMOCRATIC FUNCTION IN MIND

Acceptance of the Goals

Although setting the objectives of education appears to be the logical first point of departure in curriculum development, school faculties or other study groups can spend only a limited amount of time in stating the goals of their program. In the first place, it can become a time-consuming, teacher-tiring process, that, if carried too far, will take the edge off the important work to follow. In the second place, the noble goals of secondary educa-

[3] The writer is thankful to his friend Frederic T. Shipp, former vice-principal of the San Jose High School, for this description of some of the school's earlier steps in correlation. He is now principal of the Abraham Lincoln High School in San Jose.

tion have been well established by group after group, extending clear back to 1918. Their acceptance, rather than their creation, is called for from here on.

Youth of high-school age in the setting of American life marks the point of departure for high-school teachers. The goals of the school's program are just as clear. Public education represents an investment made by society, and in the case of American public education, a society dedicated to a democratic way of life. *The function of the school in a democratic society is twofold: (1) to provide for the study of and the practice in democracy as a way of life, and in doing so, (2) to provide for the maximum development of the individual in accordance with his capacities, needs, and interests.*

The first of these is the *social purpose* of our schools, the second the *personal or individualistic purpose.* The development of the individual and in turn his contribution to social welfare are like concerns of the school. Thus, the true educational program serves both society and the individual, it being impossible to designate any feature of the desired program as serving the one without serving the other.

Deriving Specifics

From this point the curriculum planner can break the goals down into the specifics that relate to this or that aspect of human endeavor. For example, any sound list of objectives of a modern secondary school will include:

1. Preparation for family life
2. Preparation for civic life
3. Preparation for occupational adjustment
4. Preparation for wholesome living

A school that actually trains for these four — homemaking, the responsibilities of citizenship, occupational adjustment, and wholesome living — cannot ignore sound values of living, proper health habits and attitudes, experiences in work and citizenship, and recreational activities. The national commission or the local school committee may extend its list of specific objectives ad infinitum, if it wishes, but perhaps all such specifics will fall within the two big goals of education listed here, and likewise within the four specific goals that suggest curriculum areas.

ESTABLISHING PRINCIPLES OF OPERATION

Once the curriculum planners have set the specific goals of their educational program, they can expect to achieve them only if the practices they propose are sound.

Means to Reach the Ends

Two sets of principles might well be determined: psychological principles and curriculum principles. The two lists that follow are not presented as exhaustive, but, rather, represent examples.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES

1. Learning is an active and not a passive process.
2. One grows or develops by participating in learning experiences that are meaningful or purposeful to him.
3. Growth or learning is an interactive process between the learner and his peculiar environment, thus marking education as a matter of time and place.
4. Growth is not the result of an innumerable number of isolated acts or bits of learning, but is best conceived as a continuously integrating process.
5. One is moved to learn because of a felt need, or a disturbance calling for satisfying actions.
6. A learner's entry into a new learning situation is conditioned by his experience, which in turn is peculiar to him alone.
7. This entry is conditioned by his unique personality, no two individuals being alike.
8. Learning is a matter of "bringing out the person" rather than a process of "putting knowledge into the person."
9. Interest enhances learning.
10. In the case of learnings, use strengthens and disuse weakens.

Out of the development and acceptance of such a list of psychological principles, will come conclusions leading to curriculum principles such as those that follow.[4]

CURRICULUM PRINCIPLES

1. The out-of-class as well as the classroom activities form the curriculum.
2. The school must take full advantage of the community in offering youth those experiences that promise maximum life adjustment.
3. To assure experiences meaningful to the learner, pupil-teacher planning should be accepted as normal procedure. Thus the curriculum cannot be set rigidly in advance.
4. The curriculum should be flexible, thus respecting variations in student needs as well as the fact that education is a matter of time and place.
5. Maximum development is dependent upon the satisfactory adjustment of the student to the school, resulting in a true feeling of belonging.
6. A curriculum cannot be administered without the proper provisions for the guidance of the learners.
7. The learning situation will not recognize a distinguishing line between school and community, the natural interests and activities of youth permitting no such boundary.
8. The success of a curriculum is to be judged by the here-and-now actions of those experiencing it.

[4] The author developed these lists with teachers of the Hackettstown and Washington, New Jersey, High Schools, in a teacher workshop held in their two schools.

9. A curriculum is not built, it is provided for. It is not learned, it is experienced.
10. To establish first the subjects that are offered, and later to work out the educational objectives of the school, is as illogical as erecting the roof of a house before the foundation is laid.
11. The school must provide practice in democratic living as well as knowledge about democratic living, neither being left to chance but both being carefully planned.
12. The curriculum will not hamper the ingenuity, initiative, and resourcefulness of either teacher or student.
13. The curriculum will emphasize creativity rather than conformity.
14. The curriculum must be a rich and challenging environment.
15. The teacher is the stage director who sets up the learning situation, rather than being the main actor on that stage.

Individual Worth

Curriculum philosophy today emphasizes a democratic respect for the worth of the individual — both teacher and pupil. Many of the principles above emphasize that point of view. It is a point of view that is easier to state than to practice. The course-of-study era is full of fine phraseology. School after school stated quite clearly its goals of instruction in true democratic terms, only to fail to provide in its proposed curriculum proper implementation of such goals. During that uneventful period of course-of-study building in American education, the preparation of a list of educational objectives was looked upon as just a part of the formal procedure of reorganization, with the consequent result that in the completed work there existed a wide gap between the goals and the proposed curriculum procedures. It would have been quite satisfying if the educator could have performed this acrobatic feat of reaching the new goals at the same time he was holding on to well-established practices.

Curriculum principles, rather than established program, must be the point of departure if the school proposes to respect the personality of the individual, to develop each as well as possible to the limit of his capabilities, to provide for shared decisions in group living, and to do the hundred and one other things called for by the democratic outlook.

If the curriculum designer is inclined to accept such a list of principles and at the same time do his curriculum revision by dressing up the existing program, he might well test his procedure early by setting down his proposed practices opposite his guiding principles to see if there exists a logical relationship. It is quite likely that his practices will emphasize teacher purposes, over against the pupil purposes of the principles. It is just as possible that his practices will reveal faith in the study of past culture, as compared with the principles' demand for participation in present culture. It is likely that

his practices will treat a classroom program, while the principles will respect the complete activity program of youth, both in and out of school, as the experience field to afford development under school direction.

A Word of Caution

The practical school administrator reminds the curriculum philosopher that, regardless of how much he may desire to do so, he cannot wipe clean the slate of school practice and begin to build anew from principles; that his public will neither understand nor accept it; and that his staff can neither follow nor give direction in such a program. Likewise, many a teacher in graduate courses has indicated her desire to follow the light, but has recorded an unbelieving administrator as evidence that she couldn't.

A word of caution is certainly appropriate, for occasionally a well-meaning reformist does discover too late that his constituency is not following immediately behind him, and that his only companions are his dreams. On the other hand, there is a vast difference between a word of caution and a note of defeatism, between what one can't do and what one likes to think that he can't do. *The illusionary figure that hovers around the reformist is far less threatening to secondary education than is the delusion that plagues the conformist, that keeps whispering to him that it can't be done — that he'd better hold tight, that he'd better leave well enough alone — that after all the secondary school has done a mighty fine job and might well rest its case on its past performance.*

For every instance of a high-school teacher or administrator who attempted to move too fast toward a desirable curriculum, there stand the hundreds who have failed to move at all, thus generally leaving the false impression with the supporting public that all is well with the school. There are the isolated cases of those who have moved too rapidly, and have lost their positions because of a loss of public faith in the program. Unfortunately, all of these cannot go down as educational martyrs. A certain percentage of them had little more to present than a desire for change; another group were pricked by the progressive needle and jumped before they had time to anticipate a desirable landing spot; while a small percentage were conscientious students of American education and society, who presented promising means of arriving at accepted goals.

THE MACHINERY FOR CURRICULUM CHANGE

National Leadership?

It is quite certain that no pronounced or concerted changes in the pattern of secondary education will come on a national scale. Such uniformity of action would be dependent upon national leadership. Neither does such leadership exist, nor does the pattern of organization of American public education permit such uniformity of action. Education is the responsibility of the individual states, and both the support and the control of the hundreds of school districts

within any one state are primarily local matters. Although a few states have gone quite far in broadening the base of school support from the local to state unit, even in those instances the control of the ideas about the school has retained its local setting.

Only a few instances of widespread secondary-school change owing to national direction can be cited. One of these is the Smith-Hughes vocational courses common to our secondary schools all over the country. This uniformity in the offerings, with the daily three-hour shop period, and the required related work, reflects national control and authoritative directive, and not national leadership. Since the local school is forced to accept the federal curriculum pattern in order to get the federal money that it needs, it does so.

There are no common features of the American high school that reflect the leadership of the United States Office of Education in the past, nor is there any reason to look to that Office in the future as being the force that could get the ailing high school out of its wheelchair. As treated in another chapter, one of the last attempts made by that Office to exert nationwide influence leading to secondary-school change, was the movement that came out of the Prosser Resolution — the proposal that we ought to do something at once to serve the neglected 60 per cent of high-school youth, those who are on neither a vocational course nor a college course and are in need of a program for life adjustment. Out of the series of conferences held on the subject at various centers over the country no school change came.

During World War II, the big program of the Office of Education was the development of the High School Victory Corps as a pattern for effective war effort on the part of the schools. Here again the experience in attempting to change high schools on a nationwide front revealed that the United States Office of Education cannot be cast in the major role.[5]

This is no reflection on personnel, but rather a reminder that state and local autonomy in American public school matters will continue to call for operation on a much narrower scale geographically, much closer to home. Should it have the personnel to devote to the job, it might be possible for that Office to exert pronounced influence upon the reorganization of the high-school curriculum in a specific state by teaming up with local effort already being initiated in an organized manner.

Another possible source of national leadership is represented in the National Education Association. It can do little more than publish invitations to action, such as the Policies Commission's *Education for All American Youth.* Under its present plan of organization and facilities it can never be looked to for the back-home leadership the secondary school needs.

National commissions, such as those that develop the yearbooks and other treatises on the American high school, can do little more than tell the story

[5] During the War the author was called to the Washington Office three times as consultant on this program, and he thus had the opportunity to see the program from the transmission end as well as out in the schools from the reception end.

of the school, its shortcomings and promises. Here again, possible national leadership turns out to be little more than a printed statement that is dependent for action upon local leadership.

State Leadership?

As to leadership for high-school reorganization, there is much that might be expected from the State Department of Public Instruction, much that is within the realm of possibility. In fact, the state department seems to be the one source from which might come the impetus and help for a general reorganization of secondary education. This is true for a number of reasons.

1. The department has governmental status, has jurisdiction over local communities in educational matters, and could give the official backing to local school changes that is so necessary if they are to be accepted by the layman.
2. In encouraging changes on a statewide basis, the local school's experimental work would not stand as an isolated target, but would find support in all of the other school experiments underway at the same time.
3. The small local school could receive the help of supervisory personnel that it cannot otherwise afford, the lack of which has in most cases meant the difference between an inadequate and an improved curriculum.
4. The encouragement of the state department to effect a modern program would give to local administrators the boost needed in getting things started.

THE NATURE OF THE HELP. The state department should provide a curriculum division, with a director and a staff of leaders representing a wide range of background and experience in dealing with high schools and high-school youth. The state program would not be centered in building a course of study, conferences that emphasize discussion rather than action, and similar highly limited procedures. Instead, after careful preliminary studies and conferences, the state curriculum division would select approximately eight or ten schools of the state, scattered geographically and in nature, to act as experimental centers for curriculum development. There would have to be promise evident in the local leadership of the schools chosen.[6]

Study groups planning changes at any one of these centers would include administrators and teachers from other schools in that section of the state, as well as local people. This would facilitate the later extension of the program. Leadership would be assumed by the local group. Laymen, parents, and students, as well as school personnel, would be drawn into the work. The staff from the state office would spend three-fourths of its time in the field, moving about among these centers, working with planning groups, help-

[6] While a member of the State Curriculum Committee of the Illinois Secondary School Principals Association, during the World War II years, the writer advocated for that state such a program of state curriculum development as is being described here.

ing to supervise the program in operation, and helping to interpret changes to the public.

The annual county teachers institutes could be held at these experimental centers, the program drawing heavily upon demonstrations and explanations of the work in progress. Summer workshops, tied into state teacher institutions, would advance the program of reorganization. The state department would take the lead in effecting changes in teacher-training programs, so that beginning teachers would be better prepared to work in these modern schools.

The state department would also run interference with the accrediting associations, college admissions offices, and other agencies exercising control over high-school curriculum practices. The department would assume a major responsibility in public relations, effecting contacts with influential organizations in the state, such as service clubs, agriculture, business organizations, labor and management groups, and educational associations. The county superintendent's office would be closely co-ordinated with the effort.

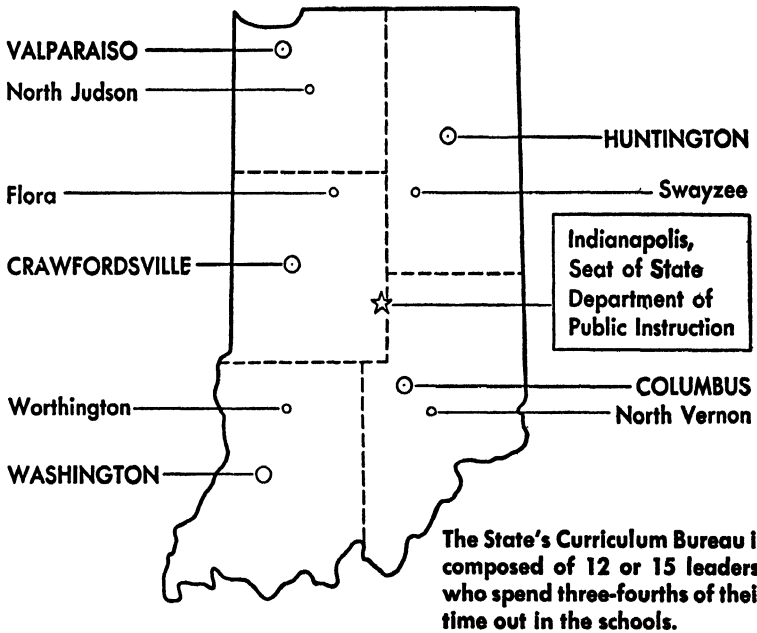
A bulletin would be established to serve in carrying the running story to schools, laymen, school board members, newspapers, and other interested parties. The changes carried out in the selected schools would be tested and spread to other schools as rapidly as possible. The close contact of all secondary schools of the state with the developments at the experimental centers would facilitate this. In the bulletins there would be revealed from time to time the steps of improvement that all schools could successfully take without awaiting the results of the bigger developments.

The responsibility for the improvement of its program would rest with the leaders of the local community, but the responsibility for encouraging such improvement would be vested in the state department. *It is vested there now in all forty-eight states*, even though evidence may not always be apparent. Since school improvement should be conceived of as a continuous responsibility, rather than as a periodic house cleaning, this curriculum bureau would be a permanent division of the state department.

In the state movement suggested here, there would be the necessity of co-ordinating the energies and resources of (1) the local school district, (2) the state office of education, (3) the training institution, (4) the accrediting association, (5) lay groups, and any out-of-state organizations that might care to contribute, such as the United States Office of Education, Phi Delta Kappa, the National Association of Secondary-School Principals, and the National Education Association.

A SPOTTY PAST. The story of the position of the state department in local curriculum improvement has been a spotted one in this country. A few states, such as Michigan, have sensed the possibilities, and have done much. Other states, such as California, have stood back and permitted the state university to hold a whip hand over the high schools, and have not gone to the protec-

Suggesting How a State Might Be Organized for High-School Curriculum Revision, with Ten High Schools Acting as Experimental Centers, under a Demonstration and Study Plan



Features:

In each of the five state areas is located one larger high school and one small high school.

Responsibility for change rests with the local school, but leadership is supplied by a special staff of curriculum workers from the State Department of Public Instruction.

The experimental schools act as centers of attention for all high schools in their respective areas.

Successful changes spread rapidly to other schools.

FIGURE 4. Possible State Leadership for High-School Curriculum Reorganization, Using a Typical State, Indiana, as an Example

tion of those local high schools that have fearlessly tried to improve their programs and in doing so have collided with a misunderstanding public. Or, in the case of Virginia, high-school reorganization was attempted by spending money on constructing a unique state course of study, handing down to the local schools a complicated blueprint for a new school that was beyond the experience and thought of the teachers. Many states succumbed to the 1925–1940 popularity of building thick courses of study in the existing subject fields, using a select group of teachers to do the job. Most state departments have spent their money on supervisory officers and high-school inspectors, and not on curriculum leaders, concerning themselves with the more formal technicalities of classroom organization and management.

As this book goes to press, the author is serving as a member of a committee for the State Department of Public Instruction in California to develop a state framework to guide public education. But as the committee struggles to bring forth such a master plan, it is all the more apparent that successful school change on the local level must await state leadership of the type just outlined here. More general treatises will not help.

The author's proposal for a state program of curriculum reorganization, with leadership from the State Department of Public Instruction, is charted in Figure 4 for a typical state, Indiana. The proposal includes only the bare outline of the possibilities.

LOOKING BACK AND AHEAD

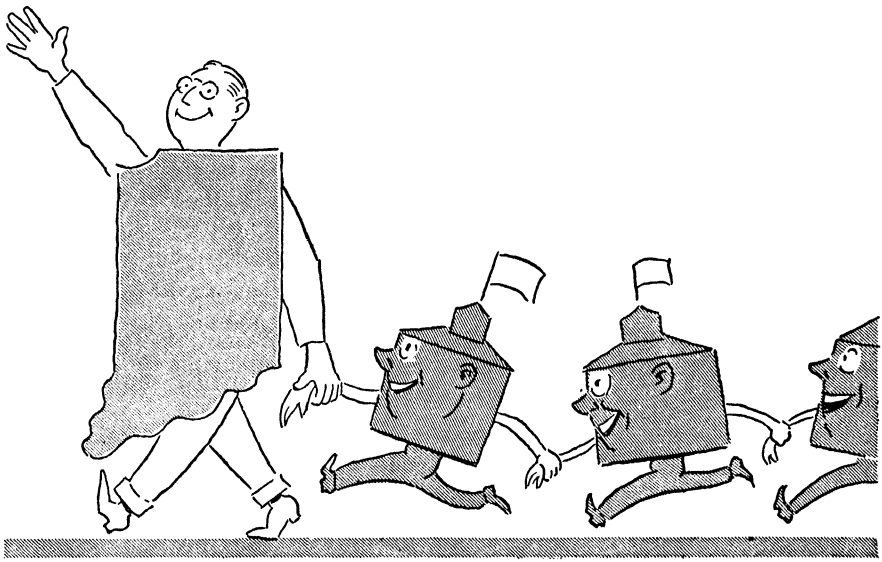
In this chapter we have considered the first two of the three basic curriculum questions and have indicated principles relating to the third: (1) Where we are, (2) Where we want to go, and (3) How we will get there. We are in the middle of a subject-centered curriculum, and are attempting to arrive at better ways of living through it. If the secondary school were to break its curriculum down in terms of life activities rather than in terms of subjects, it would come out with (1) family life, (2) civic life, (3) occupational life, and (4) a more general area dealing with life values and leisure — wholesome living.

To arrive at a more promising school, educators take stock of such things as psychological principles and principles to guide curriculum planning. In so doing they part company with those ill-begotten leeches, mental discipline and transfer of training. By freeing the high school from their clammy grip, the institution is able to move more rapidly and directly toward a practical program.

As to the machinery for curriculum change, there seems to be little hope of help on a national scale. The greatest promise of assistance seems to rest with the State Department of Public Instruction. This is not because of what it has done to date, but because of what it might do in the future if it but took the necessary steps.

In the chapters immediately following must be considered the third question: *How are we going to get there?* Among the possible means are these, each of which makes way for a chapter:

1. A clear understanding of the distinctions between general and specialized education — Chapter 6
2. The place of the broader core program in serving training for citizenship — Chapter 7
3. The tendency for the school to overlap with community — Chapter 8
4. Learning to do by doing in the extracurricular field — Chapter 9
5. Modernizing the methods of classrooms — Chapter 10
6. Incorporating guidance as a legitimate function of the school — Chapter 11



STATE LEADERSHIP OF LOCAL SCHOOLS IS NEEDED

Chapter 6

GENERAL EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

A Swayzee, Indiana, farmer invited a neighbor to accompany him to Indianapolis, where he was taking a cow to be sold at auction. While there the second farmer bought a cow and arranged with his companion to haul her home in his truck. When they unloaded the animal that night, they discovered that it was the same cow they had started with. Not only had they driven 130 miles, but they had paid a sales commission on the deal.

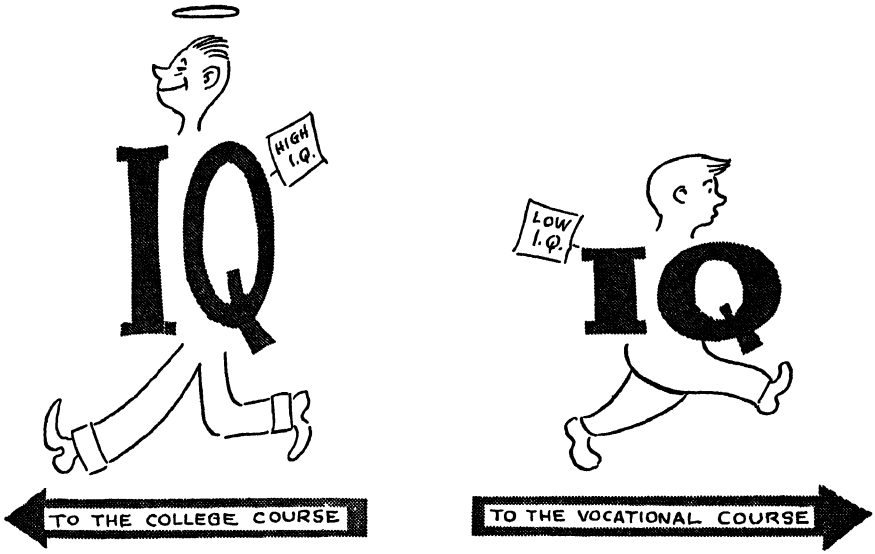
Which is remindful of some of the trouble that local school systems have at times gone to, in so-called curriculum revision, to get back to the task of doing in the classroom just about the same things that were being done before the committees launched out upon their study. The faculty that sets out to find a new curriculum needs to be assured by the driver, before the ride, that it isn't going to arrive back at the schoolhouse some time later with the same critter that it started out to dispose of.

Those who engage in the reorganization of the American secondary school need to distinguish clearly between what it is that they already have in the educational setup, and what it is that they are seeking. Some distinctions are in order. That is the purpose of this chapter.

FIGHTING DUAL CONCEPTS OF SCHOOLING

The provisions of high-school education do not call for a dual program, with general education and vocational education as separate and distinct functions, for separate and distinct groups of students.

As revealed in the section of this book that records the background of the struggles of the American secondary school, Chapters 16 to 20, from the beginning it has been a struggle to develop the high school as a truly democratic institution. There are even today those educators and laymen who want to keep it the selective institution that it still is. Only as late as 1900 was it heralded as *the people's college* — implying a chance for some youth to move from the masses into the classes. There has always hovered around the school that hope of graduating into the white-collar ranks, reflecting in the



THE MISCONCEIVED TWO-TRACK PROGRAM OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

public mind faith in a social gentility marked by the less menial white-collar occupations even if they are at the same time less remunerative.

The Entrance of Nonacademic Courses

To the original straight academic program of the high school were in time added vocational shop courses, commercial education, home economics, industrial arts, and similar nonacademic endeavors. While this broadening of the school represented in spirit a step toward the democratization of the high school, in time it developed with both laymen and educators the conception of a dual educational process, a two-program school with one program definitely pegged on an upper intellectual level and thus on an upper social level.

In many schools, home economics, industrial arts, vocational shops, and at times commercial subjects have acted as dumping grounds for those students who could not succeed in the book studies. In one after another of the large comprehensive high schools of our country, most of the subjects in these nonacademic areas carry a social stigma that governs the distribution of students among the offerings of the school. In the actual manipulation of this concept, class-sensitive youngsters on the way to college shy away from courses they need, such as foods and shop, while others who will go to work immediately upon graduation push themselves into a certain academic course because of the social status of the course in the group thinking of the youth and their elders.

In the guidance and counseling of high-school youth, it is common practice for academic teachers, trained in liberal arts colleges, to judge a student's

course needs on the basis of his intelligence quotient, assuming that the academic and college-preparatory courses are the best thing for any student, if he has the intelligence and inclination to master them. Course selection is so often made on the basis of ability rather than on the basis of need.

In furthering this concept of two distinct types of secondary education, many large cities have separated vocational education into separate schools, and often commercial education is likewise divorced from the general high school. Many school administrators rationalize this step as economy in offering schooling, saying that the equipment for vocational education is expensive and should not be supplied in the comprehensive high schools. But also behind this step has been this concept of a two-headed high school. Behind it have been influential school board members who came from professionally elite homes — men and women who attended high schools when they were highly selective institutions, men and women who have not quite grasped the concept of a democratic high school with a comprehensive program serving all American youth, men and women who have not grasped the idea of education as a social process rather than as mind training.

Economic Distribution

A sad commentary on democratic achievement in American secondary education is that, in about any American high school, the financial index of the homes of the students who have elected the more academic book studies is much higher than the financial index of the homes of the students who have elected the commercial courses, and in turn the financial index of the homes of the students in the commercial courses is higher than that of the students in the vocational shops. There is an unprinted hierarchy of subjects in the school that has a direct correlation with the position of the family on the economic ladder.

Another facet of this dual concept of high-school education is that vocational education is for those who have to go to work immediately upon leaving high school, while the more academic book courses are for those who may be able to go to college, those who economically can afford to take this less practical, more leisurely road through school. Shades of early Greece and Rome! — where education was accepted as for only the elite who had time and could afford to study, read, and argue about the state of man's welfare and the welfare of man's state.

College Influence

The college interest in only the intellectual elite of the high schools has also given encouragement to this dual concept of the school. Those who would separate youth into two groups for training — (1) the academically minded and (2) the vocationally handed — find encouragement and leadership in medievalists on many college and university campuses. Through

highly selective processes, such colleges select from the high schools the intellectually elite who are marked by them as worthy of academic education after the tenth grade. The masses are left to find vocational training as they may.

The Vocationalists' Camp

Over beyond the camp of the academicians has been pitched the camp of the vocational educators, who too willingly fell in step behind this sweet tune of divorced functions, and quite proudly marched off to lead their youth to segregated safety in highly specialized vocational schools, far removed from the dangers of split infinitives, dangling participles, and précis writing.

County vocational schools and state vocational schools were built to supplement those established by city school systems. This reflected the willingness of the academically minded school administrators to be relieved of a group of students they and their teachers never did understand, as well as their unwillingness to alter the more formal program to serve them. It likewise reflected the strong, organized influence of the vocational educators in America, a social position they fell heir to by hitting the Smith-Hughes jackpot some thirty-five years ago.

Many industrial leaders in America have given their influence to the establishment of these more narrow and independent vocational schools. The writer experienced this pressing interest of community leaders back in Evansville, Indiana, when the public schools were planning and building a separate mechanic arts school. Often a manufacturing leader is even desirous of donating machine equipment for such a school, but although it may seem that his heart is in the school — his son is not.

THE ROLE OF GENERAL EDUCATION

In high school the student receives both general and specialized education, the one rounding out the other into a balanced program. General education is that part of his complete program that is being experienced by the whole group, so desirable is it as preparation for the common life — for the activities of general citizenship common to all. It represents those growth experiences in which all should participate — with individual variations — in order to live intelligently in their culture.

Quite distinct from general education is specialized education, those specialized courses selected by this and that student to meet particular needs and inclinations. A specialized course is taken by some and not by others. As a part of specialized education comes vocational education, because there we have a selection of courses by students to meet special needs.

A student's program is balanced between general education and specialized. All early education is general education, and as a student advances

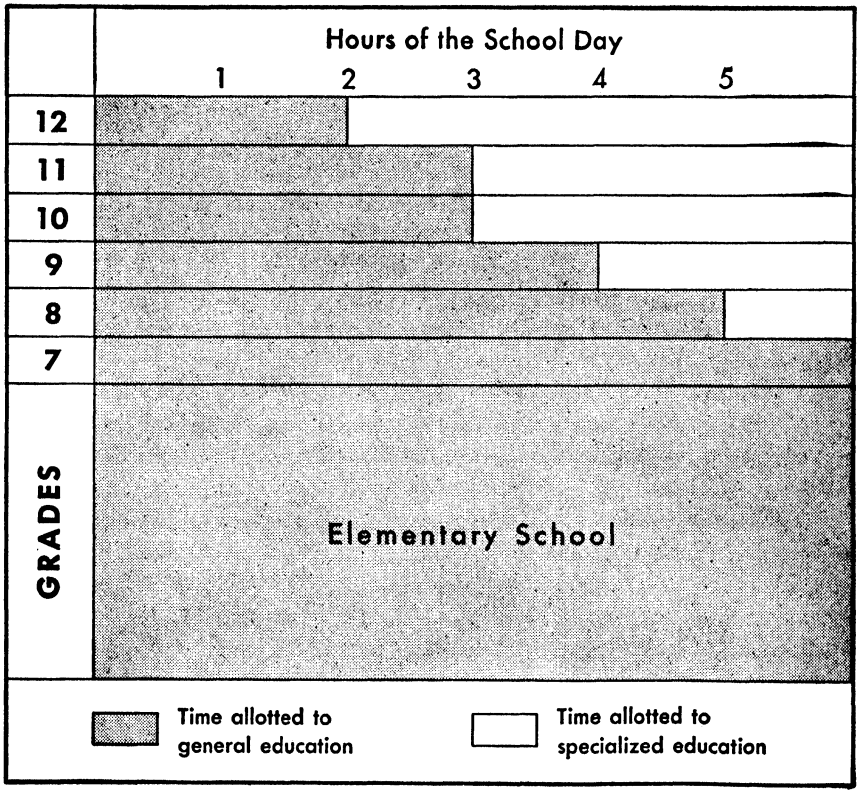


FIGURE 5. Distribution of a Pupil's Time between General and Specialized Education in a Typical School System

up the grade ladder of the junior and senior high school, the more time he devotes to specialized education. (See Figure 5.)

All courses that a school requires of all the students must be justified as general education, as necessary preparation for the everyday life of all citizens.

For instance, the high school that requires four years of English, beyond the eighth grade, is saying that all the work carried on in those courses is training necessary to successful participation in the common activities of the citizenry of a community. Those schools that stress rules of rhetoric, formal grammar, and the intensive study of the classics would be hard pressed to prove that all of these things are going to function in the everyday lives of all of their youth.

A typical high school in a typical state requires these subjects, in the last four years, as its program of general education for all: three or four years of English, one year of American Problems, one year of United States History, one year of mathematics, one year of laboratory science, and some physical

education work. Figuring graduation requirements, on the basis of the Carnegie plan, as 32 credits, it demands two majors of 6 credits each and two majors of 4 credits each, excluding physical education. Actually, this forces upon the student a general education program, a required program, of 20 credits plus physical education.

The subjects that a student elects compose his program of specialized education. In most cases, the farther he advances the greater the proportion of his total program that is made up of elective subjects, of specialized education. These are often vocational in nature.

If teachers are inclined to feel that many youth who drop out of school before graduation and go to work are better off than if they had stayed in school, are they then denying the high school's responsibility in general education and citizenship training, marking it as mainly a vocational institution that the youth may leave as soon as he can qualify for and secure a job?

General Education Not to Emphasize Knowledge Alone

General education, if it is to be effective as training for the everyday activities of all men, cannot continue to be made up of courses emphasizing the acquisition of knowledge and the manipulation of formal academic skills as ends in themselves.

This approach to citizenship training — and that's what general education really is — rests on the false assumption that knowledge in itself assures improvement in action. Even if this assumption were so, it would still have to be proved that all youth of high-school age could master the knowledge set out for them.

As discussed in the previous chapter, a curriculum must be built from its objectives, not from stock on hand from an earlier day of limited knowledge of educational goals and processes. The program of general education must concern itself with those things that people do in common in America. There will be (1) the making of homes and the rearing of families, (2) participating in the civic life of the community, (3) earning a living, and (4) rounding out a wholesome life through recreational activities.

Home life and citizenship, the first two, seem natural concerns for general education. The other two, preparation for occupations and for the broader life beyond are likewise essential to all for proper life adjustment, but because of the variation of these activities from individual to individual they can be thought of as moving on over into the area of specialized education. Thus can be seen the faint line that marks the fields of general and specialized education. These two concepts are not competitive. They are not sharply separated. Proper citizenship or proper family adjustment can hardly be achieved if the citizen and family head is not properly adjusted in an occupation. Furthermore, those aspects of everyday living in the community and the home, such as co-operative action and respect of individual worth, are essential to one's occupational life.

Selecting Courses from the School's Program

Common learnings represent another title given to general education — to that portion of the school program that is considered essential for all to experience.

A number of commission reports in recent years have used the term *common learnings* in speaking of those school experiences needed by all high-school students. Educators clutch for proper handles to use as they continue to perfect their modern concepts of schooling. *Common learnings* as a title is quite foreign to the term *required subjects*, but they spring from the same faith — the faith of state legislators, superintendents of schools, teachers, principals, and college admission officers in telling high-school students what is good for them.

A few years back, when serving as superintendent and principal of the Highland Park, Illinois, Township High School, the author spent much time trying to bring entering students and their parents to understand more clearly distinctions among the high-school courses. Many conferences were held in the elementary schools. The following statement represents the introduction to a small 10-page bulletin, explaining the curriculum, that was used with the entering students and their parents, before those students selected their first-year courses:

The Principal's Message to Student and Parent

Year after year, students, parents, and teachers are struck with the simple truth that, after all, there is nothing automatic or magical about high school. No particular subjects or offerings are going "to make" a person in the course of a semester, a year, or four years. Education is a matter of self-development, and the school, through its teachers and various offerings and activities, is there to help those who seek to improve themselves. The school does all that it can to arouse interests and to further a proper desire for development. The clearer the conception, in the mind of student and parent, of what is expected in high school, the greater the promise of achieving these goals. The school seeks continually to improve its program and its methods.

In high school the student receives both general and specialized education. The former represents all-around development, emphasizing the everyday needs of the average person as he goes about his work and play, intermingling with other individuals and groups. The latter represents training or experiences more closely allied to the individual student's own special needs and interests, such as an occupational goal. General education is that common training in which all may be expected to benefit, to a greater or lesser extent, while a specialized course is one that seems good for some and of little value to others. Thus all students engage in a program of general education, while in addition each follows special interests. The two areas are not sharply separated.

Freshman English, which can be taken either alone or in the two-hour combination Citizenship-English course, is required of all students, and must be considered as part of that general education by which all are to profit. On the other hand, Latin is a course that must be classified as specialized education, meeting the needs of some and not of others. Algebra is another specialized course, and so on.

The ninth-year program is primarily conceived as general education. Specialization, especially of an occupational nature, is reserved for the upper and maturer years of a student's high-school program. The freshman year must be looked upon largely as a transition year, a year of adjustment, of orientation, of exploration, a year in which the school must make an all-out effort to get acquainted with the newcomer at the same time that it is doing everything possible to get this newcomer acquainted with the school and the possibilities therein. Selecting a profitable and satisfying program, shifting from one area to another if necessary to accomplish this, establishing the proper work habits, using books and materials advantageously, and forming proper companionships are but a few of the many things with which the school must help the student this first year. Entering students should look to their grade-school teachers, their parents, and the high-school representatives to help them select a freshman program.

This new student is not going to profit to a maximum degree in the school unless he first feels at home and at ease. The fear of the unknown, a human characteristic that operates strongly in the case of some grade-school students about to enter the high school, should be met from the beginning by the sympathetic interest of the teachers. The parents are in a strategic position to note the emotional reactions of their children to the new school situation, and should speak to the high school of those reactions, in the interest of improving this early adjustment. Each entering student will have a home-room teacher who will serve as his or her adviser for the four years. It is this teacher whom the parents should meet early in the school year and with whom all matters pertaining to the student's school activities and work should be discussed.

This matter of education is a triple responsibility of student, school, and home, and the close co-operation of the three units in the enterprise is necessary. The school feels that the parent can work closely in this educational picture. The school respects the invaluable aid which the parent can give as one who knows the total child, his interests, abilities, ambitions, etc. At the same time, the parent respects the study and the training of the teachers. We wish that all parents would belong to the Parent-Teacher Association that does so much to bring the home and the school together in the interest of our students.

The following pages outline the offerings from which the freshman makes up his program. We wish to help interpret these, and to help advise you students and parents on the selection of a promising program, but the school takes the attitude that *the final choice of a program is yours*. The performance in the seventh and eighth grade tells just about what to expect in high-school performance. The student is more important than the subject, and his abilities and aptitudes should take precedence over subjects as the high-school program is selected.

This program that a freshman selects should show some recognition of a well-rounded life. Since education is a matter of learning to live better, then it should be concerned with the specific aspects of living that make up a person's life. In setting up courses we have felt that these are the areas that might make up this well-rounded life:

1. Training in living with others, co-operation, assuming responsibilities in the group life, respecting the other fellow, developing civic pride and civic consciousness, etc.

2. Self-advancement, self-realization, improvement of one's self in all desirable lines.

3. Development in physical, mental, and emotional health.

4. Experience in art activities, in expressing one's self with the hands, esthetic development, better appreciating the beauty in life, developing one's taste and appreciations of the good things of life, etc.

5. Better understanding a person's relationship to his natural and physical environment.

6. Religion, a sixth important area, is not the province of the public school. The Golden Rule features of good living are emphasized in number 1.

In selecting your own program, why not try to touch as many of these areas of life as you can? And always remember that there is nothing magical about high school. It is there to help you live a better and richer life, but you must have the desire to get to those goals. The school is looking forward to your coming.

Handling General Education at the College High School

Now and then we find a school that takes liberties with the traditional plan of offering courses by semesters or years.

For years, the College High School of Colorado State College of Education has offered what Director Wrinkle calls a two-hour general education period. Six times each school year, approximately every six weeks, the senior-high-school students in this period are regrouped in terms of their needs, interests, and purposes into new units which are selected co-operatively by teachers and students. Each unit is scheduled for this two-hour period, one-third of the student's daily program.

The units vary in their length from one of the six-weeks periods to four of them, depending upon needs. Educational and vocational planning, the only twelve-week unit, is required of all students. Enrollment in units is determined by needs and not by grade classification. A list of the various units which have been included some time or other during the past few years is as follows:

ARTS

Clothes for boys and how to buy them
Cooking for boys
Dressmaking and design
Home decoration
Lettering and poster-making
Planning and serving meals
Remodeling clothes
Stagecraft
Style and personal appearance

BUSINESS EDUCATION

General business practices
Personal and family finance
Personal-use bookkeeping
Salesmanship

INDIVIDUAL UNITS

Hospital work experience
Library work experience
Secretarial work experience
Teaching work experience

LANGUAGE ARTS

American short story
Basic skills in English: Speech
Basic skills in English: Writing

College preparatory English
Creative writing
Current periodicals and newspapers
Great operas: Literature and music
Great personalities in literature
Improving reading and study skills
Introduction to college literature
Leadership and discussion techniques
Literature: Recent books
Literature: The classics
Newspaper writing
Oral reading
Play production
Recreational reading
Speakers' bureau
Survey of English literature
The movies

MATHEMATICS

Basic skills in arithmetic
Practical mathematics

MUSIC

Composing and arranging
Great music
Harmony

SCIENCE

Aeronautics
Astronomy
Atomic power
Bacteriology
Basic electronics
Care and operation of the automobile
Child care
Common diseases
Conservation of natural resources
Consumer chemistry
First aid
Home nursing and care of the sick
Human body
Landscape gardening
Modern health practices
New developments in science
Outdoor science
Photography
Plant study
Radio
Science in community living
Science in personal living
Story of man
Story of earth

SOCIAL STUDIES

American foreign policy
Beet sugar industry
Colorado history
Communism, Fascism and Democracy
Community surveys: Bicycle, buying, housing, traffic, etc.
Consumer education:
  Foods, drugs and cosmetics
  Guns, hunting and safety
  Spending money wisely
Contemporary world affairs
Current problems of government
Development of America
Educational and vocational planning
Evolution of government
Federal government in Colorado
French revolution
Geography and history of Canada
Geography and history of the Pacific
Getting and keeping a job
Government and business
Historical backgrounds of the war
History and geography of Latin America
History of religion
Home and family relations
Job opportunities in Greeley
Minority groups in the United States
Political parties and the election
Postwar scientific development
Preparing for college
Problems in making a living
Propaganda
Psychology of human behavior
Social and economic geography of the United States
Social relationships of boys and girls
Today's headlines
War: Its causes and consequences
What's happening in Europe
World geography: Physical and economic
World problems

ESSENTIAL NATURE OF VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Vocational education has been a part of the pattern of the American secondary school from its very beginning in Boston, in 1635. When they set up a school to train boys for Harvard and thus for the ministry, which was the sole purpose of the first Latin grammar school, the founding fathers had their mind on the vocation of their sons.

Academicians have made a smug distinction between training and education; and have tried to associate the former with the process of showing somebody how to do something, as opposed to the latter's more intricate mental procedures. Perhaps it is time to put such quibbling behind, and likewise the idea that the high school's vocational training is limited to the work in its shops. The boy who is taking trigonometry, physics, and a foreign language, in anticipation of the continuation of his engineering course in college, is training for his vocation, just as the boy in the high-school machine shop is educating himself for a position in industry immediately upon graduation. *Vocation is an essential part of every high-school student's program*, and for many girls that vocation must be placed in the home.

From the days of Andrew Jackson, the high school has had to fight the economic-award concept of high school in the public mind, the idea of education-for-status and its promise of a white-collar existence. The glory of labor has never been taught by the high school. These words of the late William S. Knudsen hold significance for the high-school teacher who would give direction to youth:

If I Were 21 [1]

WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN

If I were twenty-one, I would try to get work in a machine shop. If that failed, I would try for a job in a filling station, or as an apprentice to an electrician or a plumber. In short, I would work with my hands.

Nowadays most youngsters want a college education, seemingly because they think it a step toward coveted white-collar jobs. I probably would want one too; but if I knew what I know now I wouldn't let college interfere with my education as a mechanic. Recently I talked with a group of college seniors worried about how to get a start in life. They were puzzled when I suggested that they look for manual labor. To them, that involved a loss of prestige.

Why? Why is it that so many of our youngsters want to start their careers sitting at a desk? They aren't weak, for on an average they are healthier than we were. They aren't soft or lazy, for they will drive themselves to exhaustion on a football field. Why, then, their dread of manual labor?

In pioneer days, when book learning was rare, the man who made his living sitting at a desk was envied. But the pioneer's legitimate aspiration for learning has decayed into a kind of snobbery which considers it more honorable to handle a telephone than a wrench, more socially desirable to dictate to a stenographer than to direct a crew of skilled mechanics.

[1] As quoted, with permission, from *The American Magazine.*

That's not the true American tradition. George Washington was a hard-working surveyor; Thomas Jefferson was a gifted designer of useful appliances; Benjamin Franklin was a journeyman printer, an inventor, and the best electrician of his age; Abraham Lincoln split rails, kept a store, built and worked on flatboats. That these men knew how to work with their hands undoubtedly contributed to their hard, practical sense.

In reality, there is nothing "humble" about the position of a mechanic. The top-rank skilled mechanic is still the most sought-after and independent man you can find. The place of America today, the American standard of living, depends more on the skill of our mechanics than on any other one class. The genius of America is production; and many of our productive enterprises are headed by men who have come up from the worker's bench.

In the years from fourteen to twenty, when the creative urge ought to be developing and flowering, most of a youngster's energy is devoted to cramming theories out of books. The young man then finds himself all dressed up with theoretical knowledge, and no place to go. He has no trade, no practical skill, no useful art. He must use several of the finest productive years of his life fitting himself into a working world.

Training in manual skills should receive more emphasis in our schools. The youngsters won't need much encouragement; they have the natural creative impulse anyway. Just give them the hint and the opportunity — and here parents, as well as schools, can help — and they will be building useful things of their own accord. They will test theory in actual practice. You can tell a boy what a pump is; but if he gets a pipe and, by means of a cork on a string, draws water up through that pipe, he really understands what a pump is.

Even if your youngster is to be a preacher, a doctor or a lawyer, let him spend time at manual training and mechanics. Hand training is an essential part of brain training. Your preacher or teacher, doctor or lawyer will have more practical sense if he has also had this training.

. . . . . .

Those who learn about industry from reading seem to think that mass production has done away with the need for skill. Actually, everything made by machinery has to be made first by hand, as do also the precise and powerful tools which make the machinery itself. Production today requires more highly skilled mechanics than ever before.

Of course, I don't mean that everybody should go into mechanical work. But I am hitting at the false tradition of gentility which prevents many a gifted youngster from following his natural bent. I want to tear down the idea that one honest job is more honorable than another. Honorable work is any work that you do well.

I started life as a manual worker. If I were twenty-one now — well, I would not hesitate for a moment to try life over again on the same pattern.

THE ROLE OF WORK IN EDUCATION

Work experience needs to be incorporated as a part of the program of development of all American youth, the high school assuming responsibility for such supervision and correlation, and for the provision of such when it is not adequately provided through the out-of-school activities of the student.

It is not our purpose to review here the highly intricate social and economic mechanism that has deprived most American youth of high-school age of the opportunity for essential work experience. Back in the days when their grandfathers were growing up, work experience represented a normal part of the demands made by home and community upon growing youth. The point that most youth today are cheated of such experience needs no argument, nor does the contention that schools are beginning to assume a greater responsibility for providing this work experience, which is so essential to the wholesome development of boys and girls.

An appreciation of the value of work, the character attributes accrued, proper habits of work, and understanding the noble place of labor in the world, are something that cannot be established through classroom discussion alone. Specific skills, to enable one to enter an occupation, may be best established through a school program including work experience; but over and beyond acquiring occupational skills, *the understanding of work by experiencing it is a general educational value needed by all boys and girls.* The satisfaction of producing on the job, whether paid for it or not, brings an appreciation of labor that cannot be secured otherwise.

If the American high school assumes the responsibility for work experience that its society invites, then it must not make the error of thinking this opportunity should be given to only those students who are going to take a job immediately upon leaving the school. It is an educational experience that all deserve in keeping with the values of general education that point toward worthy adjustment to civic life. The benefits are not limited to training for an occupation, even though such possibilities of work program provision first present themselves.

The modern vocational shop and commercial programs in a high school will offer work experience in the last year or two, to serve occupational training as well as general educational values. Half a day on the job for the senior who is preparing for sales work or stenography was a part of the program of such school systems as the Evansville, Indiana, public schools as long ago as 1936. The co-ordinator who serves these students in classwork at school follows them out into the community to see that they get the best education possible on the job. Vocational building trades, agriculture, auto repair, and similar studies in the school often carry with them this co-operative arrangement whereby work experience in the community is provided for part of the day. At times the work comes into the school.

Any work experience program worthy of the school's attention needs to indicate the joint co-operation of school, business, industry, parents, city agencies, city government, and others in planning, evaluating, crediting, and supervising the program. If a school administration really believes in the concept of work experience, it may have to take some liberties with the traditional class schedules found in most high schools. Values of this and

that are bound to come into conflict when *experience* is endorsed alongside *study and reciting* as a means to an education.[2]

Work experience possibilities abound in the operation of home, school, and civic activities of the community, as well as in the actual occupational life of the community. The chance to assume responsibility for productive work, outside the more formal classroom activities, can be brought to high-school boys and girls in many ways. The difficult job is to lay the groundwork for the idea with students and parents.

A MODEL FOR WORK EXPERIENCE: THE BUILDING TRADES

Now and then, in the American high school — operating at the rural crossroads, tucked away in the big-business enterprise of a large city educational system, or sheltered in the restfulness of a big city's suburban bedroom — is found a fragment of the blueprint for the school of tomorrow, is found a program that reflects the educational foresight and cunning of some individual who has dared to crack the traditional mold of the school and step over the debris to serve the youth before him. Such a man is Walter Durbahn.

The setting of this building-trades teacher's service to American youth is the community of Highland Park, Illinois.[3] His place is well marked in the hearts of the hundreds of young men who have gone through both study and practice in the six related areas of his school and community program — millwork, sheet metal work, electric house wiring, plumbing, concrete and brickwork, and painting and decorating; and the place of his program in the ongoing life of the community is well marked on the streets of the town —

845 Centerfield Court
168 Beverly Place
648 Yale Lane
120 Clifton Avenue
158 Beverly Place
335 N. St. John's Avenue
1748 Broadview Avenue

To these seven fine brick, stucco, and wood residences that have been planned and built by Durbahn's high-school boys can be added these buildings belonging to the school — a trades and industrial education building of 12,000 square feet, a garage for the school buses, and an athletic field house complete with a second-floor apartment for the caretaker.

[2] For a thorough consideration of work experience, the reader is referred to the publications of the commissions cited in Chapter 3.

[3] The author served this school as superintendent-principal during the World War II years.

Relationships with Groups

Walter Durbahn is one of God's ordinary fellows, who belongs to his union and gives it his best, and hobnobs pleasantly and understandingly with his fellowmen and trades associates. Besides his high-school program, he helps carpentry apprentices and journeymen, opens his shop at night to adults, and in the summer serves those college-bound boys who because of college domination of their high-school time schedules are deprived of his teaching during the regular school year.

The carpentry apprentices for the area are given training one day a week to supplement their practical work with the contractors. Their day is spent in related drawing, mathematics, estimating, English, and social sciences, besides such shop experiences as benchwork, saw filing, roof framing, and stair building. Many journeymen in the construction industry have availed themselves of the opportunity of attending evening classes. His night classes are also popular with the patrons of the school who further their hobbies there.

A master craftsman himself, he sets an example in fine cabinet making that gives his boys something to look forward to in their later development. His own publications in his field are a contribution to the teaching profession.

The Work Experience Program

Three hours a day, five days a week, and six weeks in each of the six related fields represents the work of the first year, which is considered adequate to prepare the student for participation in the house building job the next year. The daily program is rounded out with the usual related drawing, mathematics, science, English, and social studies.

The following excerpts from some of Mr. Durbahn's printed descriptions of the work in building the residences in the community and the school facilities reflect the educational values derived. Each paragraph treats a different building project.

1

Many of the boys will recall the odd jobs they did around the school during the first two months of school. In one short week the picture changed to a building lot one mile west of the school, where on October 29 in four inches of snow the first student-built house was started. The long walk and work in the cold, snow, and rain did not dampen their enthusiasm. By the latter part of January the building was closed in, and by June 20 their first construction project was completed. What an experience!

2

Construction got under way early in September. The garage was erected first to afford shelter and storage for tools and equipment. By the time the cold December weather set in, the house was closed in and the heating plant installed. A second-hand truck furnished transportation to and from the job, and a telephone established connection with the school and material yards.

3

The industrial arts classes were growing, so the building-trades boys came to the rescue by building the original auto shop. Eighty thousand brick are a lot of brick to lay, and the boys soon discovered that the bricklayer earned his fourteen dollars a day, as it meant more than the spreading of a little mortar and sliding a brick into place. Even though a journeyman bricklayer, Bert Coleman, laid up the corners and part of the face brick, the boys laid the two backing-up courses and later also the face brick.

4

The auto shop did not require the entire school year, so in April the foundation for the next year's project was built. This added time made it possible to erect the most pretentious of the houses built by the students — three bathrooms, a game room, two fireplaces, a garage, and a large solarium were included. The bricklaying experience gained the previous year was put to good use with the added experience in stone masonry. A portable joiner and radial saw facilitated the construction and cabinet work. The rubber tile floors in the bathrooms and kitchen and the asbestos-cement shingles brought new and interesting problems.

5

The building-trades boys planned and built this house, the industrial arts classes built some of the furniture, the home economics girls planned the decorations and made the curtains and drapes, the art appreciation classes selected and placed the furnishings, local and Chicago merchants lent furnishings, and the ladies of the local chapter of the Better Homes in America Campaign formed committees to work with the various groups in an advisory capacity. The result — an interesting educational experiment for the community and the National First Prize in the annual competition of the Better Homes in America Campaign.

6

The little Cape Cod cottage which has caused so much favorable comment made a desirable project. Located just across the street from the school, it involved no transportation problems. This was the first of two houses built for an owner; all others when completed were sold to the highest bidder. Here the owner, rather than the School District as in other cases, assumed all financial responsibilities, furnished the lot, and paid for all materials and any journeyman labor required. Dan McLellan, a local tradesman, assisted the boys for several months. His interest in youth and his adequate trade training were great assets to the department.

7

Another house — this time a two-mile haul. The brick veneer construction again gave the boys the experience to work with that important building material, brick. One of the boys interested in landscaping planned a complete planting for the place. When the ground was ready in the spring, he with the help of several others planted trees and shrubs, and transformed the yard into a garden.

8

The field house has two complete units, one with 167 lockers and the other with 99. Each locker room has ten showers and toilet facilities. There is a coach's office, locker, and shower room, a five-room caretaker's apartment, and public toilets. On this the

brickwork and steamfitting were let out by contract to outsiders, but it still left enough work in other trades to keep the classes occupied for two years.

Year after year, this educator leads his students into work experience that makes of their class group a co-operating unit in which each individual is dependent upon the whole, and the success of the whole upon each. In one slack year, when building tradesmen were idle and it was considered inadvisable to build a house, the shop turned out for the school district thirty-six bookkeeping tables, thirty-two typewriting tables, twenty art tables, and ten cabinets, machined, assembled, and finished. The instructor stated that this afforded enough repetition to develop skill, and an appreciation for accuracy and a well-finished product, that were never attained in any other project. The eventual construction of the school's building-trades building was a pronounced undertaking.

According to this master teacher: "A boy who has known real exploratory experience while in the high school is better able to make an intelligent occupational selection. His familiarity with tools and materials and his related academic training help to make him a more skilled and better informed mechanic. While co-operating in a common enterprise with his fellow students, under the conditions that closely approach those of the trade, he cannot help but develop the qualities and character traits that make a better citizen. However, high-school training alone cannot take the place of an apprentice-training program, or any other training given by industry which alone develops these specific skills that are a part of the stock in trade of the master craftsman."

REALISM ASKED OF YOUTH

Vocational education and general education must function side by side in the program of every high-school student, if the realities of life are respected in school planning and operation.

The educator who would make this so, must immediately set out to bring students and parents to face life realistically also. Parents have wished their children to enter the professions and semiprofessions, and thus to enjoy a higher status in the social scheme of things than has been theirs. In the selection of a high-school course, social mobility upward has been repeatedly revealed as a prime motive of both students and parents. Preparation for a white-collar job that will not be there represents disservice rather than service on the high school's part.

Every survey that has ever been made of the occupational desires and expectations of a class of high-school seniors has revealed this same lack of reality. Half of the youth enrolled in high school take courses leading toward the professions or semiprofessions. In spite of the fact that over half of our youth will eventually take semiskilled and unskilled occupations, not over 5 per cent of any graduating class will respond that they expect to do so.

Perhaps the first task of general education is to provide a citizenship training that will enable youth to see our social and economic structure as it is actually constructed. Citizenship training must be moved close to those it would serve, and must set a pattern for youth in coming to grips with life's realities. Educators themselves must be the first to see that vocational and general education are not opponents pitted against each other. Rather, adjustment to life work is essential if a person is to make the broader adjustment to community life.

Chapter

7

APPROACHING CITIZENSHIP THROUGH CORE COURSES

Although startling upon first announcement, the action a few years ago of the New Jersey State legislators demanding two full years of high-school study in American history, to qualify for a diploma, was but a larger bottle of the citizenship-training potion commonly marketed across the counter of the American secondary school.

REDEDICATION TO PASSIVE CITIZENSHIP

This outburst of faith in passive learning has behind it forerunners of significance. It represents merely a double dosage of the prescription commonly administered by well-meaning legislators who would by passive means offset fatalities to the American way of life. A hasty glance at the state school laws of the country reveals not only the sincere desire of our law makers to perpetuate the American form of government, but also their intense faith in forcing proper civic action through the required study of history. A large majority of the states require a year's study of American history in the high school. It remained for New Jersey to take the blue ribbon with a two-year requirement.[1]

Traditional methods used in teaching such courses might indicate that school people as well as laymen have been blindly obsessed with the supposition that with a knowledge of the facts of American history, and the form and functions of our government, would go automatically a respect for, and a devotion to, the ideals and principles of our democratic way of life. To date nobody has proved that there is a positive correlation between a knowledge of history and proper democratic practice in social and civic affairs.

1 Later, the high schools of New Jersey were able to meet this two-year requirement by including with American history the study of American problems that is now so commonly found as the social studies course of the American high school senior.

The study of American history will always hold its rightful place in the American public high school. It is hard to conceive a full appreciation of our rich American heritage without this study. However, wise educators in seeking an effective citizenship training program will not stop with this offering.

A top mark in an American history or American government course is no assurance that the recipient, once outside the classroom, will show the intended social consciousness by assuming civic responsibility in handling the affairs of the school. In fact, the student with the mediocre mark in the course may give even greater service to his school and social group. It is not uncommon for the history teacher himself to place faith in civic knowledge rather than in civic action. For instance, the writer will long remember the department head who knew full well the facts of American history, who was indeed a scholar in the subject, but in dispensing these facts to his students his zeal marked him as a veritable authoritarian. He showed little appreciation of the worth of the individual, of an individual's unique differences from all the others in the group — an appreciation that is surely the basic principle of American democracy which such a course was supposedly teaching to youth.

The Furor about American History

Within recent years, newspaper columnists, law makers, the creators of radio quiz programs, and others outside the pale of the education profession have again renewed their faith in textbook citizenship, reflecting in part the natural concern for one's country that comes in wartime, and in part the supposedly startling revelation by the *New York Times* that high-school graduates, once out of high school, forget many of the bare facts of American history — facts that they had once mastered long enough to serve them in passing the course and getting the credits required for graduation.

Coming as it did during the war, the *Times* study, in revealing the absence of certain knowledge of American history on the part of a representative sampling of high-school graduates, left the implication that the welfare of the country was endangered by the situation. History teachers and associations rededicated themselves to the task of teaching history as an end in itself. In the newspaper business, it is regarded as just as smart to make news as it is to report the news that is normally happening. It is also known that one of the greatest makers of news is conflict.

THEORY WEAK WITHOUT PRACTICE. Here we must recall the significance of the research revealing the rapid rate of forgetting of subject matter, once mastered for school purposes but later not called upon in the everyday activities of the learner. It is scientifically assured that unless we continue to use them, the details of the past happenings of civilization will wither away in our mental storage vaults, just as do the pronouns that govern the dative in German, the name of the dastardly villain who snitched Silas Marner's

money, and the maneuvers necessary in getting the better of a quadratic equation.

This simple but commonly overlooked principle of learning, that *use strengthens and disuse weakens*, offers little promise to the average citizen that he will retain the detailed facts of his history courses, unless he engages regularly in the radio quiz programs that are concerned with the bachelor president of the United States, the opponent of Old Ironsides, and the girl Lincoln did not marry. And if he were to retain them 100 per cent, the advocates of the process must still reveal that through such information he has shown himself to be a better citizen. If winning his electric refrigerator, a set of encyclopedias, or a year's supply of laundry soap is essential to community adjustment, the citizen may after all cash in on such study — if we can but devise a way for him to remember the facts.

Underlying a study of American history are basic understandings and appreciations of the American way of life. Minute facts find their place only in relationship to these deeper appreciations that a student may carry with him as he leaves high school.

Although the *Times* survey was a study of the rate of forgetting rather than a study of the teaching of American history, either qualitatively or quantitatively, educators did not establish this distinction for the laymen. It actually did point out that in building citizens to serve our democratic state, schools should place less faith in the chronological coverage of formal subject matter, and more in the larger appreciations of our great American heritage. Also, its findings invited more well-directed practice in citizenship in school and community activities of youth, where the give-and-take of democratic group life finds experience. Yet the reverberations of the story found form in rededication to the classroom question-and-answer approach to developing citizens, and New Jersey placed her faith in twice as much American history. It still remains to be seen if a two-year history course will mean twice as much remembered or twice as much forgotten as compared with a one-year course.

Schools and the supporters of schools must see clearly what it is that we expect to accomplish through history study. The goal is the making of American citizens, fully appreciative of the democratic heritage that is ours, and with ability to engage effectively in the democratic give-and-take of our everyday life. The teaching of American history is but one of the means to this end.

THE STEPS TO CIVIC TRAINING. Perhaps there are three distinguishable basic aspects to education for citizenship, which are:

1. Determining the values of social action
2. Establishing the skills, the knowledge, and understanding necessary to setting these values

3. Giving practice in these values, through controlled group situations in which they are to be used in after-school life

In such a threefold program, the facts of history may be called upon to serve as means to the bigger goal, proper social action. But they can never stand as an end in themselves. American history will always have its place in the training of American youth. But we must not ask more of the subject than it can give.

CIVIC CONSCIOUSNESS. The citizen who is trained in the submissive atmosphere of an assign-study-recite classroom, where teacher directive is the order of the day, might well be expected to turn out to be a submissive type of fellow, quite willing to accept the word of others passively — one who would be inclined to let George do it and would follow George's directives. The citizen who is trained in a school program that provides active participation in civic affairs and emphasizes thoughtful action might well be expected to turn out to be one who would actively initiate civic action in a thoughtful yet aggressive manner.

One of the best short statements of what we are trying to say in this chapter was included in a Stephens College newsletter recently. It read:

A Good Citizen

Critical examination of the place of the citizen in a functioning democracy tends to reveal, among the prime characteristics of such a citizen, the following qualities: (1) a feeling of responsibility for the actions of his government, (2) a sense of concern for the welfare of others, (3) participation in the formation of public policy, (4) awareness of problems, (5) an active seeking for information bearing on these problems, (6) open-minded interchange of ideas about others, (7) the ability to make considered decisions, (8) the habit of "taking action" with respect to acknowledged problems.

If this is the nature of the citizen we wish to see our education produce, then citizenship training must consist of the placing of the student in situations in which he is *responsible* for the nature of his in-training government, situations in which he is *aware* of the fact that the actions of others are his concern, situations in which he participates in *policymaking* for his group, situations in which he must *seek information* bearing on pertinent problems, situations which call for "give and take" in *discussion*, and situations which demand *decision* and *action*.

THE PLACE OF THE CORE CURRICULUM

General education, as pointed out in Chapter 6, is that part of the student's complete program that is likewise being experienced by the whole group, so desirable is it as training for the common life and for the common good — for general citizenship. It represents those growth experiences in which all should participate — with variations — in order to live intelligently in their everyday culture.

Thus general education is education for citizenship, if we consider citizenship as representing full adjustment to community life, rather than as merely

the obedience to laws and the casting of ballots. It is in this area of general education, or preparation for citizenship — in the area of required courses — that schools in recent years have built the broader and longer-period courses called integrated or core courses.

In the other field of secondary-school training, the area of *specialized education*, the courses offered are those by which some students will benefit and others will not. It is the elective area. In this field, in which specifics are the order of the day, efficiency of instruction calls for separate courses. The integration and core movement will not find a footing here. Such examples as the following represent specialized education, good for some and not for others, courses that must continue to be taught as distinct entities: typing, Latin, algebra, auto mechanics, trigonometry, shorthand, the Spanish language, and what not.

Features of the Core Curriculum

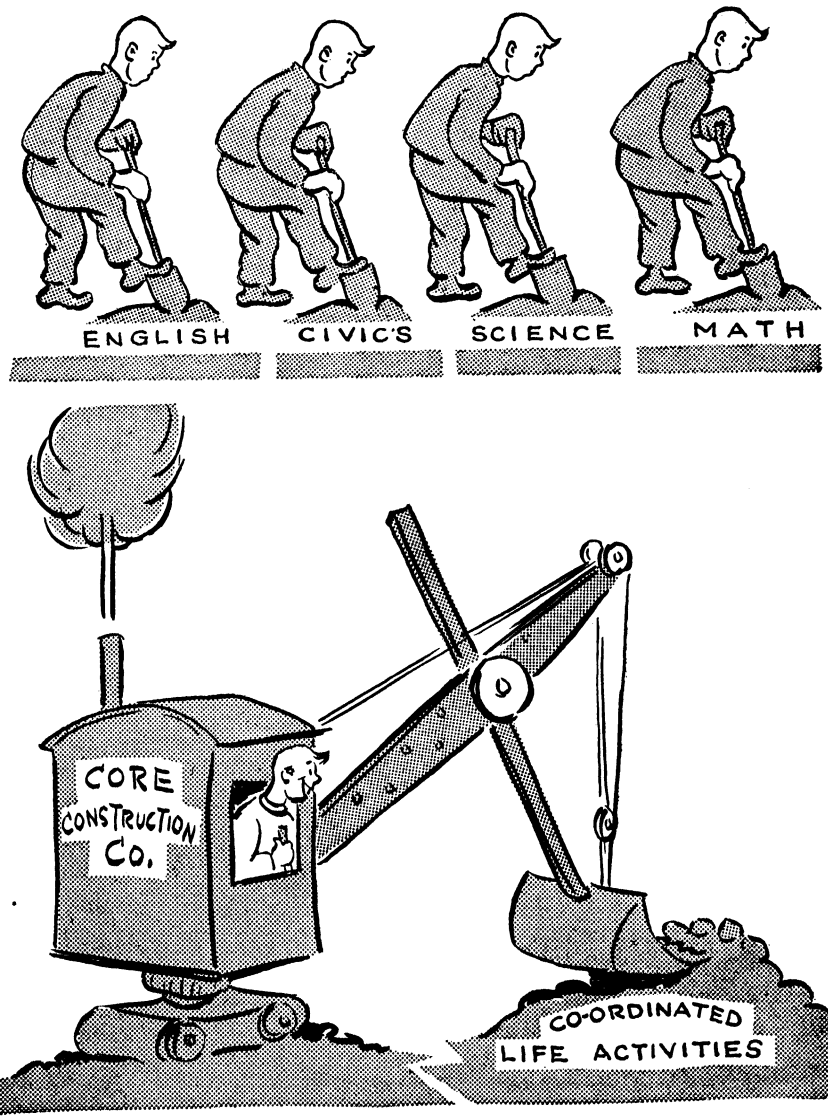
Over in the area of general citizenship training, these broader core courses have been developed successfully here and there in scattered school districts of the nation.[2] The public high school has yet to collect its full returns upon this more promising approach to curriculum organization. Among the basic characteristics of the core curriculum are these:

1. *The core course originates not from subject-matter courses* but from some basic citizenship objective, such as any of these: (1) learning the important part groups play in community life, (2) securing a true appreciation of American culture and the principles of the American way of life, (3) learning why man behaves as he does, and (4) problems of our immediate community. The author has seen high-school courses built successfully around each of these four instructional goals.
2. *The core course must naturally replace something.* While it does not originate from subject courses it must replace some of them. It usually replaces those general education subject courses that were previously being used to train for everyday community adjustment. Social studies and English courses are usually the first assimilated by a core course, for they are the ones we continually require all students to take. Other subjects at times affected have been general science, general mathematics, and music and art appreciation.
3. *The core course calls for a double-hour or half-day period.* This is owing to the fact that (1) the course is broader than a single subject offering, and (2) since the active rather than the passive approach to teaching is used, a longer period is needed for this more natural way of working and learning. Laboratory procedures, student-teacher planning, project and community study call for time.

[2] See Harold Spears, *The Emerging High-School Curriculum*, New York: American Book Company, 1948.

4. *In replacing a number of the formerly required single-period subjects, the core course does not incorporate all of their materials lock, stock, and barrel.* Instead it draws upon those subject areas for whatever they may offer in serving the general development of the students, in keeping with the goals of the course.

To illustrate, let us assume that the core curriculum for the ninth year of a four-year high school is a three-hour program that has replaced the



TWO APPROACHES TO DIGGING INTO THE CULTURE

separate general education subjects formerly taught — English, community civics, general science, general business training, and practical mathematics, with a major goal being the personal adjustment of the individual pupil to his school and his immediate community situation, with the rights and responsibilities of the individual in group life being stressed through instruction and practice situations.[3]

What would English as a subject area offer to such a course? There will be work in written and oral expression, and in reading of the various types, but the work to be done — the assignments — will grow out of coordinated planning leading to the major goal mentioned above. Thus the English teacher, who is a member of the team of teachers serving a section of one hundred students for three hours, finds she is working with many of the techniques she formerly used in her straight English course, but the content is different. If the core group is studying school and city government for six weeks, the written and oral expression work deal with that subject, and so does much of the reading.

5. *Justified by the principles of active learning adhered to, and facilitated by the two- or three-hour period, practice in citizenship is provided by the incorporation of activities that ordinarily are considered extracurricular in the high school.* Committee organization, elections coming out of planning for work, informal discussions of plans for work, and similar procedures usually relegated to after school or to an activities period in the case of the straight subject curriculum, find an important place in a core course.

   In one core program with which the author was associated, the ninth-year students in studying the government of the school became quite concerned about poor traffic conditions around the building. The study resulted in service to school government being given by a committee of the students, and this service was given during the three-hour core course.

6. *In placing students into the sections of a core course, heterogeneous grouping is followed.* The flexibility of the laboratory procedures enables adjustment to individual differences to be made within the course. Ability grouping is often followed in the subject curriculum plan, because the emphasis is upon the subject. In the core program a natural social situation is asked, since behavior rather than subject matter is at stake. Naturally, ability grouping would have no place in the scheme.

7. *Also pronounced in the core course is the tendency for the teachers to assume guidance practices and responsibilities that in the subject curriculum had to be left to a special period, such as the home-room period.* The longer period of time and the more

[3] This was the core program being developed in the Evansville, Indiana, Public Schools when the writer was serving as curriculum director. For further description see Harold Spears, *The Emerging High-School Curriculum*, New York: American Book Company, 1948, Chap. 15.

informal approach of the teachers bring teachers and students more closely together in an association that fosters good guidance.

Teachers for the Program

There are two ways to assign teachers to a core program. First, there is the plan of assigning one teacher to a group of thirty or so pupils to work with them for the duration of the long period of two or three hours, the training and experience of the teacher being broad enough to serve the various aspects of the work. A second plan is to assign a team of teachers representing varied abilities to serve a larger number of students, the ratio of one teacher to thirty students still being followed. For example, three full-time teachers, and another helping for one period only, could serve a group of one hundred students in a three-hour core course. Or two teachers could serve a group of fifty or sixty students in a two-hour core course.

Each plan has its merits, the first having more guidance possibilities perhaps, and the second promising a greater total of teacher ability. Variations of these plans, as well as entirely different approaches can be used when administrative ingenuity is put to work to offer the students the richest curriculum possible.

PLANNING TIME. When there are a number of teachers working in a core curriculum at a particular grade level, either in the team plan or as teachers in different sections of the first plan above, it is essential that they be freed from classroom duties for a couple of periods a week for co-operative planning. That is, if a high-school teacher normally teaches twenty-five class hours a week, these core teachers should teach only twenty-three, being given two hours for planning. At these sessions, the principal of the school, as well as any other supervisory leaders helping in the program, should participate in the planning. At times, student leaders, or even parents, will have a place in the meetings.

TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS. The school administrator who sees the core curriculum successfully operating, and considers its features for his own school may become discouraged when he thinks of which of his teachers might profitably work in such a program. However, teachers don't have to be trained for this type program; they merely have to have beyond the mastery of their subjects those teaching qualities that mark them as good teachers, such as:

1. A respect for individual differences
2. An appreciation of the fact that people learn by doing rather than by reciting
3. A knowledge of high-school boys and girls, and a sympathetic respect for them
4. An open mind

5. The energy and desire to keep trying new things in the endless search for good schools
6. An active interest in community affairs

If an administrator shies away from this program by saying he doesn't have enough teachers with these qualities, then he is certainly making an indictment of his school, and one would wonder what the students are getting in the way of an education under the existing curriculum. If a promising number of teachers do have these teaching points, then the door is open for curriculum change.

School administrators who are desirous of moving ahead can hardly wait until the training school sends them the "right" teachers. Summer workshops are helping a lot in moving the teacher from a straight subject curriculum to these greener pastures, but local administration is the key to change, through challenging in-service leadership of teachers. "Turning teachers loose," inviting them to do as they please with their classes, is not the answer. The answer is co-ordinated effort of the faculty toward goals properly determined and clearly recognized.

Our experience in these newer types of high-school programs, in different schools and different states, establishes the conclusion that teacher ability is not lacking. It is there, awaiting encouragement and leadership. There is an exuberance about a young curriculum experiment in a school that spreads like wildfire if properly fanned. In a school of sixty teachers, a program can be begun modestly with six to ten teachers serving almost full time in the experiment. The following year it will draw a few more. With the natural retirement and position-changing of some teachers, advantage can be taken to add replacements chosen for this type of work. The percentage of a faculty that will actively be engaged in newer procedures within three years is surprising.

The line between the teachers who will serve well and those who will not serve well in a newer type curriculum is not an age line. Some of the best teachers in core or broader type programs today are the more experienced subject teachers who have realized through experience the shortages of the older curriculum and are willing to try something new — provided that they receive proper help. And some of the most conservative teachers are those beginners who clutch for the security of the traditional methods under which they came up through high school and college. A good staff of core teachers has a balance between younger and older teachers.

In assigning teachers to a core program, the author has found it advisable to limit such participation of a teacher to half of his teaching schedule, the other half consisting of the typical single-period subject assignments. As compared with giving teachers core work all day, this plan brings more of the faculty into a new program, which is advantageous. In Figure 6 are

shown the teaching assignments of two core teachers in a four-year high school in which the new program is being launched in the ninth grade. In Figure 7 are shown the daily schedules of two ninth graders in this program.

THE STORY OF A FOUR-YEAR CORE CURRICULUM

School setting: a four-year high school of 1200 students in a suburban community, where over half the graduates went on to college. In order to secure the confidence of the community and to enlist and gradually develop the teacher help needed in the program, the core course was handled as an elective alongside the regular subjects, was begun first in the ninth grade, and was extended upward as these first students moved up through the school.

Of 275 entering ninth graders that first year, 90 chose the experimental course, which provided three sections. The following year, 70 went ahead

TEACHING DAY, TEACHER A		TEACHING DAY, TEACHER B
Three - hour Ninth - year Core Course	3/5	Three - hour Ninth - year Core Course
American History	1/5	American Literature
American Problems	1/5	Journalism

FIGURE 6. Teaching Day of a Social Studies and an English Teacher Working in a Core Course

CLASS SCHEDULE, PUPIL A		CLASS SCHEDULE, PUPIL B
Core Course	1/2	Core Course
General Shop	1/2	Spanish
Physical Education		Algebra
Related Art		Physical Education

FIGURE 7. Distribution of Pupils' Time Between Core Course and Single-Period Special Subjects

in the core program, dividing into the two core courses of the tenth grade. The plan[4] for the four-year pattern was:

NINTH GRADE Two-hour core course daily, replacing English and community civics, and built around the basic theme *How a Person Operates as a Member of Groups.* One teacher handled the double-hour course. For the sake of avoiding confusion in a college registrar's office, credits were recorded as separate English and civics.

TENTH GRADE Two-hour core course three days a week, and three hours the other two days, replacing English and biology, and built around the basic theme *Why Man Behaves as He Does.* Three teachers formed a team to handle the thirteen hours' work in the week. Their backgrounds were in life science, English and social studies, and speech and dramatics. The speech teacher served only three hours a week.

A second section of the core program in the tenth year followed the theme *How Man Has Behaved Over the Ages.* It was a two-hour period daily, replacing world history and English, taught by one teacher, with two hours a week help from the speech teacher.

ELEVENTH GRADE Two-hour core course in *American Culture,* replacing American history and American literature.

TWELFTH GRADE Half-day core course in *Self-Direction and Discovery,* representing an integrated and somewhat independent piece of work of interest and benefit to the senior, cutting across subject lines and enlisting the help of qualified teachers. A core teacher acts as co-ordinator for all the students in the program, giving two hours a day to the work.

The Ninth-Year Core Course in Group Life

A STATEMENT OF THE AIMS. This statement by Elizabeth Bredin, a master teacher in the course, explains the aims.

To develop citizens by enabling students to understand how individuals work as members of groups in a democratic society:

1. They will need an understanding of the ideals that are basic in our social philosophy, such as the value of the individual, equal worth of all members in a co-operative society, mutual respect for personality, promotion of the free state through democratic practices in daily living and governmental procedures.

2. For society in general, they should recognize the urge that comes from human needs, and should discover what machinery is set up to secure satisfaction; they should

[4] Although the pattern of the four-year program as outlined here was developed while the author was superintendent-principal of the Highland Park, Illinois, High School, only the first two years of the work as described were put into practice while he was there. At that time the third year was operated as a double-hour course replacing American history and American literature, but the broader plan as presented in this chapter was not yet installed. No core group had reached the fourth year to try the independent study program treated here.

know how and where conflict arises, and should explore methods being devised to secure harmony.

3. They should become vitally aware of specific acts which illustrate certain terms that they will hear throughout the rest of their four years — social behavior, anti-social attitude, human values, prejudices, special interest, facts, authority, unbiased judgment, etc.

4. To take their place in society now and in the future, they will need to develop a degree of skill in discussion, in planning their own activities, in analyzing problems, in sharing a co-operative endeavor with a group. They should be willing to assume leadership occasionally and responsibility at all times.

GENERAL FEATURES. The main job, as shown in the aims, falls in the area of social processes. Although the materials used — newspaper, magazines, films, community civics booklets, and radio — are commonly found in community civics classes, the methods used are not. The room was supplied with tables and the class operated as groups of five, with constant participation in group endeavor, and with a major responsibility for the work's organization left up to the class. The ongoing responsibilities were handled by such committees as Steering, Motion Picture, Radio, Library, Newspaper, and Field Trips.

The instructor, from the beginning, kept her mind on the objectives, as outlined above, and helped direct the work accordingly. Simple logic — cause and effect thinking — was emphasized in classroom discussions. For instance, at one time a group of five stories were read by all for an *analysis of a situation.* Questions brought out what was familiar to the hero, what was unfamiliar, how he met the unfamiliar, how he was changed by the experience. One story, *A Try for the Island,* was read aloud by the students. This was used as a model and received careful analysis.

Later, a second group of five stories was read, this time with the emphasis on situations involving misunderstandings between young people and grown-ups. *The Red Pony* by Steinbeck was used as a model. It was read aloud and discussed with particular regard to the lack of understanding between father and son, the sympathy of the hired man for the young boy, the causes lying behind these differences in understanding, and the possible situations. Real-life situations were then taken from school and community life for analysis.

Two movies were chosen by the committee for their portrayal of human relations, *The Devil Is a Sissie* and *Alice Adams.* Few members of the class showed aptitude in discussing the social elements; being absorbed by the entertainment, they failed to view the behavior of the characters objectively. However, the teacher tried movies later with more success.

Gradually, by working at it from many classroom and out-of-classroom approaches, the teachers could see definite progress in the students' grasp of such basic concepts of democratic group life as *individual, group, common*

interests, human values, accepted standards, and *unbiased judgment.* Student planning for field trips and classroom work, as well as their give-and-take procedures in these various situations acted as a definite part of this development. Printed materials, radio, and motion pictures were sources of information — but understandings came harder.

By the end of the year, a promising number of the group could observe a social situation at first hand, recognize salient points, and report them clearly. A good number could assemble, organize, and present orally or in writing material pertinent to a problem at hand. Some could follow a subject inquiringly, note first causes, and watch for outcomes.

Skills commonly known to straight English courses found play in the program, such as vocabulary, spelling, expression, and using sources such as almanacs, card catalogue, and dictionary. In reading nonfiction, students were led to note organization of ideas, the difference between fact and opinion, between generalizations and supporting facts; and in fiction, artistic character portrayal and plot construction. How to read a newspaper was emphasized throughout the year. The mechanics of group life were repeatedly emphasized as the students learned to examine news events analytically for the group processes involved.

In one class-section of the course, these various approaches just mentioned were carried out through these three large areas:

1. Personal problems, centered around how to meet social situations, how to plan a course of action and act upon it, and how to get the most out of school and out-of-school life
2. Community endeavor, where investigating recreation in the local community became the focal point here because of the conjunction of the community's lack of recreational facilities for youth and the current interest in the proposal to transfer the support of the Community Center from the voluntary Community Fund over to the city budget or to the Park Board
3. National endeavor, where the United Nations became the center of attention

Freedom of direction, in keeping with the purpose of developing thoughtful individual action, was encouraged and practiced. For example, going to the library was no formality calling for hall passes. It was taken as a natural action of a student who had business outside the classroom to attend to. Some of the abilities developed that reflected responsibility were:

1. To work independently, to choose a project, to find material, to confer with the teacher at the proper moment
2. To enter into a group project, to use imagination in planning the procedure, to stick to the point, to do one's share promptly, to show appreciation of the contributions of classmates

3. To become part of a discussion, to contribute, to ask intelligent questions, to avoid belligerent expressions and wasteful argument, to add relevant material

The Tenth-Year Core Course — Man's Behavior

Why man behaves as he does, biologically, and how man has behaved historically were a rather big order for that first class of tenth graders, who started out under the direction of Harold McMullen, Elizabeth Bredin, Phyllis Carpenter, and George Stewart to find the answer.

Experimental high-school programs are born of the foresight of professionally restless teachers and nurtured by the enthusiasm of energetic youth. This course grew out of the discussions of the ninth-year core classes of Miss Bredin and Mr. Stewart — students who did not want to give up the program as they moved up to the tenth grade and who used their ingenuity to project ideas for another year's continuation. Of the ninety freshmen, twenty decided to leave the core program for the straight subject curriculum, and the others split between their two creations: Biology-English and World-History–English.

THE BIOLOGY–ENGLISH SECTION

PROCEDURES IN THE COURSE. The opening two weeks were an informal warming-up to the work. Teachers and students discussed the possibilities of the course. A hasty survey of magazine articles about biology brought forth lists of possible directions for the course to go, and the oral reports enabled the speech teacher to spot and to analyze early the speech difficulties and potentialities of the group.

The other teachers stepped in to help draw out for consideration lists of the kinds of words used in science, symbolic; and the kinds used in literature, often pre-symbolic. This led naturally to some essay reading from *Essays, Old and New*, and the class observed the choice of words. Vocabulary building was progressing nicely. Hayakawa's *Words that Do Not Inform* was read slowly and carefully. This in turn led to some rather systematic planning of the use of notebooks.

The class felt the need of organization, formed an executive committee to meet with the teachers at different times to discuss the progress and direction of the course, elected a president, and formed some standing committees.

The program then moved into the first of these four big areas that were explored during the year:

1. Classification: single-celled animals to Homo sapiens
2. Causes of diseases, how diseases are cured, how science restores the sick to health, how science keeps man healthy
3. What is the biological basis of behavior? How do we learn? What is the function of the school as we know it?
4. Reproduction, heredity, evolution, and change

Man's behavior was the center of interest and investigation, as noted by the topics, but the formal science-for-science-sake approach to biology was absent. One of the books frequently used was *People Are Important*, a book first developed for high-school social studies. The treatments of emotions and of learning to think were especially popular. Nor was the course set once and for all. The next year these same teachers, with a new group of students with somewhat different ideas, came out with this list of areas as boundaries for the course that year:

1. Man's place in nature
2. Normal functioning of the body
3. The nervous system and individual behavior
4. Reproduction, heredity, and evolution
5. Conservation of natural and human resources

The students and teachers, working democratically through group discussion, investigation, and a representative committee, proceeded to determine goals in written and oral expression and similar specific skills, as well as setting the broader limits of the study of man's behavior patterns. All this called for the selection of books, magazines, films, and other learning aids.

A sample unit that may be profitably considered is the one that treated reproduction, heredity, evolution, and change. It was the largest and the one in which the teachers felt they had most successfully co-ordinated their efforts.

The unit began with the group planning of projects, each student selecting a subject from one of the three main divisions: reproduction, heredity, and evolution. It was to involve laboratory procedure, plus reading and other investigation. The first piece of writing on the project was a clear statement of the problem chosen, the expected procedure, and the reason for the interest. Half of the students worked on individual projects, the others in groups.

In the meantime the class selected for reading Barrie's play, *The Admirable Crichton.* It presents in a humorous, but somewhat penetrating way, the breakdown of man-made institutions when they come in contact with nature in the raw. The selection of this play represented a carry-over of the interest in the unit on behavior. After the play was read aloud and analyzed a little from a behavioristic point of view, half the class prepared a dramatization of one of the acts, while the others read other plays.

Panel discussions were used frequently to bring together the reactions of the class to their laboratory work and their readings. Naturally, textbooks in biology were available and frequently used in connection with the students' work. As the class approached the time when they would need to put down in readable form the results of their biological observations, the work of the English teacher was turned to paragraph development, topic sentences, punctuation, and spelling. When the unit was finally closed, many students volunteered to make a long report of their investigation.

After this work was set aside, the students read one of the novels from the lists that had been developed under these headings — (1) Man against nature, (2) Pseudo-science in literature, (3) Novels that deal with heredity, and (4) Novels that deal with the endeavor of man to change conditions.[5] The students were helped in making their reviews of these novels a nice piece of literary criticism and in showing their understanding of science when it was introduced into modern fiction.

TYPICAL PROJECTS AND TECHNIQUES. In the course, such things as the following developed:

1. Bill and Eric became greatly interested in rats and hamsters, which were then secured for class study. They built apparatus for testing their acquiring retention of a skill. The performance of the rats in running this maze for food was a constant source of entertainment as well as education for the class. These boys had to come to school very early and to stay late in making constant checks on the experiments. Their final report was one of the high points of class interest, and was received with evident pleasure. These were two of a number of class members who seemed to work best and learn fastest by the free method that such a course provides.
2. One lad, seriously handicapped by poor health, poor work habits, and limited social acceptance by his classmates, came to the front during the second semester with his study of ants, a project that aroused him to do more reading in his investigation than he had done in all other subjects combined the previous semester. He bought a colony of ants needed for his experiment, built the cage and planned the feeding from his careful study. Though his investigations did not work out as smoothly as they might have in the hands of a better disciplined worker, he did display evidence of an ability to carry an interest along and finish it. He had a contribution to make to the class, and, as he made his final report on the community habits of his ant colony, he spoke quite easily before the attentive students.
3. A boy and a girl, both interested in owning bees, and expecting to start hives in the near future, found great satisfaction in this co-operative project. The girl gave the final report to the class, and the boy's questions in leading the discussion showed real insight into the topic.
4. One project that came out of the study of Mendel's principles, in the unit on reproduction and heredity, was the crossing of fruit flies. This experiment was carried on over a period of weeks in glass jars on the demonstration table, in the front of the room, so that the work of this small group of students was constantly under observation of the entire class.

[5] Since there is not room here to include these bibliographies developed in the course, the author suggests the interested reader address the Highland Park core teachers for such lists.

5. Among the selections that found good use in the course were Mueller's *How Man Has Been Made*, Heiser's *An American Doctor's Odyssey*, and Lippmann's essay, *Education Versus Western Civilization.*
6. Trips to the Chicago Museum of Science and Industry and to the Hall of Health were made. The play, *The Glass Menagerie*, was attended by the class for study of behavior. It was considered ideal for giving the students a chance to use the vocabulary and ideas presented in the unit on behavior. Many science educational films were shown during the course; also the documentary films, *The Plow that Broke the Plains* and *The River.*

One teacher, in looking back over the work at the end of the first year of the tenth-grade experiment, stated, "Something should be said about the ability of certain students to find an interest, stick to it, produce something worth-while, and share their findings with the group. It would be a delightful thing to say that all of them learned to do this satisfactorily, but such is not the case. However, all showed improvement over what they had accomplished as freshmen, and they were given less explicit teacher direction on the sophomore projects. Some produced fine work that was not based on a desire for grades, but showed signs of a real and a sustained interest." And so it is with an honest teacher, one who is not afraid to go to the trouble of cultivating better instructional pastures in which to fatten her stock.

THE WORLD-HISTORY–ENGLISH SECTION

In taking over this section of the tenth-year core program, George Stewart did so as one interested and competent in both English and history. He helped his group draw the best from both of these former areas as he developed his work. The class was conducted much more formally than the other sophomore venture that has just been described. This reflects the problem that high schools continually face in trying to offer world history. The pressure of the ground to be covered, plus the confusion of interrelationships and interruptions of the multitude of civilizations being treated, tend to formalize any study of world history in spite of the teacher's intentions. Someday we will dare offer in the American high school a world history course that begins with world history today, and draws upon only those glimpses of the past that have a contribution to make to the better understanding of the current scene and better action in today's world.

In the course, both oral and written expression were blended nicely into the history study. The speech teacher worked with the students a couple of hours a week, much as she worked with the biology core group. Now and then there was co-operative effort between the two sophomore core sections, in an attempt to bring findings to each other.

Eleventh-Year Core Course in American Culture

School change must begin where the school now is. In moving gradually from the narrower course in American history to the broader values of civic action

demanded by our complex civilization, perhaps a desirable middle of the road line of action would be the development of a broader course in American culture that would bring *the feeling* of the American way of life along with the facts.

Providing the pupils experiences in all related aspects of America's development — literature, art, and music, as well as history — at the moment seems educationally challenging. To us who have observed these broader integrated or core courses in operation, and have worked with them, there seem to rest great possibilities in this approach for making the life of America, past as well as present, live for the student. While the next few paragraphs will treat especially the relationship of materials, this course if offered would need to be assured of such democratic methods of procedure as these:

1. Have students and teachers plan the development of the course together.
2. Arrange for at least a two-hour daily period to be set aside for the course.
3. Wherever possible, begin with the present life of the community and the students, and draw upon the past to enrich it and make it meaningful. For instance, it is foolish to ignore American music in the community today in studying its earlier development.
4. Use as freely as textbooks these powerful tools of learning — radio, transcriptions, motion pictures, field trips, and active participation in out-of-class school endeavors and out-of-school community endeavors. Maintain flexible schedules to permit the field trips and the participation in these out-of-class activities.
5. Study the corporate life of the school as a small community, relating the study in the course to the civic action of the students in the school government.
6. As the work progresses and demands, permit the necessary organization and management of the class group to come forward as an essential feature of the course.
7. Use a laboratory approach in the classroom, as well as discussion procedures.
8. Enable the students to participate in developing goals and evaluation procedures, emphasizing civic understanding and competence rather than scholastic honors.
9. If a number of teachers serve the course, schedule two hours a week for them to meet and plan their work together.

BACKING UP HISTORY WITH ART. To date, in most high schools, curricular attention to art and music has been confined to courses elected by students who are inclined to draw, or paint, or sing, or play instruments. Art and music have seldom been considered by curriculum makers as part of the soul of America that needs to be portrayed more sharply for all the youth who are growing into citizenship. To appreciate the part they play in the life of

the people, one needs but try to imagine the current scene in city or in rural area stripped of its music and its pictorial forms.

Certainly a student of this country's past needs to appreciate all these influences at work in the making of the nation. For example, in the reconstruction period following the Civil War, the effects of the profound economic and social change are sharply reflected in the art of the period. The vulgarities of the times and the rise of a more common man to replace the gentry of earlier days are seen in the works of such artists as Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins. Even the contrasting work of Whistler has its place in such study, its contrast highlighting that of the other artists.

The pictures of Whistler, the expatriate who ran away to escape the unfolding of the crude America of those combustive industrial years, tell the story of the resentment of the older aristocracy just as do the pages of a Beard or a Muzzey. Homer, a fellow native of Massachusetts, born also in the 1830's, stayed at home and thus permitted his paintings to grow up with his country. Such a piece as his "Snap the Whip" carries the homespun accent of America's provincialism, a quality that can be better appreciated by present-day youth as they see pictures and hear tunes in addition to reading pages. Homer's close observation and recording of Negro life following the Civil War has much to add to a study of our country's development. No historian was ever more devoted to the American scene than was Winslow Homer.

The works of Thomas Eakins likewise could add much to a course in American culture. The pictures produced by this Philadelphian reveal a penetrating study of contemporary life — life as it was lived by men and women as they went about their business and their pleasures. The cruelty of truth is there, as in the works of so many American artists, even more so than in the lines of the history textbooks. Such men as Thomas Benton and and the late Grant Wood have devoted their lives to depicting on their canvases America as it is.

Even the old portrait school, which was the glory of the Colonial and the early Republican periods, and which was supported by the social classes of those early periods, speaks boldly of the culture and the life of the times. True, there have been waves of European influence in our art, but they merely parallel and highlight European influence upon the whole development of this nation, and the bold independence that our artists have finally achieved has its stirring qualities, just as the political independence that is recorded in the history books.

The works of such men as Glenn Coleman present a richly documented history of the life of the American city of the past forty years. Those who wish to explore the regional aspects of our life and culture can do it through the pages of history, it is true, but they can find most interesting and revealing the various interpretations being made through the regional groups of artists

who have centered themselves in such cities as Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Seattle, Minneapolis, Detroit, Cleveland, and little Toas, New Mexico. Such men as Thomas Benton and the late Grant Wood tell with their brushes a deep and stirring story of the America of the Middle West. There is something fresh and inviting about contemporary painting. Though the history book may discuss the causes and chronology of such events as World War II, we need call upon music and art, including the cinema, to present the feeling.

A reviewer of an exhibit of unofficial G.I. art, hung in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C., was struck by the "almost complete absence of battle pictures," and was impressed by the number of pictures that told of the basic things of life, such as the agonizing fatigue of the soldier while waiting at a bus depot, riding in a jammed train, or going across the water in the limited space assigned him in a transport. Reproductions of the pictures hung in this exhibit might offer a high-school history class a proper balance to the limited pages that may play up the War in another manner, for one after another of these pictures revealed that these participants had viewed the War as happenings to Americans, themselves and others, to be recorded in journalistic manner.

Art is and has been a living thing in our life, just as music and as literature. All three can tell much to school boys and girls if brought into common focus with American history, and if guided properly by good teachers. If the background of the history teacher is one that does not encompass this broader view of our past, implementation of the idea is still possible. The idea of a core course such as this invites teacher co-operation in sharing responsibilities in the same course. Most of our high-school students attend schools where there are art and music departments from which could come help in building into the curriculum such experiences as those suggested here. American literature and American history should have been combined years ago in the high-school curriculum, if reason rather than departmentalization had been followed, and such a merger might just as well include the appreciative side of music and art in American life. In fact, the proper union of the four would call for a double-hour course for two years if current community life were given a place along with earlier developments.

ENJOYING MUSIC. The teacher who would bring high-school youth to appreciate and to enjoy the music that has helped America to grow up has ample materials to help her develop such classroom experiences. Our good public libraries are well stocked with attractive books dealing with such stories as the songs of America's rivers, patriotic songs, national ballads, and folk songs.

THE LITERATURE OF AMERICA. The literary door to American history has for some years been rather clearly marked, and has been much more commonly used than have the art and music openings. The teacher who would

permit American literature to grow naturally into American history has available many lists of books that recognize this relationship.

There has been no attempt in this discussion to suggest organizational patterns for such a course. Experience has shown us that a curriculum is not something that can be prescribed from the mountain top unless it were to be actually as rigid as stone. It is not something that can be successfully transplanted. It must be grown from its own local soil if it is to bear fruit that is to return to enrich that soil. Such variables as teachers, equipment, and students will see to it that no two such core courses are alike. Help in developing these broader courses should be secured from state departments of education and teacher-training institutions.

The inclusion of art and music experiences is not an invitation to more formality. To be profited by, these experiences must to a degree reflect the music and art in the present lives of the students.

CONCLUSION. There is a story of our country to be experienced by every boy and girl who would be graduated from our high schools, but it is a story to be seen in picture and heard in song as well as one to be read. It is a story of the hearts and spirits of men and women that cannot be grasped from cold type alone. It is a story that cannot be broken academically into isolated bits just to please an antiquated type of high-school schedule that operates in short forty- or fifty-minute spurts. It is a story that has to be unfolded in one related whole. It invites a core course in American culture.

The life of America has not been an academic thing, except in the classroom. Instead it has been, and is today, a moving drama that calls for ingenuity in its portrayal to youth. All the visual and auditory aids available are invited. Wise high-school educators have realized in recent years that the student who was formerly dubbed the nonacademic pupil is actually not the exceptional but the typical pupil of the typical high school. His understandings and appreciations will come through experiences of a varied nature, and the approach that has marked a basic textbook as *the* course is due for a reconversion. To meet the typical state history requirement with merely a textbook course promises little more than academic suicide for the typical school. The way is open for schools to demonstrate their appreciation of the nature of their student bodies and their knowledge of how growth takes place.

Twelfth-Year Core Course in Self-Direction and Discovery

This year's work was only anticipated, never developed. The general idea was this: Once the student had gone through three years of work in closely cooperative group situations, after which it was to be expected that he had developed some rather specific interests, it was thought desirable to give him in his senior year a chance really to walk alone in an area of his interest, a chance to direct himself and get the satisfaction of doing a good piece of more-or-less independent work.

The co-ordinating teacher for this core group would be a teacher qualified in English. Late in the student's eleventh year, she would explore his pressing interest with him, in an attempt to help him see it in the form of a study program that would profitably engage him for a half day or for two hours each day during his senior year. It would be expected that each such project would suggest a tie-up with a teacher in another department in the school, due to the relationship of topic to subject department or teacher ability. The co-ordinating teacher would help to engage the interest and help of such a teacher in the student's core program. Naturally such help would have to be given rather informally and sometimes at odd moments. Thus a student furthering a science interest might come and go in a teacher's science laboratory, even though other organized classes were there.

These projects might fall into any number of possible categories such as:

Arts and crafts	Community recreation
Heredity and environment	Early American history
United Nations	Greek civilization
Auto mechanics	Atomic energy
Chinese civilization	Modern literature

The advantage of the English teacher as co-ordinator would give the student the protection of his English credits in those schools and states requiring twelfth-grade English, as well as assuring him (1) help in the facility of written expression that might be needed in reporting his investigation, and (2) help in the investigation of sources of information.

The co-ordinating teacher would have a double-hour period devoted to this work. Her room would be their workroom, the crossroads of their operation. She might call group meetings one or twice a week, for specific purposes, but by and large the procedure would be more informal. The student would be free to go and come in the progress of his work. Such places as the library, the community, and the room or laboratory of the co-operating teacher would all be within bounds as he directed his study.

The way the American high school directs, by bell and teacher directive, every move of the high-school senior is an affront to the maturity of these youth. About to graduate into marriage, a full-time occupation, or the freedom of a college campus, they are still handled as immature children by our high schools. This course would tend to let them show that after eleven or twelve years in school they were ready to walk alone.

ACTIVE, NOT PASSIVE LEARNING

In recapitulating, let us stress that creative imagination and intellectual daring, in handling the social problems of today, are not nurtured on a social studies program that places its emphasis upon an intensive study of how man acted in ages gone by. It is high time that not only the social studies program but the entire program of the modern high school be planned around the

problems of the youth in school and community life and the immediate stresses and strains in the political, social, and economic life of their elders. Then the study and the instruction can use the past selectively and critically in helping youth to achieve meaningful behavior in the modern world — *their* world. Too long has the school misappropriated public funds by paying social studies teachers to lead pupils to believe that proper civic action would result automatically from correctly answering questions about the civic life of cultures of the past.

History must be taught selectively rather than chronologically. Social studies teachers have been so engrossed in trying to establish for youth an appreciation of the sequence of time that they haven't had time to establish the significance of a sequence of civic action leading logically from proper relationships with one's classmate right on through proper interscholastic relationships with another school and on up to proper relationships among nations. It has been too easily satisfying to find the security of one's social studies teaching in the well-organized archives of the past — much easier than throwing youth into a study of the disorganized activities of student bodies and schools, and of men and nations today. The social studies teachers have a great stake in these broader core courses pointing to citizenship.

The teacher who reveals in his methods a belief in the inherent worth of each individual, in the dignity and value of human nature, is then ready to build a curriculum around the lives of those individuals who come his way. The purposes of general education are defined in terms of what people do or should do in the world, in terms of behavior and action; and it is natural to believe that such goals cannot be reached by following a curriculum that emphasizes little more than the mastering of bodies of knowledge.

A great error has been made in secondary-school planning in assuming that the burden of citizenship training rests with the social studies department. As commonly constituted, such instruction cannot carry the burden. This classroom program has been organized and administered as a few more or less well-organized bodies of content, packaged by adults as good for growing youth. United States history, for instance, has stood as a chronological array of America's happenings, always beginning with the period of exploration and colonization, leading down through the westward movement, the War Between the States, and the Reconstruction Period, and ending with that most important date of all for the student, the day of reckoning on which he receives or fails to receive the two credits required by the state for graduation.

Fair play, sportsmanship, unselfishness, group co-operation, and the ability to see the other fellow's point of view are fundamental to proper social action, but to date these matters have found only lip service in the typical social studies program. Practice in them, if directed by the school, has usually been left to the sponsors of the students' out-of-class activities. The school's citizenship program must not be narrowly conceived.

Chapter 8

A SCHOOL FOR THE COMMUNITY

Is the high school to be a school for the community, or one for the educators who have been brought up on — and thus find their security in — the highly academic conception of education? Only time will tell, but the stronghold of the academicians has for some years been challenged by a small minority of schools that plank by plank have been gradually building a bridge between the school and the community. Curriculum planners are appreciating the fact that school and society are inseparable and, in turn, that an educational program can be effectively provided only insofar as the planners appreciate the social and economic forces at work in the society served. This appreciation must go beyond a fixed subject curriculum, and far beyond the idea of taking advantage of the community by mere firsthand study. It must go into the area of participation, if it is to mean a high school to serve all American youth.

THE SCHOOL A SOCIAL INSTITUTION

Perhaps the school leader who really senses the true social significance of this institution that we call the American public school doesn't have to say to himself as he sits down to plan a curriculum, "Now, let's see, how can we utilize community resources in our program?" Perhaps he is so engrossed in the day-by-day problems of the children or youth that are before him to be served that he forgets to draw a sharp distinction between their community and their school. Perhaps he is so concerned about the problems of the community, tying as they do into those of the larger society, that he fails to draw a sharp distinction between that part of a child's daily existence that is the school's concern and that part that is the concern of others.

The more a faculty of high-school teachers become interested in the total life of their students, the more the curriculum becomes community centered. As long as a teacher's main concern is the performance of the student in a particular subject, the high-school curriculum must remain subject centered, with emphasis upon credit-getting instead of habit-forming, and question-answering instead of community-doing.

Some of our schools are still slicing their curricular meat rather thin. So thin, in fact, that not only do they ignore the possibilities of cross-fertilization between the school and the community, but within the boundaries of the school itself they frown upon too obvious a flirtation between the classroom and the extraclass activities, denying the student the right to participate here or to hold office there because of so-called unsatisfactory progress in this or that classroom.

The rules of the curricular game that most of us seem to play in our secondary schools boldly mark subject matter as home plate, and although we may coach a student to venture now and then from that holy of holies, we never let him forget that the object of the game is to get back to it as soon as possible. He knows that at the end of his high-school years his ultimate success in the game will be determined by (1) a class-ranking based on his batting average in this subject division, and (2) a collection of credits to be used as evidence that he has accumulated an education.

The Community School

The student of American education realizes that for years there has been apparent a trend not only to recognize the school as a social institution rather than a mental-training station, but to recognize that, for its effective operation as such, no sharp curricular boundary between it and the surrounding community can be made as students and teachers go about their activities. The schools that have gone farthest in this break, from a book program carried on within the walls of the school to a program that shuttles boys and girls and teachers back and forth naturally between school plant proper and those other learning resources of the community, have come to be known as community schools.

They are schools that have broken faith with the attempt to improve the curriculum merely by rejuggling or reshuffling the subjects and the subject matter on hand, the attempt to do the job once and for all by carefully constructing courses of study to be mimeographed and handed as guides to all teachers. They are schools that still hold the book and the printed page as prime factors in the learning process, but look upon them not as ends but as means in the solution of the social problems of boys and girls and communities, problems that act as the focal point of the school's endeavors.

We will make no attempt to nail this community-school concept down to specifics, for its curricular promise lies not with a fixed pattern but with the wholesome educational thinking upon which it is being floated. About all one needs to say of its general features is that behind any such program, if it is effective at all, are (1) an appreciation of the school's obligations to the democratic principles of American life, and to the needs of growing youth, (2) an appreciation of how boys and girls learn, of how development takes place, and (3) a willingness to follow practices that might at first seem

unorthodox in the struggle to arrive at educational goals. If features (1) and (2) are active, then the community becomes a part of the curricular picture.

LEARNING CITIZENSHIP BY DOING. Effective participation in our democratic society, and the self-realization of one's potentialities therein, call for growth situations in which the learner and the social scene come together, situations in which the teachers have a chance to direct the learner in these opportunities to develop such desirable social characteristics as tolerance, social sensitivity, self-direction, leadership, and respect for personal worth. Practice in, and thus development in, the democratic process itself is more significant in this curriculum approach than is the problem at hand at the moment. Effective participation in the give-and-take life of the school itself provides many of these same values of growth, as discussed in Chapter 9 which deals with extracurricular activities.

Certainly the increasing use of community resources in school operation is not merely a matter of haphazardly using firsthand experiences in the school's progress toward long established instructional goals. It comes out of a shifting of those goals, a growing appreciation of the importance of learning how to manage one's self and to live and work with other people. *Civic consciousness* and *social sensitivity* are expressions that have loomed large as curricular signposts in the school's attempt to build its program by beginning with the natural things that happen in the lives of the youth and the community in which they live.

THE SMALL SCHOOL LEADS. One generalization that can be made about this tendency for a closer merger of school and community is that the school going in this direction is more apt to be the small school in the less sparsely populated or rural community than the larger school in the city. This can hardly be attributed to better leadership or greater educational foresight in the smaller centers, for the busy principal in the small school has long envied his nonteaching colleague who administers the large school. Five factors may be cited as helping to account for it.

1. In considering effective curriculum reorganization, the mere problem of regimentation is so great in the large school that it is difficult to break away from organization controls long enough to get down to grips with those human elements around which the community-school program revolves. The small school, in turn, does not face the danger of losing its curriculum in a maze of administrative devices and techniques.
2. Furthermore, in spite of the elaborate guidance machinery that may be provided in the large city school, the teachers in the small school have the curricular advantage of living so close to their students and having so much firsthand information about them, that the school's program might more readily reflect this total community picture of the youngsters' needs. The lack of a complexity of social institutions and the absence of the large

city's diversity of interests places the small community's school very close to the life of the community.

3. Departmentalization, which in itself is a pressure for the status quo, operates more forcefully in the large school. The teacher of the small school is seldom a specialist. He may be trained and licensed in no more fields than his city contemporary, but the situation demands that he teach in more of them. So specialized has the teacher in the large school become that if possible he not only limits his teaching assignment to one department, as encouraged by the department head who prefers pure stock, but he may easily become an expert in one subject therein, such as world history or American literature.
4. Outside pressures against change seem to operate more forcefully with the large school than with the small. Even though in many instances the percentage of the student body planning to go to college may not vary greatly between the small rural school and the large school in the metropolitan city, the greater number of such students in the latter is more apt to present a situation behind which complacency may easily operate, flaunting college entrance requirements as an excuse for traditional procedures.
5. A last, and outstanding, factor that operates to make the small school more receptive to the community-school concept is the lack of other social agencies or services in the small center to care for the human needs of the community, and the consequent invitation for the school to assume a more prominent role in the undertaking. Thus, even in the curriculum field, necessity seems to operate as the mother of invention. At least, the programs that are doing the best job of wearing down the wall that once separated school and community are very often located in the economically less fortunate communities.

ACTUAL COMMUNITY-SCHOOL PROGRAM. For more than a decade there have been springing up over the country promising examples of how the local high school intertwines its activities and the ongoing affairs of the community. Hybrid programs as they are, quite unorthodox when compared to the traditional secondary school, these community-school ventures often come and go as do the personnel that had the vision in the local setting. Regardless of its life span, such a program offers much more to American education than its local contribution.

The combined experiences of thirty or forty school systems, scattered all over the nation, will stand for some years as a cross section of America's vision of the high school of tomorrow. Credit should go to the schools that have fearlessly battled complacency and narrow conceptions in an attempt to move youth to educational pastures more nourishing than the scholastic stubble fields so commonly found in the American high school. The glories of those programs that fall in the struggle — they may even fall while these descriptions are in press — can still live as worthy curriculum examples.

The programs that follow are but a few of those found by the author during the past decade — which point the way to the kind of down-to-earth realities that the new high school might use as the foundation of its structure. They are not included to show what schools should do, but rather to show what some have done. Education is a matter of time and place, and the local school must create its own character. The patterns of other schools can be used only as stimulation.[1]

THE STORY OF A SMALL SCHOOL

One story of how the school reached over into the community for curriculum facilities, mainly because the needs of that district were crying out for somebody's sympathetic attention, finds its setting in Waterloo, in the northwest corner of Alabama. This small town of five hundred people, with its rural element extending in a semicircular area twelve miles around Pickwick Lake, struggled to draw a living from the land — 70 per cent of which was unsuited for cultivation. As it did so, it was tempted, the principal reported, to look back to the days when lumbering flourished, an industry that has disappeared because of the unrestricted cutting and constant burning of the forest.[2]

It is somewhat ironical that the Pickwick Dam, constructed there for the social betterment of the South, deprived this particular district of thousands of acres of rich bottom land and drove the farmers up to the eroded and rolling hilltop land that still stands above the water line.

During the depression years the school staff became greatly concerned about conditions, and made a survey of the situation which revealed 50 per cent of the residents on relief; homes, school buildings, and other structures run down; some lack of civic and personal pride among the residents; and the prevailing belief among many of them that they were just waiting for something to open up somewhere else. Feeling that the school had a distinct community responsibility in this state of affairs, the faculty with the aid of the students took steps first to correct the condition of the school plant itself by cleaning, painting, hanging new doors, repairing broken windows, reworking school furniture and equipment, and a year or so later by launching bigger projects such as the erection of new school buildings and homes for teachers.

The attack upon the problems of the community proper was opened with an extensive student survey of conditions, which when coupled with further study led the school to determine the four outstanding needs to be:

1. The need of the appreciation by the average resident that, after all, this was his home, and he should plan his future accordingly

[1] For the description of other programs, see Harold Spears, *The Emerging High-School Curriculum*, New York: American Book Company, 1948.

[2] For a description from which this story of the Florence program was developed, the author is indebted to Otto Holloway, who was then principal of the school at Waterloo.

2. The need of home and community improvement and beautification
3. The need of increased cash income
4. The need of a recreation program

Home Improvement

The twelfth grade became interested in home and community improvement, which became the center of their program. They studied home planning, construction, repairs, landscaping, interior decoration, furnishings, and conveniences. Weeks later this study found an outlet in a house-to-house canvas, in which the students explained what they were doing, solicited public co-operation, and secured a list of jobs each home wanted done. The students secured more requests than they could have filled in five years of continuous work. Selections were made, work was begun, and at the end of that year the credit side of their work ledger read:

Three homes and four barns painted
Rooms in five homes wallpapered and woodwork painted
Three homes landscaped and two yards sodded
Fence and outbuildings whitewashed for one home
A serviceable and attractive barn erected on one farm, the materials coming from an old barn that the boys had torn down
Furniture reworked in three homes and a church
Window curtains and pieces of furniture made for several homes

After finishing this work as a class that school year, the students turned to analyzing the conditions at their own homes. During the summer vacation quite a few made noticeable improvements, and they continued to recondition their homes. The next year another home-and-community improvement program was accepted as a major school objective. Each class did some demonstration work as a group, but in general more attention was given to helping each student make improvements in his own home. This program was continued another year. In doing the demonstration work, never were all the jobs done that a given individual wanted done. The resident himself was to continue and to complete the work that the school group demonstrated and began. He furnished all materials.

In looking back at this phase of their program, Principal Holloway had this to say:

As a result of this home and community program much improvement has resulted. Here in the little town which the people five or six years ago thought would be deserted before now, seven new homes have been constructed recently. Eight more homes have running water, baths, and indoor toilets. Eleven homes and two business houses have been repaired to the extent that they look like different places. One old church has been wrecked and a new one constructed in its place. Two churches have received considerable improvement. Many old outbuildings have been recon-

structed and repaired. In short, the town and surrounding community is having a face lifting. The plan now is to pave and gutter Main Street.

Live-at-Home Program

The attempt to get these residents to settle in their minds that Waterloo was their home, and that they could make a living there, was called the live-at-home program. One step in this was the sending out of mimeographed sheets each month telling the people what food crops should be planted, how they should be planted and fertilized, and how they could be preserved. Some canning demonstrations were held. Several groups planted garden seed and flower seed in boxes in their rooms long before the last frost. These plants were shared and transplanted to gardens all over the community. As a result many people had food crops ready much sooner than in previous years.

Additional land was purchased to be used as a demonstration orchard and year-round garden. The school planned to establish a small cannery for canning its own fruits and vegetables and for community use. Plans also included a co-operative community hotbed where potato and vegetable plants could be grown for several hundred people, and a co-operative potato house where the crop could be cared for to assure the people a year-round supply of potatoes instead of the former three-months-a-year supply.

School leaders set out to help the people increase their money income by making the land more productive through conservation and soil building practices, and through conservation of the forest. A campaign against forest fires was a part of the timber and land conservation program. Several farmers were persuaded to prepare permanent pastures and go into raising beef cattle for a money income. Soil-building and soil-conserving crops and diversified farming were encouraged. A few farmers did a little with poultry. Since the results were not too impressive, four broiler houses were constructed at school, to provide a demonstration center for growing broilers. It was believed that the money income could be substantially increased if people could be persuaded to supplement their row-crop farming with poultry.

Recreational needs were met in part through a community recreational program centered in the school. A movie show was a part of this. All the features of this program were free, and as many as five hundred attended some of the activities. The school is now tied so closely into this ongoing community program that it would be difficult to conceive of their dissolving partnership. The school utilizes the resources of the community and in turn the community utilizes those of the school.

A COMMUNITY PROJECT

While the large city may not be in need of the school's resources as is the case in such rural communities as those just treated, it has so much to offer

the school in the way of community resources that the relationship of the two can be just as close and effective.

During the last years that the writer acted as curriculum director in the Evansville, Indiana, public schools, there was in operation a ninth-year core course, the very principles of which invited the maximum use of community resources in the day-by-day development of the program. Progressing around centers of living instead of around subjects, this three-hour course replaced such former separate subjects as English, community civics, general business training, general science, and general mathematics.

Since the learning experiences revolved around centers or areas of living, such as home living and occupational living, it was as natural for the students to draw upon the out-of-school community resources as upon the content and materials that were a part of the subjects replaced by this course.

Community living, as an instructional center in this program, suggests two particular lines of study and endeavor, one being the study and exploration of the local community, in which the youth are now living and in which they will later assume greater responsibilities, and the other being the actual practice in community-like situations under teacher direction. While the former pointed toward the out-of-school community, the latter looked largely to the life of the school itself as a community life which might afford this desired practice.

Annexation Problem

Even though there were not evident in the program many projects in which the students assumed the responsibility for an out-of-school community undertaking, the work did reflect at every turn the actual life of the community. In one instance, a section of ninety students, comprising a fourth of the freshman class in one of the high schools, in their study of community life became highly active in respect to a red-hot issue that was then before the people of that city and its suburbs — namely, the proposed extension of the city boundaries and the subsequent annexation of thousands of suburbanites into the city. Coming just prior to the taking of the Federal census, it was a hasty attempt to hold the city's 100,000 population figure of the previous census.

The heated agitation for and against the undertaking was reflected in the students, and the section of ninety students and three teachers found itself tied up for a month on the project. It turned out to be an ideal group undertaking. Both sides of the question were strongly represented in the thinking of the student group, and the few who were in doubt soon became the target of the activities of the others. The problem was loaded with diversified learning experiences, as suggested by the newspaper stories, radio discussions, and other information at hand. The course of the work involved such activities and treatments as these:

1. The comparison of property taxes in the city with those just outside
2. The comparison of civic services provided in the two sections
3. The question of fairness of annexation to the low-income group who had recently built outside the city boundaries
4. The question of free fire protection that the city for years had extended to this outside area
5. The problem of an open sewer that extended into the city from this district, and the health implications
6. The comparison of area size of the local incorporated city with the areas of cities of similar population in the state
7. The case for the city
8. The case for the remonstrating group, those residents in the contested area who did not want to be taken into the city
9. The threatened loss of city population and the influence upon the city's progress
10. The advantages of living inside the city, and the advantages of living in the areas just outside the city

The study of these and the other angles of the topic led to such activities as (1) group organization, (2) intensive study of all data available, (3) panel discussions, (4) field trips tracing the present and proposed city boundaries, (5) field trips to inspect points of controversy such as the open sewer, (6) written reports, (7) interviews with city officials and with remonstrators, (8) mass demonstrations, (9) talks by community leaders, and (10) presentations of their findings by student groups before civic organizations such as the luncheon clubs.

Extensive Civic Experience

This program used the community freely. A fair part of the student's time in the course was spent outside the school. The course aimed toward the development of a citizen who has the desire to aid in solving his community's problems, to perform such necessary services as service on the jury or at the polls, to vote in all elections, to aid in charitable enterprises, and to keep well-informed with respect to community problems and interests; a citizen with a kindly interest in his neighbors, a willingness to serve in worthy community enterprises, and a willingness to accept public office; a citizen who can resist pressure groups, protect the freedoms of democracy, and adjust himself to social situations; a citizen who knows the facts relating to his government, how the community protects life and property, how to consume goods and services wisely, and the importance of taxation.

It would have been interesting to compare at the end of the year the ninth-grader's knowledge of that community with that of the average citizen. In such a program as this, the ninth-grader gets into the industries and the business offices, he studies the social agencies of the Community Fund and

visits their headquarters, he goes to court and to jail, he studies the city government and the public utilities, he knows the general distinctions between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., he gets into the radio stations and the newspaper plants, he compares birth rates and death rates and draws conclusions, he studies the distribution of the city's workers among the occupations and witnesses them at work, he takes bus trips over the city to note housing conditions, he interviews early inhabitants and well-informed citizens, he sits in on meetings of the city council and the county council, he knows where to register deeds and what the assessor's office does, he studies the health situation, he goes to the recreational center and spots the other recreational facilities of the city, and he does whatever other community exploration his study leads him into.

BUILDING CITIZENS AT PINE MOUNTAIN

Down on the north slope of Pine Mountain, in Harlan County, Kentucky, for years a small secondary school, by means of a unique curriculum, has been serving its students by enabling them to serve their community. From the first time the author visited the school ten years ago, he has followed its realistic curriculum development with intense interest. Any educator, from his study and travels, cherishes a few bright spots to which he turns for encouragement — and the Pine Mountain Settlement School is one of these.

As one visits the school, and watches the teachers working with the here-and-now life of those boys and girls and that mountain community, he very much notices the absence of educational "pedagese" and campus formula. Correlation, integration, activity program, community school, and even curriculum are never mentioned. Nobody is trying to implement functions or principles, there is no controversy about the words progressive or fundamentals, nor is there any discussion of distinctions between general and vocational education. This school is doing in deeds what others are still stuttering around to try to say in teacher committee reports.

Social Contribution as Basic Training

Basic to the school program is the service that the upperclass students give to the community, Harlan County. This service is not something extra to school lessons, but is a normal activity that makes the hills and valleys the classroom. Every senior gives one full day a week, for forty weeks, to community service. The areas of service include: (1) visiting homes, (2) helping in the infirmary that the school maintains for community use, (3) handling a traveling library on a packhorse, (4) helping the doctors and dentists in medical and dental clinics in the county, and (5) visiting the small rural elementary schools.

HOME VISITORS. Home visitors hike out into the valleys and over the hills to give help in any way possible to the families there. A senior girl averages

15 visits on each field day, or 600 a year, averages walking twelve miles a day, and puts in about a nine-hour day. About 20,000 home contacts are made each year by the school. The service of these senior girls can be better understood from these excerpts taken from a description Sarah gave of her work to an assembly:

Early in the morning I throw my kit bag over my shoulder, pick up my lunch in the kitchen, go to the Community Room if I need special materials or instructions, and then check in at the infirmary to replenish first-aid supplies and take out medicines for cases that are being treated by the visiting nurse or the doctor. Now I'm ready for the road, and my heart and step are light. There's a thrill in knowing that the friends I have made through the year are expecting me and will be disappointed if I fail to appear.

Sometimes I visit all houses in the order that I come to them, but special jobs may keep me from getting to the end of the route. So today I decide to strike out walking briskly for the house farthest from the school, and then work back. Meantime, someone sees me passing, and hails, "Sarah, won't you come in and get a splinter out of Bobby's toe, and doctor it for him? I can't manage him alone." A worthless "pretty" in my bag helps amuse Bobby while we remove the splinter. That doesn't take long. Now I manage to walk five miles, making no calls, but meeting children on their way to school, receiving some lusty and some shy greetings.

Finally to the last house on my route, where I find the mother struggling at cutting out a dress without a pattern. I help her make a paper pattern, using her measurements and an old dress. We get the dress cut out. At the next home I doctor sores from falls, find a child sick with the flu, and plan for him a lot of liquids — juices, thin soups, and water. On other days I have had such experiences as these:

Helping to paper a room

Reading some stories that I had promised to bring to a little boy confined to his bed for weeks with his leg in a plaster cast

Writing two letters for a mother, who is unable to write, to her children far away from home

Running into a quilting party, where I have a chance to visit with several women at once, to admire the nice piecing, and to put in some stitches of my own

Talking to some men about news events, where my current history class comes in handy

Bathing and dressing a baby, and carrying water and wood for a woman who is ill

Looking in with satisfaction at the improvements being made in a cabin which our boys have helped to build

Distributing *Woman's Day* and our school paper, *Pine Cones*, to the homes on my route

Asking questions and jotting down information for a survey to be made in future school planning

Inviting the people and their children to come to "Community Day" at the school, or the New Year's Party, a movie, or a school play

I'm sure I've done a little bit of something worth-while, but goodness knows, I've done nothing to deserve the constant expressions of appreciation, such as a nice red

apple saved for me, or a bag of walnuts, or some juicy cane stalks, or — after a day of papering — a bottle of orange pop and a moon pie. Again it was two monstrous chicken legs. Still another time a housewife asked me to bake her a walnut cake, and when it was baked and iced, she called the family in, "Now we're going to eat Sarah's birthday cake that she just baked." I'm still wondering how she found out about my birthday.

Yes, I've tried to be helpful in every way that I could figure out, but in the end the plus score is all on my side. I have received more than I gave, not of apples and such but of things learned, precious friendships made. I have greater love and respect for all mankind.

INFIRMARY HELPERS. A number of the seniors spend one day a week helping in the school infirmary which serves the community. Days there are irregular, one filled with a number of babies or a number of sore throats, another with the usual run of four or five patients not very sick. Among the routine jobs carried out are:

Taking temperatures and pulses, and recording them

Giving medicines according to doctor's instructions

Folding and putting away linens in neat, orderly stacks in their proper places

Giving bed baths, and making a bed with a patient in it

Giving a baby bath

Preparing rubber gloves for use — powdering them, blowing them up, listening for air escape, patching them, sterilizing them, etc.

Helping prepare incoming patients for examination

Witnessing an operation

Studying how to treat boils, sores, burns, and toothaches

Helping an expectant mother who has been brought in for the delivery of her baby

Answering special calls to the sick rooms

PACKHORSE LIBRARIAN. Senior boys act as packhorse librarians, carrying books and magazines out into the homes, and trying to create reading appetites as well as serving those already existing. One boy, reporting in assembly about his work as librarian, said:

The women like *Life* magazine, *Woman's Day*, *Reader's Digest*, and some novels. The small children want picture books and fairy tales, and those a little older like Indian stories and airplane books. They ask for Zane Grey and adventure stories. Everybody wants to stop and talk. They hear radio reports, sometimes just parts of them, or rumors, and they don't understand and are excited or worried. I tell them how I see things and it helps.

There's always something I must look at: a little boy wants me to come see his 4-H Club strawberry patch, one would have me look at his pet rabbit, another wants me to stop long enough for a marble game, a woman wants me to look at her garden, and another wants me to get the harness off a mule that took to wallowing in the lot

before his gear had been removed. I asked a barefoot boy if the stones hurt his feet. He says, "Watch me run!" And then he pounds heels and soles along the rocky road and comes back to show his feet — tough as shoe leather on the bottom.

Most of our books are for circulation, but some are to be given away, and I try to circulate those where they will be most used. I find that those given away last year have been kept carefully, and one family in particular proudly showed me their few books as their library. Even though they may not all be read, I think it means something just to have books around in sight. There is a pride in ownership which promises greater literacy in the future for some of our people.

THE CLINICS. Two girls travel once a week with the doctor to an appointed place in the valley where a medical clinic had been announced. As one girl described the experiences:

We would give as many as thirty typhoid shots in one day, treat bad colds, sore throats, pneumonia, ulcers, sprains, and what not. The doctor would check babies and prescribe formulas for feeding the sick ones. He had a thriving business in one phase of dentistry; there were always several people there for tooth extractions because our doctor pulled for fifty cents a tooth — much cheaper than a trip to town to the dentist.

SERVING OTHER SCHOOLS. Through its interest and supervision, Pine Mountain school provides inspiration and leadership for a number of elementary schools in the valley. Some students of Pine Mountain make their community contribution by helping the teachers of these one-room rural schools. Besides helping in the more formal program, they give instruction in handicraft and recreation, enabling many children to work creatively with their hands. Among the things the senior boys reported as having done or built in their elementary-school service were these:

1. A new cabinet and shelves in the hot-lunch kitchen
2. A new door or an old one rehung
3. Some new steps at the door
4. A new stairway up a steep bank
5. A new reading table and bookcase
6. A new stile over the fence
7. A new flag stand
8. A shuffleboard court and equipment
9. The painting of a schoolroom
10. Taking out putty and putting in window panes
11. Doing wood carving with a pocket knife
12. Pulling weeds and enlarging the playground
13. Putting up the stove and new pipe
14. Leading a hike
15. Teaching the Scout oath and laws
16. Preparing youngsters for a 4-H Club meeting, and taking part when the county agent arrives for the program

17. Helping to gather pine cones and acorn cups to be painted for Christmas tree ornaments

18. Helping to decorate the schoolhouse for Hallowe'en or other holidays

19. Assisting in play rehearsals, carrying costumes to and from our own school's property room

20. Acting as auctioneers at box and pie suppers at the school, and what's more, buying the pies and boxes to aid school improvements

21. Delivering packs of newspapers and magazines at homes which we pass

22. Picking up patients to be brought to our school's infirmary

23. Taking along a softball and bat, a volleyball or football, or a set of horseshoes for games, and

24. Playing circle games, and furnishing an accompaniment with harmonica or guitar for singing games

A Functional Program

And so the little school in Harlan County, unhampered by college admission offices and similar handicaps to high-school reform, avoids social artificiality in the experiences of its students. Practically all the work incident to maintaining the school plant is done by the students under supervision, including farming, dairying, poultry care, kitchen work, laundry work, repairing and upkeep of buildings, running the light plant and waterworks, and doing housework. The school is not only a community school, it is almost a complete community in itself.

Traditional studies, such as English, math, history, and science, function in contributory ways as needed in the student's total development. Citizenship is not something just talked in the classroom. Values may be determined there, but they are tested in the active community and school endeavors of the youth whose privilege it is to engage in this ongoing enterprise. Is there improvement in oral and written expression? Yes, because boys and girls there have a lot they want to talk and write about.

SCHOOL–COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND RELATIONSHIPS

While the community-school concept, in its broader implications, awaits general acceptance, individual teachers can continue to develop service-to-community projects that will pay educational dividends to their students and social dividends to their communities. On the basis of a study made of 125 such projects, as carried on in 86 different high schools scattered over the nation, Geneva Hanna has these suggestions to make for those teachers and schools wishing to move in this direction:[3]

1. To facilitate the identification of possible suitable service-to-community projects, teachers should be encouraged to become more aware of community prob-

[3] Geneva Hanna, "A Dynamic Curriculum Serves the People," *Educational Leadership*, February, 1947, 4:297–298.

lems by working in adult groups in the community, students should be given an opportunity to suggest service problems, and community agencies should be encouraged to call on school groups to help solve community problems.

2. Students should be involved in an important way in the selection of the project; for optimum results the problem must be acceptable to them.

3. Projects which have some continuity over a period of at least several months should be favored over those of a shorter duration.

4. The project should be capable of at least a partial solution by the students who are to participate in the process.

5. The student group should be brought into the planning and organizing of the project at the earliest possible moment in order that the greatest educational values will accrue from the activity.

6. The total student group should be kept informed on all plans made by student committees or adults, and should be able to approve, reject, or amend any such plans.

7. The whole student group concerned in the service activity should consider and accept solutions to organizational problems. This tends to insure each individual accepting his responsibility more readily and to result in the work proceeding more smoothly.

8. To promote community understanding of service-to-community projects carried on by class groups, appropriate school officials should consult with officers of public-spirited organizations or with any individual or group directly concerned with a proposed project, and should give sufficient information to the general public so as to allay any doubts or suspicions regarding the enterprise.

9. The size of student groups should not much exceed twenty-five in number for best results.

10. A flexible school schedule should be set up to provide longer periods of time (two class periods or more) during a given school day for working on community projects.

11. Service-to-community projects should be considered part of the school curriculum and conducted as part of the regular class work.

12. For many activities such as surveys and food preservation, small committees working together is the most efficient form of organization.

13. The organization form should be shifted during the execution of the project to facilitate the working out of the problem and to increase the growth of the participants.

14. Tangible results should be sought as soon as possible in at least a few phases of the project.

15. Educators should guard students against the exploitation sometimes involved in the use of their services in community projects.

16. Evaluation techniques should be worked out in terms of individual and group objectives agreed upon by the participants and utilized in process as well as at the completion of the service-to-community activity.

Stages of Relationships

Any high school can evaluate its own curricular relationships with the community that supports it. Perhaps there is a scale of school and community relationships, ranging from the more reactionary concept of educa-

tion on over to the more extreme values of the community-school concept. The five stages outlined below are proposed as the steps on this scale.

1. The school follows a strict subject curriculum, with little or no particular relationship to the unique characteristics of its supporting community. Community relationships in a curricular sense are limited to outside speakers being invited in to speak to classes, and to the occasional visits of classes into the community for firsthand observation of a traffic court or some other civic activity.
2. The activities of the civic life of the community are brought into existing courses. For instance, two of the stock units in the American problems course are traffic safety and the recreational activities of citizens, in both of which the local situation is studied intensively.
3. The situation in the local community is taken as the point of departure in curriculum planning. For instance, the Evansville annexation-study example used in this chapter represented a local problem that determined the main topic of study in a ninth-grade core class for a number of weeks. In another school, a job-opportunity survey may be made in the community to enable the school to set up the proper occupational training and guidance.
4. The school sets out to give the youth experience in community service, but does not propose to solve any particular problems. Thus, in a small town that has no street signs the school shop teacher handles the matter simply as a teaching project for his students.
5. The school sets out to give youth training in community service through actual participation in community endeavor, and at the same time makes a contribution to the community in solving its problems. For instance, the service rendered in the Pine Mountain and the Pickwick communities described in this chapter comes under this heading.

Demonstration Centers Not Needed

In thinking of moving the school into more promising practices, one common error is made by school administrators and teachers in this country. They invariably ask, "Where can I see this type of program in operation?" and assume that they can't act until such a demonstration center is found. *There just aren't enough community-school programs in existence to enable many educators to study the possibilities firsthand.* Instead, they must be content (*1*) to sum up the sociological, civic, and occupational aspects of their own communities, (2) to match them against their existing school programs, and (3) to do some improvising on their own. Community councils, chambers of commerce, civic clubs, frontier thinkers in the curriculum field, and other such personnel resources are at hand, awaiting an invitation to help in remodeling the old place. The main value of the community project is not the work done, but the habit developed of contributing to community welfare.

Chapter

9

LEARNING TO DO BY DOING

Strange as it may seem, for the past twenty-five years the American high school has been operating, side by side, two programs with noticeable opposing philosophies of education — (1) the classroom book program and (2) the extraclass activities program. The one reflects the opinion that people improve their lives and their society by merely reading and talking about things. The other reflects the opinion that people learn by doing.

THE DIVIDED CURRICULUM

In recent years it has been easy for the curriculum expert on the college campus to say that the curriculum is not merely that which takes place in the classroom, but is made up of all the things that pupils engage in while under school supervision. It has been easy for the followers out in the field to nod their heads in approval of this profound statement. But as they do so, in 98 per cent of the schools they continue to make these telltale distinctions between the classroom and the extraclass activities:

1. Credit for graduation is granted in only the classroom program.
2. Students cannot engage in the major extraclass activities, such as athletics, unless they are succeeding in the classroom program.
3. The time for participation in nearly all of the activities program must be found by the student in after-school hours.
4. Activities work is assigned to teachers, or taken by them, as extraclass work, their classroom schedules not being lightened.
5. Teachers are required by the state to be certified in the classroom program but not in the extraclass program.
6. In practically all extracurricular work but athletics, the teacher is not paid for this extra contribution of time and energy.
7. Extraclass activities must support themselves, while the classroom program receives budget coverage.
8. Training institutions center their efforts upon the classroom program, there being no planned training for most of the extracurricular work.

Although activities have come to be accepted as a part of the school, there still exists on the part of the staff and the public the general feeling that the classroom program is of primary importance, while the other is of secondary concern. Even though supplementing the curriculum, bordering on it, and frequently even growing into it, the activities on the whole have remained a separate part of the school program.

It appears that these rather sharp distinctions between the two fields will be continued for some time in most schools. Although student interest runs high in student government work, clubs, assemblies, athletics, publications, dramatics, and similar activities, they are managed by school administrators as though they were side shows to the attraction in the big tent — the classroom program. To what extent the more complete endorsement of these interests of youth will find its way into actual curriculum endorsement, and to what extent it will culminate in mere lip-service to another educational platitude, is yet to be determined. The school administrator must not confuse the mere presence of an extensive activities program as evidence that its true educational possibilities are being met.

Yes, the high school, in providing for the total growth process, has developed two more or less separate fields, the curricular and the extracurricular, the former having been planted and cultivated by the faculty, the latter primarily by the student body. The here-and-now life of the pupil has found its greatest satisfaction in this extracurricular field.

While the teacher was busy imparting knowledge, the pupil was busy organizing societies, playing on school teams, and editing the school journal. While authorities were setting out studies difficult enough to assure a sound education for the pupil, the latter was developing activities more to his liking. Pupil-teacher planning was taking place, but it was being done on two separate fronts.

Youth was in the fore. While the teacher worked to sell her program to the pupil, the latter worked to arouse the school's interest in his. In fact, educational planning can take but little credit for the initiation of the activity movement. These activities were an important part of the adolescent's life that he refused to give up during the hours spent in school. Educational planning that recognizes the significant role that student activities can play in improving living is but capitalizing upon the natural practices of youth.

There is ample evidence to support the contention that the student activity movement has represented a revolt against the traditional curriculum and classroom procedure, and that this revolt of youth in favor of life activities nearer their here-and-now existence must be considered when the influences behind current curriculum reorganization are listed.

Schools that once merely tolerated extracurricular activities now recognize and even encourage them. The pupil who in the early days smuggled the athletic program and the secret society through the back door of the school

now has a grandson in high school who receives a helping hand from the faculty as he brings his project up the front steps.

It is true that the school's earliest concern for the activities program was that of controlling a necessary evil, but such recognition even though lacking in educational foresight was an essential step in getting the program to the front. When high-school boys formed football teams that bore the name of the school but which recognized hometown athletic ability ahead of school membership, when high-school classes took bobsled rides and held receptions for each other, when school magazines were issued in the name of the school — then faculty supervision was bound to follow.

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF ACTIVITIES

The development of extracurricular activities into a big school enterprise has come within the past thirty years, while the classroom program can trace its ancestry back three hundred years. There are rather distinct periods that stand out in the extension of activity work in the high school.

The Period of Toleration

When the high-school student was first moving his program into the school earlier this century, the common attitude on the part of the teacher was that of laissez faire. Whether his attitude was one of amusement or consternation, the teacher in the early school seldom interfered. Opposition or encouragement, either of which would have strengthened the movement, was usually withheld. The teacher who offered a helping hand was the exception to the rule.

The records of the early school, right down through the nineteenth and well over into the twentieth century, hold little evidence of recognition of any activities other than those known as curricular. Today it is not uncommon for the custodian to find groups of students in the building an hour or more before classes begin, rehearsing for or participating in this or that activity. An urge more compelling than the threat of poor marks or the promise of honors has brought them together so early. There are always some groups, such as the newspaper staff, that have to be chased out in the evening when it is time to lock up the place.

The Period of Recognition

It was in 1919 that the first professional course in extracurricular activities was offered — that by Elbert K. Fretwell at Teachers College, Columbia University, for junior- and senior-high-school teachers and administrators. As have the courses since offered, this pioneer venture emphasized student publications, assemblies, clubs and societies, dramatics, student governing bodies, athletic associations, athletics, and similar socializing activities of high-school students. Thus, the natural out-of-class affairs of youth have gradually come to be recognized as worthy of faculty sponsorship, and the

business of sponsoring a club or coaching a team has gone down in the catalogue of some training institutions as on a professional level with the task of teaching English and algebra, supervising classroom instruction, and administering a schedule of classes.

School administrators who favored these activities, but were faced with the doubts of the layman, have found assurance in the recognition of the movement by schools of education and the deluge of literature on the subject that has come from the press since the first volume in 1926. By 1940 the high school without a fairly extensive activities program was the exception rather than the rule.

The early literary society developed into a club program representing the varied hobbies and interests of students and teachers. It is not unusual for an up-and-coming high school of a thousand students to support a program of forty clubs.

The early chapel developed into an assembly program which serves as a clearinghouse for both the curricular and extracurricular life of the modern school. The assembly might well be called the crossroads of today's high school.

The early school literary magazine, in the development of a functional program, has given birth to a variety of student publications, the most popular of which are, in order, the newspaper, the yearbook, the handbook, and the magazine.

The early school team, launched by the students themselves as interscholastic competition with little correlation between team and school membership, has mushroomed into a sports program with professionally trained coaches and well-managed athletic associations, housed in elaborate gymnasiums and stadiums, which competes with professional sports for public favor. It is not unusual for ten or fifteen thousand fans to turn out to see two high-school football teams play for a mythical city or state title, and high-school basketball games are commonly played before as many as five or six thousand fans. In the state of Indiana — where high-school basketball has long since taken its place alongside food, shelter, and clothing as one of the essentials of the life of a Hoosier citizen — the gymnasium seating thirty-five hundred to six thousand has been accepted as standard equipment for the high school in the county seat town. And Indiana has ninety-two counties. The features of this athletic program in the American high school have been influential in bringing into the school the broader intramural and physical education programs.

The early box supper and the class reception have given way to a broad social program, in which the school dance plays no small part. The senior play, the Gilbert and Sullivan Opera, and the other stage productions of today's larger high school are far removed from the staging of the amateur play of the early American high school. Student Councils and pupil participation

PERIODS	*Features of the period*	*Administrative attitude*
1. *Toleration* Student activities organized by students, unauthorized and unsponsored by faculty Student activities supervised by faculty, unrecognized by school administration	Beginnings in the field of athletics	Toleration
2. *Recognition* Student activities sponsored by faculty, and recognized by school administration	First class in handling student activities, 1919 Appearance of books and articles treating activities Extracurricular participation limited by classroom performance	Recognition of two parallel and separate fields in the school
Student activities sponsored by faculty, and recognized by the administration to the extent of providing a daily activities period for them in the schedule of classes		
3. *Merger* Extracurricular field used as a tryout ground for student activities that may later move into the curriculum		
A new conception of the curriculum which recognizes all student experiences under faculty supervision as part of the curriculum	Activities made a natural part of new courses, as core courses	Easier to accept the principle than the practice

FIGURE 8. Periods in the Progress of the Student Activities Movement

in government were hardly conceived when the activities movement was in the early stage of class fights. The home room is a distinct innovation of recent years, with no parallel pattern in the early school.

Today's bands, orchestras, and choral groups, elaborately dressed and outfitted, are far beyond the imagination of the music teacher who years ago began the high-school music program by leading the student body once or twice a week in singing.

An activities period in the school day is an accepted procedure in administering the miscellaneous activities in the more modern schools, and point systems have been cleverly devised to control pupil participation in this socializing program. The school curriculum may still be limited in too many minds to the class day, but the school day itself is no longer limited to that period of time between the opening of the first class and the closing of the last. Groups of teachers gather early and stay late as they engage in these broadened educative experiences.

Now and then, tax reductionists such as real estate organizations attack school budgets with the cry, "Cut out the fads and frills." Such attacks have tested student activities and have strengthened them, for when it comes

to pointing out noneducative activities it is realized that the decision cannot be made on the basis of what the school contained when grandfather was a boy. Parents come to the defense of bands, orchestras, athletics, and similar activities in which there is so much interest.

The Period of Merger

The view that a school holds concerning the importance of such student experiences depends in no small part upon the conception of the curriculum held. If the curriculum is still seen as a series of subject units, set out by the staff to be mastered by pupils in anticipation of some life objective, then the activity program can never play more than a secondary role. On the other hand, if the curriculum is conceived as comprising all the experiences of the student while under the school's direction, then the two fields may move into each other and tend to lose separate identity.

For many years, students of various interests have been experiencing a merging of fields. The school newspaper grows out of a class in English, the band that appears in public receives its training in a scheduled music period, the senior play that takes so many extra hours has its origin in a dramatics course, the taxidermy club is the result of additional interest in biology, and an assembly is put on by the travel club, which in turn was formed around an interest originating in a history class.

The extracurricular philosophy from the beginning has looked upon the school as a community of rich learning experiences, and has not restricted the program to the physical limits of the school plant itself. Now the emerging curriculum concept, in taking over this point of view, is paying tribute to the pioneering that has been done in the extraclass field. The wisdom of permitting pupils to determine purposes, to propose and plan learning procedures, and to evaluate individual and group success in a venture has never been doubted in that field.

THE UNIFIED CURRICULUM

Classroom Incorporation

For years, the more modern high schools of the country have accepted into the regular classroom program such activities as newspaper, handbook, glee club, chorus, orchestra, band, dramatics, and debating. This has been especially true in the Middle West, where schools are not hampered by the deep-seated traditions that have handicapped secondary education on the Eastern seaboard and in the South.

In the Middle West it would be relatively easy for the high school to go further, by bringing student government, all publications work, assembly planning, guidance, and even social activities into classroom combinations with such more formal activities as written expression and reading. The

core, experience, and community programs described in Chapters 5 to 8 reveal some of the steps in this direction.

Of course, the mere assignment of an activity to one or the other of the two commonly existing fields — classroom or extraclassroom — is of far less significance than the point of view taken in its organization and management. Poor classroom procedures are just as poor when employed in the extracurricular field, and good activity procedures are just as good when that particular activity moves into the curriculum.

Planning the Activities Period

The modern high school has a daily activities period in the regular class schedule for clubs, assemblies, student council meetings, and similar important events in the ongoing life of an active student body. With the pressure for time being exerted by this student life, it is quite evident that the school that does not give at least one period a day to these vital concerns of youth has little conception of their importance. If a normal teaching load in a high school is five classes, the inclusion of a well-planned activities period should mean a normal teaching load of four classes and an activity that meets during that period.

Once set up, the period should care for the broader needs and not be a slave to an activity obsession. A balanced arrangement might mean one day to home-room guidance, a second to clubs, a third to government, a fourth to assemblies, with the fifth for miscellaneous endeavors. To permit the band director or the basketball coach, who is preparing his group for a contest, to draw his members day after day from these other regularly scheduled programs would be to make the period a slave of an activity obsession. To set aside thirty clubs on club day for the sake of an unscheduled assembly is a similar example of misuse of the activities period.

A Migratory Activities Period in a Flexible Daily Schedule

While most school administrators have fixed the activities period at a specific time in the school day, now and then a high-school principal takes liberties with it to accomplish the broader educational goals of the school. Such a principal is Frederic T. Shipp, of the Abraham Lincoln High School, San Jose, California. He wants the daily schedule to serve three purposes:

1. To assure a minimum interruption of the classroom program
2. To serve the many school-centered student activities and the numerous community-related ventures that balance out the classroom program
3. To make provision under the most favorable circumstances for counseling, teacher-pupil conferences, and committee work

In serving these three, the Lincoln High School operates a migratory activities period in the following daily schedule — a period that moves in accordance with the daily needs of the school.

FEATURES OF THE SCHEDULE

CONFERENCE PERIOD. In this senior high school the school day runs from 8 A.M. to 3:15 P.M. The time from 8 to 8:30 is the *Conference Period*, with faculty members in their rooms and counselors in their offices to serve students. This period is optional for some students, required of others when help is apparently needed. It eliminates the customary after-school work.

ACTIVITIES PERIOD. The seven-period day begins at 8:30 A.M with six 50-minute periods devoted to regular classwork, a 40-minute period for lunch, and the seventh 50-minute period an activity period. Scheduling activities on school time permits maximum student participation and provides adequate faculty direction. This activity period actually is a "floating period," and may be scheduled in between any of the subject periods or at the beginning or close of the day. Its scheduling is announced either on the faculty bulletin board before school or in the principal's bulletin read to all students at the beginning of the second period. There is no interruption or disturbance of the subject periods aside from moving the remaining periods on one hour later in the regular school day. Such a period provides for assemblies, rallies, student government, clubs, and other meetings, and also permits the shortening of the school day without disturbing the subject classes.

DAILY PERIODS	*Tenth Grade*	*Eleventh Grade*	*Twelfth Grade*	
Conf. Per.	PRE-PERIOD — *for individual guidance and instruction — optional or required*			
1	HEALTH AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION			REQUIRED for General education
2	SOCIAL STUDIES	SOCIAL STUDIES	SOCIAL STUDIES	
3	ENGLISH	ENGLISH		ELECTIVES Interests — avocational and vocational — including a fifth subject or study period.
4	LIFE SCIENCE			
5	CURRICULAR ELECTIVES			
6				
7	CO-CURRICULAR ELECTIVES (government, assemblies, clubs and other activities)			

FIGURE 9. A Flexible Daily Schedule[1]

WEEKLY OPERATION

Once or twice each week there is no all-school activity for this special period. This floating period then becomes an "S" ("study") period. The "S Period" usually is used for supervised study, individual conferences, or committee work. Its informal and individual character permits a weekly

[1] As operated in the Lincoln High School, San Jose, California.

meeting of the Student Government, without penalty to the students and without subject-class interference. Occasionally larger groups, such as the senior class, meet during this "S Period," while the balance of the school remains in class. Consequently the subject periods actually gain additional time throughout the year. This past semester, for example, the class period time averaged fifty-five minutes instead of the fifty minutes originally allotted.

A typical week follows:

MONDAY: "*S Period*" — with one of the subject periods repeated. This may follow the subject period to be repeated or may occur later in the day.

TUESDAY: *Club Day* — hobby or interest clubs for all students. Faculty members act as sponsors.

WEDNESDAY: *Assembly* — usually of a cultural nature.

THURSDAY: "*S Period*" — a subject period, repeated in rotation.

FRIDAY: *Assembly* — usually entertainment; or a brief rally with school dismissed early for a cross-town athletic contest.

The principle of flexibility is also extended to the weekly schedule which may be varied to suit the school's convenience. For example, if an assembly speaker can be secured for Thursday, and not Wednesday, the shift is made with no difficulty.

LIMITING AND ENCOURAGING PARTICIPATION

Any student activity must stand on its own merits and not depend upon artificial baiting for participants. The traditional unit-and-credit method of manipulating the program of studies, with marks and credits coming as rewards for completion of specific studies, may readily mislead school administration to apply the same techniques to clubs, assembly, council, athletics, and what not.

It is one thing to keep a cumulative record of a student's total school participation as a feature of a good guidance program; it is another to keep it for the sake of awarding credits and honors. If, as practice has apparently contended, the award system has served a legitimate purpose in a field that lacked the more natural incentive of student interest, it does not follow that such a system has application in a field that has developed out of the here-and-now affairs of youth. The school that supports an extensive activities program on an interest basis, by injecting honors and credits into its management may in short order change the participation incentive from one of interest and fun to one of remuneration and reward.

Election to the National Honor Society is commonly looked upon as the upperclassman's highest reward for outstanding achievement in both the curricular and the extracurricular fields. Selection is made on the basis of scholarship, character, leadership, and service. The comparison of the scholastic records of the contending students is a simple mathematical procedure, and the second of the four points likewise causes the faculty com-

mittee little trouble; but the comparison of contenders in respect to the last two points has led to ingenious systems of evaluating participation in the extracurricular field.

A Point System

Some schools have set up a point system, whereby each membership and each office or position carries a specific number of points, the number depending upon the importance and the time. Originally developed as a means of limiting the participation of a few popular school leaders and thus encouraging wider participation on the part of others, the point system fell into the hands of the faculty committee seeking an objective means of evaluating the output of students in school leadership and service, those two troublesome qualifications of the four on which honor society membership is determined. Under such a system, it is to the advantage of the aspiring student to secure, in addition to his high scholarship average, the highest possible total of activity points. Some schools have even gone so far as to inject a questionable rating system within the point system, whereby the sponsor of the activity has to judge to what extent the student member has been active.

The danger in injecting such reward systems into the administration of the student activity program is readily seen. The deciding factor in a pupil's selection of one activity over another may be that of grabbing credits rather than satisfying an interest, and the competitive individualism that has been so prevalent in the classroom passes over into the field which has heretofore been noted for its co-operative practices and socializing influences. Even if the originators and the national headquarters of student honor societies are unaware of the educational shortcomings that may accompany the administration of such awards, there is little reason for the local principal or teacher to fall into the trap.

The activities program must depend for its support on student interest and enthusiasm, upon the fun of planning and participating in this broader life of the school. Honors and awards may have a place in the scheme of things if they can be administered without becoming the magnetic poles of pupil participation and membership.

Encouraging Participation

If the activity program is to be a significant factor in improving living, it follows that *participation must be encouraged rather than limited.* As a carry-over from the skeptical reception that the early extraclass program received from the faculty, there still exists a tendency to curtail participation in the case of the pupil who makes low marks in his classroom studies.

It is readily understandable why offices of school leadership are withheld from students whose citizenship performance is in disrepute, but it doesn't follow that poor marks indicate low citizenship. To deprive a student low

in classwork of membership in a club or on a team is to deprive him of possible educative experiences. In fact, the values of co-operating in team play have helped many a boy to find his place in a school society, resulting in better classroom adjustment.

If the activities movement is to reach educationally sound ground, it must free itself from the opinion that activities are after all just the fun side of school and therefore represent a privilege that is earned only if the curricular duties are first performed. Such an attitude strengthens the false distinction between the two fields of endeavor. Youth need to realize that attendance in an American public high school and participation in any of its features — classroom as well as extraclassroom — represent the privilege of all American youth, a privilege calling for the acceptance of responsibility as well.

Undemocratic Limitations

Undemocratic as well as uneducational practices may also limit participation. Clubs must be free from cliques that may tend to restrict the membership, and faculty sponsors must guard against approving such closed-door policies. Secret societies have no place in the public high school, as attested to by state legislation in many states. Limitation on an ability-to-profit or on an ability-to-serve basis may be justified in handling such groups as the gym leaders club, the band, and the school newspaper. The democratic nature of the public high school also demands that participation in the program must not be limited because of financial qualifications. Membership dues and expensive insignia are in disrepute in the modern club program. *The economic inequalities in the American secondary school are more apparent in the field of student life than in the field of classroom studies.*

If a shop course or a dressmaking course is educative, it should not be limited to those who can pay for the materials. Such materials must be supplied through the budget. If such is not the case, students of limited means will be forced to take those courses costing the least, regardless of the application to the students' needs. If a bowling club or a horseback riding club is educative, it should not be limited to those who can pay for the rental of the bowling alleys or the horses. Such facilities must be supplied through the budget if the activity is to be offered. If such is not the case, students of limited means will be forced to join those clubs costing the least, regardless of student needs and interests.

Naturally there is a limit to the amount of participating a pupil can profitably do in extraclasswork just as there is a limit to the amount of classes he can profitably carry. Many students are spreading themselves rather thinly over the varied program of the modern high school, and it is demonstrated repeatedly that joining does not always mean participating. It was once feared that those already low in scholastic performance would be even lower because of participation in extraclasswork. Today it is commonly known that the students

of highest scholastic ability are in most instances the ones who take the greatest part in the activities program. Their interests are broad, they are ambitious and energetic, and as the leaders of the school they are placed in the major offices. The so-called nonacademic pupil is predominant in the study hall that houses the nonclubbers during the weekly club period. The task of encouraging activity membership with this type pupil is a greater challenge to school administration than that of limiting the participation of the more capable.

STUDENT GROWTH AS THE MEASURE OF ACTIVITIES

If pupils are to be self-directive and are to assume the responsibilities of which they are deserving and capable, the sponsor of the student activity must sacrifice professional standards of attainment for the sake of educational purposes. The eagerness of the dramatics coach to present a professional performance, the football coach to have a winning season, the newspaper sponsor to issue a national winner, the band director to capture honors in the state music meet, and the debate coach to capture the league championship — may easily lead them to forsake sound educational practices. This need not be the case if the sponsor holds firmly to educational goals.

The growth possibilities existing in a group of students at hand are of far greater significance than the project for which they have been called together. Education and not perfection should be the guiding star. The American desire for a winner and the faulty reasoning that "life outside is like that" may lead the sponsor to rationalize professional and highly competitive practices into the activity program. *The question of a boy's possible membership in the band is not whether he can help the band, but rather — can the band help him.* This line of approach can be taken right through all activities. Certainly, it doesn't mean the poorer players will participate on the varsity basketball team, but it does mean that there will be another team on which they can profit educationally.

Once memberships are determined on this educative basis, the management of the activity must reflect the same thinking. The newspaper sponsor has no more right to assign all the stories, correct the copy, write the headlines, and make the decisions than the basketball coach has the right to signal from the bench or don a suit. The debate coach has no more educative right to permit his team members to use "canned" speeches secured through an agency or prepared by him than the dramatics coach has to take the leading role in the class play. The band director who spends weeks or months rehearsing with the group the three pieces to be played in the contest should be able to justify such a procedure educationally. The American public high school interested in developing youth ahead of developing winning projects has before it the opportunity of permitting student leaders to direct the

plays, athletic teams, bands, orchestras, and debate squads in public and competitive performances.

Developing youth should also take precedence over the love for efficiency which may be accused of professionalizing school operation.

The school with a highly competitive athletic program, instead of looking to a faculty manager for all business arrangements, has the opportunity to give responsibility to student leaders in the arranging of schedules, raising of funds, disbursing of funds, and handling game arrangements. Students can sell and take tickets as an educative experience, instead of depending upon faculty personnel. At present the student participation in sports, outside the team membership, is limited to the student athletic business manager, who has the flunky job of carrying football helmets, watering the players during the contest, and checking equipment.

Faculty meetings abound with the discussion of school problems that should be the material for pupil development and training in rational thinking. The unsportsmanlike incident at the game, that threatens to sever athletic relationships between the two schools, is handled by the administration. The theft in the locker room is likewise delegated to the adult masterminds rather than used as problem material for helping youth help themselves in growing up and managing their own affairs.

Many of the schools that have National Honor Societies have taken educational advantage of the activity by permitting students to help the faculty select the student leaders worthy of the honor.

Sound educational procedure suggests that student leaders be given the opportunity to develop themselves at every turn. Psychologists may well laugh at the high school that sets up a compulsory American Problems course to prepare seniors to participate in the social order, and at the same time reserves the major decisions in the day-by-day management of the school itself to the faculty.

As long as most schools continue to operate student activities as a program more or less distinct from the classroom program, the least that can be done is to see that the practices within themselves follow educationally sound policy. *The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an evaluation of current practice in this field and to the restatement of sound policy.* This philosophy of handling student activities can be reviewed through a consideration of these common areas of student endeavor:

1. The School Assembly
2. Student Government
3. The Home Room
4. The Club Program
5. Girls' Service Clubs
6. Student Publications
7. Other Activities

SOUND POLICY WITHIN PROGRAM LIMITATIONS

The School Assembly

Almost every American high school has an average of one all-school assembly a week. The assembly, meeting place of the entire student body and faculty, has the opportunity of becoming the socializing unit of the school. It is the crossroads of the multitude of curricular and extracurricular paths that wind through the school. It is here that the life of the school is displayed and explored, that habits, attitudes, skills, and abilities pass in parade. It is here that programs brought from certain fields of the school have an opportunity to enrich others. It is the town meeting where public opinion is expressed and molded. It is doubtless the school's greatest single force for benefit or for harm.

THE ASSEMBLY REFLECTS THE LIFE OF THE SCHOOL. The school with a broad and challenging classroom and activity program, with a true recognition of what practice in citizenship means, will never lack good assembly programs. They will grow naturally, being cleared through a committee of students and faculty whose task it is to present a well-balanced schedule for the year, to approve the individual programs, and to protect good audience habits against poorly planned and educationally unsound programs. To do this the committee must appreciate the unique function of the assembly as related to the whole program.

For a school administrator at the beginning of the year to assign each faculty member a certain number of assembly programs is evidence in itself that the classrooms of that school are too formal and its student life too meager to grow programs in a natural manner. The number of assemblies a school can afford will be in direct proportion to the activity of the students.

To set up deliberately inspirational programs irrespective of the life of the school is to reach back to the questionable practices of the assembly's forerunner, the early chapel. To bring in deliberately, from the outside, entertainment for the student body is to indicate that the curriculum lacks pupil interest and that the monotony needs to be broken at times. To use the assembly as an administrative mouthpiece is again to divorce it from educational possibilities.

TYPES OF ASSEMBLIES. If the assembly plan is based on the active school life, only a small fraction of the year's programs will find outsiders on the stage. Those speakers who do appear will be called in to fit into school projects under way, and will not come as agents of outside causes having no bearing on the life of the school.

A certain portion of the assemblies will no doubt be of *the promotional type.* Ticket drives for worthy school activities and other campaigns such as sportsmanship and safety can reach the entire student body through the auditorium. *The pep assembly,* supposedly to arouse enthusiam in behalf of the

coming game, demands careful planning and a worthy point of view. The number of such assemblies must be in direct proportion to the emphasis the field of competitive athletics should receive in respect to the whole life of the school. It is unwise to emphasize the importance of the coming game by padding the pep assembly with speeches and entertainment. Any pep session is obliged to be short and enthusiastic, twenty minutes well-planned being better than forty minutes padded.

Out of the day-by-day proceedings of the pupils will come most of the year's assemblies, such as (1) the one-act play that originates in the dramatics class, (2) the etiquette program that comes from the home economics class, (3) the all-school spelling bee that is sponsored each year by the school newspaper, (4) the pep assembly planned by the senior booster club, (5) the boxing and wrestling bill that comes from the boys' physical education classes, (6) the United Nations program that was developed in the American Problems class, (7) the office machines demonstration that springs from the senior business machines class, and (8) the panel discussion of the new student body constitution that comes from the regular sessions of the student council.

The honors and awards assembly, although it may be called promotional since it focuses public approval on a practice as well as an individual, has as its major purpose the extension of public recognition to those who have won awards. If awards and honors are educationally sound, certainly the public presentation of them is appropriate.

The public forum assembly, in which the entire student body has an opportunity to participate in the discussion of timely school questions, is seldom used, but it holds great possibilities in practice in citizenship. Such assemblies are conducted by student council members or other school leaders, and recognize comments from the floor regardless of the size of the student group in the meeting. The writer has seen all-assembly discussions successfully handled in groups of 2500, a portable microphone being used. New school regulations, or doubtful ones, can be handled best in public meetings.

If the school is alive with student activities, it is doubtful that there will be time for programs sent out by lyceum bureaus. If the school does buy such programs, it should not limit attendance by charging admission, even though it may be as low as five cents. A school, in justifying all its day's program on an educative basis, can hardly then be inconsistent by charging the pupil for that educative experience. Programs held outside the regular school hours, at the time when school attendance is optional, are different.

Other unethical attendance regulations that may creep into assembly practice include (1) optional attendance, (2) the reward of attendance to a limited number, such as the home rooms winning a particular drive, and (3) keeping students away from assembly as punishment for tardiness, poor scholarship, or poor assembly behavior. If citizenship is a matter of practicing citizenship, then proper audience behavior can hardly be practiced in absentia. Poor

assembly behavior can often be traced to the program itself, back of which was poor planning or poor judgment on the part of a staff member.

Educational literature abounds with suggestions for school assemblies, but such descriptions can be little more than suggestive, for only out of its own soil can a school grow its best programs. The possibilities are unlimited, for they are as varied as the ingenuity of the high-school youth.

Student Government

As treated in Chapters 5 to 8, school government is something far more serious than the election of popular students to hallowed offices. It is the very heart of the program of citizenship training. *The right to form a student council is not a reward granted the student body for good citizenship, but rather it is the means through which the students may practice good citizenship.* The "reward" point of view was expressed by the principal who said his school was not yet ready for a council, while the "privilege" point of view marks as essential to every school the sharing of government with student body.

Students are not sitting around eagerly awaiting governmental responsibilities. It is much simpler to bask in the security of a faculty-dominated school situation, in which the infraction of the rule represents "putting one over" on the teacher. Sacrificing personal pleasures for service to school government does not come naturally. It is an accomplishment that must be taught. The home room can act as the seed of a bigger program of government.

The formation of a democratic system of school government is a second step from an effective home-room organization. Students who share the full educative experience that the home room can afford are eager for this broader participation. The governing body commonly found in the progressive high school is the student council, either the one- or the two-house type, representing all interests — student, faculty, curricular, and extracurricular. The council functions through a minimum of standing committees and a number of special committees appointed to serve for the duration of specific needs.

THE COUNCIL IS A SERVICE BODY. The council, through leadership, seeks to promote the general welfare of the school in democratic fashion. It is not to be confused with the government; it is but the official representative body of government in which the whole student body and the faculty share in citizenship practice, in the rights and the responsibilities of self-government. If the school looks upon the council as the government, then the authoritarianism of faculty rule has merely been shifted to a select group of students — nothing more.

THE COUNCIL NEED NEVER LOOK FOR BUSY WORK. Every school has its own community problems, any of which will provide needed practice in worthy and self-directive activity. There are:

1. Corridors and study halls to be looked after
2. Assemblies to be planned and presented
3. Parties to be arranged and supervised
4. Finances to be managed
5. Publications to be supported
6. Troubles with other schools to be ironed out
7. Relief for needy students to be provided
8. Elections to be held
9. Honors to be awarded
10. School buses to be supervised
11. School property to be cared for
12. Intramural programs to be promoted and managed
13. New students to be oriented into school practices
14. Books to be resold and exchanged
15. Community nights to be held
16. Indifferent pupils to be made interested in remaining in school
17. Sportsmanship to be improved
18. Funds to be raised
19. Classes to be handled in the absence of teachers
20. Athletic games to be scheduled with other schools
21. Tickets to be sold and collected at games and other school affairs
22. Visitors to be conducted around the school
23. Arrangements to be made for field trips

Naturally there are a hundred and one equally significant steps to be taken by students who are learning to walk in the ways of American citizenship. Ability to care for the school society is the best evidence of ability to care for the bigger community situations to come after graduation.

A faculty sponsor, usually appointed by the principal, in moving forward with the council, is diplomatic and tolerant, helpful but not dictatorial, and protective of student, yet professional in faculty relationships. He gets work done but sees that there is an enjoyable satisfaction in doing it. He is aware of school conditions and sees the council in all its relationships.

PRACTICING CITIZENSHIP. A pronounced feature of the student activity movement has been the organization of the respective activities which form a part of the extracurricular program. In surveying an Indiana high school of 1,900 pupils, the writer found among the student body — 157 presidents, 230 chairmen, and 243 vice-presidents, for the year, besides innumerable captains, council members, secretaries, treasurers, monitors, and kindred lesser lights. The number of standing committees was astounding, an elaborate home-room program having placed one out of every eight students into such office. Publications, weekly assemblies, student government, intramural sports, interscholastic sports, as well as fifty-five active home

rooms and forty-seven active clubs helped to provide this display of citizenship training.

In a modern high school, a major portion of the student officials are elected and practically all of the others are student appointed. Seldom does a faculty member determine a selection. The first week of the fall term in an average high school is one of elections; everything from the home room to the council and the class is to be organized, and nominations are in order. As the club program gets underway the second or third week, there is another demand for presidents, vice-presidents, secretaries, and treasurers.

Behind the nomination for office and the subsequent election by popular vote stands the basic procedure of the American form of government, but the actual practice in democratic government and the true spirit of the things are not represented by these mere formalities. The actual practice and the true spirit represent the difference between mere student elections and pupil development through elections. The school administrator must have a keen appreciation of the shallowness of elections in themselves, and an accompanying appreciation of the broad possibilities for pupil development in democratic ways that are awaiting cultivation in this area of student practice in school citizenship.

ELECTION PROCEDURE. Any school election, whether it be for home-room officers or student council leaders, calls for something more than a notice in the morning bulletin and the hurried election before the passing bell rings. The true significance of any election must be appreciated by the students. There is little excuse for school offices that neither carry the respect of the student body and faculty nor make any significant demands upon the office holder once he has taken the position. Each office should be considered a public trust, should carry an exacting responsibility on the part of the one who holds it, and should represent a job to be done. Student organization — in theory at least — is well past the popularity stage, in which the positions of prominence were bestowed upon the heroes of the moment, with little exception or demand on the students' part for returns on their investment.

The groundwork for student elections in some schools is rich with democratic practices; practice in free speech, free assemblage, and a free press transcend the discussion in the social studies classroom; and the school assembly hall and the student newspaper assume their rightful role as means toward the development of students in a democracy.

Election time in such schools provides for a study of:

1. The demands of the office
2. The qualifications of the candidates
3. Pressures for election — publicity and propaganda
4. The effectiveness of group organization for a specific cause

The possession of any school office by a student demands from the faculty a job to do and the right to do it. The student office holder has the right to feel the importance and the responsibility of the public trust.

The Home Room

A few high schools are incorporating guidance as a function of the teacher in the double-hour or half-day core course. However, in the great bulk of the schools of the country the home room will continue to be the basic unit of the guidance program, as well as the crossroads of student activities, both individual and organized.

Standing strategically between pupil and teacher, pupil and administrator, teacher and parent, pupil and pupil, pupil and curriculum, and pupil and activity — the home-room teacher holds a position of unusual significance. Administratively convenient for handling drives, curricular registration, club enrollment, student council representation, attendance taking, and other details, the home room as the clearinghouse for student activity places upon the adviser a great responsibility — and an even greater opportunity.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HOME ROOM. The success of such activities as clubs, publications, and government depends in no small measure upon the support received in the home room. Some of these basic units sidestep such responsibilities, limiting their effectiveness to the administrative routine, while others are invaluable in their services. Hardly any of the activities touching the home room do so without signifying a guidance responsibility for the adviser. Any room may quickly elect its council representatives, thus meeting an administrative requirement, but the adviser that sees the implications for citizenship and seeks to meet also a guidance responsibility makes such an election a really educative process. Registration likewise may be handled either administratively or educationally by the home-room sponsor. It can be a task or an opportunity.

ORGANIZING THE HOME ROOM. The home room can be a miniature democracy in itself, as well as being the basic unit in the larger school organization. It has its own organization for carrying on its business and social program. It needs a president or chairman, a secretary, a treasurer, and all the other positions that may be called for in light of the work to be done.

The spirit of co-operation and loyalty once established in the management carries over naturally into the broader aspects of the school program. Group guidance is handled through discussion, and the more personal guidance through teacher-pupil conference. Guidance directors or principals often lead in the preparation of guidance manuals to aid the discussion periods, and wisely guard against a prosaic and stereotyped procedure. There is no interest of the school too small or too large to escape home-room attention. The room sends its representatives to the student council, hears their reports after council session, and instructs them prior to the next session.

SETTING UP HOME ROOMS. Home-room organization today is usually by classes, and the segregation of sexes carried over from an earlier social era is rapidly disappearing in favor of the more advantageous and natural mixed groups. In order to keep the groups down to a workable size, the school needs to use all classroom teachers as home-room advisers. Groups above thirty-five limit the personal attention that the adviser needs to give to the members. The school principal who begins to excuse this and that teacher from home-room service because of other duties, soon finds himself with a home-room organization that is little more than a system for checking attendance and providing quiet study conditions.

Neither can a principal start excusing from home-room duty those teachers who at first appear to be poorly equipped for the job. *If a teacher is qualified to enter a classroom, he is likewise qualified to enter a home room.* Best results can be secured by permitting a teacher to stay with the same group of students as their adviser throughout their high-school period.

When home-room organization is by class, the advisers and presidents of all home rooms of a particular class may act as an advisory body to the sponsors and officers of the larger class organization. As a school integrating force, the home room is aided by the assembly and the student newspaper. The effectiveness of a particular home room depends largely upon the teacher. High ideals and standards for participation in school activities come about only through careful planning. Those schools that have been disappointed in the results achieved through the home room need to emphasize the heavy responsibility that rests with the adviser to carry forward a good program and with the principal to afford the leadership that is demanded.

The Club Program

The club schedule should represent a wide variety of interests, both student and faculty. Any pupil in school should be able to suggest a new club to his liking, which, if worthy, is adequately publicized prior to club enrollment day. A complete reorganization of the club program, to provide new interests and new opportunities for leadership, should take place at the beginning of each semester. Faculty members should have the adventurous spirit of youth that would lead them to suggest and sponsor new activities, and to develop with the membership in the venture.

ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT. A club for every pupil is a desirable slogan but it represents a goal that cannot be reached successfully through compulsory club membership. Instead, this program must grow from its own nourishment and cannot be artificially supported by decrees from above. A few clubs, all growing out of felt needs and natural adolescent interests, and sponsored enthusiastically, will in time act as the spark that kindles an extensive club program. On the other hand, launching an enormous club program seldom commands at the start enough spirit and interest to keep it going.

Efficiency of curricular operation has led public-school administrators to carry in mind a mythical figure such as twenty-five as the minimum enrollment to justify offering an elective subject. Such a concept should not pass over into the club program. The club of eight members that represents worthy interests should be permitted to exist alongside the club of forty. One of the greatest dangers facing a club program is inactivity of membership owing to faulty planning. Ease of operation has encouraged an extensive use of outside speakers and other programs of the type that provide no active participation or contribution on the part of most members. High-school youth are eager for actual participation, and if they accept the role of passive listener they do it through habit rather than through desire.

MEMBERSHIP IN TWO CLUBS POSSIBLE. One activity period a week in the schedule of classes, with two schedules of clubs meeting on alternating weeks, enables a student to belong to two clubs. Outside this weekly period can be handled the large organizations, such as Hi-Y and the Girl Reserves.

The two schedules of clubs that follow indicate the variety of interests served in one Indiana high school of 1,200 students:

FIRST AND THIRD THURSDAY CLUBS	SECOND AND FOURTH THURSDAY CLUBS
1. Archeologists	1. Archery
2. Auto	2. Aviation A
3. Camera	3. Aviation B
4. Charm (girls)	4. Bicycle
5. Dancing (9 and 10)	5. Book Review
6. Girls' Handicraft A	6. Boys' Home Economics
7. Girls' Handicraft B	7. Camera
8. Gym Leaders	8. Dancing (11 and 12)
9. Interior Decoration A	9. Interior Decoration B
10. International	10. Nomads
11. Movie Appreciation	11. Ping Pong (9 and 10)
12. Music Appreciation	12. Popular Singing
13. Outdoor Sportsmen A	13. Puppets (11 and 12)
14. Outdoor Sportsmen B	14. Recital
15. Ping Pong (11 and 12)	15. Short Wave Radio B
16. Public Speaking	16. Sophomore Hi-Y
17. Puppets (9 and 10)	17. Tap Dancing
18. Rifle	18. Torch
19. Senior Society	19. Travel
20. Short Wave Radio A	20. Under Sea
21. Swing Music	21. Unnamed
22. Tap Dancing	22. Walking (girls)
23. Torch	23. Wrestling A
24. Walking (boys)	24. Wrestling B
25. When, What, & Why	25. Writers

A Highly Organized System of Girls' Service Clubs

In some high schools, in which a broad program of interscholastic and intramural sports for boys have engaged the spare time of a major portion of the boys, effective activities for girls have also been developed. One of such schools is the Abraham Lincoln High School of San Jose, California.[2]

PREDECESSORS. The desire to "gang together," seeking security and recognition within the framework of some type of grouping, is ever-present. Youth are gregarious. In spite of the efforts of churches, schools, and other youth-serving organizations, large numbers of youth have not been enrolled in wholesome youth groups.

Some, especially those who come from the higher economic levels, have sought to satisfy this normal urge in fraternities and sororities patterned after the college groups of their older brothers and sisters, and with a strong emphasis on social activities. This trend, which has been in existence for half a century, still is quite a factor in some communities. Through their exclusive nature, such organizations provide strong personal and social satisfactions for their members. During the past three decades these organizations have been frowned upon by school authorities, to the extent that it is common for states to have laws providing for the expulsion from school of proven members.

A COMPROMISE PROGRAM. It is unusual for a school to recognize these natural characteristics of youth to the extent of organizing a controlled club program that retains some of the common practices of the predecessors, as selection in membership. Out of a desire to see as many girls as possible share in the values of activity in small groups under adequate guidance, a Service Club program has developed at Abraham Lincoln High School at San Jose, California, that takes the place of the usual Girls' League and provides opportunity for wholesome participation in the affairs of the school for a maximum number of girls.

At the time of this writing, out of the 401 girls enrolled in the school, 376 were in service clubs, the exceptions being those girls who already had strong affiliations in "Y," church, or neighborhood groups. Service Clubs are so named to highlight the unselfish aspect of the activities of the girls. The purposes are thought of in the school as being dual in nature: (1) service to school and community and (2) development of each girl into a friendly, poised, socially responsible individual. These groups have been limited to a membership of twenty-five girls. All members are on the same grade level, the group being organized upon entrance into the low sophomore year and ceasing to exist upon graduation.

[2] The author is indebted to his friend, Frederic T. Shipp, Principal of the Abraham Lincoln High School, for his co-operation in the inclusion of this description of the girls' service clubs of his school.

In this way, the school staff asserts, many of the undesirable elements of overenthusiastic competition and rivalry for outstanding girls are avoided. Election to membership occurs twice a year, in October and March, with the bids distributed through the Dean's office. *This election is kept as democratic as possible, a simple majority being enough to permit a girl to join.* Sometimes a girl will change in her likes and interests, and will find her club no longer a congenial group. If this is the case, she may transfer to another club after being inactive for one semester. This permits change in case of lack of adjustment to group and yet prevents the stronger clubs from draining off the best members into their own ranks.

ORGANIZING SERVICE CLUBS. In organizing new clubs, several different methods have been tried, according to which seemed best with the particular group. Small groupings of girls, three or four, may be contacted and asked to choose likely people. The school's experience is that this has the advantage of assuring a homogeneous group that will enjoy working and playing together. With proper groundwork in this pre-organization talk, the democratic ideals of the organizations can be advanced to such an extent that various groups will take in girls new to the school and those, who because of shyness, may have been heretofore overlooked.

The principal says that (1) it is inspiring to watch these nuclear groups planning the inclusion of some little-noticed girl and also trying to draw in others who will make her feel at home; (2) one of the worthwhile by-products of this organizational period is the naturalness of the introduction of discussions on the value of friendliness and of varied acquaintanceships; and (3) coming as it does at a time when the organizers are themselves faced with a new situation and highly desirous of being taken in, they are especially alert to the problem of those who have before been overlooked.

At Abraham Lincoln, there are nineteen service clubs. Each club has a faculty sponsor, selected because of interest in club work or for qualities of enthusiasm and leadership that help these groups develop satisfactory programs and wholesome activities. Practically all of the women faculty members as well as the clerical staff act as sponsors of different clubs. All of the clubs meet once a week during the regular club period. Most of the groups, in addition to this weekly meeting, have a social activity once a month, an evening meeting or an afternoon meeting with refreshments.

THE INTERLOCKING COUNCIL. To direct the activities of these girls, an Inter-Club Council has been organized to meet once a week, made up of the presidents of the various clubs and presided over by the Student Body Girls' Vice-President. This group sets the pattern for the clubs by passing rules on membership, procedures, and policies. From discussions here grew the policy of no pledging or pledge period, no elaborate or secret admittance to membership, and restrictions on the wearing of showy or costly pins or

other identifying marks. Before this executive group come all suggestions for projects and activities.

THE SERVICE PROJECTS. The following examples of the projects of these clubs point out the obvious pride taken in their service responsibilities. The older groups often sponsor regular student body dances and each week one club arranges a noon dance with decorations and door prizes. These noon dances are often attuned to a current interest of the student body and serve as promotional events for school shows, drives, campaigns, and athletics.

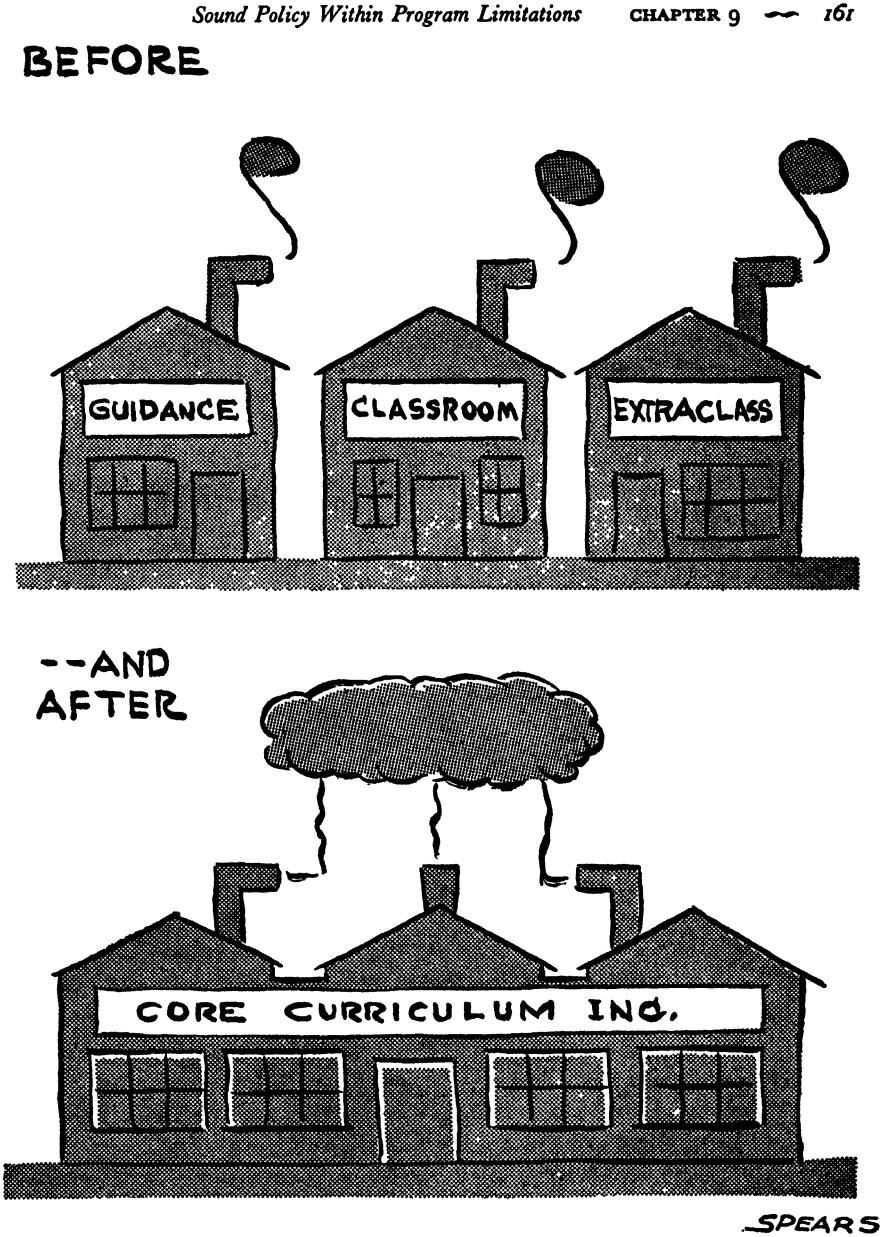
These groups work up stunts for assembly programs to advertise school events; popularize clean-up campaigns; sell and collect tickets at athletic events; serve at school banquets; make and sell souvenirs for the Big Game; keep the trophies in high polish; sponsor Red Cross work, such as a stocking drive, the making of tray favors and afghans for hospitals; pack food for overseas shipment; and decorate and maintain school bulletin boards and showcases.

The groups "adopt" the less popular athletic teams to advertise their games and see that a larger number of the student body turn out. The clubs join forces to solicit funds for the "March of Dimes" downtown and take tremendous pride in the success of their venture. The Inter-Club Council sponsors the semi-annual Girls' Jinx and the Mothers' Tea, finding it efficient and enjoyable to divide the responsibilities among the various clubs. The girls also serve as substitutes for cafeteria helpers, to be called as needed.

Through this mass of activity comes an opportunity for each girl to serve on innumerable committees, to act as chairman over and over — a wealth of democratic training in itself. The school states that in a nation that expects its women voters to be politically intelligent, girls must get the opportunity to learn the often happy, often heartbreaking lessons of leadership and followership. In these service clubs girls are learning to be self-reliant, making decisions of considerable importance, and finding much in the year's varied program to challenge them to alert participation. It is in fostering this participation that the service clubs make their greatest contribution. To be needed by the school, to see their work have real significance, to feel that they are among the ones who direct student affairs, to feel that they belong — these are the basic elements of this program that engages fifteen out of every sixteen girls in the Abraham Lincoln High School in San Jose.

Student Publications

THE ROLE OF THE NEWSPAPER. The high-school newspaper has long since become an essential feature of the high school, whether the student body numbers 150 or 1,500. There are estimated to be over ten thousand high-school newspapers in the country, thousands of which play an indispensable educative role in the life of the school. Growth has been by leaps and bounds



UNDER NEW MANAGEMENT

during the past quarter of a century, so satisfying have been the returns to the students participating.

The values of the paper are not restricted to those who form the staff, who edit the paper. The readers share in its integrating and exploratory features. It forms and guides intelligent public opinion, it interprets the life of the school for student body and community, and it acts as a strong integrating force in the modern school of a hundred and one interests and activities.[3]

In providing this service, the staff explores a wide range of growth territory. Its members learn to observe accurately, interpret intelligently, and write carefully; to assume responsibility, exercise initiative, and demonstrate dependability; to respect authority, practice diplomacy, and work cooperatively; to plan budgets, sell advertising, and keep accurate accounts; to explore literary ability, write clearly and effectively, and appreciate the workings of newspapers.

THE ADVISER. The educational ineffectiveness of school papers that do not live up to their possibilities usually can be traced to an unqualified adviser. Many a capable adviser began with merely an understanding of human nature and the English field, and learned the techniques of the thing on the job, from printers, engravers, newspaper workers, and experience. Summer newspaper experience is most helpful. An adviser of a paper has to put a lot of time and effort into the job, but in return it pays great dividends in pupil growth and teacher satisfaction.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS. The yearbook, as ordinarily handled, offers far less opportunity for pupil development than the paper. Easy administration, in the face of unqualified sponsors, has permitted professional engravers and printers to take over far too much of the planning. The sentiment of a tradition and the interest of a profession have kept it alive. The magazine, a great outlet for creative expression, can likewise learn something from the paper in the way of commanding pupil interest and providing educative experience. The little brother in the field is the handbook, the guidance instrument that acts as an activity directory. A good adviser might make any of the four publications pay educationally.

THE NATIONAL SCALE. Three large national student press associations serve the field of school publications — the National Scholastic Press Association, the Columbia Scholastic Press Association, and Quill and Scroll, with headquarters respectively at the Universities of Minnesota, Columbia, and Northwestern. Each year thousands of student editors, staff members, and faculty advisers gather at the national press conventions of these organizations to consider common problems. Thousands meet each year at scores of smaller regional and state conventions held at state universities and col-

[3] See Harold Spears and C. H. Lawshe, *High-School Journalism*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949.

leges. These organizations edit monthly magazines, judge student publications, and offer other services.

The educational values offered in the business management of high-school publications are as valuable as those offered in the editorial work. A few years ago the estimate was made that the annual bill for production of high-school publications, including paper, printing, and engraving, amounted to ten million dollars. The small paper easily brings in a hundred dollars a year on advertising, while the larger papers and yearbooks get five hundred to a thousand just as easily. Generally speaking, merchants doubt the direct-sales value of advertising in the yearbook, but have long since accepted the school paper as a most desirable advertising medium.

Other Activities

Thirty-five years ago in a small high school in central Indiana, the seniors "made it up" to appear at school on a certain morning in uniform dress. The boys all wore overalls, the girls gingham aprons, which in those days were really aprons. Since entering the building each morning was looked upon as a ceremony rather than a natural thing to do, the class lined up out in front of the door with the other students to await the ringing of the bell. The principal, looking out from his vantage point on the second floor, had a chance to collect himself as the students were marching in. When the class was seated he appeared before them and delivered the word that they had expected — that such action was unbecoming to the dignity of seniors, that they should always maintain their position as leaders of the school, that they had disgraced its name and had shown disrespect for the teachers, and that they were to leave and not return until they could do so in respectable attire.

That principal had witnessed the forerunner of the now popular senior dress-up or distinction day, but he had failed to recognize beneath it the dramatic nature of adolescent youth seeking an outlet amid a formal and highly academic school program. The class had certain felt needs, social to be sure, but were denied the guidance such needs should have called forth from the school. The passive experiences presented by Hannibal's crossing of the Alps, Caesar's Gallic wars, and the adventures of Macbeth may have had their dramatic moments, but they had failed as a substitute for the active experiences of youth.

Today dramatics and social activities have moved into the high school as an accepted part of the educational program. No book, no curriculum program, can treat all of the activities of youth. Learning activities are as many and as varied as life itself — in fact, they are life. As indicated in the preceding chapters, they are forming a nucleus of the curriculum rather than supplementing it. Each must depend upon interest for its existence. Thus an activity like debating, the older sister of dramatics, is fast losing her charm,

and faculty sentiment alone has kept her from passing out of the minds of fickle youth.

There are also the bright spots in music, such as the recent development of the Youth Orchestra of Greater Chicago, under the leadership of Harold Finch as conductor. The orchestra provides an outlet for music expression and the establishment of deep felt satisfactions for many boys and girls in that vicinity.[4]

Activities mean committees, and committees mean practice in co-operation. The pupil's obligation to school is now something more than quiet respect of teacher precept and diligent study of assigned lesson. Through the life of the school are presented his rights and privileges as well as his duties and responsibilities as a citizen. Teachers work with pupils rather than over them, and they both share the multitude of learning activities.

[4] For information relative to forming an "area" youth orchestra, write Harold Finch, Highland Park, Illinois.

Chapter

10

TECHNIQUES OF TEACHING

Classroom techniques of teaching, like the circulatory system, are taken for granted by most of us who enter the profession. This is not strange, for, of all the professions, education has the unique distinction of being the only one in which the trainee has already experienced the bulk of the ways of the profession since the age of five or six. In short, he attended school.

YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW

The Vicious Circle

Year after year, in class after class, we were subject to teachers' assignments and examinations, their smiles and their frowns, their questions and their marks, and all the other instructional procedures so commonly used in furthering the schooling of the young. Thus, a rather fixed conception of the teaching job is automatically acquired during formative years, is already a part of the equipment of the trainee as he knocks at the door of the school of education. In engineering, or medicine, or law, the training institution takes the student fresh, without preconceived notions of how the trade is to be applied, of what its tools are, or of how they are to be used. It leads him from no knowledge of the job up the proper steps of a complete training.

Not so in education. There the training school that sees the true purposes of education in American democracy, and respects the research done in the field of learning, must spend as much time with the student's unlearning as with his learning. The beginning teacher enters his first classroom with an extensive background of teaching experience, but it is not really his. He has inherited the legacy. It is that of all the teachers with whom he has come in contact in the classrooms of his own schooling, and it is the experience that he tends to perpetuate — unless he is a fearless nonconformist.

So easily have the practices of one generation of teachers been passed on to the next, it has indeed been difficult for the beginner to do other than to take about everything for granted from educational goals on down to

classroom questions and answers — and threats and promises. It is so much simpler to teach as we were taught than to explore the unknown possibilities of the calling.

The Why of Teaching Comes Before the How

The teacher must first know why he is teaching before materials and methods can take on true meaning. The staircase to good instruction most assuredly has three steps if it has any at all. The first is the purposes for teaching; the second is the principles of learning that lead on beyond the purposes; and finally come the actual practices.

But yet today there is often an oversight of the first two steps, as it is not unusual for a teacher in training to get the idea that preparation for the job ahead is little more than amassing subject matter in the field to be taught, and then picking up some traditional techniques to be used in getting this information into the heads of the student. Among other things, this reflects:

1. A misguided faith in teaching procedure as being the mastery of some tricks of the trade to be applied at will in the undetermined teaching situations ahead
2. A lack of appreciation of the school's function as an integral cog in the larger social situation
3. The oversight of the significance of the human factor in the classroom — the pupils and the differences among them
4. The failure to see the significance of the teacher's unique personality among the factors in the learning situation, and
5. The oversight of the fact that in pedagogy, content and method cannot be sharply separated, for they both lead out of, get their nourishment from, and have their very being in that greater trunk root of the educational program — the purposes

The day has passed when the would-be teacher can feel that he is fully equipped to enter a classroom of his own just because he passes through a training school and picks up two separate aids on the way, one labeled subject matter and the other labeled techniques. For the sake of administrative efficiency in the training institution, the two will no doubt continue to be taught separately, but relationships to each other and to the broader purposes of education must be emphasized in both.

Schools That Pass in the Night

The student of education, whether teaching now or about to do so, cannot appreciate the true function of his classroom until he first appreciates the transitory state in which the high school finds itself today. There are really two conceptions of schooling struggling with each other, one gradually inching itself forward into public and professional acceptance and the other gradually relinquishing its traditional hold on the American scene. As the two

pass in the night, this teacher will tend to stay the one a bit longer, for his security is there; while that teacher will tend to coax the emerging school into clearer view, for his close study of life and learning marks it as promising. For both the complacent and the impatient teachers, there is danger in the passing. While the former runs the danger of not moving out of the way fast enough as the new school comes down the track, the latter runs the risk of losing his professional life by trying to board it too soon.

Strange as it may seem, the features of the school that will eventually fade into yesterday, and those of the school that will in time emerge into tomorrow are much more clearly marked than are the features of today's school. For the latter is an ever-changing thing, a combination of both the others. The proportion of each of the others varies in the present school from town to town throughout the land. In some instances it is almost completely tomorrow's school, in others almost completely yesterday's, and in some cases the school has completely remodeled its front without having made any noticeable alterations inside the place.

The beginning teacher may join the staff of a school that has established an extensive and modern guidance program, but one that has made no change in its antiquated curriculum into which the youth are to be guided. Or the school may have adopted a most forward looking philosophy of education without having made the program changes that would reflect sincerity in the carrying out of the philosophy.

As the trainee picks up his teaching kit for the job ahead in a yet undetermined school, he cannot hope to know the exact nature of the situation in which he will eventually teach. The best thing that he can do is locate clearly the two poles that mark these two points of view of schooling, with the hope that he can sensibly and professionally place himself in his job at a proper spot somewhere between the two extremes. These two opposite positions, described in a manner intended to present the more extreme statement of each, are described in the next few pages.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CLASSROOMS

Exactly what are the typical classroom practices in the American high school? The author has asked this question in graduate classes in schools of education widely scattered over the country.[1] The characteristics that follow are representative of the vast majority of the high-school classrooms of the country, especially the classrooms dealing with academic subjects.

1. The teacher or the administration determines in advance the materials to be learned or the ground to be covered.

[1] Columbia University, U. of Wisconsin, U. of Michigan, U. of Missouri, U. of Pittsburgh, U. of California, Pennsylvania State College, U. of Kansas City, San Francisco State College, and Montclair, New Jersey, State Teachers College.

2. The bulk of the class period is given over to recitation, in which the teacher attempts to determine to what extent the pupil has mastered material or covered ground assigned the previous day.
3. In following this assign-study-recite pattern, the teacher makes assignments daily, usually at the beginning of the period but occasionally near the end.
4. The course of study usually consists of a basic text, a definite number of pages being assigned daily. When there is a printed course of study, it usually follows closely a basic text.
5. The recitation is conducted by means of teacher questions and pupil answers, with resultant spontaneous discussion hoped for by the teacher.
6. Learning is conceived of by the pupil as memorizing or mastering materials that he may give back to the teacher upon demand, in oral or written form, thus satisfying teacher requirements, and in doing so, placing himself in line for good marks or honors and credit for the course.
7. A single class standard of attainment is maintained, each pupil being graded on his success in following the directions of the teacher.
8. Since the classroom is a formal situation, so-called good discipline is at a premium, good discipline to the average school meaning quiet conformity to the fixed situation so that recitation may proceed undisturbed.
9. Whether movable tablet-arm chairs or fixed desks are used, the class is seated formally as a group facing the instructor, whose desk is at the front of the room. Assigned seats add to the fixed formality.
10. Marks, honors, and credits are used as incentives for active and satisfactory classroom participation. The threat of failure and loss of credit in a course likewise is used to motivate student execution of teacher plan.
11. A written examination, to judge degree of coverage of subject matter, is held at the end of each grading period. The mark made on the examination is a big factor in the teacher's determination of the class mark to go on the student's home report.
12. Prior to the written examination at the end of a grading period, an oral review is common practice.
13. The emphasis placed upon marks and individual accomplishment provides a classroom atmosphere emphasizing individualistic rather than co-operative endeavor and satisfactions.
14. The emphasis upon book learning means a primary emphasis upon verbal rather than social development.
15. The classwork is rigidly controlled by the teacher, from the determination of what is to be learned on through the evaluation of accomplishment, with little opportunity for the pupil to question either the material set out for him or the method prescribed for its assimilation.
16. The class period is one of a number of short periods into which the day is divided, there being little relationship between the pupil's present class

and his next other than the familiarity of these techniques of classroom operation. A teacher feels an obligation to only his own subject. Bells mark the beginning and closing of the period.

17. There is shown a great respect by teacher and administrator for pupil busy work. Workbook, notebook, and supervised study are accepted as quieting techniques that keep the pupils busily engaged.

The Classroom Recitation

THE TRADITIONAL METHOD. In addition to its subject-matter emphasis, the recitation is to a degree a time waster. That is, the teacher feels obligated to distribute her questions widely over the class group, but in doing so she realizes beforehand that a number of the pupils will not know the answers. Not only does the recitation drag under such circumstances, but the brighter students may unconsciously find their interest in being amused at the habitual stumblers. The endless amount of time that is spent in attempting to draw out the slower pupil represents time stolen from the others, and even then the teacher must assure herself that the slower are profiting by this.

In many classes this attempt to bring responses from the nonreciter had led teachers to goad or nag these silent class members. The pupil who feels his inadequacies in either the knowledge wanted, or the ability to tell it before the others, finds little if any satisfaction in the recitation procedure. He feels a social inadequacy and the recitation becomes an attempt to demonstrate his inabilities before his fellow students. Schools need to emphasize what youth *can* do, not what they *can't* do. In a typical academic high-school classroom today, recitation as a procedure should perhaps not take up more than a half of the week's procedure.

THE SOCIALIZED TECHNIQUE. The classroom in which the teacher turns over to a student chairman the responsibility for conducting a discussion does not represent escape for the teacher, as those who have used the method realize. The responsibility for the development of the group rests definitely with the teacher for that hour, just as it was with him yesterday and will be with him tomorrow. In shifting the chairmanship for the moment he is in fact respecting this obligation, for in this assumption of extra duties by a student leader comes new opportunities for development.

And in this opportunity for the group to interact under the leadership of one of their own number, whom perhaps they have chosen to the position of chairman, come possibilities for their further development as well. *The teacher who uses the socialized recitation does not relinquish his responsibility for good teaching, but rather he must assume the extra responsibility of working with the student leaders in anticipation of whatever proves needful during the period.*

In a classroom discussion it is not easy to keep things moving toward the goal — the sharpening of an understanding, the solving of a problem, the clearing of group thinking on some matter meaningful to the class. A barrage

of facts is not enough in itself. Do they contribute to the movement toward the goal? Prejudice, loose thinking, and premises without factual substantiation, need to be challenged at every turn, if effective ways of learning are to be achieved through classroom discussion. It is here that facts play their part, and the student who uses slipshod methods in arriving at judgments must be led to see that the thinking process has behind it sound methods of work.

While in individualized work in a classroom, activities are geared to individual ability and performance, in a discussion where the students are attempting to think as a group, some are at times bound to miss the significance, the logic, of the points made by others. And in turn, the low levels of thinking displayed by the remarks of some may tend to cut down the enthusiasm of the better thinkers. It is a teaching responsibility to see that the group profits in so far as possible by the thinking of each student.

The teacher needs to assure some accomplishment for a group that is engaging in a discussion. To talk without facts is to run a threshing machine without having fed it the wheat. Have they explored the materials enough on the topic at hand? Was the topic meaningful to them to begin with? Is the subject within their maturity? Are the goals set for the discussion period in keeping with the amount of time at the group's disposal?

The discussion method is much more effective when the topic represents a searching for answers or solutions, rather than a reciting of conclusions long since accepted by the group as the "right answers." [2]

BROADER METHODS OF INSTRUCTION

Although the classroom recitation, with its supporting techniques, has retained the position of prominence in the high-school classroom, a great many other techniques have been advanced from time to time. Although no one of them has been prevalent enough to be considered the typical practice, taken together they represent a movement quite significant. This might be called the laboratory movement.

Individualized Procedure

Although the term laboratory is commonly reserved for only those rooms of the school in which the science students work on their experiments, without any great stretch of the imagination or of the laboratory concept itself, the term could be extended as well to all those rooms where the formalized, all-group procedure has given way to individual or small group enterprise and where miscellaneous working materials have been placed at the disposal of the workers.

The laboratory procedure is used as the common method in the industrial arts and vocational shops; in the foods and clothing rooms, and in the arts

[2] See Douglas Ehninger, "A Logic of the Discussion Method," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 29:163–167, April, 1943.

and crafts room; and in such classes as stage craft, journalism, and office machines.

This technique of teaching is one in which the class is not directed as a group, but instead is broken down into smaller parts for the sake of more individualized procedure. Instead of directing the group as one unit, the teacher moves about helping this or that smaller segment. In one physics laboratory, the students work individually, in another they work in pairs. In a business machines class, one small group may be mastering the mimeograph machine, another the adding machine, another the accounting machine, and so on. In the art room, over half the class members are working as individuals while a few others are working together on group projects.

Since the method clears the way for individual effort in class, for student output under the close direction and observation of the teacher, it seems to ask little if anything in the way of homework. This is not to say that students are discouraged from continuing interesting things, that they have started in the laboratory, out of school; but rather to indicate that this method is not dependent upon home assignments as are the recitation and other typical classroom procedures.

Teachers in such fields as English, social studies, mathematics, and foreign language have seldom shown interest in the method under discussion, but instead have chosen to handle a class as a whole group working on a common assignment. More and more, the possibilities in these areas are being explored, and such pioneering is paying rich dividends in instructional satisfaction.

For instance, a geometry teacher has equipped his room with tables and chairs and various instructional materials for laboratory purposes. About once a week he leads a group discussion of the work, but for the most part the room is conducted as a workshop with the class members doing their work at the tables and the teacher moving about among them, helping this individual or that small group. Occasionally he takes three or four to a corner blackboard to help them over a hurdle. At times he permits a more advanced student to go to the library for other work. He handles his algebra and general mathematics classes just as effectively.

The Workroom Technique

Although the laboratory method holds out the opportunity for teachers to individualize instruction, its contribution is the workroom technique. Thus, in the geometry class just mentioned, all students will supposedly cover the same ground, and the laboratory procedure is adopted to enable the instructor to help the students individually to achieve this end. The laboratory plan enables the brighter student to go ahead at his own speed, but it does not represent a proposal to differentiate radically his curriculum from that of the slower fellow who will eventually get there. Perhaps shop and arts

teachers have gone farther in individualizing the curriculum. The plan endorses the theory of *active learning* as opposed to passive, but places emphasis upon individualized instruction rather than individualized curricula. As schools have attempted to work in this less formal manner, the term unit teaching has become prominent.

THE UNIT PLAN OF TEACHING

It is somewhat disparaging to try to track down the meaning of the term *unit* to something usable. Henry C. Morrison, who had so much to do with encouraging unit teaching back in the early twenties, could give his audiences no clearer definition of the process than to say that a *learning unit* is "a comprehensive and significant aspect of the environment of an organized science, of an art, or of conduct, which, being learned, results in adaptation to personality."

After one has hurried off to satisfy himself as to what a "significant aspect of the environment" is, to determine when such an aspect is "comprehensive" and when it isn't, and to brush up on the how and the why of "adaptation to personality," he runs into other just as confusing signposts that soon have him so far astray that he may be quite willing to return to the security of the daily assignment and the resulting recitation, and to leave unit teaching for the more stalwart to explore.

Possibilities in Unit Teaching

In attempting to bring out the true psychological significance of the unit, to sharpen fine distinctions, those who have treated the idea have come forward with such terms as:

A learning unit
A unit of work
An activity unit
A center of interest
A generalization unit

Some have gone to length to show that the *problem* and the *project* are sum and substance of the same thinking. *Definitions and distinctions, for their own sake, mean little to the teacher who is attempting to improve instructional practices.* As he sets out to get the values that are inherent in the unit idea, he can be sure of these things:

1. Teaching by units represents a revolt against the daily assignment and its assign-study-recite counterpart.
2. Teaching by units is to organize learning experiences into larger blocks of work.
3. The idea of teaching by units has a psychological foundation in the organismic view of learning as contrasted with the atomistic psychology that conceived growth as a piece-by-piece additive process.

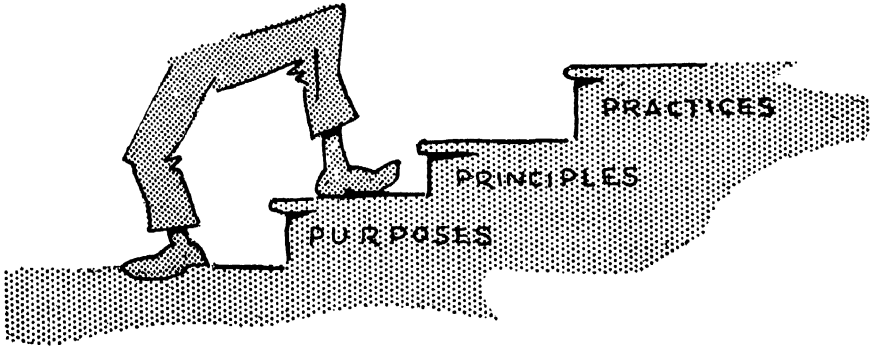
Beyond these clear distinctions between unit teaching and the day-by-day opportunistic management of a class, we must be most careful in making definite assertions about unit teaching, since its byroads lead in so many different directions for the so many different kinds of teachers. It could be claimed that this approach (1) frees the teacher from the limitations of one textbook, (2) provides flexibility to serve individual differences, and (3) facilitates the greater use of the community as an educational laboratory; but to say that all teachers using units take advantage of these inherent possibilities would be to ignore the facts. To say that a majority do, would be to give the benefit of the doubt to theory and to ignore the practice in the schools.

The unit plan is not a fixed pattern for common adoption and identical use on the part of all those who would do unit teaching. Rather, it is a promising instructional concept that demands individual cultivation of the idea by the teacher, and denies him the chance to secure its benefits by transplanting the practices of others who use it. It lends itself to some purposes of education better than to others, and it lends itself to some subject fields more readily than to others.

Unit Teaching versus Unit Learning

As a teacher explores the possibilities of the plan, it is quite natural for him to begin his consideration from the teaching angle, and to think of *teaching by units.* But as he gets into the psychological aspects of the idea, he moves on over to the pupil's position in the process, and he comes to think of the possibilities of *learning by units.* Perhaps this difference in position of the teacher accounts for the variations in unit practice found in the schools.

If he doesn't get beyond the first stage of thinking — that of teaching by units, he is quite apt to think in terms of a teacher planning his course into large blocks of work, breaking the larger body of subject content down into six, eight, or a dozen smaller parts under a number of comprehensive headings, each referred to as a unit. If he goes beyond this teaching-by-units stage into the learning-by-units stage, out of respect for what is known about



THREE STEPS TO GOOD INSTRUCTION

how learning takes place, he will find himself thinking of the possibilities of helping his students plan experiences for the year that seem educationally meaningful to them and that are in keeping with the particular field of study. In this latter approach, these larger undertakings in learning become the units, or the divisions of the work, and in turn the course is determined.

A unit represents a limited area of learning to be explored by a group of students under the direction of one or more teachers, an area which holds educational promise in keeping with the purposes of the larger course of which it is a part. While representing a limited area in respect to the whole course, it constitutes a piece of work much broader and more extensive than the daily assignment which in the past has constituted the organization of the work in the majority of academic classrooms in the American secondary schools.

Thus, in its beginning, the unit is not a thing on paper, not a systematically arranged outline; it is rather the area for consideration that curriculum planners, preferably pupils as well as teachers, have mentally staked off for exploration as they seek experiences leading to goals that seem meaningful to them — goals that they had before they determined the unit limits.

It is natural that the more the planners give consideration to this unit area that they have decided upon, the more there will be developed on paper guides of one sort or another. Good instructional preparation calls for a compromise somewhere between the original mental conception and a highly organized outline of steps to be followed and materials to be covered. Good instructional preparation calls for something that implements the original idea, but does not go so far that it stifles or binds it. The highly organized ouline is to be avoided, for —

1. It threatens to be little more than subject matter to be mastered for its own sake.
2. It implies that all the instructional activities can be conceived before the student work is ever underway.
3. This rigidity threatens to take precedence over individual differences.

A specific example of unit planning and development can be used to reveal the practical aspects of the discussion thus far.

An Example of Unit Development

The course being treated was a double-period course combining English and social studies for freshmen in a four-year high school. The year's work was to represent a study of community life with special emphasis upon the significance of group endeavor and the place of the individual in this group life. The pre-planning of teachers resulted in the conclusion that it would be logical to begin the work with a study of the school life that the freshman was just moving into. This advance work of the teachers who were to be teaching

this course was summarized on a few pages called Teachers' Planning Sheets. These contained instructional goals and possible means, including materials. However, they did not represent a fixed predestination of the course, but rather the skillful consideration of possibilities.

At the opening session of the class, the teacher led a discussion treating the idea of the course, bringing from the students suggestions concerning an approach to the work. It was generally agreed that the life of the school should first be explored, with the purpose of enabling these beginning students to get most out of it, and in turn to make maximum contributions to it. After another class period of planning, the limits of a period of work were rather well settled, even though no specific time limits were set. Some of the questions that came up, which suggested goals, were these:

1. How is the student body organized?
2. How is participation in school government provided?
3. How does the home room function as a unit of school government?
4. What are the regulations set up by students and faculty for group control?
5. What freedoms are given the students, and how do conduct and self-control come into this?
6. What courses and activities are provided for students at the different grade levels?
7. Who makes up the faculty, and what are the responsibilities and services of special faculty officers?
8. How do the upperclassmen take advantage of the opportunities offered by the school, and in turn how do they contribute to the life of the school?

From this came the decision of the group to prepare a freshman handbook treating information about the school. The group organized itself for work, selecting editors and determining the responsibilities of each class member. The interest in the undertaking proved to be enough to assure concerted effort for the group for a period of four weeks. The teacher directed the work in keeping with worthy instructional goals as well as student enthusiasm. All received practice in such things as writing, reading, studying, organizing materials, explaining to others, and co-operating as a member of a group working for the common good. They expected to pass the completed mimeographed booklet down to the next year's entering class.

In the writing down of the school regulations, it was revealed that some pupils were weak in the mechanics of written expression, a fact they could readily appreciate as they worked to issue a finished product as presentable as possible. Here the teacher slowed down the progress of the booklet for the sake of work on these fundamentals. Later, in the discussion of school regulations, the class was again temporarily sidetracked by an interest in observing how upperclassmen practiced these points of good school citizenship. Here a freshman survey of school traffic conditions was injected, which

in turn resulted in a committee of the class appearing before the student council and presenting their report. This in time lead to the assumption of traffic control by the freshmen, under student council direction, in one wing of the building. While one group of students moved over to follow this study of school government, the handbook project proceeded under the direction of others.

The completed handbook, although a goal for the pupil group, was for the teacher instructionally incidental to all of the experiences leading up to it. In classroom discussions and presentations at the end of the unit, students had an opportunity to evaluate their efforts and to draw together conclusions. The teacher led these discussions, carefully pointing up the co-operative aspects of group life in the school and the individual's place in that life. During the month's work, the teacher had taken the responsibility of supplementing assignments that students had made with those she felt were worthy in rounding out the work. Toward the end, for example, she introduced the class to books that brought out the give-and-take of young people in school life. Here readings were adjusted to reading abilities and interests.

The Subject Unit

Subject fields represent the subdivision of the recorded knowledge of mankind into divisions for the sake of a more logical approach to study and learning. Schools and colleges in turn tie up particular subject fields with particular destinations of the students. Thus, economics becomes a field of study common to those preparing for a business career.

Within any particular subject field, such as history or mathematics, again a subdivision takes place, resulting in the various subjects to be taught within the field. As a high-school teacher has approached the instructional task in any one of these subjects he has again broken down subject matter into smaller segments to facilitate instruction. Often this division has represented a day-by-day assignment, such as "from the bottom of page 291 to the top of page 298 for tomorrow, class." But during the past couple of decades there has been noticed a trend toward laying out longer pieces of work, and these have in turn been called units.

As used in this way, the term unit is a subject-matter unit, and represents a convenient portion of the subject that is to be covered during the semester or the school year. For instance, American history has been approached chronologically through six or eight large units, including one on Colonization, one on the Westward Movement, one on the Civil War period, and so on. American literature as a study has been approached by setting up units around types of writing, such as the novel, the short story, and the ballad. Since this type of unit originates with the subject itself, the teacher still faces the problem of securing student interest in the work to be covered.

As indicated earlier, it is much simpler to teach by units than it is to learn by units,

but both are essential if the plan is to be used. The main obstacle faced by the teacher who would use subject matter units is that such a unit is more apt to represent teacher purposes than pupil purposes. And educationally, we know the psychological advantage of the latter.

Any type of unit, to deserve the title, would need to have a central unifying purpose, problem, or interest, out of which all procedures would spring, and against which all the activites engaged in could be measured to judge their pertinence. It is conceived that a subject-matter unit could meet these specifications, but the teacher must appreciate that the amount of learning that will take place will be in direct proportion to the extent to which the purpose, problem, or interest represents that of the student. He needs to see each aspect of the work as related to the place he is going and wants to go in the course as a whole.

Subject assignments, whether long or short, have often represented artificial pieces of work for students, mere ground to be covered for credit. In such a case, the pupil's purpose is represented only by the credits, or the promotion, or the graduation ahead. This need not be so, for every day in schools all over this land good teachers are handling courses on a subject unit plan, in which they are securing an enthusiastic response that reveals intense interest and undoubtedly purposes of the pupils.

The Experience Unit

Although we do not want to add to the educational confusion that the unit has brought, it seems desirable to mark off two extremes in this type of teaching, one being the *subject unit* and the other the *experience unit.* The main distinction is that in the subject unit the pupil *learns about* something and in the experience unit he *learns through* something. In the former he may be doing something, but in the latter he is doing something about something.

While the former presents the danger of offering the students little more than subject content to be "studied" or "learned," the latter presents the danger of failing to reach the worthy goals because of the absence of promising learning activities. Morrison's unit plan, which was developed in connection with subject-matter learning, included these five operational steps: exploration, presentation, assimilation, organization, and recitation. It was thought of in connection with the more formal academic studies, such as history, English, and mathematics.

The more informal unit, or laboratory procedure, enables a teacher to become better acquainted with the students. As a basis for successful school performance, the proper emotional stability of each student is necessary. This in turn demands for him a feeling of personal security, that he belong to the group, that he has a part to play there, that he is accepted. Otherwise, social frustration will block the proper interaction of the student with the learning environment set up, and little of value will transpire.

The happy adjustment that a youth may make in a shop course as opposed to a history course is in large measure owing to (1) the informality of the laboratory procedure as opposed to the formality of the classroom recitation, and (2) the adjustment of work to ability as opposed to the one-standard-for-all practice.

Only a few years back it was popular in educational research to try to measure the relative values of a long string of supposedly distinct classroom techniques, such as the problem method, the project method, the contract plan, the Dalton plan, the demonstration method, the unit plan, the laboratory method, the discussion procedure, the recitation, the socialized recitation, the lecture method, and what not. Although each may have had its distinguishing points, common characteristics among many of them, the inability of teachers to define some of them, and the variations resulting in some cases, makes it quite apparent that there are two big signposts around which these cluster — the recitation and the classroom laboratory.

To the informality of the science laboratory, the individual project in the manual arts field, and the naturalness of the foods and clothing classes in the home economics field, should go much credit for this attempt to laboratize the academic classroom.

ADMINISTRATIVE DEVICES HAVE ENCOURAGED FORMALITY

Classroom practice has been anchored securely to administrative devices. The division of the school day into six, eight, or more periods has become traditional, although it was in the beginning only an experimental device intended for improving instruction. So technical has become the administration of the classroom, a student of education can do a doctorate study on the relative merits of the six-period day and the eight-period day.

The administrative problem of handling study halls, the criticism of the traditional recitation, and the subsequent use of the laboratory method have brought school after school over to longer periods, ranging from one hour to the double-period or half-day core courses. Subject-curriculum schools that have gone to a six-period day, with one-hour periods, have done away with study halls for most students. The supervised study, that teachers are often invited to provide as a part of the one-hour class period, must represent the actual direction of students rather than the old study hall procedure.

The marking system is another administrative device rooted in the traditional classroom practice. It cannot be ignored when classroom reforms are being suggested. For instance, the free reading program, that has been advocated by leaders in the English field, holds much promise, but faces the problem of the marking system.[3] Pupils accustomed to doing extra reading

[3] See Harold Spears, *Experiences in Building a Curriculum*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1937, Chapter II.

for extra credit and honors are now to read for pleasure. The theory says that student X may read four books a term, while student Y may read a dozen, each reading at his own speed and along the lines of his interests. With the grading system still existing, the teacher is forced to grade these two students, and faces the possibility of killing the spirit of the thing by issuing marks on the basis of total work done. *Curriculum reorganization has found that any change in classroom practice must be accompanied by change in administrative techniques, the two being inseparable in philosophy.*

ABILITY GROUPING

Administration, in accepting devices, has not overlooked possibilities of grouping into classes. For many years in the American high school it was popular to distribute students in academic classrooms by ability. This placement of students into *slow*, *regular*, and *fast* sections according to intelligence quotient, reading score, or teacher rating was for some time accepted as an aid to learning. Secondary education has gradually come around to take an inventory of its experiences with ability grouping, and schools that are moving ahead in curriculum reorganization are leaving the practice behind.

A Narrow Conception

By and large, homogeneous grouping has accompanied a ground-to-be-covered conception of the curriculum, ability sectioning being used to vary the quantity of ground to be covered rather than being used to vary the fundamental nature of the course from section to section. Furthermore, studies show that in common practice, ability grouping has not enabled the slow pupils to succeed in the manner claimed by its publicists. Failures and low marks are much heavier than in the more rapid sections. In one school using ability grouping, which the author studied, the percentage of failures for one year in the three types of sections in the English classes was as follows: fast sections, 2 per cent; regular sections, 6 per cent; slow sections, 19 per cent.

Those who have advocated ability grouping to care for individual differences have never been able to separate its tenets from the purely scholastic aspects of schooling. Grouping by ability has meant grouping by the ability to succeed in formal education, in the learning of facts, skills, and verbal tasks set out in advance for all. Even if such a simple conception of the mission of the public high school could be accepted, it would still have to be pointed out that there would be as many ability groups as there are pupils to be grouped.

Homogeneous grouping springs from the subject to be taught rather than from the individual to be developed. For instance, here is American literature to be taught — a more or less well-defined list of selections. Efficiency of instruc-

tion suggested to teachers that they divide the students into ability groups, the fast to cover a maximum number of selections, the average to cover an average number, and the slow to cover a smaller number. In this approach the needs of developing personalities need not be considered, since the goal is ground coverage. Emotions, feelings, value concepts, democratic processes, and similar concerns of modern education are pushed aside as pupils are grouped by intelligence. The human element is not there.

More Inclusive Adjustments Necessary

Ability grouping was apparently clutched at in a lazy attempt to ignore the more difficult problem of individualizing and personalizing the work within a class. If all of its other shortcomings have not sufficiently indicted this plan of grouping, it must be disqualified on the grounds that teachers prefer the fast groups and demand that the assignment of slow groups be handled on a turn-about-is-fair-play plan.

Differences among people will continue to exist, and the school that sets out to serve the whole student must appreciate that these differences are not merely variations in the I.Q. They are differences in physique and physical maturity, in basic interests, in social maturity, in home background, in aptitudes and abilities, in life goals, in general appearance and attractiveness, in habits, and in all the rest. Any good school will provide adjustments in respect for such variations in human nature, but it will not try to isolate a single variable and build classroom techniques around it alone.

NEW DIRECTIONS FOR THE CLASSROOM

In a number of the chapters in this section of the book, the examples treated reveal the futility of narrow classroom procedures. It may be granted that in the case of the specialized high-school courses such as shorthand, Latin, typing, algebra, and ancient history, there can continue to be strong emphasis upon course content — upon knowledge, skill, or ability, with a separate emphasis upon the method of establishing such facility with the learner; but in the broader general areas of social living, which engulf such subjects as English, social studies, general science, and general mathematics, the pressure of the newer conceptions of education demands that the classroom extend itself into the school and the community with no great distinction between subject and method. Some of the current conceptions of education, treated elsewhere in this book, which are making their impact upon this older fixed conception of classrooms and their methods are the following:

1. The classroom or the school is no longer a restricted unit of society. The school is rightfully incorporating the community into its learning environment, and there is a growing respect for curricular activities that originate in the life of the community. Field trips, firsthand experiences, and

activities directed by the school outside its own plant are growing in popularity.

2. The conception of learning as growth through interaction with one's environment of people and things is edging out the view that learning is a passive matter. Schools are concerned with the total growth of the student — social, physical, emotional, as well as mental.
3. Attitudes, understandings, appreciations, and socially accepted actions are taking their place, beside facts and skills, as ends of instruction. As educators more and more are looking upon behavior as the proof of learning, the classroom walls are losing their former position as a boundary between educational and so-called *extra*curricular activities. The walls of the school plant itself fade into the whole life of the community.
4. There is a growing tendency to share all the aspects of an educational experience or undertaking with the student. The "learning task" of yesterday contained three parts: (1) the planning, (2) the fulfillment, and (3) the evaluation of it — only the second of which was shared with the student. Today, students and teachers are planning the classroom program together, and the school is more inclined to give the student the privilege of helping to evaluate his progress.
5. Standardized procedures are giving way to concern with student personalities. The curriculum is being influenced by the diversity of interests and abilities among the student body. And the respect once paid the assignment in methods courses is challenged by the growing appreciation that schools must reflect the dynamics of society.
6. The growing concern for the ways of democracy and of training for democracy, with the accompanying disrepute of anything that smacks of authoritarianism, demands a re-evaluation of the administrative practices of classroom and school. The school becomes a laboratory for democratic living, and such instructional goals as right living with one's fellows threatens to overthrow the time-honored view that the obligation of the individual student in the classroom is to the teacher. It is to the group.
7. As philosophy moves in ahead of method, and as the broadened conception of the curriculum takes precedence over content to be administered by this or that method, even the practice of breaking the school down into eight or ten distinct pieces is questioned. The provision of general education through the lengthened core period of half a day or third of a day moves in as a growing practice as the short-period assignment gives ground.

Liberalizing Academic Procedures

A fair percentage of academic classrooms in the high schools of the country are taking some liberties with the recitation procedure. The following examples represent the weekly schedules of a half dozen such classrooms in

a given school at a given time. It is to be remembered that these particular schedules were the ones in operation for the week studied, and do not represent a static procedure for the semester or the year. The methods used in double-hour and half-day core courses are treated in other chapters of this section of the book.

EXAMPLE A (*M*) class planning for the week — organization of study groups, division of responsibilities, (*T*) locating materials in classroom and library, organizing study procedures, (*W*) class discussion of progress, further group study, (*Th*) further group laboratory work, (*F*) reports by the three group chairmen, class discussion.

EXAMPLE B (*M*) class discussion, reports, reference work, (*T*) socialized recitation, (*W*) library work, (*Th*) class discussion, reports, (*F*) current events, map work.

EXAMPLE C (*M*) presentation of new work by mathematics teachers, questions, (*T*) individualized laboratory procedure, with the teacher moving about the classroom, (*W*) group work at board and at seats, (*Th*) work on school ground, projection of measurements, (*F*) final checkup in classroom, turning in individual work to teacher.

EXAMPLE D (*M*) Students read passages of the play that is to be studied, (*T*) students take parts of characters, acting out the parts before the class, reading from the book, (*W*) committees work on different phases of the one-act plays being studied, one group treating plot, one characters, one settings necessary for staging, etc., (*Th*) committees report to class, (*F*) class reads and discusses passages.

EXAMPLE E (*M*) Students and teachers plan the work of the English class for the next month, the teacher using the blackboard in helping the group to organize their thinking, (*T*) some films are shown as a part of the exploration of the possibilities, (*W*) discussion of the films, some records are played, (*Th*) ten tentative subjects for study are agreed upon, (*F*) class organizes into small groups for further work.

EXAMPLE F (*M*) Class organizes for firsthand study of traffic problems in the community, (*T*) groups of students station themselves at different intersections, and make check-sheets of habits of motorists and pedestrians relative to traffic lights, stop signs, (*W*) class discussion of findings and preparation of lists of desirable actions for motorists and pedestrians, (*Th*) continuation of work of previous day, (*F*) review and new planning.

The Workroom

In the classroom that is a workroom, the teacher will know how to handle a 16-millimeter motion-picture projector as well as the questions printed at the end of the chapter in the textbook. Filmstrip projector, sound-transcription apparatus, radio, and similar audio-visual equipment should

be a part of his teaching experience and equipment. The classroom without such provision for sensory experience is like a classroom of the year 1900.

Every high-school youth has a right to master the ideas of the course he is taking, regardless of his reading ability. For handicapped readers there are still many means of securing information and forming ideas and appreciations, but the teacher must bring those means to the classroom.

All this places a premium upon teacher initiative and ingenuity, and marks the former methods course as inadequate. The teacher, with his concern for the welfare of society and the worth of the individual student, assumes a role that was not featured in the earlier training program. As the classroom becomes a workroom and the hub of learning experiences, then the training institution must prepare for such a program.

Chapter

II

GUIDANCE AND LEARNING

A really good guidance or personnel program in a school depends not so much upon the tests and the techniques employed, but rather upon a whole-staff consciousness of, and participation in, effective personnel work. The program is to be judged by neither the thickness of the cumulative record folder nor the number of standardized test scores therein. None of these trappings — not even a staff of trained counselors can make up for the absence of a soft spot in the heart of the classroom teacher for her pupils as individuals, all different, all important. *This close feeling of the teacher for individual pupils is the keystone of school guidance.* If it isn't there, the administration might as well save its investment in all the rest.

Elaborate counseling offices, testing programs, accumulated records of students' past achievement or lack of it, case studies, health records, vocational conferences, career days, and such, too often leave the impression that guidance didn't originate until these techniques rapped at the high-school door about a quarter of a century ago. Teachers who respect the differences among their students, and continually seek better means of fitting the school to the nature of the individual, can tip their hats in reverence to a master who spoke on the subject two hundred and fifty years ago. As though he were summarizing the fundamental ideals of modern guidance and counseling as related to instruction, John Locke made these profound remarks as long ago as 1695:

> He therefore, that is about children should well study their natures and aptitudes, and see, by often trials, what turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their native stock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for. He should consider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by industry, and incorporated there by practice, and whether it be worth while to endeavor it.
>
> For, in many cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is to make the best of what nature has given — and give it all the advantages it is capable of. Everyone's natural genius should be carried as far as it could, but to attempt the putting another

upon him would be but labor in vain; and what is so plaistered on will at best fit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the ungracefulness of constraint and affectation.

No better declaration of aims on the part of a modern high-school guidance program could be made, than this of Locke's: a deep respect for individual worth, full recognition of the nature of the student at hand, with a school program built around his "genius" rather than around his shortcomings.

Democracy is based on individual worth, and is limited only by the potentialities of the individuals, thus placing a premium upon the school's development of each pupil up to the limit of his capabilities. It was but recently that the American secondary school endorsed the needs and purposes of the individual as a proper approach to instructional provision. In fact, there is little in the archives to indicate that the average school administrator, prior to the turn of the twentieth century, recognized the personality of the individual student as something about which to get excited. As pupil personalities tend to wrest the educational spotlight from academic traditions, the vital factors in this struggle for proper guidance begin to distinguish themselves. Two of these, which are treated in this chapter, are:

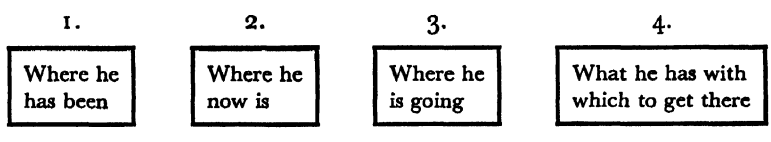
1. The guidance movement this century — its entry, common characteristics, and relationships to instruction, and
2. The nature of intelligence — how development takes place

In thinking of guidance, the second of these is just as significant as the first. If the modern conception of the nature of intelligence and growth had not come forward this century, the way would not have been cleared for the guidance movement itself.

GUIDANCE DOES NOT MEAN TELLING

Those who profess to guide youth, whether as teachers, counselors, or parents, cannot set themselves up as oracles. It is not the worldly experience of their elders that high-school youth want. They have their own lives to live, and they are important lives. Sympathetic listening on the part of an understanding counselor means much to the adolescent youth who is trying to achieve independence and importance as he tries to find his way.

An effective guidance program is one that helps a youth to see more clearly four things:



Where He Has Been: the Cumulative Record

Generally approved today is the individual folder or pocket type cumulative record, many forms of which have followed those developed by such

groups as the American Council on Education. Such a record keeps pace with the student from grade to grade, and from one school level to another, as a comprehensive yet selective picture of his experiences and background to date. There is no reason a school shouldn't send such a folder to another school system if the student transfers.

It recognizes as pertinent to good guidance such data as records of health, attendance, subject marks, tests, activities, interests, and birth and home conditions. The cumulative record folder, in addition to providing printed forms calling for data common for all students, invites the filing of special papers pertinent to the specific individual. Some cautions about the use or misuse of the cumulative record and its data might be listed:

1. The cumulative record is of no particular value as long as it is in the filing cabinet.
2. Keeping the cumulative records up to date for an average home-room group of thirty students is a time-consuming task that should be recognized by the administration in determining teacher load.
3. In recording the data, the teacher must see the job as a means rather than as an end.
4. The information is valuable only in the hands of an understanding teacher or counselor who seeks help in helping the student in question.
5. The educational worth or effectiveness of any cumulative record must be determined by an examination of its use rather than by an examination of its form.
6. The information must be used *for* and not *against* the student. In the case of low test scores or other revealing information, the teacher must beware of being influenced toward indifference.

Too many guidance workers seem to get the idea that all this information about the student's past is recorded for their own information alone. This is not the case. In good counseling, the student needs to appreciate *where he has been*, securing such interpretation through an understanding person. Past performance can tell him much about his present and his future. It doesn't mean everything, but it certainly can't be ignored.

Where He Now Is: The Total Picture

Where is the student now? He is on a certain course in the high school, in particular classes, and has a certain standing in his work. He may be actively engaged in out-of-class activities, in or out of school; or he may be inactive. There may be a job on the side, contributing to or detracting from happy school adjustment. He may or may not be accepted socially in the school. There is a definite home and community environmental situation contributing to *where he now is*. The condition of his health, his emotional make-up, and the stage of his social development all reckon. Nor is the student's economic and financial status to be overlooked.

Besides tests and detailed records, the techniques of guidance include the interview, the case study, observation of present behavior, the autobiography, rating devices, and the weekly schedule of the student's activities. Literature in the field, in treating techniques, invariably refers to appraisal or evaluation of behavior as a continuous process. Counseling must always draw upon the recordings of the moment. While the interview comes into prominence in the case of counseling the individual student, group direction falls back upon the home room, the special class conducted by a counselor, the school assembly, or the group conference.

Where he now is, in respect to subjects being taken, outside companions, achievement, or what not, may not be where he should be at the moment. The school organization has its being in the pupils it would serve, and in no case should organization be so tight that adjustment for the benefit of a student cannot be made at any moment during the school year. There are those administrators who place fixed class schedules and fixed student programs ahead of student welfare itself, daring anybody to try to make a shift in a pupil's program after some arbitrarily set date.

Where He Is Going: Adjustment to Life

OCCUPATIONAL GUIDANCE. The student whose future gets the most attention in the average American high school's guidance program is the college-bound. This is not necessarily by intention, but rather because the availability of colleges and their catalogues giving the specific entrance requirements make such occupational guidance simple. Futhermore, high-school teachers can give such guidance because they have all experienced college. It's difficult for them to give other occupational guidance, because few of them have experienced the world of work outside of teaching.

That is, college guidance is simple as compared with giving occupational guidance to those youth who are to go into jobs immediately upon leaving high school. The ramifications of the world of work, when matched with the ramifications represented by the individual natures of the crop of youth leaving school, present a variable quite baffling to high-school guidance counselors. There's still the memory of the New York Regents study — the proof that there's no positive correlation between the youth's ability to get a job and the teachers' opinion of such chances — to plague the secondary-school educator. We judge the worth of youth by their reaction to school tasks, but such tasks are quite limited in relationship to the activities of the outer world.

Guidance, when first spoken of in secondary schools, was known as vocational guidance, and only in recent years has the program been extended to include the total of the individual's affairs. The occupational guidance that is done in schools today does not emphasize specialization in a specific occupation to the exclusion of consideration for the broader aspects of success in life, such as emotional stability and getting along with others.

In its concern for the integration of the individual pupil — for his total pattern of living, for his adjustment to life — the school gives thought to his occupational as well as to his social adjustments. Although high-school educators will not defend the public faith that the high-school diploma should lead directly to a job, neither are they ready to cast aside the ideal grasped for by the mercantile and mechanic classes that rebelled against the early Latin grammar school in favor of a secondary school that would fit the child for "the active and practical duties of life." The extension, since 1900, of vocational and specialized education in the American secondary school attests to the general faith that the school has an obligation beyond general education.

The Latin grammar school of Boston, the first secondary school in America, it must be remembered, was a vocational school. It was established for one purpose,to train boys for the ministry, the job to be completed by Harvard College. Although only one occupation was considered, the pattern for the American secondary school's concern for occupational guidance and training was set three hundred years ago.

INCONSISTENCIES IN HIGH-SCHOOL GUIDANCE. While half of the students in high school are permitted to take an academic program that would seem to be leading them to the professions, census records list only 1,900,000 professional and semiprofessional workers among the 37,400,000 men employed in America. For every architect there are 215 clerks; for every doctor there are 37 craftsmen and 11 making their living driving trucks or automobiles. Although English composition is taught intensively to all high-school students for at least three years, in the actual world of work there is but one woman earning her living by writing, to 19 nurses and 105 domestics. In such a city as Chicago, the chances are 900 to 1 that a girl will be a clerk rather than an attorney.

In far too many secondary schools of America, the guidance of youth into courses is on the basis of possible success in the courses, and not as it should be on the basis of the possible use of them. For instance, as a student moves from eighth grade into ninth, whether to choose algebra or practical mathematics as a required math course is invariably made on the basis of ability. If the student shows the ability to do algebra, he is sent that direction, even though not over 5 per cent of the graduates will ever use it in their civic or occupational affairs.

Youth and their parents need to be confronted with the stark realities of the occupational world before the student ever enters the ninth grade. Our intense interest in our children leads us to direct them toward later frustration. While the idea of a professional or semiprofessional job tickles the fancy of well over half of our high-school youth, there still remains the fact that only about 7 per cent of workers hold such positions.

The association of privileges or status with the American secondary school, and the promise of economic advancement beyond the parents' occupational

status, are concepts well entrenched in the public mind, concepts not easy to cope with. Teachers and counselors should at least not feed the misconception. The conception of gentility that the white-collar job carries is a threat to the adult security of American youth. Pride in handwork, the satisfaction of a job well done, and the peace of mind that comes with labor attuned to ability are matters to be taught in the school. The white-collar myth in a blue-collar world should be exposed by educators.

What He Has with Which to Get There

Where he has been, where he now is, where he is going, and then — what he has with which to get there. The school needs to help the individual student to see and to understand himself. Here the greater maturity and experience of the counselor is brought into play, but not in a one-sided, advice-giving manner. Mutual respect and each accepting the other on the same plane are essential in an interview. *What the student thinks is far more important to a youth's development than what the counselor thinks;* the counselor can't solve his life problem for him any more than the track coach can run the mile race for a member of the track squad.

USING TESTS WISELY. In helping the student to see all the factors in the situation, to know himself as well as to know the world of work, the school commonly uses test scores. It is safe to say that the best thought in guidance today would discredit the organized guidance program that was making no use of the existing techniques of measurement. However, those who use tests are doing so with an increased awareness of their limitations.

As the guidance director or principal supplies the classroom teachers with the results of measurement in this or that area, he likewise cautions them against misinterpretation of the significance of the test score. The intelligent consumer of measurement techniques not only recognizes the possible misuse of data secured through the use of available instruments, but he likewise appreciates the absence of techniques which would give him the picture of the all-around make-up of the pupil that he desires.

The intelligence test has been the most widely accepted instrument for determining a person's capacity to learn or ability to profit by his experiences. Of all tests, it has been the most widely used — and misused. Such tests as the Terman Group Test and the Otis Self-Administering Test have become common equipment for a guidance program. Whether justified or not, educators have come to agree fairly well in respect to the significance of intelligence quotients; 90 to 110 has been looked upon as average, below 90 as below average, and above 110 as superior. It is not uncommon for high-school youth of I.Q. below 90 to be classified in the minds of academic teachers by number, as though it were printed on their backs.

Test makers have excelled in one other area, that of measurement in the respective book subject fields. Those who would measure accomplish-

ment in the formal aspects of such studies as plane geometry or United States history have at their disposal innumerable standardized achievement tests. The results of such tests correlate relatively high with the results of intelligence tests and with those of a third popular type, tests of silent reading ability. As pointed out earlier, the user of the standardized diagnostic test, a fourth type of instrument, must remember that the likelihood that a student will get a high mark in a course is no guarantee that he needs the course; nor is the probability that he may get a low mark sufficient evidence that he does not need the course.

MEASURING INTERESTS AND PERSONALITY. Over the years there has emerged an appreciation of the other aspects of one's personality which cannot be measured by the instruments just discussed — aspects of one's make-up that help or hinder success or maximum adjustment to social situations and life in general.

The concern for adaptability of the individual to his everyday social situation has caused educators to reach beyond the realm of intelligence and scholastic ability for instruments which measure personality, attitudes and beliefs, interests and character. Although well accepted that success in life cannot be determined by success with verbal information and academic skills alone, measurement in the field of personality development has proved quite baffling. These broader aspects of personality are much more elusive for the psychologist than have been such specifics as the ability to progress in formal school subjects. Among the instruments being experimented with in this area have been those with these titles:

Personality inventory	Emotional maturity scale
Interest questionnaire	Personal data sheet
Attitude scale	Public opinion test
Adjustment inventory	Scale for survey of opinions
Character sketch	Work interest blank
Vocational interest blank	Attention test
Personality schedule	Behavior rating schedule

The desire of educators to find out more about children and youth in these more human aspects of school and life experience is highly commendable. This search for better instruments needs to be motivated by both an interest in the underlying nature of individual differences and a true appreciation of such differences. Some years ago Wrightstone went quite far in trying to get an accurate and useful picture of the social and emotional development of pupils through controlled and systematic observation in classrooms. This could be extended to out-of-class and out-of-school situations, and might give the school much that it could use in helping the individual to understand himself and to project himself into a future that was realistically in keeping with his unique personality.

THE JOB OPPORTUNITY SURVEY

The school's concern for vocational guidance — for the student's future — implies likewise its interest in providing a curriculum that will help him make proper entry into that future. For years, schools have in varying degrees offered training for the world of work. Occupational training has ultimate value only as it contributes to the individual's development in accord with a worthy life pattern. Adjustments to work will hardly come through a school program promising employment in positions that do not exist. The job opportunity survey, popularized in recent years, is now an accepted instrument in adjusting school vocational offerings to occupational conditions in the community served by the school. Such an occupation survey reveals data valuable for both curriculum planner and student adviser. It attacks each position from the standpoint of such information as:

1. Minimum age at which employees will be hired
2. Turnover during the last twelve months
3. Minimum salary
4. Preference for male or female employee
5. Number of employees now in such positions
6. Experience as a requirement
7. Educational requirements for the position

This is the type of information that cannot be transplanted from other communities. If used, it must be secured locally through a well-planned organization. It means a citizens' committee as an advisory group, a well-planned inventory sheet, trained interviewers, complete coverage of the area, and a dozen other essentials. In a city of 100,000 population or less, such a survey can be carried out by the commercial departments of the high schools, using as the interviewers the seniors who are taking the commercial course.

Following the student after graduation is very important. It is another effective means of strengthening the guidance service of the school, as well as checking the value of the curriculum. What happened to each member of a June class can be determined the following October or November through a system of careful contacts with the homes. The breakdown can then be made by college, occupation, and other activity. There are no limits to the use of such data. For instance:

1. How does the individual's present position compare with the course he took in school?
2. How does his position compare with the school's estimate of his college or occupational adjustment?
3. Studying the class as a whole, what implications are there for the curriculum and the guidance program?

THE NATURE OF INTELLIGENCE

Without a fair understanding of the nature of intelligence and how learning takes place, guidance as a service becomes a ship without a rudder. Modern psychology has paved the way for guidance services.

Although, technically speaking, there are as many psychologies of learning as there are psychologists, and as many philosophies of education as there are educators proposing school practices, for years there has been emerging one background or pattern of growing convictions which merits the careful consideration of all who would take part in the reorganization of the secondary school. *It emphasizes the individual in relationship to his immediate culture, and in treating the interacting growth process, sheds light upon the problem of providing a high school to serve both the individual and the society which supports the program.*

As educational psychology, in its picture of the growth process, has increasingly emphasized the significance of the social setting in which the person does his learning, the minds of educators have consequently been turned toward a closer consideration of the particular significance of the American democratic society, from which and for which any scheme of organized schooling must spring. We no longer speak of providing a program of education, we speak of *education for American democracy.*

The literacy program, advanced in the early days of this country as an educational program capable of safeguarding the American form of government, falls far short in the modern conception of the school's obligation to the perpetuation of the principles of democracy. Even though it has not been determined to what extent and at what rate of speed mankind can willfully guide the world into better ways, we are sure of one thing —

The greatest promise for America's future lies in the development of the individual in so far as possible up to the limit of his capacities, with emphasis upon both his rights and responsibilities in group life of the democratic sort. This development can be furthered by the school only if teachers and administrators are true to a sound conception of the nature of behavior and learning.

Judging Intelligence

For years, youngsters entering the secondary schools have offered as credentials their intelligence quotients, reading test scores, subject achievement marks, and similar rating as objective evidence of their respective intelligence. Cautioned against using such marks as anything more than "just another help" in providing a proper educational program, teachers have found them so convenient in regimenting and appraising the large numbers passing through their classes that such ratings seem to stay with the pupil throughout his high schooling.

In spite of David's prowess on the gridiron, Jane's winning personality in social situations, and Stephen's leadership of his class, in the last analysis

their "intelligence" is apt to stand with the teachers, at least, in terms of these instrumental ratings and the closely related marks made in classroom subjects. While a person is in school, his intelligence is apt to be judged in terms of classroom answers rather than out-of-class behavior in normal group situations.

But intelligence is a concept rather than a faculty or a power. Out in the life of the community, intelligence is an appraisal that human beings, collectively or individually, make of a fellow being as he reacts to life's situations — as he interacts with his environment of people and things. The very teacher who in the classroom can't keep from judging her group in terms of test scores, turns right around in her out-of-school associations and judges her community helpers in terms of their behavior. For instance, if the electrician finds the trouble in her radio in a few minutes, she admires his intelligence — even though some years before in her class he was classified as dumb in English.

No doubt, the effectiveness with which a person handles himself in his various situations indicates to others his intelligence. Illustrations like these are numerous:

1. Of the new Chamber of Commerce secretary, after he has been on the job for a few months, it is commonly said "He is a sharp operator." But nobody has seen his intelligence quotient.
2. The learned professor of physics with his recent discovery in atomic energy, in his home neighborhood continually invokes the titters of his neighbors because of his eccentricities.
3. The club woman, driving home after having read her paper on Carlisle before the A.A.U.W. group, turns left in heavy traffic without holding out her hand, and automatically invokes the disgust of observing truck drivers who never completed high school. To them she is "that dumb woman."

Which is remindful of that section of the New York State Regents' Inquiry, *High School and Life*, pp. 58–61, which deals with the success of the graduating and the withdrawing pupils in getting jobs. Interestingly enough, the high school's opinion of its pupil's vocational competence bears little relation to the actual success of the boys and girls in getting jobs. As between graduates whom teachers were willing to recommend, and those they were unwilling to endorse, approximately the same proportions were known to have actually got jobs within three months after leaving school. Interviews with employers showed clearly that the personal impression made by boys and girls who apply for jobs weigh more heavily than school records or the recommendations of school people.

Many teachers are on guard against "personality" in the classroom, lest it slip in to influence their rating of a student's progress in his studies. In the give-and-take of

the active business and social life of America, the whole person makes the impression, while the impression in the classroom is limited in so far as possible to accomplishment in dealing with school tasks. The businessman, in considering the applicant for a position, considers no narrow aspect of growth or training, but thinks of the demands of the position upon the whole personality. When the employer states, "I've tried going on what teachers say about these kids, and it doesn't mean a thing," — perhaps it's time for the high school to reconsider what the world actually expects for success. Who is the intelligent person? Intelligent in what?

Time and Place

What may be marked as intelligent in one society may be marked as unintelligent in another. Intelligence is not an abstract concept removed from a social setting, although an occasional educator might have it so. In the same society, the act that indicates intelligence today may be looked upon a year from now as unintelligent, or vice versa. At one time in America it is the smart thing to talk preparedness, while at another the person who advocates a large armament program is looked upon with suspicion.

How Learning Takes Place

Thus, intelligence is tied permanently into individual and group interests and values. It is seen as adaptability to new problems or as skill in making new types of adjustment to new demands. It can never be a private matter; it is a social proposition. One does not become intelligent by removing himself from human kind for isolated study. Intelligence that is effectual is a social sort of thing, and can be tested only in life situations. These reactions are made through: (1) older skills and habits, (2) emotionalized actions, and (3) problem solving. Although the third is looked upon as denoting the greatest degree of intelligence, the two former cannot be screened from the action pattern that comes into play in adjustment.

Although intelligence varies from individual to individual, there are some common qualities more or less evident in all. Individuals learn, with varying degrees of success, to make socially accepted adjustments to their environment. Trial and error learning, strong in the lower animals, is marked as wasteful in the upper. Insight, reflecting the point of view of organismic psychology, is winning favor today as a major mode of intelligent problem solving.

HOW INTELLIGENT IS A PERSON? Then how effective is a person in dealing with those environmental problems over which he might be expected to secure some control? How much one's intelligence is due to native ability, and how much it is dependent upon personal knowledge and experience, we cannot exactly say, but it is concluded that both are essential factors in determining proper action. The greater the faith we place in what teachers

and schools can do for children in their development, the greater the emphasis we are placing upon the experience factor. *Investment in schools represents faith that human nature can be altered for the better, that development can be directed.*

It has just been pointed out that intelligence is an appraisal that human beings make of the other fellow as he reacts to life about him. It follows, then, that one's intelligence is indicated by his ability to make satisfactory adjustment to life's conditions. Such adjustments at heart are personality adjustments, so that this line of reasoning marks the problem of personality adjustment as the prime concern of the school. The well-integrated person stands out to the curriculum planner as the model of his efforts. Through the interaction of person and surroundings comes personality, which is to say that personality represents his ongoing behavior integrated into a distinctive growth pattern.

One's growth or development is not the result of an innumerable number of isolated acts or bits of learning, but instead is best described as a continuous growth stream. Life is this continuous interaction of person and surroundings, with effective action depending upon goals, these goals in present form being spoken of by psychologists as needs or urges. The young baby needs food and security, and interacts with its environment to reach its ends. As it acts, it draws upon its environment and in turn gives back to it in such a manner that both infant and surroundings are altered in the process. It cries for food and attention, and later adds the smile as a technique in handling its limited world of people and things.

Later, language comes to play an increasingly important role in this development of self through experience. Effective action or techniques are absorbed by the growing child as a part of its total personality, the self at any one moment being an embodiment of all that has gone before. These successfully used ways of responding are not added as appendages, or as isolated and separated action patterns to be ready upon specific call but, instead, move into the personality by changing the whole being.

The individual acts as a whole, and thus develops as a whole. Development cannot be broken down into such separate categories as mental, physical, social, and emotional. As development takes place, all of these aspects of the organism work together, placing a premium upon the well-integrated individual. The high-school boy who gets up before the assembly to make a "mental" contribution finds that the handling of his feet and hands are as much a problem as finding the words to express his thoughts, which in turn presents an emotional strain that is appreciated by the wise teacher.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HERE AND NOW. One's culture, as he advances through life, is continually changing and shifting, calling for adjustments, new reactions, new action patterns — which in turn call for new knowledges, new skills, new understandings, new appreciations. Education on the sec-

ondary-school level no longer stands as a matter of storing up knowledges in school to act as a ready first-aid kit in any future emergency. The teacher of the old school "poured on" the culture to all alike, the test of schooling being how much the student could give back when questioned.

The teacher today turns his attention to the best adjustment of the individual pupil to his here-and-now problems as the best assurance of his continued satisfactory adjustment in after-school life. Thus, integration implies integration with one's cultural surroundings and interaction within oneself as a whole, no sharp line distinguishing the one aspect from the other. The well-integrated individual meets his problems as a unitary organism, while intelligent behavior cannot be expected from the poorly adjusted.

Learning, in this interacting process, is a result of what psychologists call an upset or disturbance. Certain conditions cause the individual to act, and action is toward the goal represented by this particular urge or need — action being first dependent upon the goal. Mental, physical, and emotional movement are all characterized by goal seeking, and as pointed out previously, such action or movement is by wholes. To be effective in a growth sense, such goal seeking must represent true needs of the learner. *In schooling this means that the goals of learning must be the student's and not those of the teacher alone.*

The teacher's task is to set up, or help to bring into play, those situations that will cause the challenging disturbances leading to growth action, and to provide the rich variety of new experiences that will be most effective in this interactive process. As the learner moves through these situations, the teacher is there to direct, to suggest means, and to help evaluate progress. If the environmental situation is too demanding, too overpowering, too advanced for the age of the child, or too far removed from his own life needs, it will bring no satisfying responses that might be incorporated into his personality. In fact, the unsuitable school task may bring just the reverse of the desired adjustment, emotionally disturbing the individual to the extent of blocking development. Many a supposedly instructional task has meant disintegration instead of integration of personality. Frustration in a high-school subject has lead to truancy in many instances. No intelligent behavior, no proper personality development, can be expected from situations in which the cultural presentations of the teacher or the curriculum do not fit the present needs of the learner. Escape may be expected instead.

The teacher must realize that, as a part of the learning situation, he must move up and back as the occasion demands, just as any other part of the learning situation needs to be altered from time to time to facilitate learning. Only as the teacher and the child both give and take on an interactive basis can the learner build up his thoughtful and intelligent behavior. The shifting of the teacher's position from hearer of lessons to director of learning indicates a respect of how learning takes place. It places the teacher in an even more strategic position in the school situation.

In Summary

BEHAVIOR AS PURPOSIVE. Behavior is spoken of as purposive, as development through experiences resulting from recognized needs, from problems to be solved. Various efforts, one after another, are made in an attempt to reach these recognized goals. The behavior movements continue in each case until the individual reaches the goal, until he accepts failure, or until he is distracted by other purposes. Learning, then, calls for challenging situations that arouse action toward accepted goals. A combination of events or factors that excite the student to respond composes a potential learning situation.

INCORPORATION OF PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE. Life, then, for a person is one situation after another, varying of course in the degree to which they stir the individual to action. Each new situation is not separated from the person's past, but is a part of his whole life growth stream, tied into his past, and promising values for future action. Previous experience is constantly being embodied by the individual, a person's past always exerting pressure as a force in the response that is made to the new situation. As he finds satisfactory new responses in working his way through a situation, such response is incorporated into his behavior for possible use in future experiences — and thus learning takes place.

LEARNING BY INSIGHT. As he reviews the new situation, the person notes the familiar features, those that have something in common with past experience, and in accord with his ability (innate plus retained experience) he arranges the factors in some logical order, and notes the absence of key elements preventing proper solution to the problem or adjustment to the situation. Gestalt psychology supports the contention that learning is primarily a matter of insight, the intelligence of the person being determined by how successfully he effects a closure in this horseshoe arrangement of elements by finding the missing factors that will fill the gap.

This experience, as it takes place, calls for thinking and feeling and physical endeavor. It is an ongoing and developing thing; the individual in participating in it is engaged in sorting, discarding, and accepting content as he attempts to move ahead toward his goals.

Learning by insight places a premium upon seeing relationships of the factors in a given situation quickly, rather than to resort to any trial and error attempt at solution. That which is accepted as satisfying and promising in this effort to reach ultimate ends is built into his action stream or behavior pattern. In this approach, the subject-matter content and the skills that have so long been the curriculum of the high school are shifted from ends to means. They are not discarded, but are called up as needed as aids in helping the student toward his accepted goals.

The modern concept of and concern for guidance, that is reflected in high-school programs all over the nation, could never have found a footing

in the educational scheme of things had not psychology moved in the direction that it has the past quarter of a century. Its current respect for individual behavior and the significant position of the environmental setting in determining behavior patterns, has acted as the entering wedge that enabled organized guidance to get its foot in the schoolhouse door.

ORGANIZATION FOR GUIDANCE

In the early days of guidance, the service was associated largely with the concept of vocational guidance, the counselor being a special officer brought into a school to give information to students about occupations, and to help them weigh the merits of this or that field against their own interests and abilities. Consequently, a better selection of school courses was implied, but the curriculum was quite limited in its service to the world of work. In this limited version of guidance, only the large schools were able to support a guidance department or official.

The concept has broadened until the ideal now is a service beginning before the pupil enters the first school, continuing with him throughout his schooling, and following him for a time after graduation. It endorses a service far broader than vocational counseling. It would serve the individual in every phase of his development. Although all of this is not found in any one school system, all the various aspects are developed somewhere within the country. The pattern is forming for copy by others.

Charting a Guidance Program

It has been popular to chart the guidance program of a school, beginning with the principal at the top, other officers below, and teachers down on the lowest level. In this writer's intense faith that good school guidance can come only with the classroom teacher's full faith in human nature and full appreciation of individual differences, he proposes the following concept of a guidance program, with the teacher in the focal spot, with other positions to supplement her efforts.

THE TEACHER. Real guidance begins with the teacher. These relationships with pupils come through the classroom, the home room, and the extracurricular activity. Although the home room has for years been pointed out as the seat of both individual and group guidance, the emerging conception of education as all-around development places the classroom situation in a likewise strategic position for the guidance of pupils. It is rather ludicrous to conceive the teacher's role as a dual one in which he rushes into a classroom to give instruction and back to a home room to give guidance.

The actions of the teacher, and not the form of organization set out on paper, determine the effectiveness of a school's guidance and personnel program. While the role of various officials in the program will vary noticeably from one school system to another, the role of the teacher should be one relatively constant. Skill

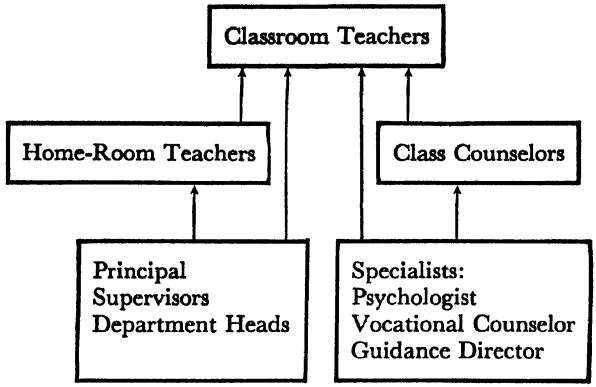


FIGURE 10. A Guidance Program Employing Specialists

in getting along with students, coming out of a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of them, once it is demanded of every teacher who holds a classroom job, will assure an organization in which the specialists supplement, rather than replace, the work of teachers.

Among the things that a classroom teacher or a home-room teacher does in acting in an effective guidance manner are these:

1. Becoming personally acquainted with parents, by visiting homes, inviting parents to school, and actively participating in the Parent Teacher Association
2. Using to full advantage the student records such as the cumulative record folders, and helping to keep up to date such data
3. Conferring frequently and informally with students about their work, arriving at common judgments and mutual confidences about marks rather than "grading students" behind their backs
4. Developing fine working relationships with other teachers in behalf of the student, since his work touches so many different classrooms
5. Hobnobbing with the student about his out-of-school activities — his hobbies, his part-time job, and his companions
6. Working for a maximum social adjustment for the student in the whole-school situation, assuring him of a feeling of belonging and being accepted — a feeling that is essential to good work, good attendance, and even continuation in school
7. Winning the confidence of the student — just being friendly
8. Spotting the strengths of students so that these can be capitalized upon, and the weaknesses so that these can be improved
9. Helping each to see his next place in life and to plan for it

Is this too big an order? It's safe to say that it can't be filled by the teacher who arrives in the morning just at the deadline, and hurries out in the evening soon after the dismissal bell.

THE COUNSELOR. Described by this name most frequently in guidance programs, the counselor in respect to duties varies from school to school from one who does full-time counseling to one who counsels "on the side." In many schools it is common for the dean of boys and the dean of girls to spend a definite portion of their day in the routine interviewing of students. A second type of group counselor is the class counselor or sponsor, often a teacher freed from a certain amount of classroom teaching to assume responsibility for interviewing or for directing all counseling at a particular grade level. He may oversee all the home-room guidance of that grade level.

THE HOME-ROOM ADVISER. A common practice in guidance organization is to divide the student body into home-room groups of approximately thirty-five students each, a teacher being assigned a home room as a duty in addition to classroom teaching. Home rooms are often set up by grade levels, the adviser of a particular home room staying with her group for the three or four years they are in school. This develops a close relationship and understanding between a teacher and one small group of students, a relationship which can pay large dividends in caring for individual differences.

The home-room period, which usually comes the first thing in the morning, gives time for routine administration of the students' complex curricular and extracurricular affairs, such as class registration, class changes, club enrollment, purchase of activity tickets, and attendance checking. In addition to such activities there is proper time given for group guidance meetings as well as individual counseling.

THE SPECIALIST. The psychologist, the psychiatrist, the home visitor, the nurse, the vocational counselor, the school physician, and similar workers are the specialists offering indispensable services to a guidance program. Theirs is a combined role, administering to students but at the same time helping teachers to grow in their capacity to work with students in a more understanding manner. These specialists may be either directly associated with the school system or indirectly connected as community associates.

THE DIRECTOR. Larger schools often have a guidance director who relieves the principal or the deans in assuming the responsibility for the over-all direction of the guidance program. In the small school the principal has to act in this capacity. This head officer usually does counseling, handles a testing program, brings in outside help from time to time, sets up special days such as career days, directs committees of teachers or home-room advisers in the study of their work, and in various other ways assumes active leadership of the work. Regardless of whether there is such a special official in a school, the principal's attitude toward the guidance of individual pupils will be the factor that determines the teachers' attitude and practices. He is in a strategic position to know the family background of many of the students and to help the teacher interpret the current situations that arise.

Guidance Not a Thing Apart

When guidance as an organized service first entered the school a few years ago, it did so not as a reaction against the traditional curriculum. At the time there was no particular dissatisfaction with the curriculum. Research had not yet brought general attention to the inadequacies of the theories of mental discipline and transfer of training; the subject curriculum, administered in short periods, was in complete favor; the curriculum was considered as only that which takes place in the classroom; and the elective system was seen as adequate provision for individual differences. With its rapidly mounting enrollment, the high school had added more subjects, and so guidance as an organized service was seen as something to help the bewildered student make selections from the offerings.

Counselors, whether as special teachers or home-room teachers, went to work without questioning the inadequacies of the curriculum. In fact, even today most school counselors do not question the curriculum, having come into their posts through teaching service in the traditional classroom of geometry, language, and what not. The typical counseling of students has placed faith in a wiser selection among existing offerings, and has exerted little pressure for a curriculum more realistically attuned to the everyday lives of the youth. Owing to the training of the typical guidance worker, it is easy for him to see that Student B's intelligence quotient marks her as more apt to succeed in the sewing course than in the fourth-year English course, but he might never question the make-up of the English course or the teacher's approach.

The ready acceptance of guidance into the schools may be looked upon as evidence of the inadequacies of the existing school program for pupil development. The thing that guidance proposed to do for students may be cited as the thing the existing curriculum was failing to help them to do, namely:

1. To appraise their particular characteristics, needs and abilities
2. To think about a central life goal or pattern of living
3. To develop a personality socially approved and individually satisfying
4. To select school courses and experiences in accordance with individual needs and purposes

GAPS TO BE BRIDGED. Well-meaning superintendents have included extensive guidance departments in their budgets; but busily engaged with their varied activities, they have failed to notice the ease with which such a department has mushroomed into something quite apart from the curriculum. The larger the school and the more elaborate this extra machinery for guidance, the more likely the classroom teacher is to expect a specialist to handle the maladjustment of the pupils. The average teacher must be led to see as unnatural this gap between guidance and instruction.

In some instances, guidance officials themselves do not realize it exists; in other systems they appreciate the break as they labor to arouse the classroom teacher's interest in the personalities of all youth. To many high-school teachers — handling five overcrowded classes besides a club and a home-room — guidance has come to mean an extra duty.

STEPS TO BE TAKEN. Among the steps to be taken to assure each student the right to full consideration of his personal worth, schools must do these things:

1. See to it that every guidance counselor is one who places the worth of personalities before the worth of subjects.
2. Provide the means whereby guidance workers who see the inadequacies of the curriculum can also serve in helping to change it.
3. Establish a whole-staff consciousness of, and participation in, effective personnel work.
4. Establish the classroom as the basic guidance unit, rather than the special counselor's office.
5. Let half of the guidance staff's time be spent in helping teachers to improve their ways of working with and appreciating youth.
6. Rather than growing it as a separate plant, graft guidance onto the already existing curriculum, and change the curriculum where necessary to accommodate this emphasis upon individual differences and personal worth.

This struggle to hold guidance and instruction together is nothing new. Specialization and departmentalization, encouraged by the system of teacher training in America, has overemphasized the separation of school functions. We are still trying to unite the curriculum and the extracurriculum, administration and supervision, administration and instruction, as well as guidance and instruction. All school services, in the last analysis, have but one justification for their being — respect for the individual pupil.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

The equal provision of educational opportunities for all children and youth, in accordance with individual needs, abilities, and capacities, and without regard to their race, creed, national origin, economic status, or ancestry, calls for a concept of guidance more far-reaching than the one commonly adhered to in our schools.

Equality of educational opportunity is not achieved by the mere provision of schools and faculties. For the community to offer a narrow high-school curriculum, operated with a respect for an aristocracy of aptitude, is to deny educational opportunity to well over half of that community's youth of high-school age. Clearly, good guidance awaits a reconceived curriculum.

Part 3

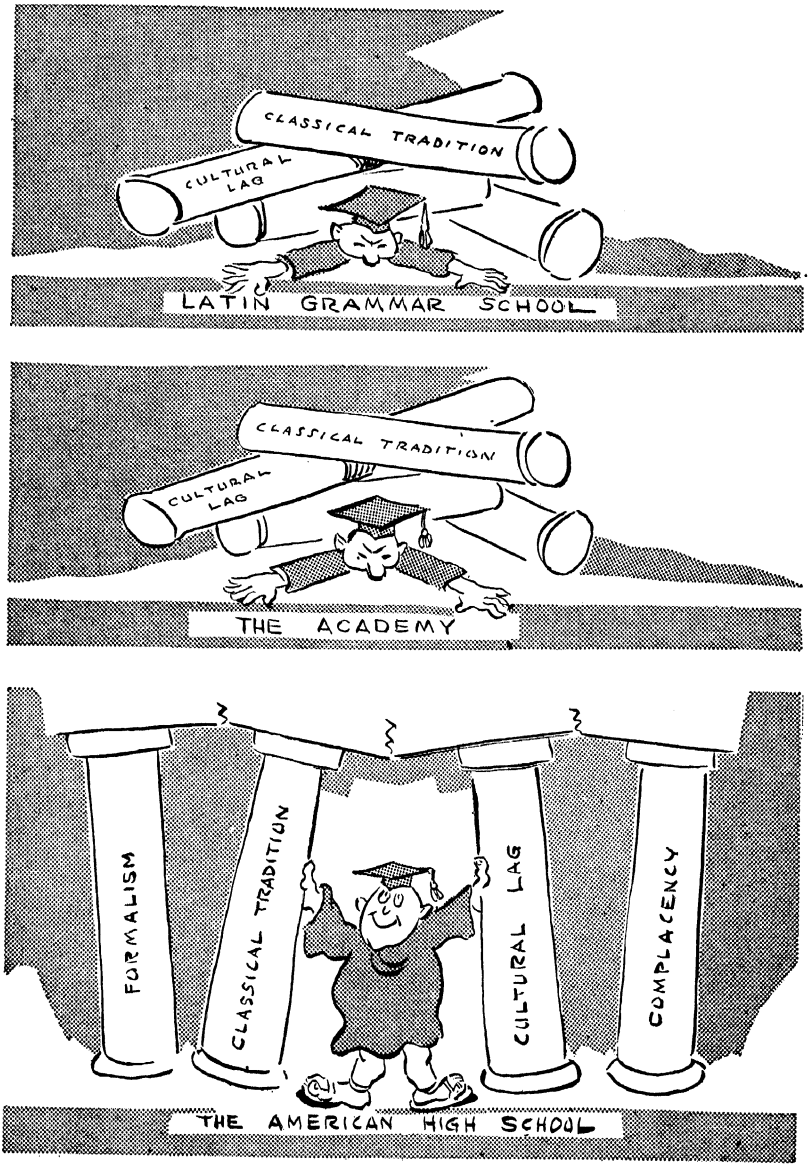
THE TEACHER AND THE SCHOOL

Chapter 12 THE PUBLIC AND THEIR SCHOOLS

Chapter 13 THE TEACHER WITH THE FULL VISION

Chapter 14 THE TEACHER'S SALARY

Chapter 15 DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP



SPEARS

WATCH OUT, SAMSON, DON'T LET HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF

Chapter

12

THE PUBLIC AND THEIR SCHOOLS

THE PUBLIC WILL

Public education rests strictly upon the will of the people — a will that is demonstrated not only in the amount that the people spend for schools, but also in the close attention that they give to the use that schools make of this investment. Those who would think that the professional staff of the schools works quite independently from the lay partners need to be reminded that in number of school board members and similar trustees alone the local school districts of America can boast of over 400,000 laymen active in school affairs — an average of one board member to every two or three teachers in our schools.

Add to this army of school trustees all the state legislators who annually consider what the schools need in the way of funds and curriculum directives, the millions of laymen who witness school sports and other events each year, the lay members of the forty-eight state school boards, the laymen whose clubs and fraternal organizations act as interest or pressure groups, the army of parents who actively engage in Parent-Teacher organizations, and the millions of parents moved to make contact with the teacher or the principal — or at least to mold opinion by remarking to their neighbors about the school's practices — add all of this effort and interest in behalf of public education and we can faintly grasp the fact that after all the public schools belong to the taxpayers and not to us who have made them our life work. The principal who speaks of *my school* in doing so may place himself geographically, but his implication misplaces the school socially.

The school is organically connected with the culture of which it is a part, and there needs to be seen the distinction between the mechanism of the public's legal control of the school (Figure 12) and the mechanism of its more intangible social control of the school (Figure 11). A teacher entering for the first time, for example, the high school on the North Shore of Chicago can look at Figure 12, read the Illinois State School Code, read the rules and regulations passed down by the local board of education, and thus grasp the more formal mechanics of the school's operation, and his own position in the setting.

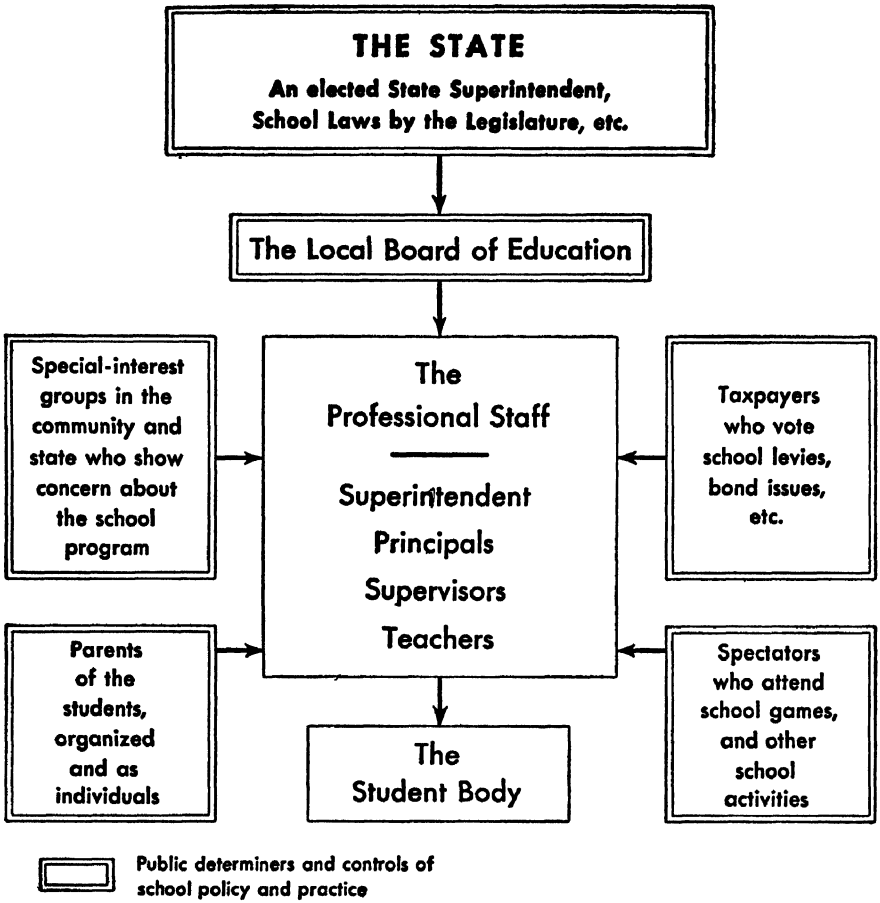


FIGURE 11. Public Control of and Influence on Public Education.

But only after he teaches in the school and intermixes in the civic and social life of the community can he fully appreciate — if then — the social control of the school that is exercised in attitudes and actions, the social control that marks the high school of one community so different from that of another in spite of similarities of offerings. Among the cultural forces in any community, the absence or presence or unique balance of which means so much in public attitude and control of public schooling, are: political traditions and affiliations; racial and religious influences; the influences behind the press and the radio; civic, patriotic, and fraternal groups; business and labor interests; other youth-serving agencies; and sectional influences.

In a quarter of a century of public school service, it has been the author's challenging privilege to serve in public school systems in Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, California, and Chile. The contrast in social control of the

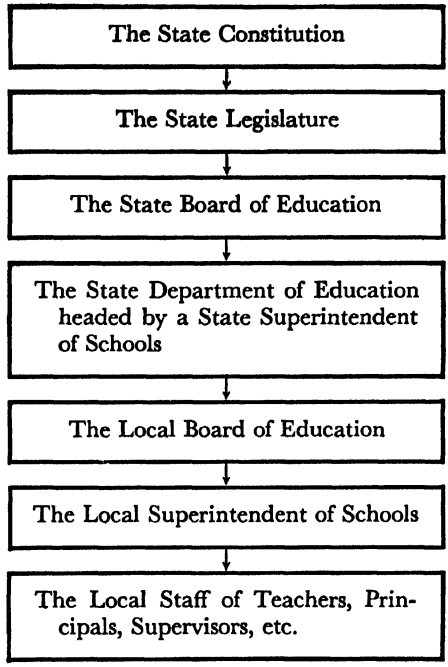


FIGURE 12. The Organization of Public Education. *This organizational structure represents the legal provision for education, rather than the true position of the local community in the control and support of its schools.*

schools from one community to another, one state to another, and one country to another, is enormous. The public schools are really public, but that public varies greatly from one locality to another.

In addition to these constantly operating social forces in the school picture is the chance factor of the local personages who are found at the moment in influential positions such as school board membership. The extent to which public opinion ultimately modifies and determines educational policy and practice represents a finesse that is indeed difficult for even an experienced educator to appreciate in all of its ramifications.

PUBLIC ATTITUDES ABOUT SCHOOLING

Support of the idea of public education has not come easily in America, and the effort necessary today in any school district to secure approval of the annual school budget reflects the eternal vigilance that must be exercised in defending the public interest against private interest. The story goes, that in the earlier days of this fight in America, a Vermont aristocrat who purchased private education for his own children asked his neighbor Thaddeus Stevens why one should be asked to pay for public schools when he wasn't going to use them. Thaddeus looked his fellow townsman in the eye

and said, "I trust it is not your intention to use the public jails you support either?"

As pointed out and developed at length elsewhere in this book, there are two major purposes of a program of public schooling, one for the service given to the individual child in keeping with his right to capitalize to the fullest extent upon his innate capabilities, and the other for the general social good. The former, the more selfish purpose of the two, is generally accepted by the layman. Educators must continually work at the more difficult job of bringing the public to see the general public good that comes from educating all the children of all the people. It is this second purpose that is unique to public education, the other being common to private schooling also. It behooves the public high school to operate a program that does result in better communities — a program that will speak for itself in this matter of public welfare.

If today only 2.2 per cent of the national incomes goes for education, as opposed to 3.7 per cent fifteen years ago, who is to say part of this decline in support does not represent a reflection upon the high school's failure to care for all American youth as its proponents promised?

THE ORGANIZATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Education is the responsibility of the respective states, which places upon the people of a state the sovereign right to organize and control a system of public education. For instance, the New York State Constitution states: "The legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free common schools, wherein all the children of this state may be educated."

Thus, the people, speaking through their constitution, delegate to their elected representatives, the legislature, the responsibility and right to act for them in this important matter. The legislature, by law, sets the form of the state's system of public education, usually leaving the major share of the responsibility for both support and control to the local school districts. The legislature and the local community have vested a local board of education with the job of seeing that proper provisions for schools are made, and that the state school laws are carried out.

The state's central organization for co-ordination, administration, and supervision of all the local school systems is a state board of education and a state department of education, sometimes called the state department of public instruction. This central organization is headed by a state superintendent of public instruction, elected by popular vote in a majority of the States. Other titles include commissioner, and secretary of the state board. The duties and powers of this central unit are determined by the constitution and the legislature. The state publishes its school laws for the benefit of the local school systems.

In spite of the fact that educational theory indicates that curriculum content is best determined by those trained for the teaching profession, it is common for state legislatures to set instructional requirements by law for all the schools of the state, such as the teaching of United States history to all high-school students and instruction in the influence of alcohol.

Although public education is a state responsibility, sovereignty in school matters is retained largely in the local school districts, reflecting the early beginnings of education in America. Local schools developed before state school systems. It is not uncommon for a local school board member to bristle at the reprimand that comes from a state school inspector, implying "What right have you to tell us what to do?" The school board member is an agent of both the state and the people of the local community.

THE SUPERINTENDENCY

The local board of education hires a superintendent to direct the local school system, unless it is a very small one. These exceptions are usually found in rural areas, where a county superintendent exercises general supervision. The county superintendent is usually elected by the people. In some states, the township trustee, an elected official, carries heavy responsibility in local school matters. The school superintendent acts as the leader of the schools of the community, giving in the form of recommendations his professional judgment on school matters. Although final authority rests with the lay board, the board must be governed in its action by the recommendations which come from the profession. The business affairs, as well as the instructional, need to be under the superintendent's direction, because school business has but one function — to serve instruction.

The superintendent recommends the staff appointments to the board, which in turn should elect employees only upon his recommendation. The staff helps the superintendent to develop the curriculum of the schools and to determine the procedures to be used in carrying out the program. The staff is accountable to the superintendent for results, the superintendent to the board, and the board to the people. The local school system is accountable to the state for providing education in accordance with the constitutional and legislative provisions.

One of the most responsible and significant positions in American public life is the public-school superintendency. It is likewise one of the most uneasy positions. How many of the superintendents who have rounded out a lifetime of public service have retired with anything approaching the satisfaction and economic security the moderately successful business man usually attains? In answer to this question, John A. Sexson, a successful veteran superintendent — just retired, gave this reply:

> At a rough guess, after some checking, I estimated that I had known some 400 or 500 men who qualified. Of these men I could name less than 25 who had been

able to round out a successful administrative career with economic security and personal satisfaction.

The record is ghastly. Man after man of my acquaintance — many distinguished practitioners of recognized worth and success — have, before retirement, been forced out of the profession to attain economic security, or after years of devoted service have been dropped or retired without means for their comfortable support in their old age.

It isn't a pretty picture. The few notable exceptions seem only to emphasize the rule. If the issue was solely the fortunes, good or ill, of administrators it could be dismissed and the profession labeled "hazardous — abandon hope, all ye who enter here." Any individual would then enter the service at his own risk. But the personal fortune of the individual administrator is a minor issue. The fate of our system of public education, the welfare of our children and youth, and the public interest, all require that competent, able leadership be recruited for educational service. This cannot be done — is not being done — under the prevailing working conditions in public-school administration.

Public-school teachers must appreciate this danger that faces the profession — that touches the very existence of proper public support of schools. The first obligation of every single faculty member is close professional loyalty to administration, and the common will to work for the bigger ends.

In a sense, in any public-school system the superintendent's employer is constantly changing, as school board members come and go. In addition to the everyday problem of personality adjustments called for in this process, any experienced superintendent has felt the pronounced differences in the educational point of view that come with new board members. Furthermore, the superintendent is continually beset with difficult problems of public relations, school finance, curriculum improvement, and the expansion and modernization of the school plant. The superintendency is a position that demands the full respect of every last teacher and principal who serves in the system.

THE SUPPORT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Just as the control of the public schools has been zealously guarded and retained by the local school districts, so have the federal and state governments left the local communities of most of the states with the problem of providing the major share of the support. In spite of the drive to equalize educational opportunities, by broadening the base of school revenue to state or federal basis, public schools are by and large paid for by the local communities, the chief source of revenue being the general property tax, especially on real estate.

This situation invariably marks local real estate boards, downtown business organizations, and other groups with private interests vested in property, as opponents to school developments calling for additional revenue and consequently higher local property taxes. At the same time, such groups do not act as pressure groups to secure state or federal equalization of education —

a program that would mean financing education on a broader base and the collection of money by other means, such as gross income tax, sales tax, personal income tax, liquor tax, corporation tax, or gasoline tax.

In the case of local support, there is a great advantage in the larger district in financing and administering schools. The State of Illinois is a good example of a state that has permitted the waste of overlapping school districts. For instance, in Highland Park, Illinois, a town of fifteen to twenty thousand people, three public-school districts operate. The responsibility for elementary education is divided between two public-school boards, one operating the north part of town, the other the south. In addition, the town's high school represents a township high school, involving another school board and another school district completely independent of the two independent elementary districts. Each of those three boards of education pay for a chief school officer, when all the schools could be handled by one superintendent. Economies in purchases and in other areas would be effected. This is a typical example of the inefficient districting for schools that is found in such states as Illinois.

Separate School Administration

In respect to local school support, it is highly essential that the financial machinery of the school system is not made a cog in the larger machinery of municipal administration. The National Policies Commission, of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, has set out these principles relative to freeing school administration from other functions of government.[1]

1. Local school administration should be kept separate from other functions of government. This is accomplished by setting up the board of education as a separate corporation, with the right to levy taxes, to make a budget, and in every other particular to control and administer a system of public education.

2. Efficiency in administration has resulted from the separation of school and general municipal administration. Dissension and strife have almost invariably followed in the wake of educational control by municipal authority. Where education has been placed under the control of city officials, they have tended to regard matters of public education as a municipal affair, losing sight of the fact that public education is a function of the state and that the city is its limited agent.

3. The most critical problem in the separate administration of schools is the financing of them. It is easy to argue that in any locality there is a limited fund available for the support of all government and that each phase of governmental service should come before a central body to make its claims and to receive that allocation of funds which can be justified in the light of the cost of all government.

It is not difficult to challenge the premises upon which the above argument rests.

[1] Educational Policies Commission, *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*, Washington, D. C.: National Education Association of the United States, pp. 42–47.

There is never a fixed amount of money available for the public service. The degree to which the people pool their interests and co-operate in the furnishing of goods and services which all require, is a matter for the determination of the people.

State Support

The states vary widely in their willingness to equalize education within their borders by state support. The latest statistics released by the United States Office of Education reveal that:

1. In Delaware a local school district received almost 90 per cent of its total school revenue from the state.
2. In Nebraska only 5 per cent of the schools' revenue comes from the state.
3. In as many as seven states, including the great and wealthy state of Illinois, over 90 per cent of the money for the local public schools comes from the local communities.
4. For the nation at large, three-fourths of the school costs are paid out of the local coffers.
5. About 2 per cent of the local revenue in any state comes from federal funds, providing especially for vocational education in the high school.
6. In about three-fourths of the states, over half of the funds come from local sources.
7. The trend is toward state aid, but the movement is slow.
8. A child in Alabama got only about $57 worth of education per year, compared with $198 worth for the New Jersey child, and the two states educate approximately the same number of children.

THE FEDERAL STAKE IN EDUCATION

Federal Aid Proposed

Year after year Congress has the opportunity to approve federal aid for education, which would represent an attempt to equalize educational opportunities throughout the land. Usually, the statesmen turn the matter back to the local school districts with the implication that education is a state responsibility. The fact that the average teacher in Mississippi receives approximately $850 as compared to the $2,950 paid the average New York teacher has to date meant little to the majority of our Senators and Congressmen. Likewise, overlooked is such evidence of startling inequalities as this: While 2 out of every 5 adults have completed high school in Utah, California, Wyoming, and Nevada, only 1 in 5 of the adults in the following states have completed more than four years of school — Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, and the Carolinas.

Fear of Control

There is always the stock argument used against federal support of education — with support will come control, a fear that is expressed by educators as well as statesmen, especially those living in the more economically fortunate sections of the country. That there are states within the Union that cannot

support an adequate system of public education, and that there are local school districts within any state that cannot do so, are facts that are no longer denied.

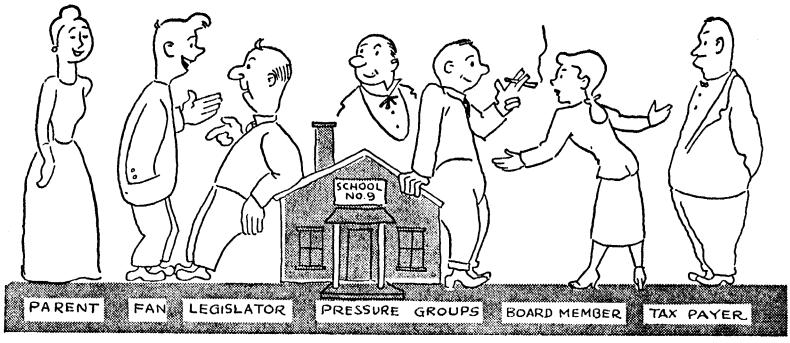
Perhaps the United States Office of Education could help remove for all time the argument that federal control would come with federal support, if it would but initiate the repeal of those sections of the Smith-Hughes law which cause local high schools to take curriculum directions from Washington in using Smith-Hughes funds for local vocational courses. For example, the prescribed three-clock-hour shop hampers local authorities in meeting local needs.

The federal government can look back to its earlier encouragement of public education through the Ordinances of 1785 and 1797, the Ohio Enabling Act of 1802, public land grants for elementary education and higher education, the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen acts, and similar undertakings. But until the President of the United States can see the education of all of the children of all the people as a part of the national welfare calling for a Secretary of Education in his Cabinet, perhaps it is wishful thinking to believe that Congress will be moved to equalize educational opportunity through the provision of federal funds.

The United States Office of Education

Today, in the Federal Security Agency, a bureau of the Department of Interior, is in turn another subdivision, the United States Office of Education. Established back in 1867 as a Department of Education for fact-finding purposes, today it still stands as a national bookkeeper for the schools, collecting, analyzing, and reporting back to interested groups the comparative facts on education in the various states and the District of Columbia. One of its duties is the administration of the programs and funds of vocational education provided by the federal government's Smith-Hughes and George-Deen acts. Under the Commissioner of Education are subofficers serving in various service divisions — vocational education, higher education, comparative education, secondary education, library, and others. These offices encourage research and curriculum studies, conduct conferences, and at times offer the advisory help of staff members to local school systems.

Somewhat disconcerting to American educational leaders is the fact that the federal government does not co-ordinate all of its educational ventures and school contacts under the office that carries the title. For instance, the Treasury Department promotes in the schools a school-savings program, the Department of Justice makes contact in matters of juvenile delinquency, the Department of State handles educational relationships with foreign countries including the exchange of teachers, and the Department of Agriculture has handled the subsidy for school lunches. During the depression years, large amounts of money were appropriated for extra service to American youth through the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration, the Office of



MEET THE BOSS

Education's part in them being a limited role handed it by legislators, rather than one representing grass-roots planning and integral co-ordination with the American public school system.

More than Support

Public funds in themselves do not assure the best of education. Other factors operate. A high school in a well-to-do community may be controlled by a self-satisfaction and selfishness in the public mind and a lay control that brings with it such unpromising school conditions as racial discrimination, religious intolerance, narrow reactionary social studies instruction, secret fraternities and societies, the relegation of the practical courses to the less economically favored students, and the instructional complacency for teachers that can so easily accompany economic security. On the other hand, some of the most enlightened high-school programs are found in the poorer districts.

The realization of the ideal of equality of educational opportunity is dependent upon more than the equal distribution of school monies. With this necessary equal distribution must come adequate school programs. Too often we assume that the educationally adequate high school has been developed, is already in the more economically fortunate school district, and is just awaiting the state or federal funds that would mean its extension to the poorer districts of the state or the nation.

THE PRIVATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

For over two centuries in the early growth of our nation, there was waged an intensive struggle to determine if America's secondary school was to be built along private lines or along public. Finally, with the famous Kalamazoo Case of 1874, the decision was made in favor of the public school, which left a minor role to the private school. The story of the struggle is treated in Chapters 16 to 18.

Relative Numbers

Today, of every 100 students attending secondary schools, about 6 go to private institutions, while 94 attend the public high school. Relative numbers enrolled can best be shown by comparing the two institutions just prior to the heavy growth of the public school following the Kalamazoo Case and at the time American secondary schools reached their peak enrollment a half century later.

	1890	*1940*
Public high-school enrollment	203,000	6,600,000
Private secondary-school enrollment	95,000	458,000

While the private schools were increasing their enrollment not quite five times in the fifty-year period, the public schools were increasing over thirty-two times. This is a reflection of the American way of doing things, rather than a reflection upon the relative work of the two. When times are good the percentage attending private schools will be larger than in depression years. For instance, six of the strongest boys' boarding schools in 1985 reached lows of 50, 58, 75, 85, and 86 per cent of their 1930 enrollment. But in 1940 they reached these percentages of their 1930 figures: 66, 83, 89, 97, 100, and 116.[2]

Types of Private Schools

Private secondary schools in America can be divided roughly into three types: (1) the boarding school, or 24-hour-a-day school, (2) the country-day school, which is similar in atmosphere and program to the first, but is a day school for all or most of the student body, and (3) the parochial high school that is found in the large cities of America.

The first type is the descendant of the early private academy in America, and often retains the title of academy. The second is an offshoot of the boarding school, but is able to operate on a daytime basis because of a strategic location. It is usually found in a well-to-do suburban community just outside a large city. Neither of these two types of schools makes use of the term high school, the latter having come to mean in the public mind the school for the masses. Both the boarding school and the private day school are usually college preparatory in nature, and in the East it is not unusual to find them specializing in entrance to a specific selective private college such as Harvard or Princeton.

The place of the boys private boarding school in American life was reviewed in an open letter to public-school principals, by the late Rudolph Lindquist. A highly effective educator, who worked on both sides of the educational fence during his lifetime, Lindquist wrote these comments while serving as head of a boys boarding school:

[2] See E. B. Chamberlain, *Our Independent Schools*, New York: American Book Company, 1944, p. 133.

I know from a rather long experience in public schools how hard principals and teachers often work to make the eighteen hours of each day which the boy spends out of school a constructive factor in his development. I also know from bitter experience that this is a very difficult thing to do.

For instance, there are boys, otherwise able, whose home study is disrupted by too many telephone calls, radio, movies, auto rides, and social activities. For such boys the injunction to study often arouses resentment. They feel that the parent "doesn't understand." In a boarding-school environment where these distractions can be controlled and where everyone does evening study the compulsion to fall in line is impersonal and social. Boys do evening study as a matter of course.

There are boys whose home life lacks the steadying regimen of regular times for meals, for sleep, and for work. It is a fact that in many of our homes a regular regimen becomes harder and harder to maintain. The demands of business and of social life press in to disrupt home life and to unsettle its wholesome routine. This disruption becomes particularly acute in its effect when reinforced by the general unrest in world affairs. During such a period especially, the adolescent needs more than ever the strength that comes from a stable environment. The 24-hour-a-day school can provide such an environment with respect to his out-of-class hours through its regimen of regular hours for work, play, and rest.

There are boys who have lost their fathers through death or divorce and who need the companionship of men in their out-of-school activities. The home in which the father is missing constitutes a problem if there is an adolescent boy involved. Usually the mother transfers to the boy the solicitude and care which he formerly shared with the father. This oftentimes retards the boy's development; he does not acquire a normal concern for the judgments of his peers, retires to the protective custody of the mother and is forever afterward hampered in adjusting himself to a world of men, or to women either for that matter. For such a boy a boarding school has obvious advantages in facilitating a normal emotional maturation.

Similarly, in case the mother is missing, there is lack of the other needed influence — the feminine. In a good boarding school the presence of many married teachers who live in close proximity to the boys enables such a school to fill, in part at least, this need of boys for family life.

There are boys who need the development that comes from making a place for themselves on their own, unhampered by oversolicitous parents. An adolescent is torn between a longing for the protected existence of childhood, when he had no worries, and the urge to grow up, to become a man, to have a job, and to be independent. The vacillation between these two drives sometimes makes him hard to understand. It is especially hard for his parents to understand him for they, too, are torn between a desire to have him remain a child and their desire to have him grow up and become independent of them. It often happens that neither the parent nor the boy is aware of the meaning of these inner conflicts and that each takes out on the other the emotional tensions that result. Boys often seem impudent, fathers harsh and dictatorial, mothers tearful under the stress of such conflicts. At such a period there is in the case of many boys a definite advantage if they can live apart from the parents for a time until both they and the parents have passed through this readjustment period.

For such boys a good boarding school is often a solution. There one finds a 24-hour-a-day program of study, work, play, and rest, supervised by men who have a special interest in boys and in their all-round development. There, evening study, getting to bed on time, getting up in the morning, being on time to meals, are not matters to be resented or to argue about. These things are done as a matter of course because everyone else does them and because there are no competing distractions. There authority can be made impersonal and objective; it need not be and rarely is interpreted by the boy as the arbitrary whim of an older person "who doesn't understand," but rather as the requirement of an orderly, developmental way of life. There one can arrange a proper balance among the demands for recreation, rest, and work and also a balance among the many competing forms of recreation.

Rudolph Lindquist

The Position of the Private School

Naturally, the position of the private secondary school in the American education scheme of things shifts from time to time, but there is evidence to support the contention that the 94 to 6 relationship of public to private school enrollment can be expected to continue. Some have liked to call the private secondary schools the independent schools, but they are hardly that, since, historically, the interest is secular or collegiate, neither of which denotes independence. Private secondary schools must meet state requirements.

Although most private schools, because of these connections, operate highly academic programs, some of these schools have been leaders in liberalizing the secondary-school curriculum — in freeing it from tradition. They were among the thirty schools in the famous Eight-Year Study of the Progressive Education Association.

But with few exceptions, the private secondary school is not co-educational. Since it is difficult for private secondary schools to maintain the facilities adequate to compete with the provisions of public education, there is a continuous attempt to secure some public support of private parochial education, even though the principles of American government stand solidly for the separation of church and state. There is a place for the private secondary school in American life, alongside the public high school, but in support as well as control that distinction must be maintained — one is private and one is public.

One of the most descriptive short statements of the distinctions between private and public schools was that made by the Educational Policies Commission, pages 122 to 125, in its report, *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*. That statement is as follows:

The Purposes of Many Non-Public Schools Are Not Those Which We Seek through Our System of Public Education

Schools which are supported and controlled by private bodies may seek the same ends as those which actuate public institutions. Many of the universities organ-

ized on private foundations are in a very real sense public institutions. They may provide opportunities that parallel and in many cases exceed the opportunities for liberal training, for professional education, or for research offered in publicly controlled and tax-supported institutions.

By far the greater number of schools on the elementary and secondary level, organized and maintained under private auspices, seek to realize purposes not contemplated by our system of public education. They seek to teach some particular religious or political belief or dogma. They may be organized with the idea of segregating children whose parents believe that their education is best secured in association with those of their own economic and social group.

The presence of these schools serving a special purpose cannot fail to divert the interest of citizens in the maintenance and improvement of a system of public education. If children are sent to private schools because public schools, in the opinion of their parents, are not good enough, then one may not always expect these same parents to work diligently for the improvement of the public-school system. If children are sent to schools in order that they may be kept under the influence of a particular religious belief then their parents inevitably feel the double burden of supporting the private school which their children attend, while paying taxation in support of public schools.

No one would deny to the parents the acceptance of their obligation to provide religious education for their children. Most of our citizens would urge that this education be provided by the home and by the church while leaving to the public-school system the provision of secular education. If we acknowledge that education is a function of the state then we should seek to develop a public-school system good enough for all and adequate to meet the needs of all of our citizens.

Public Schools Must Be Secular Schools

One of the great achievements of our democracy has been the establishment of freedom of religious belief. The First Amendment to the Constitution provides that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." This same guarantee will be found in the constitutions of all the states. There is a distinct prohibition against the compulsory support of religion through taxation. There is no restraint upon the holding of particular religious beliefs or their expressions. The ideal of complete religious freedom necessarily involves the secularization of tax-supported schools. No doctrine can be taught that may not violate the belief or conscience of some pupil attending the school or of his parents. Even the reading of the Bible and the reciting of the Lord's Prayer as a daily exercise in the schools is properly interpreted as opposed to the guarantee of religious freedom. Any type of religious instruction in public schools may be interpreted by the taxpayer as the enforced support of the particular religious doctrine that is presented.

The Separation of Church and State Permits Freedom of Action by Each in Its Own Sphere

The complete separation of church and state leaves all religious groups — Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or any other — free to conduct worship, to instruct children, and to express the beliefs which they hold sacred. The Supreme Court of the

United States has held unconstitutional a legislative enactment which sought to compel all children to attend public schools.

Any church group has the right to organize schools in which its particular doctrine is taught, provided only that since these schools are organized to take the place of public education, their curriculums must include those experiences deemed necessary for the preparation of all for citizenship. On the other hand, this same freedom denies to any religious body support derived from the taxation of all the people. Constitutions, court decisions, and legislative enactments definitely point to the same conclusion, namely, that religious liberty can be maintained only on the basis of complete separation of church and state. This political doctrine should not be interpreted as antireligious. Those who adhere most firmly to it recognize the desirability of providing religious education in homes and in churches.

State Constitutions Prohibit Use of Public Money for Private or Parochial Schools

The States of the Union typically provide, either by the constitutions or by the interpretation of the courts, that public money should not be allotted to private or sectarian schools. If these provisions were to be modified and money were to be made available to schools controlled and administered by private individuals or by religious bodies, the principle of the separation of church and state would be violated. Such action would lead inevitably to a situation in which each denominational group would seek support for its own school, and the people's public schools would inevitably disappear as an important agency of government.

Those who advocate the distribution of public money to private and sectarian schools may well consider the problem of control which will inevitably arise should such action be taken. If the state furnishes support it is under the obligation to inquire concerning the program of instruction offered and to require a strict accounting of the monies spent. In the great majority of our local communities throughout the nation the delegation of these responsibilities to local boards of education would lead to conflict between the public authority and those responsible for the nonpublic school. While some advantage might seem to accrue to the nonpublic school temporarily, in the long run the breakdown in the principle of the separation of church and state by the diversion of public money to the support of privately controlled schools will lead directly into the controversy and bitterness which has characterized the struggle for the secularization of education in other countries.

THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

The concept of common schooling in America, first beginning with only the elementary school, then extending to the high school, and now in isolated sections of the country reaching on to include the junior college, is a concept that has been expanded with the accompanying expansion of the complexity of social and economic life.

The Common Structure

The common structure arrived at last century for American education was an 8-year elementary school, a 4-year high school, and a 4-year college,

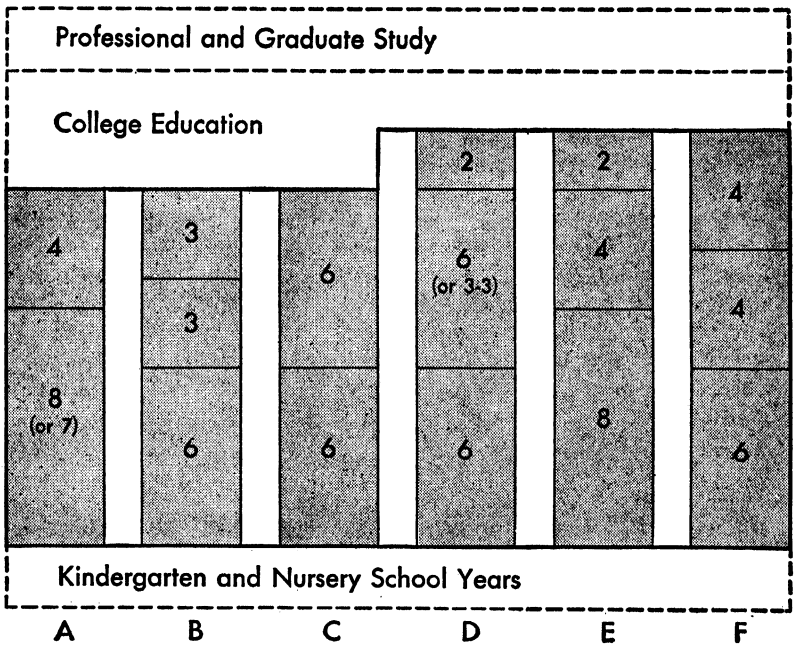


FIGURE 13. Major Types of Organization Found in Public School Systems

followed by professional and graduate schools. The major exception to this pattern was the 7-year elementary school of a number of southern states, and of an occasional large city such as Kansas City, Missouri.

Variations

Then followed the variations, resulting from these trends: (1) the extension of secondary education downward to include grades 7 and 8, (2) the extension of elementary education downward to include kindergarten and then nursery schooling, and (3) the provision of grades 13 and 14 on top of the local high-school program, acting as a junior college or as an extension of secondary education upward. So out of all this have come the variations of structure represented in Figure 13.

SOME REALITIES OF LIFE

This continued extension of public education upward through a thirteenth- and fourteenth-year program asks the educator to lay down hammer and nails long enough to consider some of the realities of life, such as the natural biological inclinations of youth, the degree of success of the present high school in holding youth through the twelfth grade, and the public's will to pay for junior colleges. In the brief span of fifty years, educational enthusiasts

have taken "the people's college" label off the public high school and have already attached it to the public junior college. They have taken for granted the attendance of all youth in the high school, and are now saying that well-nigh all the population should go to junior college.[3]

It is true that America's total four-year secondary-school population (grades 9–12) of 357,000 in 1890 has been surpassed 60 years later by an even greater number — 455,000 — in grades 13 and 14 of the junior college. With the rapid upswing of college enrollments following World War II, came the easy assumption, on the part of professional educators at that level, that the college miracle was just over the horizon. As they predict that within a few years, in schools offering thirteenth- and fourteenth-grade work, there will be enrolled almost all youth of that age population, they need pause long enough to study three things: (1) the will of the people to pay for such an extension of education, (2) the natural characteristics of the youth themselves, and (3) the holding-power of today's high school.

The Will of the People

As to the first point, the ever-increasing problem of caring in the lower schools for America's wartime and postwar bumper crop of babies is, in itself, a strain on the public will and means to support education — a strain that may naturally hold back the general and rapid extension of free schooling above the traditional high-school years for the bulk of our youth. These mounting costs of schooling, due to the increased birth rate during the war and early postwar years, are now being carried in the elementary-school budget, and will be felt in the high-school tax bill until at least 1965.

Added to these enormous costs of additional buildings, teachers, and instructional supplies, is the increase in teachers' salaries that has come generally throughout the nation since 1945. These are practical matters to be considered by any school superintendent and board of education who would think of asking the public for additional revenue to provide junior colleges, practical matters that have nothing to do with the desirability of such educational extension. Furthermore, *if* the public can pay to extend public education, does it want to extend it upward before it extends it downward to include the kindergarten and nursery school?

The Nature of Youth

As was noted in an earlier chapter, biologists point out that youth reach physical maturity long before twenty years of age, including the physical basis of reproduction. It is true that a highly complex social structure today postpones youth's entrance into an economically secure position in community life, but in that delay it must be asked if schooling will satisfy the

[3] See L. V. Koos, "Who Should Go to College?" *Junior College Journal*, January, 1948, 18:229–230.

bulk of youth unless such schooling promises entrance into the higher occupational levels. If junior college were to become common schooling to well-nigh all youth, then surely it couldn't bear such promise.

The junior-college question seems to be: to what degree can schooling act as a stopgap for youth of that age, to make up for the shortcomings of a social and economic order that in its intricacies has cut them out of a share in natural activities of the human organism of that age, such as mating, producing offspring, contributing their ideas and energies to the civic good, holding a satisfactory job, contributing ideas to the social good, and otherwise feeling the social acceptance of the organic maturity that is theirs. Only the sociologist and biologist can adequately treat the frustrations faced by youth in modern society.

To what extent can a junior-college education act as a substitute for the frustration of delayed mating and the initiation of a family? To what extent can it act as a substitute for vocational frustration, without promising a better position in the economic scheme of things than would have been the case had the youth in question not attended? As reviewed in earlier chapters, the public high school has continually had to fight the public concept that attendance was an automatic step to a better economic position in life and, generally speaking, to a white-collar job. As youth go on to college, will they go with the expectation of eventually entering those occupational levels occupied by not over 10 per cent of the workers of America? If so, should the institution serve 60 or 70 per cent of the youth of that age group, as so many educators now seem to think?

If we were to rationalize education at thirteenth and fourteenth grade as being mainly general education needed by all American youth, pointed toward citizenship and the other everyday activities of all our people, — then we would have to ask how the school proposes to provide such essential training. And if we are honest, we will look at the high school and admit that even that lower institution has not found the way to provide a practical general education, that its program is still bogged down in the sloughs of scholasticism and formalism. Could the junior college do better? Perhaps not, if its staff is still to be trained in colleges and graduate schools that worship departmentalism patterned not after the community activities of people today but after a logical division of the knowledges that have come down from the past. Before the educational profession capitalizes upon the blind faith of a believing public, it must be sure that it can make an honest return upon such additional investment in public schooling.

The Holding-Power of the High School

Let us relate to this question our statistics of Chapter 2. Early in the 1940–1950 decade, reliable statistics released by the United States Office of Education reported that the high-school enrollment in this country had reached 73

per cent of all the youth of high-school age. This climaxed a gradual extension of the school during the 1930–1940 decade, following the more phenomenal spurts from 1890 to 1930.

Had this climb continued during the 1940–1950 period, the educator in his easy chair might have projected his building plans for all youth into the junior-college years. But the war suddenly toppled the enrollment statistics that the high school had gradually built up, and since then school administrators have not been able to reassemble the student personnel. The high mark of high-school attendance was a bit misleading. It meant that 73 per cent of the youth of high-school age were in attendance — nothing more. Behind it was hidden the fact that at the same time the schools were losing before graduation almost half of those who entered the ninth year. Had the 73 per cent been broken down, we may assume that it might have read something like this: 90 per cent of the youth of ninth-grade age were in attendance, 80 to 85 per cent of those of tenth-grade age, 70 per cent of those of eleventh-grade age, and 50 per cent of those of twelfth-grade age.

Until the public high school demonstrates that it can build a program for all the youth of high-school age, perhaps it naturally follows that it is foolish to talk about constructing a school for grades 13 and 14 to which well-nigh all the population would go. Our educational system is built on one graded system, with credentials to pass a person from one level to the next. Until the other boys and girls stay in school to complete the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades, the junior college must draw its clientele from that 50 per cent of youth who have been graduating from the high school.

The junior-college movement to date has committed the same error as that of the junior-high-school movement three or four decades ago. The typical junior-college program in America has represented the extension downward of the college, just as the junior high school represented the extension downward of the traditional high-school curriculum. If the local school system, at public expense, is to extend educational provision up through grades 13 and 14, such a program for the large proportion of the students must represent terminal education. This means a program reflecting the civic and occupational life of the community rather than the academic and scholastic life of the college classroom. Typical public junior colleges, such as that in San Francisco, California, are finding that two-thirds or three-fourths of the entering students take college preparatory as opposed to the terminal courses, in spite of the fact that most of them will not complete the two years, and of those that do, not over a third will go on to college.

THE HIGH-SCHOOL ACCREDITING ASSOCIATIONS

In passing, it must be recalled that a consideration of the relationships of the high school with its public would not be complete without a note dealing with the management of relationships between colleges and high schools.

The influential public looks first to the high school as assurance that its youth will be able to enter college.

Playing an important part in the college life of the American high school are the six regional accrediting associations. Back as early as 1871 the University of Michigan was operating a system whereby the college admitted without examination the graduates of high schools that had been inspected and approved by its authorities. This desire for a closer relationship between colleges and high schools has been the moving spirit in the development of these six associations. They are, in the order of their creation:

The New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1885
The Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1892
The North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1895
The Southern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1895
The Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, 1918
The Western Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, 1930

The North Central Association took the early lead in setting up procedures for evaluating the work of the secondary schools in its twenty states, and thus maintaining a list of accredited schools. Each year in its spring meeting at Chicago, a core of workers from its member schools work diligently over the annual reports of its schools, judging the work of a school against the standards set out by the Association.

Housing, library, organization, teacher qualifications, teaching load, instruction, discipline and spirit, administration, and records represent the areas in which standards for school operation are set. The Middle States, the Southern, and the Northwest Associations also issue their lists of accredited schools. The New England Association and the Western Association are not accrediting institutions, and in both areas the hand of the individual college is still heavy in directing entrance requirements.

A CURRICULUM ON A PLATTER

There on a platter, just for the asking, the average large school system is offered a complete new curriculum every week or so by this outside group and that outside organization — segments of that large body known to school people as *the public*. Strong for prizes and taking chances, once the American citizen finds himself a member of a committee of the American Legion, the local Kiwanis Club, the promotion department of the daily Press, or the National Something-or-Other Week, he immediately reverts to type and thinks in terms of a contest. Since the youth of the community are so invitingly organized in schools and classes, his committee immediately turns to the school with an oratorical, poster, essay, spelling, American history, or whatnot contest, all dazzling with local prizes and possibly a trip to Washington, D. C.

The reasoning of the committee member goes something like this:

"And who is more in need of the educational benefits derived from preparing the oratory, the essay, or the poster than these young people in school? Isn't that what schools are for?" Even the administration of the contest, calling for teacher supervision and school time, is usually shifted to the school. In the San Francisco Public Schools, an Outside Activities Committee, representing teachers, principals, and central office staff, meet every two or three weeks to act as a jury to screen the contests, special assembly programs, collections, and similar offers that come to the schools.

Free Materials

Another field of activity that acts as a pressure playing upon the classroom of the schools is that of free materials prepared by commercial groups and agencies organized to further a particular cause. The Dairy Council, the American Automobile Association, the National Safety Council, the Junior Red Cross, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and General Mills are but a few of the sources of printed materials dealing with health and safety — sources that may easily become pressures.

Especially the large oil companies and automobile manufacturers are adept at the development of 16-mm. motion-picture films for school use, films that may treat very well such topics as highway safety, automotive mechanics, and transportation, but which come with the trade names presented in some form or other. This type of material sooner or later brings school administration face to face with the question of advertising in the schools. Some schools close the doors to all material bearing any advertising, some admit it freely, and others have the ban on the books but wink at exceptions.

Collections

Junior Red Cross and the March of Dimes seem to be two of the outside agencies most likely to secure permission to make annual collections in the schools. Once it has gained entry, a worthy cause may take advantage of its position. For instance, the March of Dimes at times has become a march of half dollars or dollars. At the time of this writing, the writer has just seen in the San Francisco schools the presentation to the students by the March of Dimes committee individual student cards with slots for a number of dimes. Consequently, the very nature of the card, and the manner of collecting by individual cards, rather than cans placed in the rooms for voluntary donations, exerted a pressure upon children to meet a quota rather than to give voluntarily.

Invariably, the outside group that presents its cause to the schools, or offers its materials or services, includes influential local citizens in its committee membership. Thereby hangs the tale of a school's intricate public relations. The local luncheon club that believes in selecting *one* best citizen out of a high-school graduating class of 205, or *one* outstanding athlete out of the 173 who

participated for the school this year, has the superintendent or the principal as a member, which is a bit complicating.

IN CLOSING

Without a doubt, the public is very active in respect to its schools. Public interests and pressures are nothing which the profession should look at askance. The public schools stem from the public will, and from the public conception of schooling and life. The professional worker is invited to lead the public in school matters and not to withdraw to his cloistered tent and criticize. Public interest in education must be encouraged at every turn.

Chapter 13

THE TEACHER WITH THE FULL VISION

YESTERDAY'S FORMULA

Not so many years ago the formula for high-school teaching was considered to be relatively simple. If the training were at all long, it was long on the subject. Courses in Chaucer and Beowulf for the English teacher, Greek civilization and English history for the history teacher, and calculus and analytical geometry for the math teacher — and one methods course thrown in for good measure — were considered to be the standard equipment for the trainer of high-school youth. Thus equipped, and on his guard against being exposed on a minor point of fact in front of his class, the teacher proceeded to assign lessons, to hear the resulting recitations, and to mark the progress of pupils accordingly.

Class Worth

Teachers spoke in terms of the quality of a class, individual worth not yet having gained any significant standing in the pedagogical scheme of things. The worth of a class was judged by its progress through the text, and one class would go down in the teacher's mind as slow if on November 23 it was on page 83 of the algebra book while the other section of the same subject was on page 112 at the time. The problems of teaching were not so pronounced. Of course, there were slow students, but the case was dismissed by blaming the students for lack of application. When standardized intelligence and reading tests were produced, the scores gave the teacher a chance to shift responsibility back to human nature as such. The securing of proper certification marked the terminal point in the teacher's training.

The mortality rate of this take-it-or-leave-it school was high. Youth brought their mental baskets to school to be filled. Some reached high and picked the best fruits from the trees, for their reach was long to begin with. Others groped around on the ground and gathered what they could, while a majority of those who entered high school became discouraged after fumbling about under the trees, and dropped out of school with their baskets showing but few signs of the rich harvest.

The Challenge

In yesterday's school, teachers *as human beings* were perhaps discouraged at a high mortality rate, but *as teachers* they were not, for their task had been clearly set out for them in the highly specialized departments of the liberal arts colleges where most of them had been trained. They seriously guarded each rung on the tricky educational ladder of our graded school system lest some undeserving soul move up to a higher grade without proper scholastic credentials.

Today, the American secondary school, if it is to respect the American dream of equality of opportunity, seeks *the teacher with the full vision.* The lenses of the pedagogical spectacles of the high-school teacher must not be so highly polished by subject specialists that he become nearsighted. For in such cases, when looking up from the pages of his special textbook, his vision becomes blurred, and a roomful of youth may appear as only a fuzzy mass of restless motion, much less distinct than the subject. In this indistinct image of the class personnel, it is no surprise if the individual pupil is not distinguished from the group. The least the training institution can do today is to equip the beginner with a set of bifocals, to permit long-distance as well as near vision.

THE QUALITIES OF THE GOOD TEACHER

What is expected of teachers, and limitations in their classroom and school action, will vary from school system to school system and from school to school, depending upon the local expectations, but perhaps there is in practice yet uncharted certain standard qualities of the good teacher — qualities that would be recognized all over the country.

Kindness First

No doubt such qualities begin with (1) *interest in and kindness for the individual child,* and then wander off into such more intangible areas as (2) an appreciation of how learning takes place, (3) an appreciation of the true purposes of the school in relationship to both pupil and society, (4) active interest in life and a love for humanity, (5) active participation in community endeavors, knowing how to live and play with others, (6) breadth of knowledge including competence in one's particular teaching areas, (7) unselfishness, (8) fine character, (9) energy, reflecting proper health habits, and (10) loyalty to country, school, and colleagues.

If we wished to be technical we could discuss voice quality, dress, and points of a similar line of thinking. But since the good teacher begins with a good heart, with a true love and feeling for his fellow men, then in this chapter it would be amiss to bog ourselves down with misconceptions. The writer recalls the high-school teacher who was master of her subject beyond all doubt, the teacher who had no heart for her students. Her satisfactions came

from her knowledge of mathematics and not from her knowledge of her students, for she knew them not. Her interest was in John's ability to do the equation in the math book, not in the struggle he was having with the equation of a broken home with more unknowns than X and Y, and even Z. The writer recalls the young teacher with the hoarse voice, who barely got by the personal interview because of it, but once in the classroom she revealed a feeling for youth and their problems that marked her as a truly great teacher, loved by all her students.

Check-Sheet for Teachers

The ten points that follow were developed in one township high school as a guide for the teacher, the principal, and the board of education in the attempted judgment of teaching success.[1] The list served the teacher from year to year in his effort toward maximum instructional contribution. It served the principal and teacher as they sat in conference discussing the teacher's work for the past year and the year ahead.

Standards for Teaching Service

1. TEACHING SKILL. The necessary skill of teaching shall be revealed not only by the teacher's proficiency in the respective fields handled, but by a sincere love and sympathy for the students, an enthusiasm for working and playing with them, and a human appreciation of the differences that exist among them. The teacher shall inspire the students' confidence, command their respect, as being capable and fair, and win their co-operation in the various educational enterprises that he or she directs.
2. EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES. The teacher shall not limit his or her activities to the classroom and the homeroom, but shall participate actively in the extracurricular life of the school.
3. PROFESSIONAL GROWTH. In addition to participating in prescribed teachers' meetings and conventions and in following the Board's regulations concerning continued professional study, the teacher assumes the responsibility for his or her continuous professional growth to be evidenced in his or her actual school procedures.
4. CHARACTER. Since character development is a primary concern of education, the teacher shall maintain in his or her personal and social relationships, ethical and moral standards that are at all times socially acceptable in the school district and in the school.
5. PROFESSIONAL ETHICS. In dealing with students, fellow teachers, parents, and laymen, the teacher shall speak and act in a manner that is marked as highly professional and ethical.
6. STAFF CO-OPERATION. The teacher's relationships with the other staff members shall reveal a pleasant and co-operative spirit.

[1] Used by the writer in the Highland Park, Illinois, High School during the years he was principal of the school.

7. PARENTAL RELATIONS. Due to the significance of proper parent-teacher relationships in the development of the child, the teacher shall command the respect of the parents in his or her dealings with the child.
8. COMMUNITY ENDEAVOR. The teacher shall extend his or her professional services beyond the school, assuming a citizen's rightful responsibility in the life of the community that the school serves.
9. LOYALTY TO AMERICAN IDEALS. The teacher at all times shall reveal a love of our country and a leadership in establishing the American ideals ever firmer with the student.
10. HANDLING ROUTINE. The teacher shall meet time schedules promptly, keep registers and other records accurately, and file promptly the reports called for in the management of the school.

A 44-HOUR WEEK FOR TEACHERS

How much time should the successful teacher give to the job? One of the best-controlled studies of the high-school teacher's work week was recently made in the Detroit, Michigan, schools by the Department of Instructional Research of that system. The study included all teachers and department heads — 1,450 — in the nineteen comprehensive, commercial, technical, and vocational high schools. Group interviews were used to secure the information, and were conducted by the assistant principals, each working in a school other than his own. A meeting of them was held prior to the interviews, to interpret the questionnaires and to standardize the procedures. Two days were set for the interviews. Teachers were handled in groups of five to ten, during their free periods. A copy of the form to be filled in had been posted previously on the bulletin board so that teachers could familiarize themselves with the kinds of information that would be required. A summary of the study is reported in Table VII.

The Average Teacher

The average work week for all Detroit high-school teachers was reported by them to be 44.5 clock hours. The report of the study issued by the Research Department gives this summary statement of the average teacher:

> The "average teacher" in Detroit high schools is, of course, an imaginary person. With the exception of the nine-period minimum school day which was uniform for all teachers, the interview data do not show any combination of duties that may be called "typical" for teachers in general. Similarly, in the case of a single department the different combinations of duties for individual teachers vary widely. Within each of the ten departments the differences among individuals in length of work week, and in types of duties performed were far greater than the differences between department averages. Therefore, the "average teacher" described here is actually a statistical concept used as a means of personalizing the data and summarizing them in more concise form.
>
> This average teacher arrives at his school between 7:45 and 8:45 A.M. The particular time of reporting for duty depends on whether he has an "early" or "late"

TABLE VII *The Work Week of Detroit, Michigan, Public High School Teachers*

DEPARTMENT	DUTY PER WEEK			
	1. *Number class periods taught*	2. *Number periods of assigned duties*	3. *Number extra clock hours worked*	4. *Total clock hours worked*
English	24.4	8.2	16.1	48.6
Mathematics	25.3	7.8	10.5	43.0
Social Studies	24.6	8.2	14.1	46.6
Science	27.9	5.4	12.6	45.1
Commercial	25.2	7.4	8.8	41.3
Vocational	30.6	5.3	9.3	41.8
Art	29.1	4.4	8.5	41.0
Health (and P.E.)	24.0	8.8	11.6	44.1
Music	27.4	6.3	8.7	41.2
Foreign Languages	25.4	7.0	13.4	45.9
Average for all teachers	26.1	7.2	12.0	44.5

Column 3 includes extracurricular activities, class preparation, and related duties performed in the late afternoon, on evenings and on week ends outside the minimum school day. The minimum school day (columns 1 and 2) is defined as 6.5 clock hours plus a 45-minute lunch period.

schedule of classes. Seven and one-half hours later he leaves. During the time in school he teaches classes for five periods. He devotes one and one-half periods each day to assigned duties such as lunchroom or study hall. He uses another period for lunch, and has one and one-half periods of "free" time which he may use for such purposes as class preparation, correcting papers, keeping records, assisting individual students, attending committee meetings, etc. For fifteen minutes each day he is in charge of a record room or a home-room group.

During the course of the week, he spends an additional twelve hours on school work outside of regular school hours. This extra time is devoted to collecting instructional materials and equipment, preparing assignments for his classes, supervising extracurricular activities, etc.

Extracurricular activities are sometimes scheduled on evenings and week ends, and once during the semester he will be on duty for an evening play or concert in the building. On one other occasion during the semester he will assist in supervising a track meet or other athletic event on Saturday afternoon.

One time during the semester he will take a group of sixteen or eighteen students on a trip to some place of educational interest in the city. Public transportation is used for a group of this size, but if the group is very small, say, four or five students, the teacher ordinarily uses his own car.

In conclusion, the "average teacher" works 44½ hours each week. He has two evenings or week-end duty assignments during the semester, and arranges one trip for a group of students.

The care taken in making this study marks its data as representing what an average high-school teacher in an average city system might come up with in the way of an honest work week in the schools. Too many studies attempted have failed because of the lack of controlled conditions, questionnaires being distributed by mail for instance.

Finding One's Place

And so it is, the unassigned or self-assigned duties of one teacher may result in a school day longer than the day of the teacher who is assigned, and paid extra for, extracurricular duties extending beyond the closing of the regularly scheduled classes. Among the types of high-school teachers found in most any school system will be:

1. The teacher who doesn't watch the clock, but enjoys working around the place after school with students or materials or committee work, staying until he satisfies himself that it is time to be leaving.
2. The teacher who closes his books as early as possible, almost crowding aside the leaving pupils as he rushes to get out of the building as the dismissal bell rings.
3. The teacher who assumes an after-school extracurricular assignment regularly, such as coaching the basketball team, and is paid a set amount for this work.
4. The teacher who stays around after school, enjoying the newspaper, the club, or the dramatic work he is sponsoring, even though he receives no compensation for it.
5. The teacher who stays after school to work with some students or to set up his classroom for the next day, showing in his attitude or in his faculty-room remarks that he does so because he has to, not by choice.

Every teacher finds his place in the profession. It may be a highly enjoyable one, it may be a trying one, or it may be a so-so position with neither inward rejoicing nor outward complaining. Many a teacher has laid his lot to conditions set up for him by the administration, but if the truth be known, perhaps what the average teacher gets out of the teaching profession is 90 per cent a matter of what he puts into it.

The beginning high-school teacher who wants to get the full satisfaction of the profession, should walk eagerly into the high school, demanding his share of the fun of working with high-school youth in their important out-of-class activities. Those first two or three years of teaching he must watch that such extracurricular participation does not interfere with proper classroom preparation. However, he must likewise appreciate that, regardless of how well prepared he is in subject matter, his classroom performance can be truly effective only if he understands high-school boys and girls — an understanding and a belonging-with that comes through these out-of-class associations. Speaking in a more mer-

cenary manner, his advancement in the school and the profession will come more readily with such 100 per cent participation in the work of the school.

Teaching assignment is something that is not given a teacher by administrative decree. It is something that is assumed by the individual worker in our profession, assumed in quantity and quality in accordance with the feeling that has been developed for the profession — for the calling. The teacher who does not enjoy being with youth has no place in the school.

It is difficult to find a profession with the enjoyable hours that the teaching profession offers. The long summer vacation, even though at times used for continued study of the job, presents time and opportunity for varied and enjoyable experiences. Week ends for the greater majority of teachers in any given school mean Saturday and Sunday off. Of course, for academic teachers there are class preparations to make on the outside and papers to read, but this is work permitting a flexible schedule of the teacher's own making. There are teams to coach, games to attend, and bands to lead, but all such activities are a part of the fun of working with high-school boys and girls. As shown in Detroit, where all the normal activities of schools are carried on, the total work-week is a most reasonable one.

WHAT DISTURBS THE BEGINNING TEACHER?

It is one thing to give general suggestions to beginning teachers, it is another to determine exactly what help they feel the need of as they enter their first assignments. One thing often overlooked is the natural disturbances that come with entry into the profession.

To find out what disturbs these young teachers, one naturally turns to the best authority — the teachers themselves. Recently it was the writer's privilege to interview 102 student-teachers, college seniors who had just returned to the campus from a twelve-weeks assignment, out in the high schools of New Jersey.[2] This was a full-time teaching assignment, each student having worked in three high-school classes, besides duties in study halls, clubs, and similar extraclass work.

With this sample of teaching behind them, and only six more weeks of college training ahead of them before graduation, the students were asked this one question: "What, if anything, stands in the way of full enthusiasm for your chosen work?"

Exactly two-thirds of the group, 68 of the 102, were disturbed enough to respond to the question. The writer's experiences in teaching in public schools or schools of education in ten states, and in working with teachers in institutes and conferences in many more, lead him to believe that the reactions of this group of trainees at Montclair State Teachers College could have been made in one state as well as another, that they do not reflect conditions

[2] This interview was conducted while the writer was Head of the Department of Education, Montclair, New Jersey, State Teachers College.

of a limited geographical area. A report of the responses to the question follows:

Low Salaries

Thirty-two, or almost half of the group, were disturbed about low salaries, indicating that salaries were not commensurate with the training, the amount, and the significance of the work of the teacher, and the financial demands of decent living. Some frankly admitted the disturbance that they were encountering in the form of tempting salaries in industry or business. A typical statement was:

> Salary to me is the one outstanding disadvantage. Considering the extent of educational preparation involved and the amount of actual work on the job, teachers receive little compensation for their efforts. Perhaps I am unfortunate in being drawn toward such a profession when I feel this way.

One senior pointed out that her sister was leaving high school at the same time she was leaving college and that her sister would command a better salary in a stenographic position than she could hope to receive the first year of teaching. Another stated, "No prestige returns are assured by the low salaries as compared to the time spent in college training." It must be admitted that most of these graduates had to enter the profession via the smaller school districts in New Jersey. The struggle that some were going through in their own minds was reflected in such statements as these next five:

1. I want to be a teacher; I'm still glad I chose this profession. The only drawback is the low salary scale that the profession labors under. Better people will be attracted to teaching when school systems adopt more liberal initial salaries and graduated salary increments as rewards for outstanding service, work, and contribution to the profession.
2. I think that in order to live the kind of cultural and professional life necessary to enrich a teacher so that she can be of real value to her students, higher salaries are needed. *However, the compensation one gets through the satisfaction of working with boys and girls and seeing them grow is certainly gratifying.*
3. My disturbance is the fact that after four years of preparation, I'm going to enter a position where I'm hoping to convince others that society is progressing for the better, yet many of us will start at salaries of fifteen hundred dollars a year, or little more.
4. I love to teach, I want to teach, but it seems that the —— Board of Education considers a man teacher, an honorably discharged war veteran, about to be married, and with a mother to support, to be worth less than $2,000 a year. It's unrealistic, unbelievable.
5. I enjoyed my student teaching very much, and I really want to teach. However, I would rather do office work, which is boring to me, than to lower the profession by taking a job at the low figure offered me.

Unprofessional Associates

A second group of twenty-three, or fully a third of those college graduates who indicated dampened enthusiasm, attributed their feelings to some of the teaching personnel who would be their associates. Some seniors pointed an accusing finger at those teachers "who don't seem to have any reason for continuing in the profession except from habit. They're now so far in the rut they'll never get out." The same fear was expressed by these beginners elsewhere in these words, "Some are plodding along in a certain set way and have lost all enthusiasm for their calling." As she struggled against this same observation, another senior stated:

I don't want to get into the rut I see so many teachers are in now. Their whole world is made up of the students, classroom, and school. Their classes are dull because they can't relate subject matter to life.

Static Curriculum

Twenty-three of the teacher-trainees expressed alarm at the rigidity of the high-school curriculum and the limitations that this situation would place upon them. This fear was typically expressed with the remark that "young teachers want to give something to their pupils, but they are hampered by a rigid school system that affords little flexibility." The limitations of the curriculum, the traditional methods of experienced teachers, the lack of enthusiasm for trying out newer programs, the discrediting of the ideas of the beginning teachers, and the administrative emphasis upon conformity to an existing pattern were among the pressures listed that will keep beginning teachers from establishing satisfying beachheads in the high schools. Each of the following statements represents the comment of a different senior.

1. A general lack of respect and courtesy appears to exist in the school today. Children are not interested in the schoolwork as they should be; the curriculum has overlooked the interests and capabilities of the high-school youth.

2. I don't believe that all students should have to take the college-preparatory mathematics as they do in many of the schools, if they are not going into a field that requires it. Instead, we should give them a course incorporating into it what would seem wise as preparation for life.

3. Most disturbing is the stand taken by so many teachers already in the field that just because they were taught one way they must continue to teach in the manner in which they were taught. Too many refuse to accept modern ideas or even to listen to them.

4. If I were allowed free reign instead of butting my head against old ideas, I could enjoy my work more.

5. The thing that bothers me most is the horrible conservatism of our educational setup. *Silas Marner* was read fifty years or so ago and is still read by all as a basic text. There is little or no actual help given to our boys and girls that would fit them for their future lives.

6. The curriculum and method of approach as practiced in some of the high schools are very disheartening. These need remedying very quickly; perhaps if this is done and more progressive means are adopted in this field, more people will be encouraged to do teaching.

In this questionnaire, which covered many aspects of the senior's student-teaching experiences, was a direct question about the curriculum. It was stated: "Please indicate your reaction to the curriculum that you encountered in the high school in which you taught." The distribution of replies to the three parts of this question is as follows:

1. The curriculum is well adapted to average students: Yes, 74; no, 27.
2. The curriculum is well adapted to above-average students: Yes, 41; no, 60.
3. The curriculum is well adapted to slower students: Yes, 16; no, 85.

The Beginner's Reactions

The teaching profession should not be afraid to look at itself in the mirror, and the reflections presented by the bright-faced beginners are most illuminating. They speak freely for they have not yet signed their first contracts and they are not yet inhibited by the patterns and the conformities that have engulfed too many of those who have entered before them. Still looking in from the outside, still free to turn to other fields, they frankly speak their last piece. No doubt some beginners speak too disparagingly of their chosen profession, and no doubt some remarks reflect personal inadequacies rather than inadequacies of the profession. But taken as a whole, the beginning teachers' reactions demand consideration by the profession.

As to inadequate salaries, every year a certain percentage of the graduates of teacher-training institutions turn to other lines of work instead, partly because of better wages, partly because of the abundance of such opportunities, and partly because of miscellaneous factors. A factor operating in New Jersey, for instance, is that the state has never supplied its youth a liberal arts education at public expense, as commonly supplied in state universities in the West and Middle West; therefore, many youth go through a public teachers college to secure their A.B. degree, never having expected to teach.

Although salaries have risen noticeably in recent years, the beginning salary still discriminates against the young man especially. Deduct from $2,000, or even $2,500, the withholding tax, the costs of a proper wardrobe, and the price of decent housing and food, and it is true that there is little left for cultural growth, advanced work, professional pride, and lead pencils, — let alone an automobile and loose change for courting purposes. Marriage is almost out of the question at such a figure, but the embarrassing point is that some graduates find themselves a wife before a teaching position.

Protection against the status quo, whether it be in the form of the curriculum or teacher attitudes, is the right of every beginning teacher. The super-

visory responsibilities of school administrators in this matter will be treated in a later chapter.

The Student-Teacher

The trainee who goes out to do practice or student teaching must appreciate clearly the situation. He has but few rights in the classroom in which he works. The curriculum has been set by the school and the teacher of that room. The student-teacher stops in for a few weeks "to get the feel" of the classroom and to try his hand at the job.

He has no right to feel mistreated if he is restricted in his methods, for he is still an uncertified teacher and the school could not legally grant him full responsibility even if it wished to do so. If he is wise, he will be alert to get all the help possible from the practice teaching assignment. He has nothing to gain by blaming the training teacher or the curriculum. His chance to show that he can do better will come when he has accepted his first regular assignment.

It is appreciated that training teachers have often failed to grant to practice teachers the responsibilities that they individually seem ready to assume. Only through a close co-operative arrangement of training school and training teachers out in the field can the maximum benefits come from practice teaching assignments.

A CODE OF ETHICS

A code of ethics for teachers defines in a general way a pattern of suggested action to guide their day-by-day professional relationships with pupil, fellow worker, and layman. Unlike a set of rules that one may be forced to follow, such a code of ethics depends for its success upon the conscientious desire of the individual teacher to adhere to its principles in an attempt to better the profession in behalf of growing children. Basic to any code of ethics shall be such principles as these fifteen:

1. Teachers Must Grow On the Job

It is common for school systems to synchronize advancement on a salary schedule with professional growth evidenced by additional graduate work, in-service training, or similar evidences of continuous improvement on the job.

2. Democracy Must Be Taught

In American educational circles there has been much controversy about so-called academic freedom, discussed on more or less an academic plane quite removed from the realities of the local teaching situation. If a teacher tempers a principle with local realities he can certainly do so without sacrificing his ideals. The educator who likes to talk about how he is prevented from treating the realities of civic life in his classroom often resembles the

citizen whose right it is to complain about the President or his neighbor's radio.

3. Democracy Must Be Practiced

The teacher who doesn't incorporate the pupils in the planning of their work in his classroom can hardly expect to preach his group into the principle of American life that deals with the process of group action — of using the ideas of the maximum number in determining the welfare of the group. Naturally, the teacher who works under a dictatorial administration, is being invited to use the same methods with his students, but he still isn't justified in failing to practice democracy in his classroom.

4. Teachers Must Be Active in Civic Affairs

The day has passed when the high-school teacher can feel that his obligation to the public can be fulfilled in the classroom and school alone. He must participate in community life in order to have a feeling of the social scene. Without such feeling he is handicapped in the classroom, whether his subject be mathematics, social studies, shop, or what not.

5. Teachers Should Be Active in the Profession

Belonging is easier than participating and contributing. Our professional educational organizations are full of members listening or straining their ears for the answers to their problems. Answers no longer come from the oracles; it is doubtful if they even did so back in the days of the ancients. Every membership in a professional organization should bear with it the obligation to get up on one's feet in open meeting with suggestions, to write for the magazine of the society, to use the findings of the group in the classroom, to question the system of organization, and to participate to the fullest extent.

Teachers need to realize that there are two types of professional organizations today, the type that centers its attention upon teacher welfare and the one that tussles with the improvement of instruction. It is indeed impossible to separate teacher welfare and pupil welfare.

There are two ways for teachers to secure a higher standing for the profession. One is to organize and act openly for such things as higher salaries and better working conditions. The other is to organize to study the job of teaching, and thus through a better return to the public on its investment in school expect eventually a better public reception of the idea of increased salaries and improved working conditions.

The relative merits of the two cannot be determined academically in a printed discussion such as this. These must be local matters. But the distinction in the two approaches needs to be clearly recognized by any group of teachers, and the more round-about approach must not be dismissed as ineffective. In school and teacher welfare and advancement there is no sub-

stitute for the good feeling about the work of the school and the teacher that is built up in the minds of the parents and laymen.

6. Teachers Must Not Sell the Profession Short

Whenever experimentation is carried on within the school system at any grade level, all teachers are obliged to support the trial program in their public relationships. They may express their differences among themselves behind closed doors, but to go out into the community condemning the policies or practices of the school system is not only unethical, but it is disastrous to the welfare of the school system. Far too often teachers in their public relations are too outspoken about their misgivings of the practices of their fellow workers. Teachers have a reputation of talking shop too often; and as long as such practices exist, teaching can never take the step to the level that marks an occupation as a true profession.

High-school teachers often criticize the lower schools for having sent up to them unprepared students. This is a good example of unprofessional tactics. There is no more conscientious group of teachers in the business than the elementary teachers. This continual complaint made by the high-school teacher gives evidence of lack of knowledge not only of the sincere efforts of elementary teachers but of the true nature of the normal high-school student.

7. The Worth of Each Pupil Must Be Respected

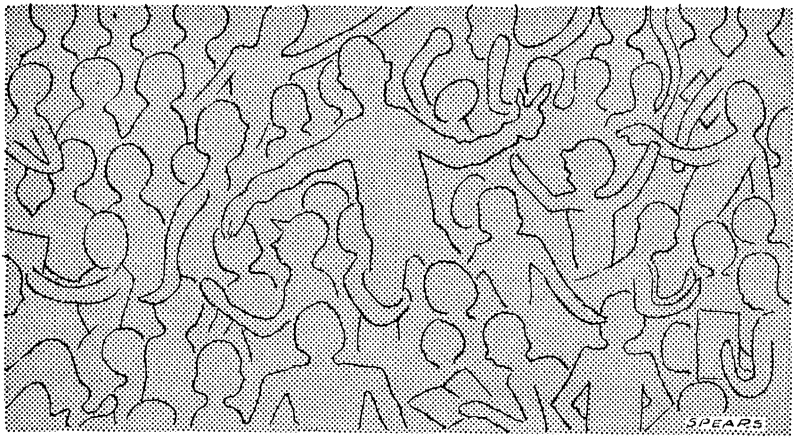
Classroom procedure must be set up to enable the teacher to capitalize upon the good in each pupil. At times classroom procedures seem to enable teachers to do little more than emphasize the weaknesses of a number of their students.

8. Teachers Should Not Gossip about Their Students

Teachers should not gossip or pass derogatory remarks about their students. A little fun in one's work is justified in any calling, but, in teaching, the passing of remarks about students in the teachers' rest rooms and lunch rooms should never result in lowering the standing of a student in the minds of other teachers.

9. The Profession Must Be Protected against Incompetency

The writer has seen department heads who were very eager to help select new members for their departments but would have no part in taking a stand for dismissal of an incompetent member. The teacher who works for increased salaries must realize that better salaries demand of the administration more careful scrutiny of teachers to see that the public gets proper returns on its increased investment. Teachers who are most active in securing better salary policies are often most active in befriending an incompetent colleague who should be dismissed.



THE TEACHER MUST ENJOY BOYS AND GIRLS — ELSE BE MOST UNCOMFORTABLE

10. Tenure Must Be Protected

Here again pupil welfare and teacher welfare cross paths. Tenure, once secured by the teacher, should never be an invitation to stop growing. The fear of this has been shown in state after state where school trustees and administrators dismiss teachers just before they have a chance to go on tenure. Tenure should be looked upon as giving teachers the security that will enable them to settle down to a fine professional contribution, not the security of holding a job without giving the service expected.

While it prevents the discharge of teachers for political, religious, personal, or similar unjust reasons, tenure must still permit the dismissal of those who are incompetent, unworthy, and negligent of their duties. While it encourages leadership based on confidence and understanding, it must still assure teachers who are amenable to leadership. While it provides reasonable personal and academic freedom for teachers, it must not breed complacency. While it encourages competent, public-spirited teachers to stay in school work, it must not shelter incompetency. One of the main arguments against tenure is that a board of education or a school official will become reluctant to attempt to dismiss an incompetent tenure teacher because of the unpleasant publicity and notoriety incident to such procedure.

11. Teachers Deserve Proper Salary Schedules

High-school teachers have generally accepted the idea of a single salary schedule that places elementary teachers of equal training and experience on a financial par with high-school teachers. The day has passed when high-school teaching was considered as a more noble calling than elementary-school

teaching. The best teachers should be placed in the primary grades if the job above those years is to be carried out properly.

12. Teaching Contracts Must Be Respected

Since the teacher's opportunities for advancing to a better position need to be capitalized upon at the moment, lest the knock may not come again, school administration should be quite liberal in the release of teachers for promotions. On the other hand, teachers seeking promotions should try to time such openings so that the local school situation will not suffer.

13. Teachers Cannot Be Selfish

In some high-school districts, where a great percentage of the students are going on to college, tutoring can almost become a racket. A parent secures a tutor in an attempt to bring marks up. When a teacher accepts such an assignment he and the regular teacher of the child should immediately get together in an attempt to help the child as much as possible. This close relationship of teacher and tutor in the interest of the child should continue throughout the tutoring period. They can't work alone. When one member of a faculty enters the tutoring scene, even if he is not the child's regular teacher, the school's responsibility in the case increases. If the implied improvement in the class is not forthcoming, the teacher should let the tutor know it, so he in turn can tell the student and the parent, and the parent in turn can save his money and the student his time and disillusionment.

14. Applying for Positions Deserves Care

A teacher applying for a position should determine if the salary is satisfactory. It is unprofessional to accept a low salary as entrance into a school system, and then to start complaining about inadequate salaries. The larger school systems have salary schedules with entrance salaries and increments clearly set out for study. Other administrators and school trustees bargain with the candidates. In this instance the beginning teacher needs the guidance of his college placement bureau that knows the conditions in that area of the state.

15. Schools Are for Children

Schools are for children. Schools call for teachers. Teachers' positions spring from the welfare of their students. This basic structure of the educational system need not prevent any good teacher from living a happy and successful life. In fact it is the strength and support of his professional career.

Even if a faculty or a school system has not worked out a code of ethics, each teacher of experience has over the years developed one of his own that guides his action. It may never have found the printed page, it may be professionally untenable in spots, it may be a master pattern for others to follow, but it is there in the teacher's conscience. It would do all teachers

good to take long enough once a year to try to set out on paper the code that actually guides them.

SEEING THE WHOLE JOB

Teacher-training institutions and graduate schools of education must build their programs from actual teaching needs, and not from their own departmental prides and prejudices. For instance, there was the teachers college which was training for secondary schools, but would not add stenography to its curriculum lest such subjects reflect upon the good name that the school had for its intensive work in liberal arts. To give college credit for typing and shorthand was beyond the thinking of some of the academicians in the college. Pride or prejudice?

A number of higher institutions are taking liberties with the traditional departmental system as they attempt to recognize the realities of the life for which they would train. Among others, the University of Minnesota now enables doctoral study in an American studies program, which cuts across such related fields as literature, history, anthropology, economics, philosophy, the fine arts, sociology, and political science. Such a program of studies, if set up to include firsthand experience as well as classroom and library study, would indeed be excellent training for a high-school teacher of general education. Long overdue in the American high school is the discarding of certain departmental specialties in favor of a broad, double-period course in American culture, a course that would draw upon the former separate subjects of United States history and American literature, and upon art and music as well.

In the high-school field, teachers are usually selected as teachers of facts and skills, in their special fields of typing, mathematics, history, or what not. They are obligated to set up the learning situation so that values as well as facts will emerge into the open. It has rightfully been asked: "What meaning has any subject matter until it is related to the problems of humanity?"

The person preparing for teaching must beware of becoming specialized in a subject area at the expense of a broad understanding of life and people. For example, the high-school mathematics teacher who takes a master's degree in higher mathematics may be in reality educating himself farther and farther away from an understanding of the typical high-school youth, and from the mathematics that actually operates in that youth's everyday life. A high-school teacher who is himself ill-adjusted socially has a pattern of advanced study pointed out for him if he would but recognize it. How people live together and can better live together in the world is a concept basic to the training of any teacher.

Chapter

14

THE TEACHER'S SALARY

The financial welfare of any group of teachers has a direct relationship to the educational welfare of their pupils, in a practical as well as a theoretical way. It is neither an apologetic nor an idealistic thought to say that, after all, teaching is a profession of service in which mere monetary reward can never make up for the absence of day-by-day satisfactions in serving youth and society.

CONCERN FOR SALARY

In recent years, the increased outward evidence of the teachers' concern for their economic welfare is natural, for it is typical of Americans in all walks of life, and it reflects the increased cost of living and the mounting tax burden that began with World War II and has carried down to the present.

Just as it is natural for salary to be a major concern of a teacher, so it is natural for him to begin his thinking about salaries with his own position. Few teachers have had, or ever will have, training courses that go into the more objective aspects of this question. By and large, a teacher does not begrudge what the other fellow is getting, but wants to better his own position. What he may fail to see is that since the total school budget must be within reason, and that since only a reasonable percentage of the total budget can be allocated to the salary account, the question of his salary involves the consideration of the salary situations of Tom, Dick, and Harriet. In short, an honest consideration of his own salary situation leads to the treatment of the various factors that operate in determining a salary policy.

Although there should always be provided the way for the individual teacher to discuss his own situation with the administration, only through group study and consideration of the basic principles and problems underlying the determination of a salary policy can he expect to get a true professional slant on his own problem. In almost any school or school system, through a professional teachers' organization, there is provided a means to the thorough study of the various factors in salary policy. Such a study program has the co-operative support of school trustees and administrators.

Bargaining for Teachers

Bargaining in hiring and retaining teachers holds sway as a practice in only those school districts in which school board members and administrators worship the authoritarian approach to personnel matters, and turn their backs upon the more democratic procedures. Needless to say, there are still those trustees and administrators who feel so important about their positions and abilities that they selfishly guard the right to engage in such salary practices as these:

1. To hire a beginning teacher at $2,500 although on the staff there is a teacher of five-years experience who is receiving only $2,500
2. To hold a teacher at $3,000 for ten years, although many of her colleagues with the same training have received increments placing them at the $4,000 level
3. To determine salary increases on the basis of personal whims of the moment, rather than on the basis of a uniform salary policy
4. To attempt to retain a teacher, who threatens to take another position, by offering him the difference between his present salary and the one the other school offers him, rather than to have maintained an adequate salary schedule to begin with

A standard for a teacher's salary is something more important than the whim of a board member or a superintendent on the spring night that he may consider salaries for the coming year.

A Review

The comments set out in this chapter represent but a review of some of the points that come up in salary discussions. They are not proposed as answers, and should be interpreted as little more than evidence of the difficulty of the task of setting salary policy. They represent some of the principles and problems of salary practice that are most commonly considered by salary-study groups. They represent the rocky reefs on which any study program may early wreck itself. The test of any common group treatment of this question is whether personal prejudices about one's own position and needs can be subjected to the bigger end.

If a salary committee eventually comes forward with any suggestions about a salary policy, certainly such suggestions should represent the sentiment of the group represented, a sentiment expressed not on the spur of the moment but after a professional-like study of the issues and problems involved. At the same time the superintendent leads the board of education in an appreciation of the teacher's position in the economic picture. It is always to be remembered that the board is the representative body of the people in whose schools we are hired to serve, and there is behind the board a public will with certain limits.

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

It can be said that a teacher deserves a fair salary and that in return the district deserves a fair teaching contribution. In trying to tie the two together, to determine salary in the light of contribution, a salary-study group finds itself up to its neck in the issues. A phrase that often acts as home plate or the point of departure in the attempt to establish a fair salary policy is "equal pay for equal work."

It is a wage principle that seems close to the American's way of life and way of thinking. However, there are some troublesome implications to be contended with when a salary-study group attempts to move this policy over from theory to practice. First of all, determining equal service in a varied school program is something more difficult than determining equal work in an industrial plant where the employees are working at machines that are stamping out uniform metal products. And after all, *equal pay for equal service does imply that the principle of equal pay holds up only as long as the service rendered is equal.* Now if it is conceived that the service rendered might vary from one teacher to another, are distinctions to be made on the basis of position held, of total day's load, of merit, of experience, of training, or of what?

The single salary schedule is a corollary principle. During recent years there has developed common agreement that elementary-school teachers deserve equal pay with secondary-school teachers, provided that training and experience are equal. This is the type principle that about any high-school teacher would agree to, but in most large cities it has not been possible to put the principle into practice at once unless the high-school salaries are adjusted downward, thus permitting the same salary account to serve the policy. When such adjustment is necessary, it is difficult for the high-school teacher to accept the principle.

EXPERIENCE AS A FACTOR

Trying to approach the question of *equal pay for equal service* from one of the easier angles, that of experience, seems to offer most common agreement; that is, if we are to judge by salary schedules that exist over the country. Salary plans or schedules, by and large, recognize the number of years taught as a basic factor in determining salaries. Teaching experience has formed the staircase on which it has seemed easy to arrange the respective salaries of a group of teachers. That is, two teachers of equal number of years experience would be receiving the same salary, everything else being equal — which it apparently isn't, as we'll review later. The typical span of advancement in a schedule recognizing experience in the past has been fifteen to twenty years. The trend is toward a span of ten to fifteen years.

An issue that arises in the endorsement of this experience principle is that of determining the credit to be given for prior experience. As a teacher enters the school for the first time, should experience in other schools be

credited in full as if it had been in the system being entered? Salary plans often discriminate against previous service, by allowing only partial credit for it. In some systems where there is a rather rigid salary schedule, the employer is given some bargaining power in being able to determine in each case exactly how much credit is to be allowed for previous service.

Limiting Experience-Credit

At times a limit of five or seven years is credited for past experience as the entering teacher is placed on the local salary schedule. Many systems seem skeptical of prior service. One reason given for discriminating against outside service seems to be that such experience is out of the control of the school system in question, and consequently may not be up to the standard of in-service growth provided in said system. Then, too, it has been hinted that it may react against the professional morale of the teachers already in service to give the new teacher from the outside equal standing in respect to experience. Another point seems to be that the administration is still not quite sure of the calibre of the contribution of the new teacher. Also, in certain systems the economic factor of a limited salary budget may have been an influence in discounting prior service.

On the other side, it has been pointed out that the first two or three years of teaching experience represent experience of the greatest value, and furthermore, that *if a school places previous experience as a requirement in the selection of teachers, then it should recognize it in a financial way.* In fact, to the beginning teacher, the first few days in the classroom loom large in importance. Perhaps it is then that he sinks or swims, or at least sets the patterns that will guide much of his later practice.

Many teachers who move from one school system to another show little concern about receiving credit for such prior service. In the case of such teachers, it is somewhat inconsistent for them to engage in an active fight for improved salaries. *The standard of salaries in a given school system is influenced greatly by the action of the candidate at the time he is offered a contract.* There are educational theorists in this field of teacher personnel problems who say that it is actually unethical or unprofessional for a teacher to accept a beginning salary that he knows or thinks to be below the standard that should be paid, it being reasoned that in doing so he may be underbidding another candidate or may be permitting a school system to continue a salary standard that is too low. Of course, if this line of reasoning is carried too far it is implied that schools can secure all the money they should have for salaries, which has not been the case.

Experience Often Ignored

It would be fair to estimate that in a vast majority of the high schools of America, no definite salary policy is followed in which all teachers are

treated alike in respect to such factors as experience and training. For instance, when he took over the administration of the Highland Park, Illinois, High School, the writer found that in the five or six years just prior to his coming, the factor of prior experience had not always been the leading one in the determination of beginning salaries. His study of those cases revealed this discrepancy:

TEACHER	PRIOR YEARS OF EXPERIENCE WHEN HIRED AT HIGHLAND PARK	BEGINNING SALARY AT HIGHLAND PARK
a	0	1500
b	0	1500
c	5	1700
d	5	1800
e	5	2200
f	6	1650
g	7	2300
h	8	2000
i	8	2300
j	10	2400
k	11	1800
l	12	2200
m	12	1900

A situation such as the one just mentioned can within a few years be corrected. Adjustments can be gradually made to place all teachers on a scale that recognizes five years of experience with one teacher in the same way that it does for another.

THE QUESTION OF SALARY RANGE

Teachers going into a new school system should not be misled by an attractive maximum salary in the salary range. For an employer to point out to a prospective teacher that some of his teachers are getting as high as $5000 means little to the beginner unless he is assured that (1) the salary is a possibility for all teachers, (2) there are definitely assured steps, and a reasonable number, to that figure for all teachers, and (3) the beginning steps on the scale are firmly established.

It is indeed important that the bottom of the salary scale be firmly established. Even the teacher already in service some years should gain satisfaction in the establishment of a fixed figure for all beginning teachers without experience, and a definite annual increment for experience. Such a move tends to stabilize the bottom end of a salary scale and in time, if not immediately, it will through experience-comparisons tend to bring proper recognition for total teaching service to those teachers who have been on the staff for some time, should inequalities exist.

An attractive maximum may blind a school to the existence of a worthless

base in its salary scale. A solid and satisfactory base is the most important single feature of a salary scale. An attractive maximum salary may twinkle brightly to those at the lower end, but if that lower end of the ladder is rottenly constructed, the star will keep its distance. Bargaining for beginners, bargaining over past experience, and cases of twenty-five years of service without having reached the maximum — are warnings to a teacher looking into a possible position.

In the consideration of the salary range, when the principle of equal pay for equal service is coupled with that of equal pay for equal experience, it is implied that teachers grow in service as long as they move up the salary scale in accordance with annual increments for additional years of teaching. Or does it? If the salary schedule designates $200 more for the teacher of ten-years experience than for the teacher of eight, then the equal pay for equal service theory, if also applied, implies that there was additional growth and thus additional teaching contribution in those extra two years of experience. A group that would establish a salary system would have to give some careful consideration to these various ramifications of the experience principle. For instance, what if it were felt that there wasn't growth in those two years?

In concluding the discussion of this one principle, it should be said that there is apparently another school of thought that is not concerned about experience, but instead looks at the job to be done, determines what it is worth in accordance with what the school district can pay, and then seeks a person for it, offering the amount regardless of his total experience. As long as the job doesn't change, there would be little expectation of salary change, barring adjustments for depressions or for increased living costs. College positions are often handled in this manner, as well as school jobs in many of the smaller communities.

THE QUESTION OF MERIT

This leads into the third point, the issue of whether or not to determine merit or relative value of teaching contribution when trying to carry out the principle of equal pay for equal service. The factor of merit could be recognized and be permitted to operate in either a fixed salary schedule or in a salary policy which does not provide a fixed schedule. In either case, somebody, supposedly the administrator, considers and establishes the relative merits of teachers' services.

Judging Merit

How much provision, if any, should be made in a salary plan for recognition of merit? Is it possible to judge the relative contributions of teachers? Going back to the earlier statement that teachers' financial welfare is directly related to pupils' educational welfare, perhaps it would be generally

agreed that a salary policy should encourage professional growth or in-service improvement.

The attempt to recognize teaching merit, whether by rating or otherwise, implies teacher growth while on the job and consequent increased teaching value. It implies that if supervision can help teachers in growth, it is likewise possible to determine the relative contributions and effectiveness among these teachers. A well-rounded teaching contribution, as summarized in ten points, has been analyzed in Chapter 13.

With teacher tenure in many states established after two, three, or four years in a school system, the school system is challenged to provide growth incentives. Would automatic salary raises, based on experience alone, react against growth in some cases?

One opinion sometimes advanced is that no objective systems of determining teaching worth have been devised, and therefore if we cannot measure accurately the value of the teacher's contribution, then we should not do it at all. Of course, schools have been sold on the idea of being able to judge student growth in the classrooms, the average teacher feeling that he can draw some rather fine distinctions among students in respect to the growth they have made in a semester or a year. Would the administrator's attempt to determine teacher growth be any more difficult?

Administration's Part

Even if merit were endorsed as a workable factor in a salary policy, such endorsement would not grant the administration the right to abuse its use. Thus the teacher who is not making a satisfactory contribution should be a challenge to supervision, and it is hard to conceive the continual denial of salary increments to this teacher as either a growth incentive or a promising attack upon this teaching problem.

The first few years that a teacher is in a school system are the years in which the administration should put in some hard supervisory licks. If the teacher does not respond in the manner that seems to promise eventual maximum teaching contribution, the administration should face the issue of dismissal rather than to sidestep the issue by keeping the teacher on the payroll but denying the normal increments that other teachers are receiving. The latter action is fair to neither the teacher nor the student.

EXTRA PAY FOR EXTRA SERVICE

One time a teacher who had no home room, when asked to take one for the following semester, suggested to me as the principal that since this constituted an extra assignment perhaps it justified extra salary. This line of reasoning opens a whole new area of the salary question that deserves serious consideration. Namely, if it could be established that equal pay for equal service were a desirable and workable principle, would it follow that extra pay for extra service would be a sound corollary?

What Makes Up the Teaching Job?

How far can a school go in breaking the teaching job down into pieces, each with a monetary value assigned? Should duties such as coaching a team be considered as extra, and thus call for special recognition in the salary plan above the basic pay? If so, what would comprise the job for basic pay — just classroom work? If so, how about the difference between the position that calls for no homework and the one that means much paper work at home? How about home rooms or study halls? How about club duties, class sponsorships, dance chaperoning, and faculty committee membership? Would the job be set up on the time basis, such as from 8:15 to 4:15, with additional salary for those activities calling for time outside this span?

How would the relative value of these activities be determined? Certainly, if a salary-study group were to endorse this principle of extra pay for extra service, it would have to back up its endorsement with rather specific recommendations as to those duties and their financial values, for only by working through these concrete aspects of the problem could it be determined if the principle could be applied.

In the high schools where teachers are paid extra for such work as coaching and serving at the ticket office at the game, has this practice come about because these specific jobs call for extra compensation, or, rather, because the entire salary scale is too low? If all teachers' salaries were ever raised to the level that the professional training calls for, would we be inclined to endorse extra pay for extra service?

If the salary-study committee were to accept or turn down this principle of extra pay for extra service, no doubt such action should have to represent the sentiment of the entire teaching group. Such an issue as this is one that can't be settled by a committee or even by a majority vote. It calls for many hours over the conference table during which the many features of the problem are talked over in a professional way. As treated in the previous chapter, a careful study of the time given to the job by Detroit high-school teachers shows that the academic classroom teacher gives as many hours a week as the athletic coach or the band master.

A Difficult Principle

It is one thing to endorse extra pay for extra service, but it is another to break the teaching job down on a piecework basis in order to put it into practice. It is one thing to deny the principle on the theory that the good teacher participates actively in the total life of the school, but it is another to satisfy the teacher who knows that his program calls for ten or fifteen more working hours a week than his neighbor's. Had there been a right answer to this problem, no doubt the issue would have removed itself from the salary picture long ago.

Somewhat related to this issue of extra pay for extra service is one that we

will merely mention in passing. Based on the theory that a teacher who expects to retire at about sixty-five might look forward to shedding a major part of his extraclass responsibilities at an earlier date, say at fifty-five, would it be advisable to shift major extraclass duties, such as coaching and department headship, to others at that time? If such policy isn't followed, the theory of extra pay for extra service asks teachers with these extra responsibilities to make a maximum contribution in them right up to the end.

THE FACTOR OF TRAINING

A great percentage of the schools that maintain rigid salary schedules make a distinction in salary based on the bachelor's and the master's degrees. For example, five-years experience with the higher degree might call for a couple of hundred dollars more salary a year than five-years experience with the lower.

Going back to the original point of equal pay for equal service, here again, just as in the typical recognition of experience, is an attempt to find a factor that by and large should provide a greater teaching contribution. The backers of this principle conceive that teachers should grow while in service, and since additional schooling implies growth, the schedule would hold out a financial incentive for it. Then, too, the additional salary would help to compensate for the costs of the advanced training.

On the other hand, there are those who pooh-pooh the suggestion that the advanced graduate work can generally be expected to result in greater teaching contribution. Would the person who takes this point of view be consistent if he were to turn around and endorse the principle of extra pay for extra experience? These two issues of experience and training are closely related, for in each case it is implied that additional growth is brought about, and thus additional service is rendered, and thus additional pay is justified. A salary committee might well explain why it would endorse one and reject the other.

Even though the master's degree in itself may not magically make the difference between poor and good teaching, or between good and better teaching, the inclination to earn it indicates a professional interest that most schools want to recognize in a financial manner. The chances of bettering one's contribution are indeed strong through the experience of working for the degree.

SALARY DIFFERENTIALS BASED ON MARITAL STATUS

A final issue that presents itself when salary policies are considered is the proposal of allowing the married man, or the married man with children, a salary differential as distinguished from the single teacher. A related practice, and one not clearly distinguishable from this, is that of allowing the man teacher a salary differential above that of the woman teacher.

Two Markets for Teachers

Advocates of such practices seldom deny the acceptability of the principle of a single salary schedule, of equal pay for equal service, as a theory. They merely make their case on the grounds that a high school should have men for half of its staff, and that its competition with business, industry, and the other professions for the competent men that it needs to balance its staff demands a salary policy that will give it a chance to get these men.

The advocates of this differential point out that on the open market for teachers a competent single teacher can be attracted at a lower figure than a competent married man, the economic factors operating being (1) the competition of other occupations for men, and (2) the matter of living costs in the school district. It is further pointed out that a teacher cannot make a maximum teaching contribution unless an adequate economic adjustment is made to the school community in respect to living, and that the average married man finds this adjustment more difficult than the average single teacher, exceptions to the rule being conceded.

For instance, San Francisco offers $2,700 to a beginning teacher. An unmarried girl coming from the college campus is readily attracted to this salary, but a married man who is just starting out finds it impossible to maintain a home on that figure. Thus the supply of men is immediately cut down.

Dependents

If the factor of supply and demand of competent men were not in the issue, then it might resolve itself merely into one of asking salary consideration for dependents. Then would arise the question of what determines dependency. And if in the salary policy it is professed to recognize dependency other than wife and children, exactly what constitutes it must be set out.

To the single teacher who points out that she has dependents, the married man answers that in addition to his own wife and children he is just as apt to have a father or a mother to support as is the single teacher. He may even say that through marriage he runs the risk of picking up a mother-in-law or a father-in-law as a dependent. If a single teacher wishes to carry the argument farther, she may point out to the married man that in his old age he may look to his children for his security, while she on the other hand needs to build up an adequate fund to support herself in old age.

Since the principle of differential between married and single teachers denies the happy thought of equal pay for equal service, and tends to set women against men in judgments of fair salary procedures, it is neither commonly advocated by educational leaders in the field of school administration nor is it commonly set out by school systems in their printed statements of salary policy. Some school systems, such as Rock Island, Illinois, have successfully operated a system of salary differentials for dependents.

A few years ago the writer compared the salaries of men and women teachers in four township high schools in the suburban areas of Chicago. In all cases, the average for men exceeded that of the women, as revealed in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII *Comparative Salaries Paid Men and Women Teachers, Four High Schools* [1]

		SCHOOL A	SCHOOL B	SCHOOL C	SCHOOL D
All teachers	Average salary	3215	2954	3067	3365
	Median salary	3380	2850	3050	3600
Men teachers	Average	3264	3137	3450	3506
	Median	3430	3000	3525	3600
Women teachers	Average	3167	2795	2747	3239
	Median	3380	2850	2750	3600

As to the distinction that exists between the salaries of men and women in the American high school, it might be guessed that it has resulted from economic factors rather than from any definite feeling that men should be paid more than women or from any open denial of the theory of equal pay for equal service. Do married men receive more than single teachers? The typical answer of administrators is: "We have no differential between married men and single teachers, but in practice we do find that married men are paid more than most women. Men cost more in a market such as we have at the present time, and in most instances men carry heavier extracurricular loads than women."

If salary differentials are made on the grounds that a married teacher must pay more for housing than a single teacher, it must not be assumed that "a room" is adequate for a single teacher. Certainly the single teacher is justified in having an apartment or a house that can be called *home.*

PREPARATION TYPE SCHEDULES

In recent years, there has been a tendency in the larger cities of the nation to establish *the single salary schedule,* which is frequently referred to as *the preparation type schedule.* An example is presented in Table IX.

The Main Features

1. All teachers are treated alike, regardless of teaching level, — elementary, junior high, and senior high.
2. Annual increments are provided on the basis of experience, the teacher moving up automatically on the salary scale until the maximum is reached. The maximum is usually reached within fifteen years.

[1] School year 1942–1943; A — Evanston, B — Highland Park, C — New Trier, and D — Oak Park High Schools, in Illinois.

3. College training as well as experience is a basic factor in determining salary. By establishing two or three parallel ladders of possible advancement, salary differentials are provided in accordance with the amount of college training.

TABLE IX *Basic Single Salary Schedule* [2]

YEAR OF SERVICE	YEARS OF COLLEGE TRAINING		
	Schedule 1	*Schedule 2*	*Schedule 3*
	B.A. or equivalent	B.A. plus 1 year	B.A. plus 2 years
1	2,700	3,000	3,300
2	2,850	3,175	3,500
3	3,000	3,350	3,700
4	3,150	3,525	3,900
5	3,300	3,700	4,100
6	3,450	3,875	4,300
7	3,600	4,050	4,500
8	3,750	4,225	4,700
9	3,900	4,400	4,900
10	4,050	4,575	5,100
11	4,200	4,750	5,300
12	4,350	4,925	5,500
13	4,500	5,100	5,700
14	4,650	5,275	
15	4,800		

Weakness of Schedule

The major error in the preparation type schedule is that it encourages a teacher trainee to complete all of his graduate work before he has ever stepped into a classroom to try his hand at teaching. (See Table IX.)

Graduate work beyond the first college degree means practically nothing to the teacher unless it is taken after he has had some experience in the classroom as a teacher. Graduate study needs to be practical study growing out of and returning to enrich the actual situations that one faces in teaching. If it is done prior to securing teaching experience, it becomes abstract and imaginary.

Furthermore, the wise high-school administrator is one who wishes to help direct the graduate study of his staff members in keeping with the curriculum reorganization that is going on in the local school. For example, the experimental programs discussed in Chapters 4 to 9 of this book are the type that invite the teacher to go back to the college campus during the summer to seek help in curriculum workshops. They are unique programs

[2] As followed in San Francisco, California, at the time this book goes to press.

growing out of local conditions and calling for unique advanced training. The principal has difficulty in leading back to the campus the beginning teacher who enters his first high-school classroom with all of his graduate study.

Another moot question in giving schedule credit for graduate study is that of credit for work beyond the master's degree. It is indeed difficult to establish the contention that a high-school classroom teacher who has a doctorate is a better teacher than the one with a master's. In fact, graduate work beyond the M.A. degree for so many may represent highly specialized work in their special subject fields that tends to make them more subject conscious and less appreciative of the limitations of high-school youth.

With salaries no better than they are, and no better than they promise to be for some time, certainly the school system should give its maximum salaries for the master's degree, and not goad the teacher to chase credits beyond it for mere remuneration. Work beyond should be encouraged, but for truly professional satisfactions. In-service courses and workshops, set up around local problems, mean so much more than campus courses for the doctorate for most classroom teachers.

Principles 3, 4, and 6, as discussed above, — namely, the questions of the recognition of merit, of extra service, and dependents, are ignored completely in this common type of salary schedule that we have just treated. The entire professional load is carried by experience and college training. It is an easy way out, even if not the best way out.

THE SCHOOL DISTRICT'S ABILITY TO PAY

Once all the issues involved in determining a satisfactory salary policy are resolved, there still remains the question of cost to the school district. For instance, when a new schedule is up for adoption, there must be determined not only what it will cost the district next year, but what it will cost the district five years hence, ten years hence, or fifteen years hence. Only then can the practicability of the policy be tested.

How much can the district pay? How much *will* it pay? Most public schools in America receive most of their revenue from taxes on local personal property — in particular, on real estate. As school needs go up school administrators try to get their tax rate increased. If this succeeds, the public still has two means of combating rising school costs, of offsetting a rising tax rate. One is that of getting their property assessments lowered on the plea of normal depreciation of property. The other is tax delinquency. Perhaps there is a fine point some place at which governmental units in their financial demands lose the confidence of the taxpapers to the extent that even raising the tax rate will bring no additional revenue.

It may have been noticed in this presentation that the terms *salary policy* and *salary plan* were used more frequently than the term *salary schedule*. The

latter denotes a more rigid system than the others, and consequently calls for the more definite settlement of the half dozen major issues raised in this chapter. The issues must be settled before the schedule procedure is adopted as the desirable policy. It is no easy matter to construct a salary schedule that will stand the test of practical year-by-year school operation. The Judd Club of the University of Chicago, in studying the high-school districts in that area, found that 27 of the 45 high schools studied had schedules, but that 10 of the 27 had found it necessary to make appointments out of line with the schedule. In other words, only 17 of the 45 had schedules to which they could strictly adhere.

The adoption of a salary schedule is untimely if it has to be set aside, if increments have to be withheld, if teachers' committees immediately set about to change it, and if it ignores many of the major salary issues. *A salary policy should enable a school district to attract and to hold competent personnel. It should enable the teacher to make the living adjustment to the school community that is conducive to good teaching. It should encourage professional growth while in service.*

The National Education Association of the United States, in fighting for better teachers' salaries, has pointed out: Every teacher must keep alive, must have the necessities of *subsistence* — food, clothing, shelter, and health services — for if his standards in these matters are too low his teaching suffers. Every teacher has the usual obligations to himself and his loved ones that call for thrift and *economic independence* to provide for the uncertainties of life. We all have these needs but the teacher has more. He is charged with transmitting the ideals and standards of good living and citizenship, the accumulated culture of democracy. To do this effectively, he must be able to buy books and magazines, to enjoy good music, to travel, and to continue his professional study.

For the sake of society itself, his standard of living must include a *cultural* factor. If teaching — in competition with other professions — is to attract and hold our ablest young men and women, salaries might be high enough to justify the long preparation and the quality of work required. Provision must be made for *professional improvement* in determining teachers' salaries.

SERVICE IN RETURN

The improvement of public support of education, including naturally the improvement of the salaries of teachers, is dependent ultimately upon the improvement of the service that the schools return to the supporting public. There is no better talking point for increased school revenues than good schools themselves. Each individual teacher must recognize this basic truth, and must recognize that every weak classroom represents just that much less public confidence — just that much less chance of bringing forth the necessary funds. The rebuttal will bring out the fact that poor schools and poor classrooms are due to inadequate support. This is true to a degree, but the

profession must take the first step to right the wrong. *Two wrongs never made a right.*

Teachers who organize into pressure groups to work for better salaries must sooner or later show just as much concern about their inefficient and ineffective colleagues as they show about their own salaries. Adequate salary scales provided by the public in turn demand adequate teaching returns in *all* the classrooms of the school system. Teachers who step in to help the superintendent secure top salaries must also help him secure top performance in the classrooms.

It is hardly the administrator's place to sit back and to ask the board each year how much it would like to spend for salaries. He should be a student of school finance in general and of the local situation in particular. He is the agent for the teachers, and only in so far as he discharges this duty properly may he expect to maintain the staff morale necessary for a good instructional program. The traitor to his profession is the superintendent who tries to show the board of education how efficient he is by holding teachers' salaries down to a minimum. Thank goodness that such chief school officers are few and far between.



THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR HIGH SCHOOL

Chapter

15

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP

Secondary education in America ceases to be merely the task of handing on the achievements of the past, ossified instructional programs are in disrepute, the findings of psychology have leveled further criticism against the high-school curriculum, a naturalness is beginning to characterize pupil-teacher relationships, the curriculum overflows the sacred walls of the classroom, there is a new emphasis upon democracy in economic and social relationships in American life — all of which make it impossible to defend further the traditional technical and authoritarian concept of administrative leadership that American education borrowed from industrial and military management.

IS THERE A LEADER IN THE HOUSE?

Somebody is asking — or is about to ask — the Board of Education embarrassing questions such as these about the free public high school that stands for equality of educational opportunity:

1. Why do almost half of the ninth graders drop out of school before graduation?
2. Why do the high-school youth from well-to-do families participate in the extracurricular activities of the school more than do those youth who come from the underprivileged homes?
3. Why is the average I.Q. of the students of the twelfth-grade class of a public high school quite a few points higher than the average I.Q. of the students of the ninth-grade class or the tenth-grade class?
4. Why does it cost the typical student about $125 a year to attend the free public high school, these costs not including such other essentials as shelter, food, clothing, and transportation?
5. Why do teachers persist in marking pupils against a single class standard, when a normal class of high-school youth will show a range of six or seven years in reading ability?

6. Why do principals and teachers continue to state the objectives of secondary education in terms of what people do in the world, and at the same time persist in following an academic curriculum organized as a logical and scholastic division of the culture of the past into fields of study?
7. Why is it that the lower the position of the father on the economic ladder, the sooner his son or daughter will drop out of high school?
8. Why is it that the high school today is not serving as great a percentage of the youth of high-school age as it did back in 1942?

Are the leaders to be forgiven? School leadership can be forgiven for failure to be concerned about such questions in the past. It is human nature to deal with the immediate problems and to postpone the less demanding, and this tendency has been strongly operative in the case of the American high school. The rapid influx of youth into schools soon after the turn of the century first called for managerial qualities in the leadership. The crowded classroom was a surface demand of more immediate concern than the program that was being offered there. A system of accounting for students, with its records, units, credits, and marks was of more practical importance than the philosophy underlying it. American public secondary education, coming with a rush after the court decisions legalizing it in the eighteen-seventies, has never before allowed time for the armchair creation of purposes. Any philosophical planning the administration has done in respect to the instructional heart of the school has been done on foot, during the actual operation of the plant.

But things are different today. The low birth rates of the late depression years and the declining holding-power of the high school have relieved today's school of the pressure of student numbers, a relief that enables the administration and staff to turn their attention to such questions as the eight above. A democratic leadership is asked for, a leadership that commands the confidence of teachers and students alike. Educational foresight and fortitude are asked in such matters as (1) selecting teachers, (2) capitalizing upon the unique contributions of each, (3) recognizing the needs of teachers, (4) enabling teachers and pupils to share in determining school policies, (5) developing democratic supervision, (6) incorporating curriculum planning with the program of supervision, and (7) evaluating honestly the leadership values in the position of the department headship. What can be expected of the principalship in moving in such directions as these is the concern of this chapter.

Administrative Rationalization in Teacher Selection

As we come to appreciate that a really good school is something more than the sum of the isolated parts represented by teachers working in their individual classrooms, we are also forced to sound the warning that the school with a minimum of teacher turnover must struggle all the harder to prevent its curriculum from becoming ossified beyond supervisory redemption.

Generally speaking, in the financially well-to-do school districts, teachers tend to remain longer in appreciation of the security that is presented them. In turn, this economic well-being of the teachers may tend to establish with them a feeling of advanced professional satisfaction that may lead to no good for Johnny and Mary, who deserve to grow. Supervisory leadership must always beware of a school full of *teachers who have arrived*, of prima donnas, each a self-assured master in his special field with a pride in his mastery more pronounced than his feeling of the whole development of the youth he would serve.

Harmony will never come from a miscellaneous lot of instructional instruments each pitched to satisfy the individualistic whims of the one who is playing it. The curriculum represents a highly sensitive instrument demanding that each play his part in accordance with a master plan that has been determined co-operatively by teachers and instructional leaders, due consideration having been given to student thought and nature. Good leadership will see that the individuality of teachers is not lost. The administrator's responsibility to the continuous improvement of instruction doesn't end with the creation of adequate salary scales and the careful selection of teachers. He must enable every teacher to grow on the job.

High schools that set previous experience and the master's degree as teaching requirements tend — perhaps unknowingly — to substitute a system of teacher selection for a program of instructional leadership.

In many of the more economically favored high schools of the country, it is common practice to deny appointment to a teacher unless he has previously taught for two, three, five, or so years in other schools. The master's degree, which in itself usually denotes teaching experience, is not uncommon as a requirement for appointment in the high schools of such districts. In the city systems that maintain a salary differential between elementary- and secondary-school teachers, the advanced degree is often asked of those who would teach in the upper school.

The administration receives security from experienced teachers. As we consider the responsibilities for supervisory leadership, and what it is that makes schools better places for boys and girls to live and grow in, we naturally study this not uncommon practice in teacher selection, to see what the premises are behind the placement of a premium upon experience. The administration of such a school is perhaps thinking along the lines of one or two of these premises:

1. There is a risk in taking a beginner.
2. The experienced teacher, or at least the one *we* would select, has demonstrated his ability, and is no longer a risk.
3. In general, experienced teachers, as opposed to beginners, make for stability of classrooms.

4. A young teacher may still be too immature to work properly with high-school youth.
5. Older teachers make for a better disciplined school.
6. Experienced teachers call for less administrative attention, and there are so many details to take an administrator's time.

Without taking the time to question the soundness of such reasoning, we will go directly to the relationship of this practice to the in-service training of teachers. It has been rather clearly established that, in general, high-school principals do not find the time that they think they would like to find for classroom supervision and the attendant steps of improving instruction. This being the case, in practice it has also been rather clearly established that, the time thus being limited, the teachers who are having difficulties are most deserving of supervisory attention.

Naturally, the beginning teachers are given the major share of such a supervisor's time, the reasoning being that in general the teacher of some standing knows what he is doing and is in no urgent need of help. Under this pattern of thinking and acting, in the high school that has no beginning teachers, but has only those who have shown themselves to be good classroom managers elsewhere, the principal as supervisory officer who feels rushed for time is thus further relieved of the absolute necessity of visiting classes. For some reason, school administration too often has jumped to the conclusion that a well-ordered classroom is assurance of a well-taught classroom. *As a system of selecting teachers is polished, so the system of supervision often becomes tarnished.*

Thus, the administrator who asks that any teacher who is going to toss questions to the students of his school must first have established his steadiness in the bush leagues, is in reality passing over to instructional leaders in the less financially favored school districts the job of giving his teachers the supervisory guidance that they need in those important and formative first years of teaching. It would seem that the school principal would hesitate to exchange this supervisory birthright for a bowl of administrative pottage.

When the judgment day for educators rolls around, and the principals of the less financially fortunate schools line up at the Gate, we trust that from the letters of flaming gold in the record book of school deeds, St. Peter will read something like this, "Joe Doaks, you stuck to your own small supervisory gun, but in doing so you trained four teachers for Vanderbilt Hills High School to your left, three for Sherwood Forest School to your right, two for Astor Place Preparatory School on the hill above you, and two more for the Warren G. Harding High School over in the Thaddeus P. Whitney section of your neighboring city. Please enter, and take one of the super deluxe plush-bottomed chairs on my right."

But when that day arrives, it will matter little if these principals of the smaller or less financially fortunate high schools be given full credit for the

work that they have done in preparing young teachers to move into the big leagues, for they are receiving their reward on earth. They are the ones who are having the fun and the satisfaction of associating from day to day, and from year to year, with the enthusiastic young beginner who is all over the lot as she seeks to perfect her pedagogical pitching and fielding. She is not sensitive about her errors, there is no superficial pride about her techniques. She likes the game, she likes the kids, and the clock in the schoolhouse has not yet taken on any great significance in the life of her teaching day. If there is a moral to this tale, it is that *extra school revenue in itself does not necessarily beget extra school instruction.* The challenge to administrative and supervisory leadership is still there.

Because his experience has led him to believe that the young woman beginner has a more difficult time of adjustment to a high-school situation than the beginning man teacher, the writer has emphasized this situation in this section.

BEGINNING TEACHERS NEED HELP

School administration, if it is to capitalize upon the unique contribution of each new teacher, must protect such teachers against the status quo that is represented in these and similar remarks that their elder colleagues are known to have frequently welcomed them with:

"You will find out differently after you have taught awhile."
"I tried that many years ago; it won't work."
"That's what I thought too when I was your age."
"You're just making more work for yourself."

The high school needs to capitalize upon the creativeness of the beginning teacher, and to establish with her from the beginning a feeling of belonging to and being wanted by the school and the profession.

School administration has not yet learned how to preserve the spontaneity and enthusiasm, the new and the promising, that the young teacher brings with her to her first job. We let her lose her ideas in the accumulation from the past that clutters up the old place. We see her gradually shift her interest from life to academic routine as she accepts one by one the timeworn practices of those about her who daily go through their paces with such assurance — those whose help is too often limited to such remarks as those above.

There are some high schools in America in which the very sight of a young woman beginner shakes the security of some of the older women on the faculty, even before the beginner has ever expressed an idea in the faculty meeting or tried a trick of her own in the classroom. Here the principal's sympathy and his protective measures need to be extended in both directions. Ideas of beginners sometimes represent a threat to the security and prestige

of some older colleagues. Maybe this inability to see life realistically reflects a portion of the unreality of the classrooms in which some teachers have been in almost solitary confinement for so many years. We can feel sorry for the older teacher who psychologically goes into a tail spin in the presence of a well-groomed, intelligent, and self-possessed beginner — a beginner whose age is on the sunny side of the matrimonial ledger, and whose undergraduate training has included a few new tricks of our trade.

One of the steps taken by some administrators, with more or less success, to bridge this gap between the two groups has been to designate a forward-looking experienced teacher as an adviser to a beginner, first being assured that this teacher fully appreciates the necessity of encouraging the individuality and resourcefulness of the beginner. This step in most instances tends to offset a feeling on the part of the experienced group that the old place is being sold out to the beginners.

THE NEEDS OF BEGINNING TEACHERS

The discredit that comes to beginners usually springs from their lack of experience. However, it must be remembered that research has not yet established a positive correlation between the number of years taught and the quality of the job done. There even comes a time when the administrator discredits experience a bit as he looks forward to a particular teacher reaching the retirement age.

Credit Where Credit Is Due

As to knowing children, the woman teacher of age twenty-three is more apt to have recently lived with them in her own home than is the average woman teacher of age forty or fifty. As to knowing youth, the younger teacher is more apt to have recently associated with them in their out-of-school activities than is her older colleague. As to original preparation, certainly the college training for teaching today is much more scientifically and humanistically advanced than was the undergraduate program of twenty-five or thirty years ago. But as to classroom control, it is here that the beginning teacher is lacking in experience, for, thank goodness, there are but few situations in life besides the classroom that afford such training. The standard dictionary has this definition to give of the word *discipline:* "order as maintained in a schoolroom, military organization, or prison."

Needs among teachers vary just as they do among pupils, for here also no two individuals are alike, but in general perhaps beginners have these needs in common:

1. To feel important in the teaching role
2. To experience early success in the classroom
3. To be encouraged to use their own distinct methods

4. To feel the support and the stability of a well-regulated school but not to the extent of feeling it as a check upon initiative and individuality
5. To be protected against the disparaging attitudes of more experienced teachers
6. To be helped in understanding individual pupils, the absence of such help leading to discipline problems, frustration, and perhaps failure

Early membership on an important faculty committee, and administrative assistance in being established as a contributing member of the school organization who has something worth hearing, will go far in helping to establish a beginner as a full-fledged faculty member. Importance and success can come to the beginners with no loss of prestige to the more experienced staff members.

Rigid courses of study, uniformity in instructional materials such as workbooks, uniformity in departmental examinations, and similar patterns team up with statutory attitudes to subdue the young teacher and to whip her into line with traditional practice. Teachers who are so sure of their practices need to recall that, just because a thing has been done a certain way for twenty-five or thirty years in the school, the practice has not necessarily passed the experimental stage. If the school challenges the ideas of the beginner, it is obliged to show that the existing practice which it would instead retain is educationally sound. School administrators need not offer apologies for experiments that teachers may carry on in their classrooms, for so many of the practices carried over from yesterday are still in the experimental stage. The ideal school situation is one in which beginners learn from experienced teachers, and vice versa.

The Value of Training

School administration, if it can but capitalize upon the new ideas that come in with the new teachers, will do much to assure the progress that it constantly seeks through in-service training. If the newer ideas in education are good enough to send the experienced teacher back to the training school for, why aren't they good enough to encourage the beginner's use of them from the very day she sets foot in the school? In absorbing a beginner into the school, we first let the machine engulf the worker; and then, in later years we set out to help the worker rise again to master the machine — and we call this latter process in-service training. We haven't yet dared name the total wasteful process.

THE DETERMINATION OF SCHOOL POLICY

Teacher participation in the determination of school policy is now quite common all over the country. Education is a state responsibility in America, but in every one of the states it is appreciated that local initiative and adaptability require the development of policies on the local level. Although some

states impose more regulations than others, there will never be a highly centralized control of local school units in the state office of education.

All members of the professional staff of a school system are responsible not only for the education of the pupils but for the development of the schools themselves. This means they must accept responsibility for helping to determine school policy, working through representative smaller groups of the larger number. The result of their work, be it recommendations about salaries or about instructional programs, must find its way back to the board of education and thus into school policy.

Such participation of teachers does not take the place of executive responsibility in giving leadership and in carrying policies into effect. Adequate administrative personnel needs to be supplied, adequate in numbers and in abilities. Once it has participated in determining school policies, through proper representation, the teaching staff is then obliged to accept the policies finally determined.

Teacher participation in the determination of school policy has become so common in American school operation that it is sometimes not appreciated. The following represent some of the common areas of school administration in which teacher groups participate today:

1. Assembly programs
2. Professional building meetings, once called principal's meetings
3. Teacher tenure
4. Testing and measurement programs
5. Guidance and counseling program
6. Development of home reports
7. Public relations program
8. Parent-teacher meetings and activities
9. Salary policies and schedules
10. Teaching load — class size, number of classes, etc.
11. Curriculum reorganization
12. Requirements for graduation
13. Honors and awards to students
14. Student and teacher participation in school government
15. School's relationships with other youth-serving agencies
16. Development of marking system
17. Classification and progress of students
18. The program of athletics, intramural and interscholastic
19. Selection of books and other teaching materials
20. Determination of instructional needs, such as supplies and equipment
21. Miscellaneous extracurricular activities
22. School control

How much this intergroupal activity of teachers, administrators, pupils, and supervisors represents chance action and how much it represents a keen appreciation of democratic processes can hardly be said. For years educators have been weaving the words democracy and co-operation into their convention addresses, the journals of education, the superintendent's annual report, the curriculum committee's meeting, the proceedings of the board of education meeting, and the principal's faculty meeting. Cut these two words from the pages of the educational journals and other writings of the past few years, and the bulk of the profession's literature world indeed look riddled. Any school system needs to examine the participation of its teachers in committee work and extraclass duties to see if such activity meets the requirements of democratic school administration.

DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Democratic school administration is nothing more or less than the active participation of the teaching staff in the development of administrative policy, with such participation being shared with students whenever it is apparent that the latter can profit educationally through such action. The application of this basic principle of the American way of life — the pooling of ideas and action in the co-operative management of the civic affairs of the group — is dependent in school operation upon two things: (1) the faith of those in authority in the principle of democratic administration, and (2) the willingness of the teachers and the students to give the time and attention to the welfare of the group that is implied in this democratic process.

Realities in the school situation must be considered. Will teachers be willing to stay after school to work as committee members in studying curriculum problems, or would they rather follow the easier pattern of having somebody above select and hand them the basic text and the rigid course outline to be followed? Will they be willing to attend summer workshops to study improvement in the guidance and counseling program, the salary schedule, and the home reporting system, or would they rather leave the hard work to the administrators?

As to the desire of students to sacrifice their leisure time to help solve the problems of the school, and to assume office responsibilities in managing their own affairs, there has been evidence presented in carefully conducted studies that high-school youth who are on the point of leaving school are reluctant to assume responsibility for civic co-operation, or to commit themselves to action which will involve personal effort or sacrifice. In respect to civic affairs around the school, "Let George do it" has too often been the prevailing philosophy.

In other words, it is easier to endorse this basic principle of democracy than it is to carry it out. School administrators and teachers need to appreciate the difficulties of following the straight and narrow American path, the

main difficulty being the one of overcoming the natural inclinations of human beings.

In his intense interest in running his school just right, it is human nature for the principal to give the right answers himself rather than to go through the longer and more deliberate process of study by teacher committees. As he tries to divide his time among the many interesting things that life presents, it is human nature for the teacher to like the security of a school situation set up for him by the administration above. In his desire to be accepted as a good sport with the gang, it is human nature for the high-school student to back away from student office such as study-hall monitor in which he may have to take action against his friends. It is human nature for him to prefer the security of a study-hall situation managed by teachers.

In the classroom, it is easier for the teacher to determine the needs of all class members and to make all the assignments and give all the marks accordingly, rather than to provide for democratic pupil-teacher planning in which the ideas of all are co-operatively pooled in providing for the educational welfare of all.

Democratic school administration implies not only the freedom to co-operate in running the school, but also the responsibility of putting in the time and energy necessary to secure the benefits of such freedom. There is nothing automatic about the American way of life. It is the way of life that calls for the ideas and thus the work of the greatest number of people. The authoritarian way of life asks for the ideas and thus the work of the smallest number of people. Democratic school administration can be achieved, but only through proper understanding and planning. It is largely a matter of human relationships and processes of working together. Autocratic school administration is more apt to be the result of human lethargy than the intention of school leadership.

GOOD SUPERVISION MEANS GOOD RELATIONSHIPS

Supervision in the improvement of instruction is calling loudly for a new relationship between principal and staff, a relationship that can qualify as co-operation. The whole tradition of the movement stands as a wall that threatens to throw the call back as a feeble echo. Undemocratic is the traditional pattern that sees supervision as primarily the improvement of teachers through classroom observation of the performance, with emphasis upon weaknesses, and follow-up conferences to provide criticism. Undemocratic is the concept of supervision that emphasizes levels of authority, weaknesses of teachers, and right answers possessed only by those in authority. The writer will never forget his first supervisory position in a public school system. As he made his first rounds among the classrooms of the city a common response of the teachers was, "Now just let me know what you want me to do, and I'll be happy to do it."

Dependence of Teacher upon Administrator

It is perhaps difficult for the average school administrator to appreciate the utter dependence of the classroom teacher upon the administration for everything from his salary and his job itself on down to the most inexpensive piece of classroom equipment, in short, for much of the comfort, security, and effectiveness he seeks in his work.

The rapid growth of the public schools this century has brought with it an increasing complexity in management that has pushed the teacher farther and farther away from the actual sources of regulation and control. Each semester he makes out elaborate reports of pupil attendance that go first to the local central office and then on into the state department, on the basis of which funds will be distributed for local expenses, such as salaries and supplies. Certain courses are prescribed by the state for all who would graduate from high school, and state boards of education often indicate the textbooks to be used in courses.

In many states the teacher is required to take a loyalty oath. He must know the many laws and legal decisions of the state, dealing with school matters, to enable him to carry on his work within the limitations prescribed. In one state he may be liable for the injury received accidentally by a student in his class, while in another he is safe from all such suits. These are all matters of concern to a principal who thinks in terms of staff morale as a prerequisite for the emergence of democratic supervision in his school.

Complex Organization

The large school system has increased its staff of supervisory and administrative officers, multiplying the number of people who stand between the teacher and the superintendent. Directors, co-ordinators A and B, assistants to the assistants, and miscellaneous titles make it exceedingly difficult for the classroom teacher to understand the growing complexity of his staff relationships. No matter how graphic the chart, or how theoretical the statements issued, in the end he can judge this supervisory and administrative array only on the basis of help rendered.

He knows that the director of guidance, the director of audio-visual aids, the assistant superintendent in charge of secondary education, the curriculum co-ordinator, and the supervisor of art all emanate from the downtown office, and are, therefore, at least physically closer to the superintendent than he. It is but a step to the assumption that the positions are inspectional in function. Thus with the possibility of widening the gap between teacher and the central source of administration, staff morale and loyalty, the very lifeblood of the educational program, are taxed to the limit.

The superintendent's office must protect the classroom teacher against the overenthusiasm of too many supervisory officers, who in their eagerness

to work democratically may make too many overlapping demands upon the time of the teacher. As the new art director, curriculum co-ordinator, or other official attempts to develop his position, to adjust himself to the system, it is likewise an unsettled period for the teacher with whom his work brings him in contact. For in addition to the teacher time in committee work that the new and professionally earnest supervisor may ask, there must be considered the mere uneasiness that comes in developing relationships to those who have not worked together before.

Democratic Supervision Is Not Automatic

The staff officer who sets up teacher committees to revise the course of study, to plan the home-room guidance program, or to select teaching films, does so with democracy in his soul, rather than to prepare the materials or to make the decisions himself and to pass them on to the teachers. However, many a principal or instructional officer has misinterpreted teacher committee membership as teacher participation in co-operative school control. Democratic supervision does not come automatically with the establishment of teacher committees and the assignment of duties. Committee work may be nothing more than the mere execution of duties assigned. The administrator who uses teacher groups in this manner is little more than a benevolent despot.

Some teachers undertake such extraclass work because of ambition, some because of professional loyalty, some because of professional interest, some because they feel obliged to do so, and some because they appreciate the opportunity to share in planning the school program. If teachers are overloaded with work, even the worthy motives in this list cannot operate. Administrators need to count ten before appointing a new committee to study the latest problem.

The tendency for teachers to look to organizations outside the long-existent purely professional associations for the protection of their welfare is further evidence that there may be a gap between administration and teaching force challenging improved relationship and school organization.

SUPERVISION AS CURRICULUM REORGANIZATION

Curriculum development as a co-operative activity of teachers, supervisors, and administrators offers supervision its opportunity to free itself from its tight and tidy beginnings, and to move over from a position of service in efficiency of school operation to one of service to pupil and teacher growth. Such teacher growth would not be the focal point as in the past, nor would it be of the critical individualized type. The continuous reorganization of the instructional program — with proper pupil growth as the goal, an accepted duty of the school that professes to pay returns on the public investment — promises teacher development if carried out on a co-operative basis. Such

development of the teacher would not be the focal point, as was the improvement of teacher weakness in the early pattern of supervision. Rather, such development of the teacher would be a natural product of the participation and interest in a co-operative enterprise in school improvement.

This proposed program sees administrative policy and supervisory activity as a common enterprise of principal, staff officer, and teacher. As early as 1916, George D. Strayer, veteran leader in school administration, pleaded for democratic leadership in these words:

> Successful supervisory officers are learning that it is advantageous, insofar as possible, to secure the participation of teachers in the development of supervisory and administrative policies. For example, in the making of the courses of study, the contribution of the teacher of the grade is just as important as that of the supervisory officer, or of the subject-matter expert. Indeed there can be no satisfactory teaching of a course of study without that understanding and appreciation on the part of teachers which is best secured by having them contribute largely to the preparation of it.
>
> Teachers' meetings cease to be a bore when it is understood that it is in this democratic assembly that the policies which are to govern the school system are to be developed. In many school systems a series of meetings by grades, or groups which have special interests, have been continued over a year or more in order to develop a course of study, or to discuss administrative policies, or for professional study which looks toward the improvement of the schools.[1]

Thirty years later, Strayer, in addressing the National Education Association, was still campaigning for the same cause. In his address, "Why Teacher Participation in School Administration?" he made such statements as these:

> The democratic administration of schools requires that the best thought of all teachers be made available to administrative officers and to laymen who have been given responsibility for the determination of responsibility.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> There can never be a sound administration that is not based upon the expectation of professional contributions from all members of the staff.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Co-operation of all members of the professional staff, based upon common ideals, has been the means employed by successful administrators in the development of more efficient schools.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Teachers must participate in the development of administrative policies.

Merging Supervision and Curriculum Study

For some time now the expert in curriculum planning has lost ground to teacher groups. Supervision has been tying itself directly into curriculum reorganization, and attempting to achieve its possibilities through the improve-

[1] George D. Strayer, *Some Problems in City School Administration* (Reprint from the Butte, Montana, survey report), World Book Company, 1916, pp. 187–188.

ment of certain more or less isolated phases of the school program. In the large system, for instance, the art supervisor sets out to develop a better program of art. Committees are formed that turn into workshop groups developing new materials and learning new techniques.

The next year the supervisor follows the new materials into the classrooms as such materials are being transposed into learning experiences of the students. Other supervisors similarly develop teaching guides and materials in their fields with other groups. Teacher growth is anticipated in this endeavor, but it comes as a result of attention upon the curriculum rather than upon the weaknesses of the teacher.

Certain weaknesses are apparent. The improvement of instruction is limited to the specific phases of the curriculum understudy, and even if all departments are eventually at work it may propagate departmental interests. The attention, although on the improvement of instruction, is centered on the particular area under observation, and for that reason tends to promote that field at the expense of a broader philosophy. If the English teachers are set to work to reconstruct the English program it can be assured that more rather than fewer English courses will be recommended. Another weakness is that some ambitious supervisors tend to use only the outstanding teachers for such work, thus missing the chance to use curriculum planning as a means to teacher growth.

All of these weaknesses can be corrected or avoided if but recognized as pitfalls by administrative leaders. There is no reason that curriculum reorganization cannot move forward on a broad front that sidesteps the limitations of special subject emphasis. There is no reason that practically all teachers, over a period of time, cannot be touched in this co-operative approach.

Shifting Attention from Teacher

The promise of a worthy instructional program depends upon curriculum reorganization that focuses attention upon the pupil as a growing individual and the curriculum as a vital part of the learning environment through which growth is to take place. Such an approach cannot begin with the traditional subject curriculum, department by department. The whole learning situation is the approach.

It is here that supervision finds its calling. It is not an end in itself, but is justified only as means to proper pupil growth and development, the same justification that curriculum revision has. If this growth depends upon a restatement of philosophy, the development of courses and materials, the inclusion of more community and out-of-school facilities, the tryout of the program, the administration and management of the program, and an evaluation of progress, then supervision as well as curriculum reorganization is all of this, and the two move together as one.

THE DEPARTMENT HEADSHIP

A unique position in the high school's supervisory scheme of things is the department headship — a position calling for much more study than the short comment that can be made here. Where the position came from is much easier to determine than where it is trying to go. *Sired by a respect of the seniority of teachers, and foaled by the pressure of administrative details in the principal's office, the high-school department headship first saw the light of day in a schoolhouse that was giving shelter to a dozen highly specialized subject departments.* Among the factors that suggested such a position were these:

1. High schools were doubling their enrollments every decade, and the mounting details of administration led the principal to look for help.
2. The presence of seven or eight English teachers in a school that once had one or two suggested a head teacher in handling the routine of the department.
3. It seemed natural to find extra recognition in position and stipend for teachers of seniority.
4. The common acceptance of the subject curriculum, with its sharp separation of subject departments, suggested that any new positions established might well be pointed toward strengthening this curriculum pattern.

Nobody has dared say whether the headship of a subject department is an administrative or a supervisory post. Statements of purpose might indicate instructional leadership, but actions in the majority of cases might indicate administrative assistance to the principal's office. Although the position in nature is not nearly as well crystallized as that of principal or classroom teacher, the department headship seems to have developed some distinguishing characteristics. Among the most common practices are these:

1. The position carries approximately two or three hundred dollars extra salary in the city systems.
2. The department head is appointed by the principal.
3. Seniority is a stronger factor in the appointment than is progressive leadership.
4. The teaching load of the department head is one class lighter than that of a regular teacher.
5. In the larger schools, headships are usually found in these subject fields: English, social studies, mathematics, commerce, home economics, science, art, music, physical education, industrial arts, and foreign languages. Agriculture is recognized in rural areas.
6. In the more traditionally academic setups, there may be more than one headship in foreign languages.
7. The department head is often consulted in the selection of teachers for the department, but seldom wants to take any responsibility in the dismissal of a teacher.

8. He is most active at registration and schedule-making time, helping to determine the number of sections and the class assignments of teachers.
9. He acts as an intermediary, in the line-and-staff organization, between the teacher and the principal.
10. He leads the department in the selection of new textbooks.
11. He seldom observes the teaching of the teachers in his department. Any discussion of their work that he may engage in with the principal is more apt to be based on hearsay from students or other teachers than on actual observation of classroom teaching.
12. He feels and shows a deep loyalty to his subject field. It is not uncommon for him to lead the agitation for more requirements for graduation in that field. He professes no knowledge of other subject fields, leaving it to other department heads to speak for themselves in faculty meeting.

The obligation of the subject department head from the conception of the position has been to his own field of work. He was not chosen as an instructional leader, nor was he expected to have a broad vision of the instructional program. In those schools that have developed core programs, cutting across subject fields, and resulting in broader courses, department heads have seldom acted as the spearhead of such a movement. Their loyalty has caused many of them to come along with such movements, but such action has usually been forced by curriculum directors, principals, or others who set the stage for change.

Even more so than the principalship, the subject department headship is a post that can be expected to defend the status quo in respect to the high-school curriculum. Any school may have its farsighted department head who wishes to sacrifice standard practice for the sake of a curriculum built around life activities of youth, but for every such head there are two or three others who would rather strengthen the existing subject order than to have it put to the test of functional education.

THE POSSIBILITIES OF THE PRINCIPALSHIP

To what heights can the principalship be expected to rise in meeting the complex demands of the modern school situation, in leading the modernization of secondary education? Upon the answer to this question is largely dependent the continued existence of the public high school as a vital institution in American life.

His Unique Position

Needless to say, the three-fourths of our secondary schools that are less than 300 pupils in enrollment are highly dependent upon the principal for vision and leadership. And even in the other fourth, the larger high schools, his is the position that is close to the teachers. Leadership of other staff officers

in the larger school systems is ineffectual unless it is teamed up with the principalship.

The principal occupies a unique position in the school system that is seeking to assure the teacher a greater part in the management of this common enterprise, the improvement of secondary education. He is the center of a web of interrelationships, teacher-pupil, teacher-supervisor, teacher-parent, teacher-teacher, and teacher-superintendent, into any of which either authoritarian or democratic processes may be injected, out of any of which may come nothing or much in the development of a better school. His position is the crossroads of High School Operations, Inc.

The simple, compact, and on the surface more efficient administration is that which clamps down the lid of authority; the more difficult and yet the more humane and promising is that which dispenses with the lid and encourages maximum teacher and pupil participation and growth. The former calls for a strong-armed principal who feels sure of his answers, the latter for a principal with strong democratic ideals rather than a strong arm, one with humane understanding reinforced with professional training and ability to work well with people. His first step is not to have to get the teacher in the mood for supervision, but to allow for the natural establishment of a working relationship that instills mutual confidence and thus paves the way for the improvement of the school.

The principal doesn't supervise teachers and pupils if his supervisory program is synonymous with school improvement; he supervises the whole school learning situation as it functions as the means toward the educational purposes that have co-operatively been determined. Such organization for supervision calls for the staff to work together as a social unit. The planning from the beginning is centered in the group rather than in the principalship. As teachers thus promote their own growth, departmental lines and subject-matter traditions weaken along with other traditional practices that find their being in habit rather than in reason.

Studies of the Principalship

Judged on the basis of the actual demands that have been made upon the position, the high-school principalship has behind it a history of successful performance perhaps unparalleled by any other position in the system of organized American education. Even though professors of education, authors of texts on school supervision, and educational theorists in general have emphasized the improvement of the instructional program as the major duty of the principal, the actual demands made upon the position have not come from these sources, but from the superintendent, the board of education, and the layman. A well-managed school was desired, and he wisely sought his goal through administrative organization and management rather than through the less orderly avenue of instructional change and reorganization.

A torn-up curriculum, in the minds of efficiency-minded board members and superintendents, can be just as disconcerting as torn-up pavement on Main street resulting from the traffic improvement plan, or as the intensive spring house cleaning that we experienced as kids. If the fixed instructional program can be taken for granted as the thing to be administered, high-school administration can and has, in many instances, become a thing of beauty and pride.

The interest of the principal in the managerial aspects of the job has repeatedly been a subject for comment in educational literature. The ease and facility with which the principal has regimented the increasing high-school population this century has been little short of miraculous. Keeping pace with the decade-by-decade doubling of the enrollment from 1890 to 1940, school administration shouldered the load, bringing office clerks, filing cabinets, larger waiting rooms, and longer office counters and "mourners' benches" to the rescue. It is quite easy for the mechanics of school organization to become ends in themselves.

Hundreds of good studies have been made the past fifteen years of the high-school principalship and its potentialities. The summaries of a few of these follow.

UNITED STATES OFFICE OF EDUCATION STUDY. Recently the United States Office of Education made a status study of the public high-school principalship from the 561 returns to a questionnaire sent to 715 principals. In Floyd Farmer's summary of the study stand out these points of interest.[2]

1. Most high-school principals are married men.
2. About 45 per cent are in the forty-five to sixty-five age group.
3. High-school principals in the New England states teach more periods per day than do those in other geographical areas.
4. The principal has done approximately one year of graduate work beyond his last degree, the median by geographical area ranging from 19.1 hours in the Southern states to 31.2 in the Northwest states. Nearly three-fourths of the group studied have their master's degree.
5. Principals in the smaller schools earned more credit hours the last five years than their colleagues in the larger schools.
6. Most principals attended colleges in the states in which they now serve, with exceptions found most frequently in the New England states and in the larger high schools.
7. In college they participated in the extracurricular activities normally followed by the average student.
8. Over 90 per cent had educational experience before becoming a principal. Over 80 per cent were high-school teachers prior to appointment.
9. Half came to the principalship from some other school.
10. The median years in the present principalships studied is four.

[2] Floyd M. Farmer, "The Public High-School Principalship," *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals*, April, 1948, pp. 82–91.

11. The median years in other principalships of the group studied is five.

12. The nonteaching work experience most frequently engaged in by high-school principals is in the clerical and sales occupations.

13. The median annual salary is $3,611.

14. Many contribute articles to educational journals.

15. Principals are active, as far as membership is concerned, in the local, state, regional, and national professional organizations.

16. Most principals affiliate with some socio-religious organization, with about 40 per cent actively participating. More than half are members of civic or fraternal organizations.

17. In the summer the average principal relaxes, does college work, or travels. Over 30 per cent indicated their intention of going to school the following summer.

18. The percentage who read professional literature is small.

19. The quality of the nonprofessional magazines and books read is not high, the choice following that of the general public.

20. In comparing the status of the position with the Eikenberry study of 1923, the present study indicates that the public high-school principalship has made great strides in professional growth the past twenty-five years.

ECKHARDT'S STUDY OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL PRINCIPALSHIP IN RELATIONSHIP TO CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT. One of the most recent doctoral studies on the subject of what can be expected from the high-school principal in curriculum leadership is that completed by John W. Eckhardt in California. He set out to discover, analyze, and evaluate the activity of principals in the area of instructional improvement.[3] The principalships actually studied were those in California.

The results of the study, points out Eckhardt, imply that the high-school principal must realize that he is ultimately responsible for leadership in any curriculum endeavors occurring within his school. The curriculum activities of principals, as revealed in the study, suggest some implications which might favor such instructional reorganization, and others that might retard it.

Those which are apt to retard the progress of curriculum reorganization are:

1. Principals are neglecting to utilize pupil resources in curriculum reorganization; seldom do pupils participate in actual curriculum construction.

2. Principals are neglecting to utilize lay resources even more than pupil resources.

3. Principals will do well to investigate and employ more acceptable and democratic methods of selecting instructional materials. However, there has been a greatly improved use of instructional materials resulting from curriculum programs.

4. Few principals provide curriculum-materials laboratories.

[3] John W. Eckhardt, *A Study of the High-School Principalship in Its Relation to Curriculum Development,* unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Southern California. The report here is taken from Eckhardt's summary of his study in the April, 1948, issue of *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals.*

5. Principals shy away from adequately financing curriculum development programs. Most principals do not conceive of the activity as one requiring much additional time of the teacher beyond regular teaching duties.

6. The matter of evaluation of curriculum development programs is shown relatively little attention by high-school principals.

7. Principals personally spend much more time on purely administrative problems than on curriculum development, especially during the school day.

8. Even though all principals originate some phase of their curriculum development programs, only half of them assume the responsibility of direct leadership.

9. While principals are aware of, and rely on to some degree, outside sources for assistance in curriculum development, most of them do not engage the services of a curriculum specialist when such is available.

10. The high-school principal's curriculum developmental program has caused considerable experimentation with new courses, but it gives little attention to the reorganization of present courses within the curriculum.

11. In cases where the curriculum developmental program of the principal has caused modifications in graduation requirements, the trend has been to require more courses and to make the standards of achievement more difficult.

12. There is need in the future for better balanced and more purposefully planned professional curricula in colleges and universities for training high-school principals.

13. Actual professional experience shows the high-school principal to be well qualified on the high-school level but lacking in teaching, supervisory, and administrative experience on other educational levels.

14. Principals do not occupy a single principalship for extended periods of time.

15. Most principals belong to professional organizations, but memberships are primarily in those concerned with public school administration rather than curriculum. Principals should also develop a better balance of their professional reading since it is primarily concerned with administration.

16. Slightly more than half of the high-school principals reported they felt sufficiently qualified to provide curriculum leadership for their staff.

Those implications which appear favorable to curriculum development are as follows:

1. High-school principals are utilizing teacher resources extensively where curriculum development programs are taking place.

2. Evidence indicates that principals have established a highly desirable relationship with their respective school boards on curriculum planning and development.

3. Progress is being made in the administration of curriculum development programs by high-school principals.

4. High-school principals are planning extensively for better articulation with the other segments of education in so far as means permit.

5. Principals are giving considerable attention to public relations in regard to their curriculum development programs. Good relationships have been developed with lay patrons of the school.

6. There is a close working relationship between high-school principals and teachers on problems of curriculum reorganization. This working relationship is abetted by the natural interest of teachers to participate in curriculum development programs.

7. There is a definite trend away from the purely subject type curriculum in high schools where principals have engaged in a curriculum development program. These principals are consistently experimenting with various types or designs of curriculum. At the moment the "core" curriculum is the most prevalent.

8. The curriculum programs of the principals, for the most part, are causing courses of studies to be produced.

9. Curriculum development programs of principals, in most cases, cause a continual redefining of objectives for all courses.

10. Much progress has been made in establishing better guidance practices through the curriculum development program of the principal.

11. Principals have succeeded to a large degree in getting both a commonly accepted philosophy of education and agreement on basic principles of the psychology of learning, among the teaching staff. Also through this curriculum development program, certain other phases of teacher growth have been found to be quite extensive.

12. The professional training of principals, in terms of degrees and credentials held, establishes a comparatively high standard for this position.

13. Most high-school principals consistently try to improve their professional status through pursuance of graduate professional studies.

14. A moderate number of principals has had experience in business or occupations other than teaching, and foreign country travel outside the North American continent.

15. Most high-school principals are familiar with various, recent curriculum experiments. They also have a firm understanding of the most advanced thinking in curriculum reorganization, and they show substantial agreement with these basic curriculum concepts.

16. The principal's curriculum reorganization program in only a negligible number of cases is being curbed by sources from outside the school.

The general recommendations of the study include these: "(1) the high-school principal must be familiar with the best practices for setting up a curriculum program and keeping it functioning; (2) he must seek expert advice and should investigate the work of other high schools on curriculum problems; and (3) above all, he must make sure the curriculum program is producing results."

SOME DISCOURAGING EARLIER STUDIES. No recent research has been made of the licensing requirements imposed upon the principal by state departments of education, the requirements for diplomas set for him by teacher-training institutions, and the training requirements set down by the school systems themselves, but those made prior to World War II indicate that the principal has met the practical rather than the theoretical demands of the job.

Burke found that only twenty-seven states make a distinction between high-school teachers and principals in granting certificates. Two of these states do not require the certificate but provide it only to encourage professional growth, two require only experience and a secondary-school teaching certifi-

cate, and four provide administrative credentials which are valid for the principalship. Only seven provide for the completion of a year of graduate work or its equivalent for certification.[4]

Taking into consideration the states not having special certification for the position, as well as those that do, treated in Table X taken from Burke's study, it is striking that only two states of the forty-eight expect their principals to know anything about the nature of the adolescent, only two look at the curriculum making as a function of the principal, only two ask him to have an appreciation of what guidance means, and only two expect him to have taken any philosophy of education.

A careful study of these requirements leaves the general impression that such state departments of public instruction as do look upon the principalship as demanding qualifications other than those for regular classroom work, conceive these qualifications as largely managerial rather than creative

TABLE X *Courses Specified by Twenty-six States for the Principal's Certificate* [5]

COURSE	FREQUENCY
1. *Supervision*	17
2. *School administration*	13
3. *Secondary-school administration*	5
4. *Methods*	4
5. *Tests and measurements*	4
6. *School organization*	3
7. *History of education*	3
8. *Philosophy of education*	2
9. *School law*	2
10. *Psychology of adolescence*	2
11. *Secondary education*	2
12. *Curriculum making*	2
13. *Extracurricular activities*	2
14. *Guidance*	2

in nature. Items 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 9 (Table X) — representing forty-four of the sixty-three aggregate courses — indicate management of a fixed school situation as the conception of the job. As discussed elsewhere in this book, courses in supervision, as judged by examination of the textbooks available for, and consequently used in, teacher-training institutions, have fallen on the technical rather than on the general or philosophical side of the fence.

With the exception of administration and supervision, there is no general agreement among state departments and schools of education as to what courses principals of high schools should study. Twenty-five of the seventy-

[4] A. J. Burke, "Professional Courses of Secondary-School Principals," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 20:506–512.

[5] Burke, *op. cit.*

TABLE XI *Professional Courses Specifically Recommended for Secondary-School Principals by 71 Training Institutions* [6]

COURSE	FREQUENCY
School administration	38
School supervision	31
Tests and measurements	31
Secondary-school administration	19
Educational psychology	17
Secondary education	16
Educational statistics	16
Curriculum making	15
Philosophy of education	12
History of education	11
Educational biology	10
High-school curriculum	10
Extracurricular activities	9
High-school supervision	9
Guidance	8
Principles of education	8
Educational sociology	7
Junior high school	6
Psychology of adolescence	6
Practice teaching	5
Educational research	5
City school administration	5

one training institutions that Burke studied did not attempt to recommend any basic courses for the preparation of principals. (See Table XI.) Of the recommendations made by the forty-six, it is interesting to note that:

1. Thirty-eight recommend school administration, while only ten recommend a high-school curriculum course.
2. Thirty-one recommend supervision, while only fifteen recommend curriculum making.
3. Thirty-one recommend tests and measurements, while only nine recommend extracurricular activities.
4. Nineteen recommend secondary-school administration, while only twelve recommend a course in the philosophy of education.
5. Sixteen recommend a course in educational statistics, but only eight indicate guidance.

PENNSYLVANIA PRINCIPALS. Clem and Murray, in their study involving 395 Pennsylvania high-school principals, a random sampling of more than half of all high-school principals of the state, reveal that administration and supervision are likewise foremost among the needs felt by those holding the

[6] Burke, *op. cit.*

position.[7] In spite of the fact that the curriculum was under severe criticism, and that the movement for reorganization was well under way at the time of the study, the principals indicated no need for instructional help in that aspect of their work. That 16 of the 38 principals in very large schools, and 24 of the 78 in schools of 500 to 999 pupils were calling for help in guidance, while none in either division recognized the curriculum as a problem, leads one to believe that guidance may have been conceived as an administrative technique for steering pupils through a static program of studies.

It is promising that supervision is in the lead among the needs felt by the Pennsylvania principals, for supervision does represent concern for instruction. By such a study that reveals interest in supervision and lack of interest in curriculum, it might be indicated that the principal wants to better the teacher's classroom performance, but that he isn't thinking of such improvement in terms of a changed curriculum.

A NEW ROLE

A new role is being handed the high-school principal, for the scenes have been shifted since the part he used to play was described in the Rochester, New York, public schools report of 1910 in these words: "A good principal shall be a good business manager. The successful administration of the school plant is of the highest importance. It is, however, assumed that the principal can successfully organize, discipline, and direct in general the company for which his office makes him responsible."

The principal who so desires can clear time to act as leader of instructional improvement. Once the school is organized, the everyday administrative duties and responsibilities of the office can be considered and handled as more or less routine matters. In the past the static curriculum was taken as routine, and administrative management and organization were receiving the principal's ingenuity. It is high time that this is reversed.

It is true that his duties are time-consuming, and that his schedule of work must vary from day to day, but in a large measure the problems that arise fall within the customary functions of the position. The parent who calls on him today is not exactly of the disposition of the one who called two days ago; nevertheless, she falls within an administrative pattern of community contacts. The principal of any experience at all has developed a technique for such activities that needs little adjustment from case to case. Furthermore, in the larger schools, much of this type of work is done by other officers.

The accident that happens on the athletic field today has never happened before, but it, too, has its familiar pattern. Administration in itself can never be called anything more than short-range operation of the school, or operation by precept; while the improvement of the educational program itself

[7] O. M. Clem and J. F. Murray, "The Status of the Pennsylvania High-School Principal," *Educational Administration and Supervision*, 19:442–50.

offers a challenge to long-range planning. Administration easily becomes the skillful manipulation of an instructional program borrowed from the past, and all too often an invitation to alter the curriculum is judged by the friction in organization that may result from such change.

The principal must struggle to keep from falling into a position of chief trouble-shooter. His entire day's schedule can be filled with nothing more than problems brought to him for ready solution, many of which after all are not the real problems but symptoms of an inadequate program. He must beware of the complacency that comes with the reputation of "running a fine school," for so often this compliment comes to the one who handles with ease these workaday tasks that arise, he whose school operates like a machine because strict authoritarian control is practiced. The instructional wells at the heart of the well-ordered school may be dry, just as those at the heart of the apparently less organized school may be overflowing. Pupil growth is the justification of school administration.

The greatest curse to a sound educational program may be organization. The art of organizing a large school, or a small one too for that matter, can become so mechanized that through the totalitarian tricks of publicity, simplified propaganda, and maximum security, the efficient principal can control the school situation to clocklike perfectability. Orderly corridors and grounds, quiet classrooms and assemblies, and detailed pupil records, regardless of how desirable in themselves, cannot be taken at face value as evidence of a true learning situation beneath.

There will be no new secondary school without the leadership of the principal, for the changes needed depend so heavily upon a strong in-service training program. While there are features in the background of his training and experience which may lead one to question his contribution, there are others that offset such inadequacies. If the post were to be turned in that direction, there is good reason to think that within a few years the principalship could be just as effective in program improvement as it has been in organizational improvement. The American high-school principal has shown great ingenuity, but such talent needs to be shifted to instruction. His practical sense, although it needs to be controlled by instructional foresight, marks him as being more able to conceive curriculum innovations in their practical aspects than is almost any other person connected with secondary education. The expert, the philosopher, or the psychologist may note significant instructional factors and propose changes, but, after all, somebody must administer them.

Once the high-school principal is alerted to the dangers facing the school he could assume the leadership necessary to avert the disaster that befell the American forerunners of the present secondary school. Will he take the helm, or will the position go down with the ship?

Part 4

THE SCHOOL AND ITS PAST

Chapter 16 FORMATIVE YEARS

Chapter 17 GROWING PAINS

Chapter 18 GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Chapter 19 THE PRINCIPAL–TEACHER

Chapter 20 SUPERVISION'S MEAGER BEGINNINGS

Chapter 16

FORMATIVE YEARS

That American secondary education is still groping her way to a rational mode of life can hardly be denied. On her way to higher things, she has already passed through those significant formative stages of teething, crawling, reaching, and even walking and talking. She cut her first teeth on Sallust and Cicero in Boston's Latin School, — crawled toward more useful things in Franklin's Publick Academy, — reached for the true spirit of democracy in the English High School, — took her first steps toward all the children of all the people with the Kalamazoo decision, — and spoke her first real mouthful with the statement of the seven Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education.

In the life history of the American secondary school, a story of a three-hundred-years program toward universal education, there stand out only five highly significant dates:

1635, the Boston Latin School
1751, Franklin's Publick Academy in Philadelphia
1821, the English Classical, or High, School
1874, the Kalamazoo Case
1918, *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*

They are promising dates, for in each, without an exception, there is found the hope of better things to come for nation and for individual.

Secondary education in America is still on the defensive. Even though it may have found its true purpose, it is still in search of the means of reaching it. Born in the aristocratic atmosphere of a New England class society, nurtured in the nineteenth century's noble dream of equality of opportunity, and rapidly reaching maturity in an age of mass production, — the secondary school continues to march quite a few steps behind the society that it would serve. The earlier types of the school fell so far behind the procession that they completely lost contact with the tune of advancing democracy, and were eventually forgotten by the forces moving toward a better America. But in this account of secondary education there has always arisen a more promising

standard bearer to continue the march, a march made easier by the experiences of its forebears. Thus the promise of America.

In itself the history of American secondary education means little, but any national or regional or local curriculum commission that sets out to do something to make the high school a better place for youth to work and live in must — if its work is to be done in the light rather than the dark — first look back over the road that the school has traveled since its 1635 beginning. Present unrest, although it has its unique characteristics, is the recurrence of rumblings that have accompanied the march out of the past, increasing perhaps in volume as the movement gained acceleration.

In Chapters 3, 4, and 5, the curricular threads of the present high school are traced back to their moorings in the early forms of the school. The current reorganization of secondary education, treated in chapters to follow, can be appreciated only in the light of the school's beginnings. He who would remodel a school would do well first to appreciate the original blueprints of the structure that he would change.

NEW ENGLAND BEGINNING

A point often overlooked, but one highly significant, is the fact that the purpose of the first secondary school in America was vocational. Its exclusive function was to train boys for the ministry. Harvard College, and not American society, wrote the prescription for this school, the Boston Latin School, which opened in 1635. The purpose was to teach Latin and some Greek to boys of social promise to prepare them for Harvard, and consequently the ministry. Harvard, the only college in New England for nearly seventy years, fixed the scholastic standard and thus the curriculum for not only New England secondary education, but for all Latin grammar schools to come, with this entrance requirement:

> When scholars had so far profited in the grammar schools that they could read any classical author in English, and readily make and speak true Latin, and write it in verse as well as prose; and perfectly decline the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, they were judged capable of admission in Harvard college.[1]

Thus only five years after they established the city itself, the citizens of Boston voted in 1635 in town meeting "that our brother Philemon Pormont shalbe intreated to become sholemaster, for the teaching and nourtering of children with us." Teacher turnover was with the schools early, for in a 1636 record of a "general meeting of the richer inhabitants" of Boston, a subscription was made "towards the maintenance of a free school master for the youth with us, Mr. Daniel Maud being now also chosen thereunto." Governor Sir Harry Vane donated ten pounds, Deputy Governor John Winthrop a like

[1] Nicholas Murray Butler, *Education in the United States*, Monograph 4, Elmer E. Brown, "Secondary Education," Albany, New York: J. B. Lyon Company, 1900, p. 146.

amount, and forty-three others swelled the total to 60 pounds and 6 shillings. The next year the citizens assigned Mr. Maud a garden plot. Five years later the townspeople set aside Deer Island in Boston harbor for the maintenance of the free school, and later the revenue from Long and Spectacle Islands was added. *And so the pattern of public support of secondary education was set in America.*

The laws of 1647 in Massachusetts and 1650 in Connecticut demanded that every town of a hundred families maintain a Latin grammar school, and in 1683 the former raised the quota to two schools in towns of five hundred families. The curriculum, representing a direct "steal" from the European classical tradition, retained its original limitations. And although some towns with such schools never did send a boy to college, the Latin grammar school maintained its exclusive features up to the time it withered away as a useless appendage of American culture. It was knowledge-centered, and revealed no socializing characteristics. There is some evidence in the records that public service in government as well as in church was intended, but the nature of the course of study and the apparent college domination would seem to mark such purpose as highly theoretical. Since the value of an education in the Latin grammar school came out of the idea of the profession or the higher institution being prepared for, the school never took on characteristics of its own; it died the puppet that it was born.

Especially strong in New England, this first secondary school found some reception in other colonies, such as New York, Maryland, New Jersey, and Virginia. Even though it existed throughout the eighteenth century, the school's decline began soon after the century opened, and by the beginning of the Revolutionary War there were but few that attracted any attention. The classical curriculum and the selective and aristocratic tendencies of the school held out little advantage to, and consequently received in return little favor from, the middle classes which were coming to the fore in the new country.

In passing, this early school bequeathed to American secondary education (1) the tendency of the college to dictate to the school below, and (2) the pattern of public support and control, both of which were to play dominant roles in the future movement. Furthermore, it encouraged and perpetuated the tradition of postprimary education until the academy could further it in American life. *This early secondary school in the wilderness represented the will in public education rather than the way.*

THE SECOND MODEL

Franklin's Attempt

The rise of the middle class, the passing of the power from clergy and aristocracy, and the continuous development of the democratic spirit that was outmoding European institutions for functional American use, not only discredited the Latin grammar school, but made way for its substitute, the

academy. To Benjamin Franklin, pioneer in Americana of various kinds, goes the credit for the first academy, *The Publick Academy in the City of Philadelphia*, opened in 1751.

In his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, first projected in 1743, Franklin had said: "As to their studies it would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental. But art is long and their time is short. It is therefore proposed, that they learn those things that are likely to be most useful and more ornamental; regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended." [2] Two hundred years later, Thomas H. Briggs, a leader in secondary education, was to suggest that the high school should train the youth to do better those desirable things that they will do anyway in life. Today we are still calling for a secondary school attuned to actual life.

Practical Planners

That the men who supported the idea of the first academy were a practical lot, thinking in terms of the everyday give-and-take of community life, cannot be doubted when one reads the purposes of the institution as set out in a trustees' report at the time of opening. It reads:

1. That the Youth of Pensilvania may have an opportunity of receiving a good Education at home, and be under no necessity of going abroad for it; Whereby not only considerable Expense may be saved to the Country, but a stricter Eye may be had over their morals by their Friends and Relations.

2. That a number of our Natives will be hereby qualified to bear Magistracies, and execute other public offices of Trust, with Reputation to themselves & Country; There being at present great Want of Persons so qualified in the several Counties of this Province. And this is the more necessary now to be provided for by the English here, as vast Numbers of Foreigners are yearly imported among us, totally ignorant of our Laws, Customs and Language.

3. That a number of the poorer Sort will be hereby qualified to act as Schoolmasters in the Country, to teach Children Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and the Grammar of their Mother Tongue, and being of good morals and known character, may be recommended from the Academy to Country Schools for that purpose; The Country suffering at present very much for want of good Schoolmasters, and obliged frequently to employ in their Schools, vicious imported Servants, or concealed Papists, who by their bad Examples and Instructions often deprave the Morals or corrupt the Principles of the Children under their Care.

4. It is thought that a good Academy erected in Philadelphia, a healthy place where Provisions are plenty, situated in the Center of the Colonies, may draw a number of Students from the neighboring Provinces, who must spend Considerable Sums yearly among us, in Payment for their Lodging, Diet, Apparel, & c., which will be an Advantage to our Traders, Artisans, and Owners of Houses and Lands. . . .

[2] Elmer E. Brown, *The Making of Our Middle Schools*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1902, p. 180.

Diversified Courses

The diversified or differentiated courses of the present American high school, manipulated on the elective plan, found their origin in the plan of that first academy in Philadelphia. When it opened in 1751, the school set up three different courses, to serve individual differences, — the English, the Latin, and the mathematical; and three years later a fourth, the philosophical, was added. Of the three courses offered — the English, the Latin, and the mathematical — Franklin had expected the English to be the leader in popularity, but it turned out to be the minor one.

The academy movement, representing as it did a revolt against the narrow classical curriculum and single purpose of the earlier school, for a time profited by the other's failures. The new school set out to fulfill the democratic ideal of a public system of education, to serve first the life interests of the great middle class with only subordinate reference to college preparation. But it usually charged tuition, depended upon private endowments for financial support, and was privately controlled by self-perpetuating boards of trustees. It was quite common for academies to be established by religious bodies, and such schools consequently drew their clientele largely from those groups.

As the movement spread, the Phillips Academies at Andover, Massachusetts, and Exeter, New Hampshire, along with scores of others, started out to teach students "the Great End and Real Business of Living," but as time went on that real business of living, if judged by the curriculum, resembled in a remarkable degree the preparation for entrance to college. The Latin and Greek languages still constituted the core of the instruction offered in the most prominent of the schools. Colleges continued to spring up and continued to make their admission demands upon entering students in a manner similar to that of the previous century. The academy movement came in at the time Princeton, for instance, was influencing secondary education in the middle states by demanding that "Candidates for admission into the lower or freshman class must be capable of composing grammatical Latin, translating Virgil, Cicero's Orations, and the four Evangelists in Greek; and by a late order . . . must understand the principal rules of vulgar arithmetic." [3]

The Curriculum

Two parallel courses, the classical and the English, became the common practice, the former usually being considered the standard one. However, as time went on academies here and there experimented rather freely not only with offerings but with administrative features such as the length and time of the school term. There was great diversity in courses among the different institutions, the total curriculum including such subjects as English composition, rhetoric, elocution, navigation, surveying, mensuration, algebra, geom-

[3] Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 146

etry, trigonometry, arithmetic, astronomy, natural philosophy, mental philosophy, political philosophy, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, logic, bookkeeping, religion, music, and art.

Once girls were admitted, in the institutions that cared for them on a segregated plan, it was not uncommon to find curriculum tendencies that can be termed forerunners of some now found in the so-called finishing schools. Some academies formed classes at irregular periods for boys who were obliged to work on the farm. They would attend just for the winter months, the order of instruction reflecting out-of-school needs. A student of education, in studying the relative service to student body of the academy of 1850 with the high school of a century later, might make a surprisingly good case for the former.

Peak of the Movement

For years it seems to have been taken for granted that the peak of the academy movement was reached in 1850, with a total of 6,085 schools, populated by 263,096 students and manned by 12,260 teachers. These figures were first projected by Dexter in his 1904 history of education, and have been extensively copied since. (See Table XII.) Whether there were ever that many of such schools in America is a question that perhaps awaits further research. The one who accepts the figures must reconcile the smaller estimates presented in the reports of two other worthy educators. In his 1833 report, B. B. Edwards, Secretary of the American Education Association, accounts for only about four hundred academies. (See Table XIII.)

TABLE XII *Estimate of Academies, 1850* [4]

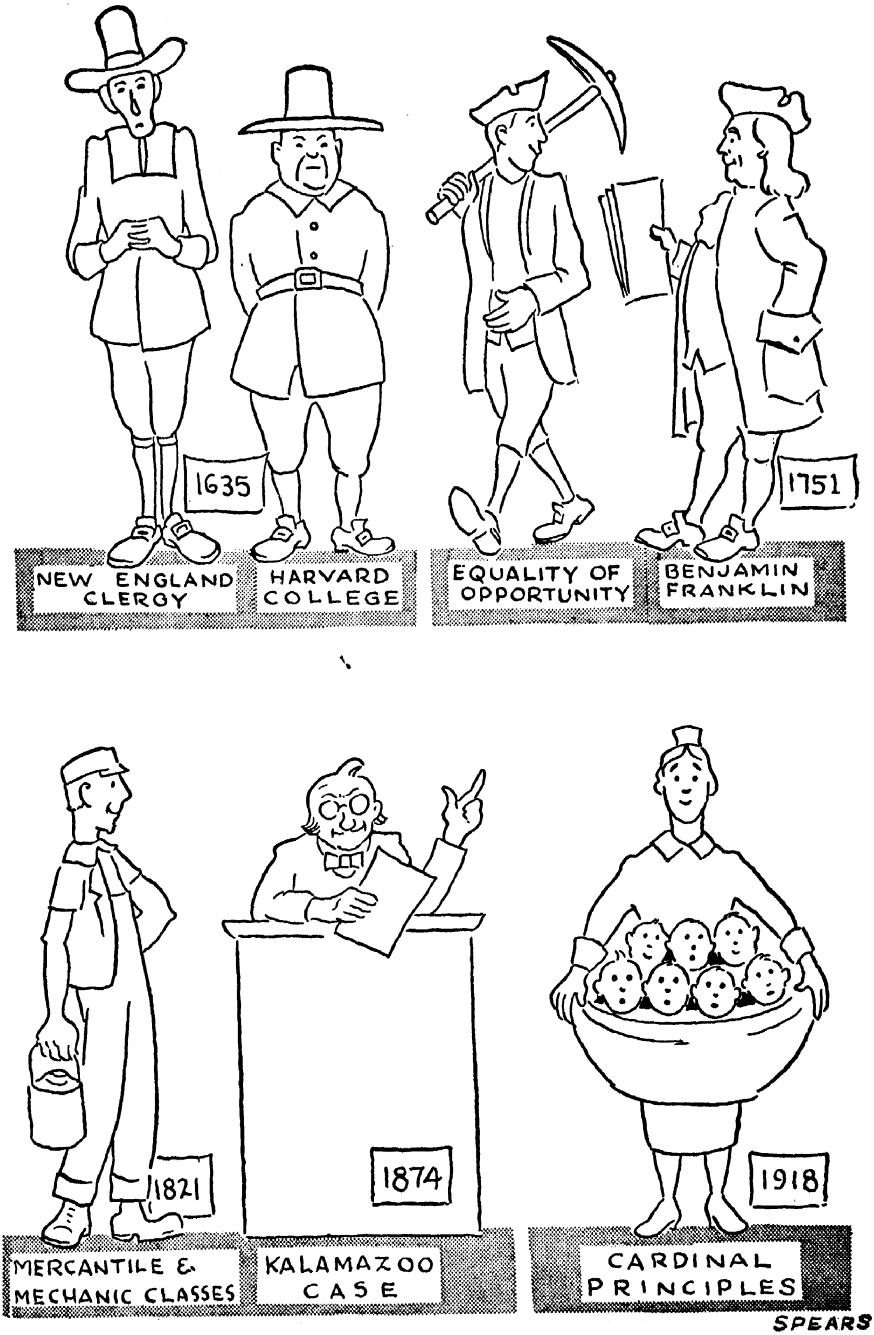
New England States	1,007
Middle Atlantic States	1,636
North Central States	753
South Atlantic States	1,379
South Central States	1,261
Other States	49
	6,085

TABLE XIII *Distribution of Academies, 1833* [5]

Maine	32	New Jersey	8
New Hampshire	35	Pennsylvania	92
Vermont	35	Delaware	1
Massachusetts	83	South Carolina	32
Rhode Island	3	Georgia	4
Connecticut	14	Kentucky	12
New York	57	Maryland	"several"

[4] Figures originally taken from the *American Journal of Education*, Vol I, p. 368.

[5] Report of B. B. Edwards, Secretary of the American Education Association, 1833.



SOME NOTABLE ANCESTORS OF THE HIGH SCHOOL

Whether there was such a phenomenal growth in the number of schools in seventeen years, or whether the difference represents inadequacy in one of the two studies, must remain for others to determine.

The other conflicting estimate of the number of academies came in 1901 from W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, who stated that the number of public high schools increased from 2,526 to 6,005 and the academies from 1,632 to 1,978 during the 1890–1900 decade. The 1,632 figure for 1890 is highly inconsistent with the 6,085 estimate for 1850. Such a decrease would not have been in keeping with the growth of the nation's population, and the advancement of the high school was not yet great enough to account for it.

The Passing of its Glory

The academy had been conceived as an extension of the common school, but so wide was the gap between the school and public control, and so strong was its allegiance to a classical approach to education, it was never quite received by the American public as the democratic institution that was demanded. Only during the early part of the National period can it be said that the academy was rather well adapted to the needs of American society. The final ultimatum did not come until after the state court decisions of 1870–1880 had established the public high school as legally the people's secondary school. It was the Committee on Secondary Education of the National Education Association that reported, in 1885, "The Place and Function of the Academy":

1. The academy has performed an important work in the past.
2. The high school is now doing much of the work formerly done by the academy.
3. The high school, as a part of the true system of public education, should be encouraged to the fullest extent.
4. When the high school has done all it can do, there will, probably, still be room for a large and valuable work to be done by the academy.
5. *This work will be largely, though not exclusively, in preparing youth for college.*[6]

And so the institution that had originated as a popular protest to the college-preparatory character of the grammar school, was sentenced to become the type of school against which it had made its original protest. The academies that remain today are generally private college-preparatory or denominational institutions. As revealed in Table XIV, in certain respects the academy was not as much a public institution as the Latin grammar school had been, and in others it represented an advancement in America's quest for universal secondary education.

The attempt of the academy to build onto the common school rather than to parallel it was an important contribution to the development of the articu-

[6] National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, 1885, p. 447. (Author's italics.)

lated public school system of today. It also set for the later school the pattern of parallel courses within the one institution, which has become the chief characteristic of the American public high school as contrasted with the secondary schools of other nations. It also recognized girls as well as boys as worthy of instruction on the secondary level. It perpetuated the concept of secondary education for status, as well as the influence of the higher institutions upon the secondary school. At the same time it kept alive the desire in America for popular education for the masses, and supplied another step on which eventually to build such a program.

TABLE XIV *A Comparison of the Latin Grammar School and the Academy*

CHARACTERISTICS	LATIN GRAMMAR SCHOOL	ACADEMY
1. *Period of greatest influence*	1635 until the Revolutionary War	1751 until about 1875
2. *Influence behind*	Colonial leaders trained in England	Leaders trained in the colonies
3. *Society it served*	Class distinctions pronounced, clergy strong as civic leaders	Democratic spirit growing, middle class strong
4. *Curricular offering*	Narrow	Broad
5. *Curriculum sequence*	School parallel to common school	School generally built above the common school
6. *Locality*	Almost exclusively New England	Spread generally over the whole country
7. *Drawing power*	A local institution	Drew from wide area, often a boarding school
8. *Aim*	Preparation for college, especially ministry	Preparation for college and for life
9. *Financial support*	Generally public	Generally endowed or private
10. *Control*	Generally public	Generally private
11. *Clientele*	Boys	Boys and girls

A THIRD ATTEMPT

Boston tried again. The greatness of America has rested not so much in her existing opportunities at any given moment, but rather in the American's faith that he could create even greater opportunities. Striving for, rather than possessing, has seemed to be his richest satisfaction, and in this progress never has he hesitated to turn his back upon the familiar in an attempt to create something better for himself and his family. This American characteristic was again noted in Boston, in 1821, when the good citizens established, at the instigation of the mercantile and mechanic classes, the English Classical School, soon to be known as the English High School, and then the High School. Although the term high school was borrowed from Edinburgh,

Scotland, the inherent idea of a public secondary school for all the children of all the people was unique to America. And it still is.

So strong was the intention this time to fit youth for active life, the Latin and Greek languages were banned when the doors of the school was first opened. It was expected that this secondary school would parallel the existing college-preparatory institution rather than replace it, the motivating force of the movement being the desire to bring secondary education within reach of the general public, for democracy was on the march. In fact, the purposes were quite similar to those that sparked the founding of the academy seventy years earlier.

TABLE XV *Some of the Earlier High Schools*[7]

Boston	1821	New York	1849
Plymouth	1826	Toledo	1849
Portland	1829	Cincinnati	1851
Lowell	1831	Evansville, Ind.	1853
Bangor	1835	Salt Lake City	1853
Harrisburg	1837	Racine	1853
Philadelphia	1838	St. Louis	1853
Baltimore	1839	Easton	1853
Charleston, S. C.	1839	Buffalo	1854
Middletown, Conn.	1840	Oshkosh	1856
Providence	1843	Chicago	1856
New Orleans	1843	San Francisco	1856
Cleveland	1846	Detroit	1858
Columbus, Ohio	1846	Debuque	1858
Akron	1847	Quincy	1862
Hartford	1847	Terre Haute	1863
Pittsburg	1849	Burlington	1863

America was slow to accept the public high school that made its debut in Boston in 1821. Not until late in the century did the real growth of the movement come. The number of high schools in 1860 was 40, in 1870 about 160, in 1880 it jumped to 800, in 1890 to 2,526, and by 1900 it had reached 6,005.[8] Public support of secondary education, that is, the concept of common schooling above grade age, was not generally accepted until some years after the War Between the States; and since the high school was offering a curriculum not unlike that of the academy, the success of the movement rested upon the public will. The age range was more nearly keyed to the adolescent years than in the case of the two earlier schools. Age twelve was set as the entrance age for the Boston school, and since it was a continuation of the common school there was complete articulation of the two in respect to grade and age, if not in offering and method.

[7] See Brown, *op. cit.*

[8] W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, "Recent Growth of Public High Schools," National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1901, p. 175.

COURSE OF STUDY FOR THE HIGH SCHOOL

Evansville, Indiana, 1863

FIRST YEAR

Bullion's English Grammar; Ray's Arithmetic; Warren's Physical Geography; Quackenbo's History; Ganot's Natural Philosophy.

SECOND YEAR

Ganot's Natural Philosophy; Ray's Algebra; Bullion's Latin Grammar and Reader; Wood's New Botany; Cumming's Physiology; Exercises in English Grammar, Composition, and Declamation.

THIRD YEAR

Ray's Algebra; Latin, Caesar and Sallust, and Virgil; French (Fasquille and Télémaque); Johnston's Chemistry; Bullion's Greek Grammar and Reader; Rhetoric Outlines of History; Geometry (Legendre); Rhetoric, Composition, and Declamation.

FOURTH YEAR

Geometry; Virgil and Cicero's Orations; Greek Grammar and Reader; Geology; Mental Philosophy; Astronomy; Trigonometry and Surveying; Logic; Moral Science; Science of Government.

All students who honorably complete this course of study will hereafter receive a diploma.

FIGURE 14. A Typical Curriculum of the Early Public High School

A typical curriculum of the early public high school is presented in Figure 14; while the gradual acceptance of the idea of the school can be traced in Table XV, which shows the founding dates of some of the earlier schools.

COURT DECISIONS OPEN DEMOCRATIC DOORWAYS

The Kalamazoo Case

It was the famous Kalamazoo Case of 1874, legalizing public secondary education as a natural and legitimate extension of the eight-year common school, that opened the way for the rapid growth of the high school. The school had thus existed for fifty years as a public-supported institution before it was legally established that the state had the right to levy taxes for secondary education.

In 1872, the school board of Kalamazoo, Michigan, proposed a public high school. Since even the State Superintendent of Public Instruction doubted the legality of public support for secondary education, a local citizen, ex-Senator Charles E. Stuart, instigated the friendly test case which went down in the records of the state supreme court as *C. E. Stuart et al. v. School District No. 1 of the Village of Kalamazoo et al.* The decision written by Chief Justice Cooley, handed down in 1874, concluded:

If these facts do not demonstrate clearly and conclusively a general state policy, beginning in 1817 and continuing until after the adoption of the present constitution, in the direction of free schools in which education, and at their option the elements of classical education, might be brought within the reach of all the children of the state, then, as it seems to us, nothing can demonstrate it. We might follow the subject further and show that the subsequent legislation has all concurred with this policy, but it would be a waste of time and labor. We content ourselves with the statement that neither in our state policy, in our constitution, nor in our laws, do we find the primary school districts restricted in the branches of knowledge which their officers cause to be taught, or the grade of instruction that may be given, if their voters consent in regular form to bear the expense and raise the taxes for the purpose.[9]

Other Cases

Burrell and Eckelberry, in studying the attempt to restrict free public education to the elementary school, have in these two paragraphs summarized two distinct phases of the opposition:

The earliest case (brought into the courts against the free public high school) was begun probably in 1871, and the latest was decided in 1893. The supreme courts of seven states, principally in the Middle West, dealt with the high-school question. The Kansas court dealt with it twice and the Illinois court three times. With the exception of *Charles H. Otken v. J. S. Lamkin* (1879), every case grew out of the opposition to the high school. With the partial exception of *Henry Rulison et al. v. Frances S. Post* (1875), all the decisions were favorable to the high school. If we may assume that the opinions of the courts do, in a broad way, reflect dominant public opinion, the decisions would seem to indicate that throughout this period opposition to the free public high school, while strong and active, represented the view of the minority.

The greater part of the discussion concerning the cost of high schools seems to have occurred between 1875 and 1880, and the effect on the laboring classes of extensive education was most seriously discussed during the ten years beginning in 1876 or 1877. In both these cases the evidence agrees with reasonable expectations, since the depression covered the years 1873–78, while the gathering strength of the trade unions and the opposition to them date from the late seventies. Opposition from those interested in academies and private schools, and discussion of the problem of religious and moral instruction, were prominent from about 1884 or 1885. This line of argument may have represented a final desperate mustering of forces by private-school and religious interests against the increasingly powerful public instruction.[10]

The legalization of the free public high school by the courts can well be marked as the beginning of a fourth period in American secondary education, the period in which we

[9] For further treatment of the Kalamazoo Case, see Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 359.
Also, *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan, with Accompanying Documents*, 1873, pp. 399–407.
Also, J. L. Clifton, "The Kalamazoo Case," *American School Board Journal*, November, 1933, 87:26–27.

[10] B. Jeannette Burrell and R. H. Eckelberry, "The High-School Question before the Courts in the Post-Civil-War Period," *School Review*, April, 1934, 42:265; and "The Free Public High School in the Post-Civil-War Period," *School Review*, November 1934, 42:674.

still find ourselves. It is true that no new and distinct institution was inaugurated, as in the case of the three previous schools, but the court decisions opened the way to a public secondary school that in pupil enrollment and extent of activity was to stand out as a social phenomenon — as the greatest experiment in all educational history. The date on which America publicly went on record as intending to establish universal secondary schooling can be set as about 1874.

As state courts and legislatures went about legalizing the high school at public expense, the statutes that were forthcoming gave little in the way of a democratic philosophy. Cook cites two state statutes to indicate what by law was considered to be a high school. The Michigan law says that "a high school shall be a graded school maintaining twelve grades of work with at least three teachers devoting their entire time to the work of the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades, or two teachers devoting their entire teaching time to the work of the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades." The New Hampshire statute says that a secondary school is "a school having at least one course or not less than four years, properly equipped and teaching such subjects as are required for admission to college, technical school, and normal school, including reasonable instruction in the Constitution of the United States and in the Constitution of New Hampshire." [11]

The school that was made public in 1874 was to travel a long and treacherous road before it could bring to its supporting followers the rich returns that were implied in that far-reaching Kalamazoo decision. In its journey to the promised land, its progress was to be hindered noticeably by the impedimenta of its forbears.

[11] William A. Cook, *High-School Administration.* Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc., 1926, p. 44.

Chapter

17

GROWING PAINS

Once American secondary education had cast its lot with the masses, it hurriedly began to withdraw its chips from the classes. The Kalamazoo case severed in function, if not immediately in form, the high school and the academy. With less than two hundred public high schools to its credit before 1874, the nation had invested in over six thousand by 1900. That year the high school's enrollment surpassed the academy's by 519,251 to 110,797, and today the public secondary schools enroll eleven times the number of students found in the private schools.

With numbers came attention. Now that it was assured a rich inheritance of public funds and enrollment, the high school, which had been treated as an orphan the first fifty years of its life, suddenly found itself the fondling of the National Education Association and the institutions of higher learning. To the two, especially the latter, it appeared as the street waif that had to be cleaned up and taught some manners before it could be taken into the more polite circles of the educational family. As long as the academy was the college-preparatory institution, and the number of high schools was relatively insignificant, neither the colleges nor the National Education Association had revealed much interest in "the people's school."

Mass secondary education fell upon an unprepared profession, and even today the profession is still hard pressed to expand its concept of the school in keeping with the expansion in population. This shock of numbers, to be appreciated, calls for a brief but careful consideration of the long search for purposes for the school, a search that was well underway before the public started knocking at the door.

SECONDARY EDUCATION IN SEARCH OF A PURPOSE

There had been no particular question about the purposes of the school, up until this period of expansion. California's first high school, for instance, began in 1856 in San Francisco, "to fit young men for the practical duties and

business of life or for admission into any of the best colleges or universities in the United States," and the school set out to do this through ancient and modern history, rhetoric, logic, composition, chemistry, geology, mineralogy, botany, intellectual philosophy, natural theology, political economy, Constitution of the United States, Constitution of California, algebra, geometry, surveying, civil engineering, topographical drawing, astronomy, bookkeeping, Latin, Greek, Spanish, and French.[1]

Automatic mind training stood out as a number-one purpose of the school throughout the last century. The commonly accepted doctrine of formal discipline led nobody to doubt the value of difficult academic studies as the best training possible for the "practical duties and business of life" as well as for entrance to college. As indicated in these sentiments of Principal Waterman, of Stockton, expressed in 1886, this confusion about mind training carried on down through the century:

> Objections are made by some that the course of study is arranged solely for the purpose of sending three or four students yearly to the University. We have a few in each class who desire to take a more extended course than ours affords. While these are doing their work preparatory for the higher institution, the others are receiving the same instruction, and until it is shown that this course is not as good as any for the general student whose course ends with the High School, such objections carry no weight. A demand was made a few years ago for something practical in the course, and bookkeeping was added. Any study, however, is practical that develops the mind and the faculties of the student; and that course is best for the student that gives him the best mental drill.[2]

INSPIRATIONAL VALUES

Another early justification put forward for the establishment of the public high school, above the common schools already existing, was the inspirational value it would offer the lower school. This point of view was projected all over the country throughout the latter half of the century. School reports and public addresses held up the high school as the pot of gold to be found at the end of the grammar-school rainbow. This point of view was prevalent in the Cincinnati school system as early as 1851, as noted in the school report of the year:

> Among the reasons assigned for the establishment of the Central School, it was urged that such a school would create a powerful abiding stimulus to exertion on the part of both teacher and pupil in the Common Schools; that it would constantly encourage the hope of promotion, and thereby hold out one of the strongest incentives to diligence, and persevering application to their respective duties. In the view of the case the Board has not been disappointed.[3]

[1] William W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California*, 1846–1936. Berkeley: Sather Gate Book Company, 1937, p. 80.

[2] J. R. Hollembeak, *A History of the Public Schools of Stockton, California*, 1909, p. 79.

[3] Cincinnati, Ohio, *Annual Report for the School Year Ending June 30, 1851*, p. 99.

Cleveland, likewise, at an early date, saw the high school as the crown of the school system, and reported to the people there that "the High School shall be expected to set an example to the other Public Schools, of punctuality of attendance, studiousness and creditable recitations, good order and good conduct generally."[4]

Richard Edwards, president of State Normal University, of Illinois, in addressing the National Education Association at Elmira in 1873, gave this same point of view as his first defense of the secondary schools.

> I notice first their (the high schools') influence in improving the lower grades. A school system, like all other organizations, requires a head. No more positive is the influence of the brain in quickening the activities of the physical frame of man, than is that of a high school awakening the interest and promoting the industry of the pupils below.
>
> A few days since, I asked a successful city superintendent in Illinois how much the high school in the city under his supervision adds to the efficiency of the other grades. After a pause, he answered that it would be a moderate statement to say that by the influence of the high school the value of the work below is doubled. Every child who hopes to reach the higher grade is stimulated by a wholesome anxiety to pass the initial examination. Others, who may not have this hope, are still vitalized by a sort of mental induction. The activities about them become contagious, and they all catch the inspiration. A higher life than had otherwise been exhibited marks both the teaching and the learning.[5]

Over in Jersey City, about this same time, the superintendent of schools was passing on to his public the same argument, when he wrote: "Being the head of our system, it is the goal toward which the ambition of all pupils is directed. A desire to be promoted from class to class, and eventually become members of the High School, imparts a healthy stimulus to every class in the schools; the exertions are all quickened, good resolutions are strengthened, and the whole machinery of the school system moves with more ease and force."[6]

Twelve years after Edwards had made this point to the National Education Association, the organization heard Seaman of New Orleans on the same theme, when he said, "The high school is necessary in order to secure the best possible results in the lower schools. It undeniably lifts them up to a higher and better work. It determines their individual and relative merits; it provokes generous emulation; it stimulates effort to improve in knowledge in order to be advanced to the nobler works of learning. In a word, the high school is a stimulus and the great reward of the grammar schools.[7]

[4] Cleveland, Ohio, *Board of Education Report*, 1855–1856, p. 84.

[5] Richard Edwards, "How Much Culture Shall Be Imparted in Our Free Schools?" National Education Association, *Addresses and Journal of Proceedings*, 1873, p. 54.

[6] Jersey City, New Jersey, *Superintendent's Annual Report*, 1876, p. 93.

[7] J. E. Seaman, "High Schools and the State," National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, 1885, pp. 179–180.

They just couldn't give up this justification for the high school, and the same theme found popularity again five years later at the National Education Association when C. W. Bardeen of Syracuse presented a paper on "The Effect of the College-Preparatory High School upon Attendance and Scholarship in the Lower Grades." He defended the high school as a means of increasing interest of lower-school pupils and improving their attendance. He stated that "an ounce of pull is worth a pound of push."[8]

Even today, many a school system of the country still pays homage to this ancient keystone concept of the high school, perpetuating the fear that the elementary school child has of the higher institution, and presenting him as he enters it with such a classical bumping that he has no reason to doubt its true elevation or value above the lower steps of the educational program. And in those systems where there is no such break, school administrators and guidance workers who are in a position to catch the reactions of youngsters as they pass from the elementary-school building into the first year of the high school, note the shock that comes to so many when they find out that, after all, the first year of high school is not sharply different from the last year of the previous school, and represents a continuation of the past work rather than a sudden test of it.

Heralded as a stepping stone of the college, as a beacon light to the elementary school, and as an automatic trainer of the mind, the public high school was soon to be called upon to use all of such legerdemain, and a little more too, in satisfying the needs of the new population being directed its way.

PREPARING THE PREPARATORY SCHOOL

Once the rapid growth in the public-secondary-school movement was under way, with its inroad upon the private schools, there came forward a multitude of willing workers from the college field and the National Education Association to prepare the high school for the task that it had just inherited. We can get a real feeling of the activity of this period by running through the pages of the Association's addresses and proceedings from 1870 to 1920.

Shades of 1635!

The strong influence of Harvard was once again felt, this time through the efforts of its president, Charles W. Eliot. He sounded the note before the National Education Association in St. Paul in 1890, for a well-defined reform of the public high school, calling for strict supervision by state inspectors and the adoption of a uniform system of examinations in college-preparatory subjects. He stated that "the schools need to be brought to common and higher standards, so that the colleges may find in the school

[8] See National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1890, p. 624.

courses a firm, broad, and reasonably homogeneous foundation for their higher work." [9] If there is any doubt that Eliot's interest was in the college rather than the high school, it might be recalled that fifteen years earlier, during the struggle of the court cases, he proclaimed that the state should withdraw from the support of all but elementary education for youth.[10]

The Thirty-Years Reform

The reform movement got under way. The National Education Association furnished the heavy artillery, loosing a volley of national committees on the problem, beginning with the famous Committee of Ten (1892–1893) and ending thirty years later with the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (1913–1922). Others that worked in between included the Committee on the Correlation of Studies (1893–1895), the Committee on College Entrance Requirements (1895-1899), the Committee on Six-Year Courses (1905–1909), the Committee on the Economy of Time (1903–1913), and the Committee on the Articulation of High Schools and Colleges (1910–1913).

Never before had the educational world seen such an amassing of forces on one problem, but a careful study of the work of the commissions leaves one wondering if the problem studied was that of the high school or that of the college. The production of the famous Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education in 1918, by the last commission, indicates that the case of the lower school was finally isolated for consideration.

The Committee of Ten

Naturally enough, Eliot headed that first Committee of Ten. In statement, the group recognized that the secondary schools, taken as a whole, do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for college entrance, and that only an insignificant percentage of the graduates would go to colleges; but in recommendations, it saw no distinction in subject needs between college-bound and noncollege-bound students, and set out as a proper list of subjects for any high school: Latin, Greek, English, German, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, general history, astronomy, meteorology, botany, zoology, physiology, geology, ethnology, physics, and chemistry.

It is not surprising that there was perfect unanimity among the members of the Committee of Ten in the endorsement of the conventional college-preparatory education, and in agreeing that "every subject which is taught in a secondary school shall be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil so long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destina-

[9] Charles W. Eliot, "The Gap Between the Elementary Schools and the Colleges," National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1890, p. 525.

[10] See A. D. Mayo, "The Demands of the Coming Century on the American Common School," National Education Association, *Addresses and Journal of Proceedings*, 1876, p. 24.

tion of the pupil may be, or at what point his education is to cease"; for five of the ten members were college presidents, a sixth was a college professor, and two others were headmasters of Eastern preparatory schools.[11]

According to the printed report of the Committee of Ten, the following were the members named in 1892: Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., *Chairman;* William T. Harris, Commissioner of Education, Washington, D. C.; James B. Angell, President of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.; John Tetlow, Headmaster of the Girls' High School and the Girls' Latin School, Boston, Mass.; James M. Taylor, President of Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.; Oscar D. Robinson, Principal of the High School, Albany, N. Y.; James H. Baker, President of the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo.; Richard H. Jesse, President of the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.; James C. Mackenzie, Headmaster of the Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville, N. J.; and Henry C. King, Professor in Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio.

The report represented what the colleges wanted of the secondary schools, which was assurance of entrants vested in the traditional subject matter. United States Commissioner Harris, a member of the committee, announced it as "the most important educational document ever published in this country," and in his letter of transmittal said, "It has been agreed on all hands that the most defective part of the education in this country is that of secondary education." [12]

Once more President Eliot spoke out in favor of restricting American secondary education, in favor of making it highly selective. He stated:

> The secondary schools, taken as a whole, do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for college. Their main function is to prepare for the duties of life that small proportion of all the children in the country — a proportion small in numbers, but very important to the welfare of the nation — who show themselves able to profit by an education prolonged to the eighteenth year, and whose parents are able to support them while they remain in school.[13]

This staunch defender of the college gates and the strict academic conception of education never recovered from the nation's acceptance of secondary schooling as a public responsibility. Passing away at a time when only 10 per cent of American youth of high school age were attending secondary

[11] See National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, 1894, p. 749.
Also, United States Bureau of Education, *Report of the Committee on Secondary-School Studies*, Washington, D. C., 1893.
Also, Chessman A. Herrick, "Reports of Secondary Educational Committees and Commissions," *Educational Outlook*, January, 1934, 8:73–75.

[12] C. P. Lynch, "Is It True that the Most Defective Part of Education in This Country Is the Secondary Schools?" National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, 1894, p. 745.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 749.

school, he was spared the shock of seeing that percentage mount to 70 per cent and more, as it was destined to do before the middle of the twentieth century.

As to the acceptance of the report of the Committee of Ten, the National Education Association was highly gratified to think that its agents had solved the problem, and secondary education again settled back in its college-preparatory chair. The committee had endorsed authoritatively a sentiment already held by most school leaders. The influence of this 1893 statement was far-reaching. It did much to leave the impression that the solution of the question of the public high school had been found, and its most lasting influence was the resulting postponement, for years, of consideration of the vital issues of the curriculum. The report, perhaps due to the prominence of the committee membership, and the assurance with which the members spoke, acted as new skin that would temporarily hide the sore that eventually was to call for expert attention, lest it lay low the high school just as it had sapped the life blood of the Latin grammar school and the academy.

Even though national educational bodies, the Commissioner of Education, college presidents, and complacent school administrators were apparently willing, at the turn of the century, to sell the birthright of the American public high school for a pot of college-preparatory pottage, there were minority stockholders in the enterprise of public education still influential enough to challenge the transaction. The deep-seated American dream of equality of educational opportunity, and the persistent public demand for a secondary school that would train for "the great end and the real business of living," were two ambassadors of the democratic spirit not to be dismissed by being ignored.

A PLEDGE TO DEMOCRACY

The public high school, peculiar as it was to American society, was justified by the principle that political and social equality are in direct ratio to mental and moral education. Even the principle of economic equality found footing in this popular concept of secondary schooling, and parents came to look upon the school as a ladder to the white-collar job. It became popular for writers and speakers to refer to the high school as "the people's college"; to point out that it was open to all up to the age of twenty-one, without regard to sex, race, rank, color, or religion; to emphasize that all enjoyed equal school privileges, without discrimination; and to inject the "melting pot" into the popular conception of the school. The rich and the poor, "the highborn and the peasant," were supposedly brought together in such a relationship that "the mutual respect of both parties was increased."[14]

The belief that attention should be restricted to the more promising as future leaders of the state subsided into a feeble echo, and it was said with true feeling that the actual life of equality before the law was exemplified

[14] See National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1873, pp. 56–57; 1881, p. 94; and 1885, p. 173.

in the public high school. It was once argued in this country that elementary education was sufficient for the masses. And it has not been so many years since the secondary school finally overcame the popular argument that this higher education unfits the poor for the position they are expected to occupy, and forms a distaste for all kinds of manual labor. There are still parents here and there, especially in backward rural communities, who discourage the attendance of their children at high school for fear it will educate them away from their natural sphere; but they are far from representative of the typical American parent. The public high school has had an excellent chance to follow in the furrow made by the American spirit of democracy, even if it cannot lay claim to the major role in the actual breaking of the ground.

PURPOSES IN CONFLICT

Honest educators at the turn of the century recognized that the enrollment of the school and the claims made for it were out in front of the methods and offerings, and the gap was being widened each year. If there was general agreement that the high school was the "defective" member of the educational family, there was soon no harmony of opinion that the remedy lay in a strengthened college-preparatory course for everybody.

If there is one significant characteristic of this period, it is the confusion of purposes, a natural beginning of a conflict that was bound to come, — and to carry down even to the present. The attempt to reconcile the competing and divergent claims as set out for the school was pronounced. There were the desires (1) to provide equality of opportunity, (2) to select and train leaders for the state, (3) to train the mind, (4) to prepare for college entrance, (5) to prepare the best possible liberal education irrespective of probable life destination, (6) to inspire the pupils in the lower school to bigger things, (7) to prepare for specific vocations, (8) to bring to youth of all classes mutual appreciation, for the sake of the national welfare, and (9) to move youth up to higher social as well as higher economic status.

Growth Upward or Downward?

Out of these claims came the issues of secondary education fifty years or so ago, and although points of view may have been tempered by time, out of these same claims come the issues that face the school today. One of the more persistent issues has to do with providing the curriculum. There has prevailed two divergent ideals for the course of study; the one, a course grown up from the common elementary school, the other, a course grown down from the college. One is in keeping with some of the purposes listed above, one with others.

By 1890, the compromise of parallel courses was common to the schools, a practice which Commissioner Harris marked as "so foreign to the spirit of the entire common school course of study that it has only partially suc-

ceeded." [15] The practical view of the school was typically expressed by E. A. Steere, of Butte, Montana, in 1890.

> And as our people are getting to be very practical in everyday life, our curriculum of study is being made quite conformable. The more we do this, the more attention is paid by our working classes to allow their children to remain in school longer and have them better fitted for the labors of life. This great power of practical education is being carried from our high schools today to help move the world tomorrow. We are learning that life is too short and the race too swift to spend time and money in learning that which can never be turned into bread and meat.[16]

And Frank E. Plummer, in his president's address before the Department of Secondary Education in 1891, set out a liberal point of view. He said, "Thus we see that the mission of the high school is to make education free, far-reaching, and fully adequate to the wants of the people. Though its function is twofold, its main object is to prepare boys and girls for the duties of active, useful, happy lives." [17]

Practical-Life Aspects

As committee attention was being devoted to building the new high school from above, a straight-thinking minority fought to give practical subjects a hearing. No livelier sessions of the National Education Association are found recorded than those for the few years immediately following the court decisions — that period when secondary education was coming forward with a rush and presenting the question of the definition of the new limits of the curriculum. Book-minded educators for years actually prevented the topic of manual training from finding a place on the NEA program, and not until 1887 was it admitted for discussion. In a heated session, in which a show of hands finally approved unanimously the subject for the schools, papers were first read and they were followed by a lively discussion, the stenographer's notes of which read like the script of a play:

> *President Sheldon:* The platform has had its way thus far this morning. Now, have you any questions to ask these learned ladies and these humble gentlemen?
>
> *Mr. Greenwood, of Missouri:* Will the boy or girl who spends an hour or two each day in work make more rapid progress in other studies?
>
> *President Sheldon:* What say you, Professor Woodward?
>
> *Professor Woodward:* My observation is, they make equal if not superior progress, particularly in mathematics.
>
> *A Voice:* I wish to inquire if any of this work can be done successfully without a special teacher?

[15] William T. Harris, "The Present Status of Education in the United States," National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1891, p. 140.

[16] E. A. Steere, National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1890, p. 646.

[17] Frank E. Plummer, "The Future High School," National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1891, p. 620.

Dr. Ordway: I think not.

A Voice: Yes, it certainly can.

Professor Greenwood, of Missouri: Generally, do not girls from the country know how to sew, how to make garments, and how to cook?

Mr. Rickoff: No!

President Sheldon: No, says Tennessee. No, from Kansas. What say you, ladies — do you know how to use the needle and scissors?

A Chorus of Voices: Yes, yes, yes!

President Sheldon: Let all teachers who can sew raise their hands. All hands up, and it is unanimous. All can sew, and I knew it would be so.

. . . . . .

Mr. Clark, of Boston: It is about five years ago, ladies and gentlemen, as the President of this Association can testify, that I undertook a private job of log rolling with him to get the subject of industrial education discussed by this Association at one of its annual meetings, and he told me then it was utterly impossible to carry it out.

President Sheldon: And I told you the truth, sir . . . I would like to ask how many persons in this audience were present at the great meeting of this Association held in Chicago, in 1863 — twenty-four years ago. Will all who were present at that meeting please rise?

Two persons rose.

President Sheldon: How many at that time ever thought of introducing manual training or the use of tools into a public school?

No response.

President Sheldon: They have all come since . . . Ladies and gentlemen: those of you who think manual training is of value and importance in a system of education in the United States will please manifest it by saying aye.

A unanimous response.[18]

But the jump from educational conference to high-school classroom was a treacherous one for a functional curriculum, and, strangely enough, the reluctance of Eastern educators to relinquish intellectual discipline as the best means of equipping for life was echoed in sections of the nation where men grappled diligently with nature as they erected their communities and wrested a living from its natural resources. Such an echo came from Administrator Austin, of Lincoln, Nebraska, in 1891. He had just completed a survey of one hundred cities in respect to the percentage of students going on to college, and had satisfied himself that not more than 10 per cent of the high-school enrollment, and not more than 25 per cent of the graduates, were going to college; yet he made this expression of what a western high school should be:

> And we regret that educators and excellent teachers, for the sake of a new thing, or, unconsciously becoming victimized by some fakeology, have exchanged the means of real culture for studies of practical meaning only, that have, upon candid inspection, only a fancied utility — such as the application of chemistry to cooking and bread-making; French and German to a tour abroad; and the substitution of sewing,

[18] See National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1887, pp. 212–237.

pastry, and soup making for algebra and geometry; or the arrangement of sums in debit and credit columns, so-called bookkeeping, to take the place of history and language, as I find these do in many high-school courses of study . . . The good cooks are not made at women's colleges, nor the good housekeeper in high schools. A great mistake is being made in the attempt to mix up the practical with the intellectual in such a manner as to destroy the intellectual.[19]

On the other hand, President William R. Harper of the University of Chicago, in 1902, admitted that the high-school curriculum could no longer be regarded as one to be adjusted as a preparation for college, and he even questioned whether preparation for college was the most important subdivision of high-school work.[20]

SIMILARITY OF THE TWO SECONDARY SCHOOLS

At the turn of the century, public high schools drew remarkably close to the declining academies in content and function. Table XVI indicates the similarity in the distribution of pupil time among the principal studies followed in the two. As the public high school began to sap the lifeblood of the academy, and as the colleges and national committees gave it the nod of approval, it was natural for the high school to take on more and more the characteristics of the college-preparatory institution. Educational surgeons grafted the academy's program on to the high school's popularity. But the growth of the high school went forward, regardless of its failure to present a new curriculum. (See Table XVII.)

TABLE XVI *Secondary-School Enrollments, 1899–1900* [21]

	PER CENT OF TOTAL STUDENTS ENROLLED	
	Public high schools	*Private high schools*
Latin	51	47
Greek	3	10
French	8	23
German	14	18
Algebra	56	49
Geometry	27	24
Physics	19	19
General history	38	36

[19] L. H. Austin, "The Province of the Western High School," National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1891, pp. 682–683.

[20] William R. Harper, "The Educational Progress of the Year," National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1902, p. 359.

[21] Table arranged from data issued by United States Commissioner of Education Harris, "Recent Growth of Public High Schools," National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1901, p. 174.

TABLE XVII *Increase in Public High Schools, 1890 and 1900* [22]

	1890	1900
North Atlantic States	786	1,448
South Atlantic States	115	449
South Central States	158	675
Western, and Far West	91	270
North Central States	1,376	3,163
TOTAL SCHOOLS	2,526	6,005
TOTAL PUPILS	203,000	520,000

Nicholas Murray Butler, in commenting on the secondary-school situation at that time, said, "The present rate of secondary-school pupils is nearly five times as great as the rate of increase in the population. It is noteworthy, too, that 50 per cent of the whole number of these pupils are studying Latin. The rate of increase in the number who study Latin is fully twice as great as the rate of increase in the number of secondary-school students." [23]

There was no state leadership apparent to offset this great pressure of the national association, the higher institutions, and local school administrators to accept the academy pattern for the high school. The typical course of study recommended by the state board of education was the academy's, as is revealed in Table XVIII. Constructive state leadership was still to come.

TABLE XVIII *Courses Recommended for the High Schools of Minnesota by the State High School Board, about 1900* [24]

COURSES, BY HOURS PER WEEK	LATIN SCIENTIFIC COURSE			
	First year	*Second year*	*Third year*	*Fourth year*
English	5	5	5	5
Latin	5	5	5	5
Mathematics	5	5	...	5
History	...	5	5	...
Natural science	5	...	5	5

In Latin, first year, grammar; second year, Caesar; third year, Cicero; fourth year, Virgil. In mathematics, first year, algebra; second, plane geometry; fourth, solid geometry and higher algebra. In natural science, first year, zoology or botany; third, physics; fourth, chemistry.

LITERARY COURSE: as above, substituting four years of German for Latin.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[23] Nicholas Murray Butler, *Education in the United States*, Albany, New York: J. B. Lyon Company, 1900, p. xiv.

[24] Butler, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–179.

CLASSICAL COURSE: as above, substituting Greek grammar and Anabasis for equivalents.

ENGLISH COURSE: as above, substituting for Latin four credits, chosen from botany, physiography, bookkeeping, civics, history, political economy, and senior common branches.

THOSE OTHER COMMITTEES

All the while that Sheldon, and Butler, and Austin, and Harper, and other educators were giving their personal opinions of the emerging high school, the national committees commissioned officially to make pronouncements proceeded to do so. Out of these reports came the forerunners of the techniques that were to become so popular in handling the extensive population and diversified curricula that were just over the horizon of a new century. The contribution of these bodies was in so many respects one made to the administration rather than to the instruction of the school. The inheritance of the modern high school thus includes this emphasis upon the length of periods, the length of time spent in courses, and the senior's being graduated with the required number and distribution of credits.

A number of the committees emphasized the reorganization of secondary education, extending the school both up and down to provide better articulation with the other units of the educational system. The 6–6 plan, dividing the years evenly between the elementary and the secondary schools, was mentioned by at least three of the reporting groups. The Committee on Six-Year Courses was especially created to consider the matter. It is true that committees treated the curriculum, but it can be said that it was from an administrative, rather than from a curricular point of view. They endorsed already existing subjects, moving them up and down and about to suit the prevailing point of view.

The Committee on the Correlation of Studies

The Committee of Fifteen on Elementary Education, or the Committee on the Correlation of Studies, in 1893 continued the work of the famous Committee of Ten, pushing down into the upper elementary-school years the courses that had been recommended so highly. German and French were seen as good for age ten, Latin was recommended for eighth grade, and Greek and Roman history were considered desirable as eighth-grade courses. The finality and assurance with which this second group disposed of the minute problems of the curriculum is noted in this section of the report:

Latin should be studied during the eighth year instead of English grammar; and English grammar should be studied during the sixth and seventh years. *Adopted by a majority.*

In the eighth year, an option should be given between Latin and a modern language. *Rejected.*

United States history should be studied for one and a half years. *Adopted by a majority.*

The Constitution of the United States should be studied for ten weeks during the last year of the course. *Adopted by a majority.*[25]

The Committee on College Entrance Requirements, appointed in July, 1895, and reporting July, 1899, to the Departments of Secondary and Higher Education, suggested the establishment of a uniform system of accounting for courses by time and preparation, but it remained for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching to be the first to specify a unit as "*a course of five periods weekly throughout an academic year of the preparatory school.*" [26] This unit-and-credit system, which is discussed in the next chapter, has had a great influence on the progression of pupils through high school.

A number of the national commissions emphasized the reorganization of secondary education, extending the school both up and down to provide better articulation with the other units of the educational system. The 6–6 plan, dividing the years evenly between the elementary and the secondary schools, was mentioned by at least three of the groups. The Committee on Six-Year Courses was especially created to consider the matter. It is true that committees treated the curriculum, but it can be said that it was from an administrative, rather than from a learning point of view. They did nothing more than endorse already existing subjects, moving them up or down — usually the latter, to suit the prevailing point of view.

The Committee on Economy of Time

The Committee on the Economy of Time, for instance, appointed by the Department of Superintendence in 1903, and reporting in 1913, was a natural result of the movement to extend secondary education downward. Something had to be eliminated from the elementary school when new subject matter was brought down to the seventh and eighth grades. The committee attempted to point out useless materials and wasteful procedures.

It has not been easy for the student of education to distinguish sharply one committee from another. According to the *Proceedings* of the NEA for 1905 (p. 279) this committee was set up in 1903 to report to the National Council on Education on an investigation proposed by James H. Baker, President of the University of Colorado, concerning the culture element and the economy of time in education. A brief report was presented in 1905. This committee presented a full report, published by the United States Bureau of Education, as Bulletin, 1913, No. 38, entitled: *Report of the Committee of the National Council of Education on Economy of Time in Education.* Although the dates of the committee's work should stand as 1903–1913, its work is intertwined with that of a group named in 1911 by the Department of Superintendence which re-

[25] See National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1895, p. 236.

[26] Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Annual Report*, 1906, p. 38.

sulted in enlisting the aid of investigators and the publication of four reports issued as yearbooks of the National Society for the Study of Education. According to the first report, published in the Fourteenth Yearbook, Part I, the Department's committee was named "upon the initiative of the Council Committee." The four yearbooks, all printed by the Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Illinois, were as follows:

1. *Minimum Essentials in Elementary-School Subjects — Standards and Current Practice,* 14th Yearbook, Part I, 1915
2. *Second Report of the Committee on Minimum Essentials in Elementary-School Subjects,* 16th Yearbook, Part I, 1917
3. *Third Report of the Committee on Economy of Time in Education,* 17th Yearbook, Part I, 1918
4. *Fourth Report of the Committee on Economy of Time in Education,* 18th Yearbook, Part II, 1919

The Committee on the Articulation of High Schools and Colleges

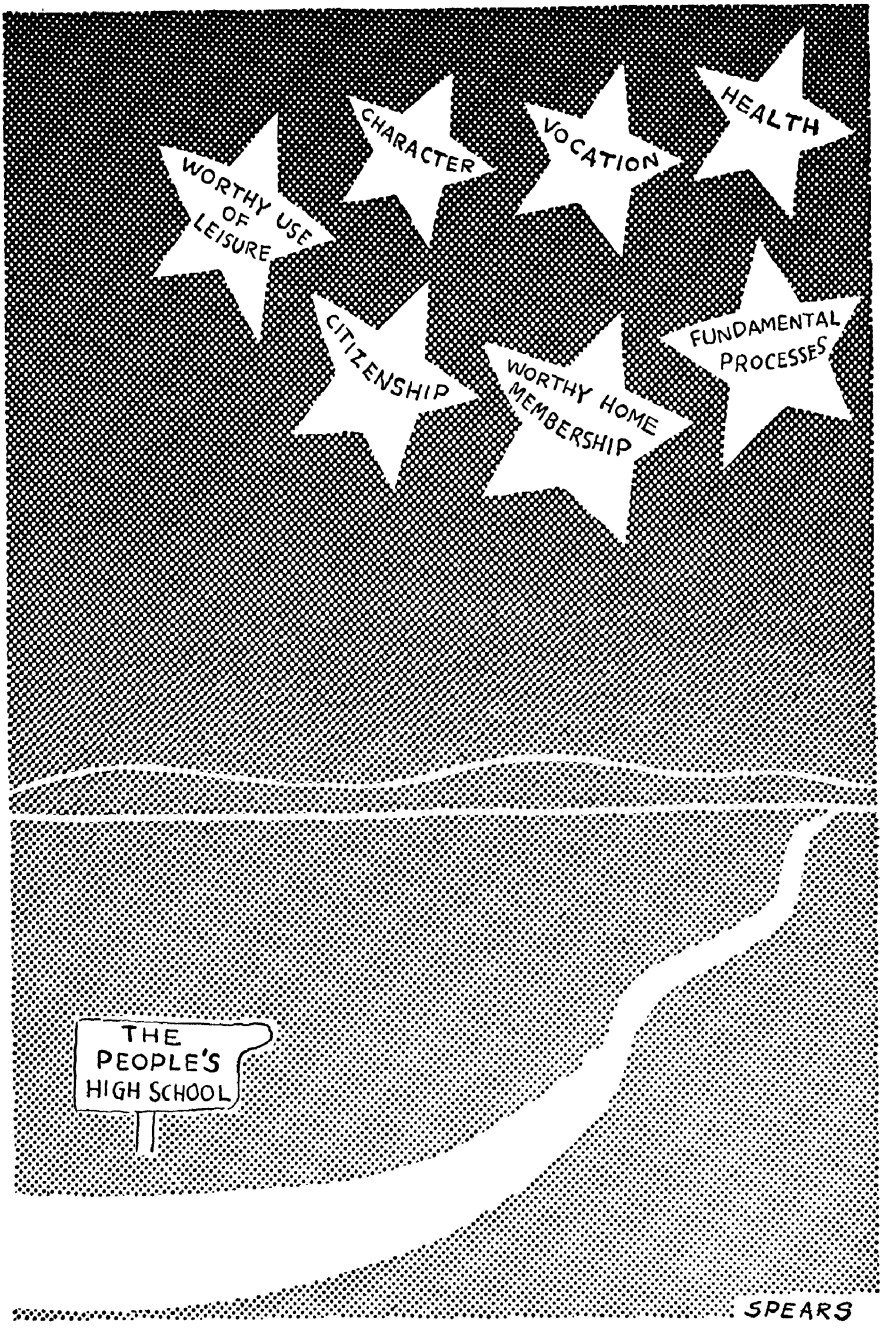
According to the 1911 *Proceedings* of the NEA, the Department of Secondary Education appointed this committee in July, 1910, which first reported at the 1911 meeting (pp. 559–567). Its second report was made in 1912 and the third in 1913, outlining in detail plans for a study of secondary education and the formation of a special commission by the NEA for this purpose. In 1913 the NEA created the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education.

The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education

Thus after twenty years of attempting to reshuffle existing offerings of the existing secondary schools to serve public-high-school needs, the planners finally went on record of approving a reorganization of the school program. Perhaps most significant and far-reaching of all the committee reports has been that made by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education. A series of studies emanated from the general committee and its sixteen separate subcommittees, but the famous one was the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* issued in 1918:

1. Health
2. Command of fundamental processes
3. Worthy home membership
4. Vocation
5. Civic education
6. Worthy use of leisure
7. Ethical character

The work of this group came from the active field of secondary education itself, not from the easy chairs in a college conference room far removed from the give-and-take of a public secondary school. The repeated reference to



STILL LIGHTING THE ROAD

these seven main objectives since they were issued in 1918 has marked this as perhaps the most far-reaching document that has ever been issued in secondary education. Although the educator looking for the specific answer to the curriculum problem has criticized the points as too general for his purposes, they nevertheless have formed the framework of innumerable courses of study and statements of curriculum philosophy, and have influenced the teaching in thousands of classrooms of the country.

Health, worthy home membership, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, — such a contrast to those former guiding principles of preparation for college — mind training, inspiration to the elementary school, and education for status. Today there is not a secondary-school planning group that does not list citizenship training as a major responsibility. *Certainly, 1918 must go down as one of the few highly significant dates in the story of American secondary education.* Where modern secondary education wanted to go was pretty well determined that year. It was to remain for others to determine how it was to reach those ends.

Chapter
18

GREAT EXPECTATIONS

Mass secondary education fell upon an unprepared profession, but only a few scattered voices dared venture that the new population would blend into the college-dominated high school with just about as much grace as the proverbial bull in the china closet. It was true that the seven noble functions that were set out in 1918 as the cardinal principles of secondary education ignored college preparation, but, after all, this denial represented little more than the half-hearted whistling in the dark of a small group of frontier thinkers, who liked to imagine that the higher institution was not lurking just around the corner in the shadows of scholasticism.

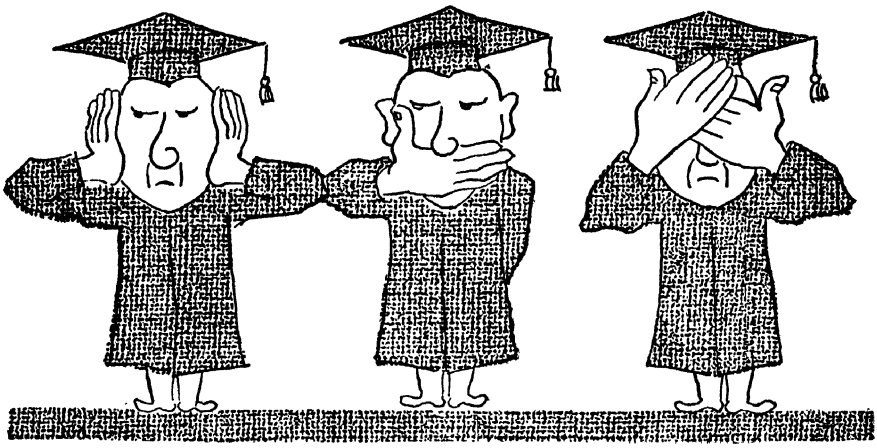
The work of the high school is not primarily to prepare pupils for college but to prepare them for citizenship were the exact words of the emancipation proclamation that the school masters of Amherst, Massachusetts, had uttered as early as 1911; [1] but even today it is easier for a school to make the statement than to make the break. If America has ever agreed upon one thing that her secondary school should do above all else, perhaps it is to prepare for college. This is plainly revealed in any honest study of American secondary education. America's 28,000 high schools vary greatly in the extent of their offerings, but the one course that they all have in common is the college-preparatory.

THE FEAR OF LOWERING STANDARDS

From the very day that the high school opened its doors to all the children of all the people, there was apparent the fear of lowering the standards of the school, a fear that has presented itself in such miscellaneous practices as these:

1. The awarding of differentiated diplomas, as practiced by many schools, it being implied if not actually stated that the one given for the completion of the academic or classical course was the gilt-edged credential

[1] Amherst, Massachusetts, *Annual Report of the School Committee*, 1911, p. 8.



THE ADVOCATE OF THE STATUS QUO

2. The school's continual practice of retaining scholastic requirements above the abilities of a sizable portion of its potential student body, a practice that still means for many youth the termination of schooling before graduation time
3. The placement of scholastic achievement above achievement in citizenship, activities in the latter usually being relegated to the extracurricular field that holds secondary status to the classroom program
4. In placing scholasticism ahead of citizenship, the continued practice of placing the classroom program of telling about right action above any program of practicing right action
5. The criticism levelled at the lower schools by the high school for having sent up youth who are supposedly not ready to profit by its program, the emphasis thus being placed upon the standard of the program rather than upon the youth who might be served
6. The use of a marking system that emphasizes a single standard of achievement for a class, and pits students of varied abilities against each other
7. The adoption of a mechanical system of accounting for student accomplishment by means of units and credits tied into the competitive marking system

These practices led to the Carnegie unit. Back in 1899, as mentioned in Chapter 17, one of the National Education Association study groups, *The Committee on College Entrance Requirements*, suggested the establishment of a uniform system of accounting for courses by time and preparation, and seven years later the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching came up with the specifications of a unit as "a course of five periods weekly throughout an academic year of the preparatory school." [2]

[2] Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Annual Report*, 1906, p. 38.

The standard-worshipers jumped at the proposal, and the unit-and-credit system was established on a nationwide scale as the means of accounting accurately for the progression of pupils through high school. It became handmaiden to the system of grade levels. Today state departments of public instruction demand for graduation, and colleges for admission, so many units in this and so many in that, with two majors of six each and two minors of four each being highly popular. And school administrators dovetail courses and tally credits in such a manner that the three-fifths and three-fourths add with the wholes, so that each senior graduates with at least his share of fifteen or sixteen units, this being thirty or thirty-two credits. Pupils speak glibly in terms of majors and minors, and it is a dumb student who doesn't know such intricacies as the fact that one credit in plane geometry won't count toward graduation, but that one unit in the subject is legal tender. Some states such as New Jersey have found the 32-credit system not technical enough to satisfy the administrative mind, and have multiplied the 32 by the number of school days in the week. Thus the student striving to graduate has a 150- or 160-point plan to manipulate, as he picks up 2 for this and 3 for that.

Many years ago, in one of its annual reports, the Carnegie Foundation admitted the shortcomings of its rigid unit-and-credit plan, stating that it should "undoubtedly give place to more flexible, more individual, more exact, and more revealing standards of performance as rapidly as these may be achieved." [3] But these have not been forthcoming, and it is doubtful if they will as long as scholastic achievement retains its position in the minds of educators as more significant than achievement in social and civic action. If the latter were to take its rightful place as *the* goal for a program for high-school youth, then high-school attendance could be conceived in terms of years of attendance and not in terms of numbers of credits accumulated. If the school were four years, then each youth would have a right to that many years there, and his continued presence would not depend upon amassing marks and credits.

HIGH-SCHOOL STUDENTS — THEN AND NOW

As high-school enrollments began to double decade by decade down through the first half of this century, the perplexity of the problem led many a student of secondary education to imagine that this rapid extension of the school had brought with it a new type of student unknown to the school of fifty years ago. Educational linguists came forward with the term *nonacademic pupil* to serve perplexed teachers and administrators. The term implies a type incompatible with "book learning" of the performance-level usually expected of the youth passing through a high school emphasizing book coverage.

[3] The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the President and of the Treasurer*, 1933, p. 38.

While there are those who feel that the high school could still retain a greater percentage of the youth from ages twelve to eighteen, if it would but go further in its recognition of heterogeneity, there are those who maintain that the increase in drawing and holding power exercised thus far has lowered standards of work. This latter group has seen as analogous the increased enrollment and the lowering of the general intelligence as measured by the I.Q. test. Those who do not contend that the intelligence is lower than fifty years ago, at least indicate that the purposes for going to school are, on the average, less academic, a situation which induces lower standards in book performance. The deduction they then make is that the more gifted who promise to be the future leaders of the State are not required to work up to capacity, and thus suffer because of the greater number in attendance.

Methods Lacking

It is to be remembered that the average high-school teacher in the academic areas such as English, social studies, mathematics, languages, and science, has never been taught by the training institution how to differentiate instruction. One assignment for the entire class, with occasional compromises for the slower students, has been and still is the common procedure.[4] The breaking down of a class into smaller groups, and the rotation of teacher attention by groups, as so commonly practiced in the early grades of the elementary school, is an unknown procedure in most high-school classrooms. When the classroom work is geared to one standard of achievement for the group, it is not strange that the teacher looks upon nonacademic students as a menace to the standard of achievement for the brighter students. If better minds are at times sacrificed, it is a reflection on methods rather than a reflection on the policy of attempting to educate all American youth.

Ability grouping, for a time, was welcomed as the solution to the problem, but of late such grouping has been attacked because of its denial of the natural social groupings of individuals. At times it has been argued that the one way to give both mass education and train the gifted proportionately to their abilities would be to have secondary education distributed among several parallel institutions above the elementary school, one for the college-bound, one for the students going into commercial positions at graduation, and so on. This would be opposed to the comprehensive high school of the present that holds so much of the democratic spirit of America.

Misconceiving the Student of Yesterday

For educators to reason that the coming of the masses to the high school has lowered the standard of achievement implies that all must have been well in respect to general academic intelligence, common purposes, and

[4] See Harold Spears, *Secondary Education in American Life*, Chapter 7, New York: American Book Company, 1941.

work habits of the students of the ante-mass days, or at least it implies that the situation then was much better than at present. An examination of the conditions of the earlier school fails to reveal either that the range of ability among pupils was narrower than today, or that the purposes for attendance were then more homogeneous than today. Since the intelligence test was unknown the past century, comparison cannot be made among student bodies on that basis, but general evidence is ample to indicate that the high-school instructional problem at any time during the past seventy-five or hundred years has varied in quantity of students rather than in quality. The few references that follow are samples of the evidence that could be collected to fill a book establishing the point that there is a lot of rationalization and wishful thinking on the part of today's administrators and teachers who like to think of the good old school days of the past.

The principal of Cleveland's Central High School of 1862 made a plea to the board of education to aid him in respect to over a fourth of the freshman class who were incapable of doing high-school work:

> The number enrolled during the last year was 212; a larger number than ever before in the history of the school. This large enrollment was caused, mainly, by the large number (about 90) admitted from the grammar schools. Of the 90 pupils, at least 25 ought not to have been admitted. They formed, during the year, a class of incapables; and at this time, those of them who remain in the school are just where they were a year ago — having failed, some of them in all, most of them in two-thirds of their studies.[5]

Today's high-school administrator should also consider the words of the head of the Providence, Rhode Island, High School of 1866, who was likewise troubled by the standard of work in his school:

> I would also recommend additional tests in the examination of our schools, that we may ascertain, not only what pupils know, but what they can do. It is not an uncommon occurrence to meet with scholars who have a satisfactory examination in many of the higher branches of study, to be ignorant of the simplest elements of knowledge. They violate the plainest rules of grammar, and fail entirely in the correct use of fractions. Penmanship, in particular, ought to receive more attention than is now given to it.[6]

In 1911, when the high schools enrolled not even a sixth of the community's youth that they now do, Superintendent Hardy of Amherst, Massachusetts, was having his difficulties with scholarship, and refused to accept the blame for the failure of pupils. He wrote:

> But what can be done? There is no patent method by which he can be made to work. One may lead a horse to water, but ten cannot make him drink. If a pupil is lazy and indifferent, cares more for club and social life, barely does enough work to

[5] Cleveland, Ohio, *Public Schools Report*, 1861–62, p. 67.

[6] Providence, Rhode Island, *Annual Report of the School Committee*, 1866, p. 25.

keep his standing in school, and does this only by the constant prodding of his teacher, who is to blame if he does not succeed? Sometimes parents acknowledge their inability to influence their children in these matters. Certainly they ought not to expect of the teachers what they cannot do themselves.[7]

The problem of scholastic standards and pupils' failure to meet them, and teachers' consternation therefrom, are a part of the present warp and woof of American secondary education that came down from the popular patterns of yesterday. Critics of the school's mounting enrollment this century imply that a greater percentage of yesterday's high-school population was preparing for college, and assume that the greater the percentage of the student body headed for college, the higher the standard of academic endeavor. A comparison of enrollments of different periods in respect to the per cent going to college indicates again that the selective quality of yesterday's high school has been overemphasized. Tables given in Brown's monography, for the school year 1897–1898, reveal that only 14 per cent of the total number of students in public and private high schools and academies were preparing for college, and that only 31 per cent of the graduates that year were college-preparatory students.[8] This rather thorough study of the national picture at the time would indicate a diversified student population not unlike the one fifty years later — today.

Then there was the study by Austin, who surveyed over one hundred representative high schools of different states in 1891 in respect to college preparation, and satisfied himself that less than 10 per cent of the enrollment and less than 25 per cent of the graduates were intending to enter college.[9]

Standards for What?

There are educators, as well as laymen, who would argue that the inclusion of the great variety of subjects in the curriculum in itself lowered standards, and that standards were higher in 1900 when half of the students were taking Latin and other so-called hard subjects. In the face of the mounting evidence of educational research, such a contention has little more to stand upon than the subjective statements of faith, such as that issued years ago by the Cleveland principal who wrote:

> For purposes of discipline, Latin is, in many respects, superior to any other study in the course. It cultivates the understanding, memory, and taste. It increases the power of expressing thought clearly and vigorously; while without it, it is quite impossible to attain anything more than a superficial knowledge of the English language.[10]

[7] Amherst, Massachusetts, *Annual Report of the School Committee*, 1911, pp. 8–9.

[8] Nicholas Murray Butler, *Education in the United States*, Monograph 4, Elmer E. Brown, "Secondary Education," Albany, New York: J. B. Lyon Company, 1900, p. 203.

[9] L. H. Austin, "The Province of the Western High School," National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*, 1891, p. 679.

[10] Cleveland, Ohio, *Public Schools Report*, 1862, p. 69.

There is no objective evidence to support the contention that the democratization of the secondary school, as noted in the great influx of youth, has lowered the intelligence level and thus the standard of achievement. If the standard has been lowered, it reflects the school's failure to make curriculum changes and the teacher's failure to individualize instruction. To the perplexed administrator or teacher it is no doubt comforting to think that there was no nonacademic pupil fifty years ago, but the thought is little more than a flight of the imagination. It is true that all pupils of that early school were taking a prescribed academic course taught in a rather uniform manner, but this common curriculum cannot stand as evidence of similarity in interests, capacities, and destination of the pupils enrolled. Instead, it stands as evidence of maladjustment — a maladjustment even greater than is found in the average high school today. The coming of the general public this century presented the school administration with the problems of regimen and curriculum planning rather than with the problem of decreased intelligence.

Tests Suggest False Conclusions

Perhaps this quarter century's measurement movement has been a strong factor in making it so easy for today's educator to jump to the false conclusion that intelligence went off the gold standard with the influx of youth during the same period. Differences in scholastic abilities among school children stand out sharply to a teacher when listed as objective test scores printed in columns on a white sheet of paper. For instance, for a reading score to tell the teacher that one of her tenth-year world history students as a reader is a fifth grader, may establish the student's position in the class before the first recitation ever takes place. Regardless of the good that may come from testing, without a set of reading or intelligence scores the teacher is much less likely to notice such differences within the group.

Then too, the modern youth is not necessarily a conformist. He thinks for himself. This revolt against tradition and the consequent promotion of his own interests may have presented the traditional high school with a situation to add to the confusion about lowered intellectual capacity.

There are those school leaders who have placed great faith in the multiplication of offerings as the means of meeting the heterogeneity of needs and interests. The constantly increasing holding-power of the secondary school this century cannot be attributed merely to the extension upward of the compulsory attendance age, but attests to a corresponding growth in popularity of schooling among the adolescents. If there is one item on the credit side of the school's ledger which should be appreciated by those who would lead the reconstruction, it is the popularity of the high school among those who attend. It can be conceived that with proper program development, this popularity could be extended gradually to a greater and greater per-

centage of all the youth of high-school age. Unfortunately, there are still some adults, both within and without the profession, who are skeptical of a school program that is really enjoyable, and read into this popularity a lowering of standards and an unfitting for the hard realities of life.

There is no need to remind today's student of education that the tremendous growth in the secondary-school enrollment, the increased holding-power of the school, the wide variation in interests and capacities represented, the discredit that research has brought to the doctrines of formal discipline and transfer of training, the increased demand for effective education in a democracy, the effect of technological development upon social change, the struggle to elevate teacher status and thus the profession, and the ever-recurring difficulty of securing the public's tax dollar, are all pressures for change that can be neither ignored nor managed through an administrative-edict approach to instruction. How far the secondary school can be extended to reach the American dream of equality of opportunity is dependent largely upon the ability of the profession to conceive the changes that might be made, and then to execute them.

Advances

Recognition of the heterogeneity of the high-school population was tardily advanced by the junior-high-school movement, Thorndike's attention upon individual differences, G. Stanley Hall's spotlight upon adolescence, John Dewey's thesis that education is life rather than preparation for life, the multiplicity of subjects and courses, the consequent guidance movement, the extracurricular movement, scientific testing and measurement, mental hygiene, curriculum reorganization, and liberties extended by some college admission offices.

Little by little the American high school is assuming the responsibility of doing the best for each pupil according to the measure of his ability and interests. School administration must share the credit for this progress with the great horde of youngsters who have come to their doors, bringing with them into the once cloistered halls the naturalness of life itself, and creating the situation that makes change imminent.

The philosophy of John Dewey, although advanced early in the century, has found its reception only recently in the upper school. The multiplication of the number of subjects and courses was at first considered the natural way to care for individual differences, and led consequently to the guidance movement. Where courses were few, election was limited, and called for but little teacher guidance. Cumulative records, standardized tests for diagnosis as well as for achievement, and counseling have found their place in the proper distribution of education.

Smuggled through the back door by the students themselves were the extracurricular activities, the socializing influence of the school. Even down

to the present they have depended largely for their adequate recognition upon the sympathetic administrator. It was found easier to promote clubs than to ferret out secret student societies, and easier to organize and manage the athletic program than to stand the consequences of the football game that was played with a few nonschool townsmen in the lineup. Student activities were forced upon the administration and the teaching staff as a part of that naturalness of life that the pupils refused to leave outside as they entered the school plant. They were accepted only after it was seen that suppression was not possible, and even today in many large high schools the Saturday night dance, the weekly assembly, and the hobby club represent concessions made by an academically minded faculty rather than educational innovations advanced by the school. It is true that a sympathetic teacher here and there had encouraged activities in the early days, but not until the administration half-heartedly approved them did faculty sponsorship really begin.

EXTENDING HIGH SCHOOL DOWNWARD: THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

The New Organization of Grades

As noted in Chapter 12, college advisers to the high school, who appeared in such large numbers during the last two decades of the last century and the first decade of this, did not rest until they had extended the typical four-year high school down two years into the existing eight-year elementary school. Out of this thinking was born the junior high school.

The junior-high school movement began with Columbus, Ohio, and Berkeley, California, inaugurating the 6–3–3 system to replace the 8–4 system, in 1908–1909. Gaining momentum gradually, the idea caught the professional fancy, and the junior-high enrollment that had reached 37,331 by 1920 jumped in six years time to over 800,000. The number of such schools jumped from 387 in 1922 to 1,842 in 1930. As compulsory attendance laws pushed the minimum school age first to fourteen, and then to fifteen and sixteen, more and more school systems clutched at the 7–8–9 segregation as a better means of holding the interest of many of these older children who were accustomed to dropping out at the end of the eight-year elementary school. It is interesting to note that even though this extension of the high school downward found its origin among college educators such as Charles Eliot who wanted better preparation for college, public-school administrators were soon using the junior-high plan as a means of extending elementary education upward in behalf of the children they were serving.

In moving away from the plan of an eight-year elementary school and a four-year high school, public-school administrators divided themselves between the 6–6 and the 6–3–3 plans of organization, both of which stemmed from the recommendations of those national commissions that had been so

prolific with ideas. Both plans reveal dissatisfaction with the existing high school and an accompanying faith in its inadequacies being corrected through the new organization. There had been much hue and cry about the waste of time in the eight-year elementary school, and now it was supposed that this was to be eliminated by signing the seventh and eighth grades over to the upper school. Although the student of secondary education will find much good having come out of this renewed interest in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades, he must not lose sight of the fact that the whole matter was a reflection of the college's domination over the high school. It is well to repeat again, that *if America has ever agreed upon one thing that her secondary school should do above all else, perhaps it is to prepare for college.*

TABLE XIX *Number of Secondary Schools, by Types*

For the sixteen-year period during which so much of the junior-high growth was noted.

TYPE OF SCHOOL	*1922*	*1926*	*1930*	*1934*	*1938*
Junior high schools	387	1,109	1,842	1,948	2,372
Per cent of total	2.8	6.3	8.3	8.4	9.6
Junior-senior high schools	1,088	1,949	3,287	3,938	6,203
Per cent of total	7.7	11.0	14.8	17.0	25.2
Senior high schools	91	411	648	753	959
Per cent of total	.6	2.3	2.9	3.2	3.9
Regular high schools	12,490	14,241	16,460	16,574	15,056
Per cent of total	88.9	80.4	74.0	71.4	61.3
Total	14,056	17,710	22,237	23,213	24,590

Senior high schools: 10, 11, 12 grades; Regular high schools: 9, 10, 11, 12 grades.

The economy of time in education, the number-one argument advanced for the six years of secondary education by its college backers, was to say that the usual four years were not sufficient for the mastery of the usual high-school subjects, and that two years of the elementary school could be enlisted for the task without noticeable loss to that unit. Among the other claims commonly made for the change were these:

1. The economy of time
2. A more gradual transition from elementary to secondary education
3. A more suitable environment for the early adolescent
4. Provision for the exploration of aptitudes and interests
5. Better attention to the individual
6. Better scholarship

7. Less retardation and elimination
8. Improved discipline
9. The more rapid advancement of pupils [11]

In looking back over this attempted reorganization of the school, one asks how many of the common expectations were realized, and how many of these purposes depended upon a change from the 8–4 plan. It is interesting to note that much of the popular thinking concerning the secondary school is not in accord with the early claims for the junior high school. For instance, the so-called vocational exploratory work at the junior-high-school level is now in some disrepute, largely due to a changed economic and social situation in America today. In 1910 the ninth grade was terminal education for a great majority of youth, while today it is the twelfth grade. At junior-high level the general shop instead of the specialized vocational shop is endorsed.

Furthermore, the early eagerness to push high-school subjects down into the seventh and eighth grades is now being counteracted by the current attack upon departmentalization and subject emphasis. It is being pointed out that the close personal attention that the student was to get in the junior-high years is more likely to be found where one teacher remains with the child for a long period of the day, which was the case in the elementary school before departmentalization. Many junor high schools today, such as those in Springfield, Missouri, place a student in a core course where he stays with one teacher for perhaps half the day, taking such related work as English and social studies, and also securing guidance in this program.

Where the early junior high schools were interested in the rapid advancement of the bright student through school, the current trend of thought is that acceleration causes social maladjustments. The modern junior high extends its program to care for the talented, rather than to hurry them on to the difficult scholastic tasks in the upper school.

Unless they work at the difficult task of co-ordination with the schools below and above, junior-high principals have found that instead of the 6–3–3 plan bridging the gap between the elementary and secondary school, it will present two breaks instead of one. This new middle school in many instances was handicapped from the beginning in its adoption of features of the high school which should never have been carried down into those years, and in its inheritance of high-school teachers. Today there is an active attempt being made to permit the junior high to grow up as a natural extension of the elementary years below it.

Achievements

Outstanding among the achievements of the junior high school has been its ability to recognize and give play to the active life of the youngster. It

[11] For an extensive summary of the claims of the writers of that period, see W. A. Smith, *The Junior High School*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925, pp. 150–206.

has been this unit of the school organization that has set the example for student activities in the senior high school. Student councils, clubs, assemblies, and other features of extracurricular life have found their finest development in the larger junior high schools of the country. How much of this has been due to the segregation of youngsters of this age into one school and how much has been due to the foresight of the planners cannot be determined. Such early pioneering as that of Philip Cox at the Ben Blewitt Junior High in St. Louis stands out distinctly in the records. Revised marking systems, the core curriculum, student participation in school government, proper student guidance and many other promising features of the emerging secondary school have found their first growth in the junior high school.

The 6–6 and the 6–3–3 plans have now been accepted and taken for granted along with the 8–4, 7–4, and other popular forms of school organization. Some school systems, as those in San Francisco and New York City, did not complete the establishment of the junior-high plan by the time the decrease in birth rates during the depression years slowed down schoolhouse construction. San Francisco has only a handful of eight-year elementary schools left and expects to house the upper two grades in new junior high schools soon.

The 1920–1930 period stands as the decade of "writing about" the junior high school. The things written in recent years about the school are seldom textbooks, but are shorter studies evaluating the outcomes and pointing out the road ahead.[12] As far as looking to the organization of education as leading to the better development of youth is concerned, the schools today such as in Pasadena, California, are speaking of the 6–4–4 plan and other means of extending the secondary school upward.

In looking back over the successes of many American school systems in the development of effective junior high schools, credit can be given to alert school administrators for having recovered the educational fumble made by Charles Eliot and his college associates who first advanced the junior-high idea as a means of improving college work. The mere organizational aspects of education will never solve the problems of child development, but where respect for sound educational principles has been teamed with the 6–3–3 and 6–6 plans, worthy institutions have been developed.

EXTENDING HIGH SCHOOL UPWARD: THE JUNIOR COLLEGE

The junior college, representing two-years work beyond the twelfth grade of high school, found popularity first as a private college representing in most cases a "finishing school" and in a few a course of specialized training leading

[12] See Charles L. Jacobs, *Status of the Junior High School in California*, Santa Barbara State College, 55 pp.; and Board of Education, New York City, *Report and Recommendations of the Committee on Junior High Schools*, 48 pp.

to some specific line of endeavor. The idea was then accepted as an extension of public education in some states, especially California, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Texas. Other states listing at least ten public junior colleges today are Georgia, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, and New York. The strongholds of the private junior colleges are Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, and Texas.

TABLE XX *Extent of the Junior-College Movement, 1948* [13]

Only states with ten or more junior colleges are specifically treated; totals include all states.

STATE	NUMBER OF JUNIOR COLLEGES			ENROLLMENT OF JUNIOR COLLEGES		
	Total	*Public*	*Private*	*Total*	*Public*	*Private*
U. S. totals	*663*	*326*	*337*	*455,048*	*339,251*	*115,797*
CALIFORNIA	75	63	12	171,865	170,641	1,224
FLORIDA	11	1	10	2,684	333	2,351
GEORGIA	21	10	11	8,593	6,922	1,671
ILLINOIS	28	15	13	24,556	19,236	5,320
IOWA	30	23	7	4,138	2,395	1,743
KANSAS	21	14	7	5,745	4,852	893
KENTUCKY	15	2	13	3,717	689	3,028
MASSACHUSETTS	25	3	22	7,518	469	7,049
MICHIGAN	13	10	3	8,889	8,572	317
MINNESOTA	15	12	3	6,242	5,629	613
MISSISSIPPI	22	12	10	7,866	6,390	1,476
MISSOURI	23	11	12	11,477	7,376	4,101
NEW JERSEY	12	5	7	5,921	1,944	3,977
NEW YORK	32	12	20	25,965	5,604	20,361
NORTH CAROLINA	23	3	20	6,746	814	5,932
OKLAHOMA	23	19	4	5,253	4,730	523
PENNSYLVANIA	22	5	17	9,976	2,751	7,225
TENNESSEE	13	1	12	4,234	805	3,429
TEXAS	63	33	30	44,416	34,450	9,966
VIRGINIA	16	3	13	6,410	2,838	3,572
WASHINGTON	10	9	1	5,355	5,277	78
WISCONSIN	14	9	5	10,965	10,526	439

The most complete reporting of this movement comes from the American Association of Junior Colleges. The 1948 directory, released from its Washington, D. C., office, is reported here as Table XX. Such facts as these can be noted:

1. Over one-third of the total enrollment of all junior colleges is found in California — 455,048 in all, 171,865 in California.

[13] Jesse P. Bogue and Shirley Sanders, "Junior College Directory, 1948," *Junior College Journal*, January, 1948, 18:279.

2. California is the home of the public junior college, having 170,641 students of the total of 339,251 in the nation — almost an even 50 per cent.
3. Texas can boast approximately 10 per cent of the nation's total junior college enrollment.
4. The number of public junior colleges is 326, of the private 337, the respective total enrollments being 339,251 and 115,797.
5. The largest private college enrollment is found in New York State — 20,361.

The states having no public junior colleges are Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Nevada, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Vermont. Some time ago the total enrollment in public junior colleges seemed insignificant as compared with the enrollment in the public high schools, but the 339,251 students reported in 1948 represents a trend worth following. The question being asked today is not, "Who can profit by going to college?" but, rather, "Who can profit by remaining in school after high-school graduation?" More and more the junior college is being looked upon as a natural extension of educational opportunities above the former twelfth grade into the thirteenth and fourteenth. But, as pointed out in Chapter 12, there are some very practical matters that may hold down the general extension of the public junior colleges in the dozens of states that have thus far been lukewarm to the idea.

Chapter 19

THE PRINCIPAL-TEACHER

Highly significant in the storybook development of the public's high school, from its meager beginnings to its noble position today, is the principalship. Born of necessity, nurtured on the problems of an expanding enrollment, and nearing a maturity hastened by the urgencies of a troubled world — the position now stands in the community as indeed one of high esteem. Its emergence from early obscurity is just as interesting as is the background story of the school that the position serves.[1]

THE PRINCIPAL–TEACHER

It is natural that the first principals were first of all classroom teachers. Hierarchical organization, the accepted type of organization in government and church at least since the days of the Roman Empire, and in industry and education since the time they first needed organization, left no place in American education for a school of two or more teachers without designating one of them as "in charge," as the "principal-teacher." The term *principal-teacher*, although coined over a century ago, and dropped when managerial responsibilities in growing school systems demanded the head teacher's release from classroom work, is still descriptive of the principalship in the great percentage of American high schools. Since three-fourths of these schools have no more than 250 students each, and since the most common size school is that of less than 75 pupils, it is not surprising that most school districts still demand classroom instruction as well as administrative management of the high-school principal.

The principal-teacher of the early school, besides his teaching load, looked after the building, the equipment, and the grounds. He classified pupils, prevented their gathering on the premises before the doors were unlocked, answered to the local citizenry for their behavior on the way home from

[1] See Paul R. Pierce, *The Origin and Development of the Public School Principalship*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935. Most of the significant studies of the principalship seem to have appeared between 1930 and 1940.

school, and acted as clerk of the school. He enforced the rules of the trustees, rang the bells, and gave minor directions to his associate teachers. One of the chief requirements of the position was firmness in carrying out the duties laid down by the trustees. The seed of the disciplinary aspects of the later principalship were sown deeply in the forerunner.

In 1836 Henry Thoreau was dismissed as master of the Concord, Massachusetts, school because he would not administer floggings to his pupils. As the accounts read, he was an exception. History records that one "Daddy" Knight functioned in the approved manner in his Evansville, Indiana, classroom at the middle of the century. If a disturbance began along a row of seats and he was unable to trace the offender, he never wasted any time, but began at the first seat and thrashed the occupants of the whole row with no partiality. He claimed by this means he always got the right one.[2]

The struggle of the position to emerge from its insignificant beginnings is vividly portrayed in the public-school reports of the nineteenth century. Where school trustees were eager for the principal-teacher to assume full responsibility for a well-disciplined school, they were reluctant to turn over to him the inspection of instruction, the administration, and the organization of the school. On December 3, 1838, the Committee of Trustees of the Cincinnati schools reported that "in the absence of the trustee of the district and his special instructions, or the instructions of the board of trustees, the principal-teacher is expected to give the necessary instruction to his assistants, and to classify the pupils and regulate the schools under his charge."[3]

This reluctance to grant responsibility was seen earlier that same year when the Committee reported that they "have endeavored to place the control of the houses, so far as the regulation of the scholars is concerned, under the charge of principals, to whom the assistants are subject in the minor arrangements of government, classification, etc. Still, there are a number of instances where assistants are so well versed in the art of teaching that they are allowed to remain practically independent of their supervisors in the same house or even room."[4]

THE DUTIES OF EARLY PRINCIPALS

If the principal of the smaller high school today is weighted down with teaching duties in addition to the management of the school, it can be said that he came by the assignment honestly. The Cincinnati school report of 1848 in treating the new high school states: "To secure uniformity and effi-

[2] Frank M. Gilbert, *History of the City of Evansville and Vanderburgh County, Indiana*, Vol. I, Chicago: Pioneer Publishing Company, 1910, p. 257.

[3] Cincinnati, Ohio, *Tenth Annual Report of the Trustees and Visitors of Common Schools*, 1839, p. 23.

[4] Cincinnati, Ohio, *Ninth Annual Report of the Trustees and Visitors of Common Schools*, 1838, p. 5.

ciency in the administration of the discipline of the School, and at the same time to enable the Teachers and Assistants to give their whole time, as far as possible, to the business of instruction, the Board commits the general government of the School into the hands of the Principal."[5] In addition, Principal Barney conducted classes in Constitution of the United States, Constitution and public institutions of Ohio, moral science, mental science, political economy, science of government, law of nations, and history of civilization.

Just sixty years later somewhat similar demands were being made upon the principals in Raleigh, North Carolina, as shown by this notice: "They shall devote three and a half hours daily to actual teaching, and shall give the rest of their time to visiting the different classrooms of their respective buildings, rendering assistance where most needed, in order that they may bring their school up to the highest degree of efficiency."[6] Besides this full day's schedule, the principal had all of his other duties to perform. In Newark, New Jersey, that same year the principals were teaching two hours besides carrying out their other responsibilities.

Until fifteen or twenty years ago it was the common practice for school systems to enumerate annually among the rules and regulations of the schools the specific duties of the superintendent, the principal, the teacher, and the pupil. The development of the principalship as traced down through these bulletins was remarkably uniform from city to city. The duties of the office in Seattle for 1885, Birmingham for 1887, St. Paul for 1891, Salt Lake City for 1892, and Bloomington, Illinois, for 1897 give the student of secondary education the feeling that by 1900 the position of principal was rather uniformly fixed. The Salt Lake City statement has been reproduced here to show the characteristics that the principalship had commonly taken on as it approached the turn of the century.

Salt Lake City, Utah, 1892

The Principal shall have charge of the schoolhouse, furniture, grounds and other property belonging to the school, and see that the same are kept in good condition. He shall be held responsible for the general management and discipline of the entire establishment in all its departments. He may establish special rules, subject to the approval of the Superintendent, for securing good order in the building of which he has charge and on its grounds. Whenever any repairs are needed he shall give notice thereof to the Superintendent.

The Principal shall furnish to the Superintendent the monthly and other reports required of himself and the several teachers assisting him, upon the blank forms prescribed by the Board. These reports shall be in the hands of the Superintendent on or before the Thursday evening the last day of the month covered by the report. He shall furnish monthly, or oftener, on a blank prescribed for that purpose, a report of

[5] Cincinnati, Ohio, *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Trustees and Visitors of Common Schools*, 1848, p. 26.

[6] Raleigh, North Carolina, *Thirty-first Annual Report of the Public Schools*, 1908, p. 57.

attendance, scholarship and behavior of each pupil to the parents of the same. This report, on being signed by the parents, shall be returned to the teacher.

In all cases of willful and persistent violations of any of the rules prescribed by the authority of the Board, the Principal is vested with authority to suspend the offender. In all cases of suspension the Principal shall give immediate notice thereof, on blanks furnished by the Board, to the parent or guardian, and also to the Superintendent, and every notice shall state the offense for which the punishment is inflicted.

The Principal shall examine the class-books and registers from time to time, giving such directions as will insure their being kept in proper order.

The Principal and teacher shall carefully see that the ventilation of the rooms is as good as possible, making use, at all times, of every means in their power to give the children in their charge pure air to breathe. The temperature of the room shall be maintained in winter at a point as near 70 degrees as possible.

The Principal shall, within two weeks after the commencement of each half year, furnish the Superintendent with a program of the daily exercises of the different rooms of the school.

Principals shall be permitted without interference on the part of any member of the Board or the Superintendent, to arrange the details for the internal government of his schools according to their own methods, provided such methods are not inconsistent with the general regulations of the schools; but they are, of course, to be judged as to their qualifications by the results they may produce.

Principals shall cause arrangements to be made, within their respective schools, to open at least one room as early as 8:15 o'clock A.M., for the reception of pupils arriving at an unreasonable hour. Arrangements shall be made by the Principals to have said rooms under such proper supervision as may be approved by the Superintendent.

It shall be the duty of the Principals, under direction of the Superintendent, to classify all new pupils on their admission to the school.

Whenever for any cause a school shall be dismissed before the usual hour for closing, it shall be the duty of the Principal to report the same to the Superintendent, with the reasons for such dismissal.

It shall be the duty of the Principals to make a special study of the work of the grades represented in the schools over which they are placed in charge, and, under the general direction of the Superintendent, supervise the instruction and the discipline of the assistants.

They shall fill out transfer blanks for pupils who desire to enter other schools. These blanks are then to be sent to the Superintendent. No pupil who has been enrolled in any of the Public schools of the city shall, during the same year, be received into any other public school until he presents such transfer card properly signed by the Superintendent.

All Principals shall at the close of the year transmit to the Superintendent full reports of their respective schools.

At the opening of each year they shall make and file with the clerk of the Board an inventory of all furniture, books, supplies, and apparatus in the school; and, at the close of each year, the same corrected up to date.

It shall be the duty of the Principal to report to the Superintendent any neglect of duty or inefficiency on the part of his assistants.[7]

[7] Salt Lake City, Utah, *Second Annual Report of the Public Schools*, 1892, Part II, pp. 6–8.

DEMANDS MADE UPON THE POSITION

As indicated by the Salt Lake City example, the principalship steadily moved away from insignificant beginnings toward a position of large responsibility and vital importance. Even though at least three-fourths of the high schools of the country still place a heavy teaching load upon the office, the word *teacher* was dropped from the title as the increasing administrative duties in the larger centers aggressively monopolized the office.

The strict demands that were made upon the position between 1885 and 1910 left their mark, that quarter of a century being perhaps more significant than the one just past as a formative period in its history. Even though many of the duties listed in those five representative examples may on the surface seem amusing in their exactitude, stripped of the phraseology of the period most of them still are found to exist as no small part of the job. The position still abounds in reports, the care and handling of buildings and equipment, the admission and classification of pupils, requisitions and inventories, the enforcement of regulations, noise and disorder abatement within both the school and the neighborhood, the expulsion of the few unadjusted, the detection of teacher inefficiency, pupil control, the proper opening and closing of the school, the creation of new rules for new occasions, fire drills, and advice to teachers. Even disorders among the clocks and the bells are still primarily the concern of the principal.

Most commonly listed as the first duty of the principal is the assumption of the responsibility for the enforcement of the "rules and regulations" of the superintendent and the board. The trust brought with it this obligation. School trustees and superintendents gradually withdrew as supervisory inspectors, but did so only after they had left explicit orders with the principal, and had assured themselves that he would carry out the printed word.

Most of the lists mentioning the principal's duties place the enforcement-of-rules responsibility first. The first of the Butte, Montana, rules of 1900 states that "the high school shall be under the immediate control of the principal who shall receive the communications of the city superintendent and enforce his directions."[8]

Heading the list in Kansas City in 1902 is found, "The Principal of each school building shall be held responsible for the enforcement of the rules and regulations of the Superintendent and of the Board; for the guidance and direction of the teachers and the government of the school."[9]

The first two sections of the rules governing the office in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1906 read (1) "Principals and all assistant teachers shall cooperate with and execute faithfully the directions of the Superintendent in the discipline, instruction and management of the schools," and (2) "Princi-

[8] Butte, Montana, *Rules, Reports, and Course of Study, Public Schools*, 1900, p. 37.
[9] Kansas City, Missouri, *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Board of Education*, 1902, p. 47.

pals shall be responsible for the observance and enforcement of the rules and regulations of their respective schools." [10]

SUPERVISION OF TEACHERS

Supervision of his assistants, the one means by which the office could ever rise from managerial efficiency to professional leadership, came as a more tardy factor in releasing the principal from classroom teaching. There is little in the records to indicate that this early supervision either in practice or in the trustees' conception of it was on the level of instructional improvement. Superintendent Wells of Chicago in 1859 wrote of his principals "giving such aid to the other teachers as may be necessary to secure uniformity and efficiency." [11] Classroom visiting down through the century had as its compelling influence the general efficiency of the school and was not primarily endowed with instructional interest. The deportment of the pupils, the ventilation of the room, and the condition of the teacher's register were important to the uniformity and efficiency demanded.

In Jersey City as late as 1876 the Committee of High Schools, a subcommittee of the board, responsible for the supervision of the high school, was obliged to visit it at least once a month, "to examine into all matters relating to the management of the school," and to make reports and recommendations from time to time before the entire board.[12]

The Superintendent's Relationship

However, the most common arrangement was for the superintendent to be directly responsible for school visiting. In 1885 the Seattle superintendent retained any professional leadership that was to be furnished the teachers. At least once a month on Saturday morning he was obliged to call a meeting of all the teachers, and he was to visit the several schools as often as the duties of his office permitted. Similarly in St. Paul, in 1891, the trustees stated that the superintendent "shall daily visit the schools during school hours; shall observe the character of the instruction given and the modes of discipline adopted, point out defects of teachers and suggest remedies, and see that the regulations of the board of school inspectors are faithfully observed." [13]

In Bloomington, in 1897, the superintendent visited and examined all the schools at least once a month, recording the general conditions, the progress of classes, and the efficiency of the teachers. He called meetings of teachers "in respect to the best methods of discipline and instruction." Special supervisors had entire charge of instruction in their fields under the immediate direction of the superintendent.[14]

[10] Little Rock, Arkansas, *Annual Report of the Public Schools*, 1906, p. 55.
[11] Chicago, Illinois, *Fifth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools*, 1859, p. 43.
[12] Jersey City, New Jersey, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools*, 1876, p. 21.
[13] St. Paul, Minnesota, *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools*, 1891, p. 36.
[14] Bloomington, Illinois, *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Public Schools*, 1897, pp. 12–13.

The Butte rules of 1900 specifically stated that the supervision of the teachers' work and methods should be under the direction of the superintendent, and only in case of emergency were Birmingham principals giving advice and direction to teachers at that time.

Thus, supervision on the part of principals, as it is conceived today, was late in its arrival. The St. Paul principal who in 1891 was obliged to call together his assistant teachers at stated times for the purpose of discussing the methods of instruction was the exception. Of the twenty-three duties of the principal as listed in the Rochester, New York, public schools in 1910, only one carried any evidence of classroom supervision, and even it resembled the inspectional aspects of the other twenty-two.

> They (principals) shall devote some portion of each day to visiting the various departments of the school for the purpose of supervising and directing the labors of the teachers, and ascertaining whether all the records of the school are regularly and accurately kept, the pupils properly classified, and their parents or guardians duly notified of the absence of their children when the cause of the absence is unknown or not satisfactory.[15]

Early Interests of Principals

As the principals of the country began to venture out professionally on their own, it is interesting to note their common interests. The Principals' Round Table, held at the National Education Association meeting in 1896, can perhaps be taken as representative of the matters on their minds at that time.[16] The principals in that meeting, representing such cities as Detroit, Cleveland, Albany, Ithaca, Rochester, Brooklyn, Cincinnati, Denver, Chicago, Aurora, and St. Paul, spent their time discussing these topics, considering them under the general topic of *supervision:*

1. Systems of recording pupils' marks
2. Weekly teachers' meetings for the purpose of discovering those pupils who are neglecting work in several subjects
3. Techniques, such as printed forms and conferences, for dealing with the home in the case of the pupil doing unsatisfactory work
4. Extra classes for pupils who fail
5. Returning failing pupils to grammar schools, and the effect upon drop-outs
6. Semiannual promotions
7. Conditional promotions
8. The use of words instead of percentages for classifying pupils by ability
9. The extent to which the marking of pupils depends upon the one doing the marking
10. The double session for high schools

[15] Rochester, New York, *The Fifty-fifth Report of the Board of Education*, 1910, p. 206.

[16] See National Education Association, *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses*, "Principals' Round Table," 1896, pp. 597–604.

11. The value of Latin to the boy who in spite of distaste clings to its study for several years
12. The case of the boy with an average of $74\frac{3}{4}$ who ought not to fail, and the one with 75 who should
13. The importance of inspirational pictures and statues in the study halls
14. The rather lax control of parents over students
15. The advisability of passing a pupil with an average of 30 or 40 per cent
16. The relation of high school to grammar school
17. The use of a delinquent register for spurring on delinquents
18. The teacher supervision of the study-room
19. The importance of discounting pupils' class average in case of absences

In the large cities, by the turn of the century, the importance of the position had been recognized to the extent of granting the principal extensive powers in the control of teachers. As the enrollment swelled and the school drew nearer its public, he became public relations man, housing authority, and textbook critic. The efficiency of the personnel as well as the strategic nature of the position itself evidently had much to do with the rapid development of that office to one of prime administrative importance and authority.

High-school management has shown a true creative spirit. The constant struggle for financial support for the schools led the superintendency away from direct contact with the personnel and the management of the respective schools in his system, and consequently elevated the principal to the role of recognized administrative head of the school. He advised parents as well as teacher and pupils, and as special supervisors came into the system he won the position of instructional director in his school. Although he may not have been subject to guidance, measurement, mental hygiene, grouping, and the other epidemics that have hit the high school the past two decades, he at least can be designated as one of the carriers who passed them on to the teachers.

RESPONSIBLE HEAD OF THE SCHOOL

Just as the states are conceded to have jurisdiction in all matters not constitutionally specified as in the province of the federal government, so the principal has come to have jurisdiction in all school matters not specified by rule and regulation as in the province of superintendent and board of education. As the Rochester, New York, rules of 1910 read, "The principals may make such special regulations for their schools, teachers, and pupils, not conflicting with the general regulations, as they deem necessary to secure good discipline, proper deportment, and thorough scholarship." [17]

The position does not belie the title of "responsible administrative head of the school," especially in the larger schools. Teachers have long known that to go to the superintendent they must first go through the principal who can most often make or break them, and that his law is the law of the

[17] Rochester, New York, *The Fifty-fifth Report of the Board of Education*, 1910, p. 208.

school. When a faculty meeting is called, although compulsory attendance has never been mentioned, they know that other things must wait. They respect his appointments to school duties, and more or less expeditiously carry out his assignments.

There is little in the record to point out that the high-school principal has been prevented by the superintendent or the board from furthering reforms in his school. If it can be said that in certain large cities today assistant superintendents and other officials inhibit the freedom of principals in the operation of their individual schools, the answer is invariably that much of this supplementary staff has been added to bolster up guidance, instruction, and supervisory activities which the principals themselves did not seem to find time to handle. The significance of the position in the small school merits more study than has been given to it.

Principal or Teacher?

That the principal-teacher stage of the position is not a thing of the past is clearly revealed by Scott and Ried's study of the position in Nebraska.[18] Of the 525 accredited public high schools of the state, they treated 479 (92 per cent) that employ persons bearing the title of high-school principal.

Of the 479 principals, *only seven* have no teaching responsibilities, the mean number of periods spent daily in teaching and study-hall supervision being 6.3 per principal. Since practically all of the schools are operating on an eight-period day, this means that the average principal of that rural state devotes 79 per cent of the school day to teaching and study-hall supervision. As to training, 87 per cent hold only the bachelor's degree, 12 per cent the master's and one-half of one per cent the doctor's.

These facts for Nebraska, if they can be taken as revealing the situation in a large number of the states, are certainly significant for the student of secondary education who is concerned about the possible leadership for the curriculum reorganization of the school. This study concludes: "Obviously the typical principal is a high-school teacher with an administrative title."

Other Studies

In Hamrin's study, the principals of 254 high schools, five hundred or more in enrollment, were asked the question, "Does the superintendent attempt in the organization and control of the high school to give the principal a good deal of direction, or to leave him comparatively free to work out his own ideas?" Only 24 answered, "A great deal of direction," while 230 said they were comparatively free.[19]

[18] C. W. Scott and H. O. Ried, "The Public High School Principal in Nebraska," *The School Review*, 47:121–127.

[19] Shirley A. Hamrin, *Organization and Administrative Control of High Schools*, School of Education, Northwestern University, p. 58.

Hepner sees two stages of the position, the principal-teacher and the managerial, as more or less relegated to the past, with the opportunity at hand for the principal to step over into the third, that of professional leader or creator. This third stage awaits the sacrifice of administrative for instructional interests.[20] Pierce, whose study of the position is one of the most extensive ever made says, "It must not be inferred that the principalship in large cities is now on a complete, or even satisfactory, professional basis. Its professional potentialities have only been tapped, and the position as a whole is in a state of flux." [21]

Because of his close relationship with the community, especially with the parents of the pupils, the principal runs little risk of being dwarfed by the superintendency. Professional ineffectiveness on his part could hardly be laid to strong centralized control. Although professional inability in high-school executives may go on indefinitely without being detected by the public, professional initiative and ability, on the other hand, is seldom hidden. It comes to light in spite of such adverse conditions as strong centralization of school control or the conservatism of the superintendent's office.

The principalship, conceived and developed as a position to assure the efficient operation of a fixed curriculum, has had little occasion to date to shift this emphasis. However, the present curriculum movement indicating a growing dissatisfaction with this fixed conception of the curriculum, is moving in upon the principal to demand recognition and to solicit action. It is difficult to conceive effective curriculum reconstruction in a school without the active participation of the principal, so significant is his position in the school.[22] Furthermore, it is difficult to conceive of such an important position as not being able to rise to the place of leadership demanded of it by the present challenge to secondary education. Later chapters will treat the principalship and the current educational scene.

[20] See Walter R. Hepner, "The Secondary Principal's New Responsibility," *California Schools*, 5:154–157.

[21] Paul R. Pierce, *The Origin and Development of the Public School Principalship*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, p. 24.

[22] For a study of the part principals have played in recent school change, see the author's companion study, *The Emerging High-School Curriculum*, New York: American Book Company, 1948.

Chapter 20

SUPERVISION'S MEAGER BEGINNINGS

In theory, if not in practice, it is well established today that every classroom teacher has the right to instructional leadership from the principal and any other officers that the school system may supply for the purpose. The activities that compose this process make up the supervisory program. And it follows that in the absence of any such activities there is also no supervisory program.

With the early principalship came supervision, but with supervision did not necessarily come the improvement of instruction. The early conception of the term was rather meager, and as late as the turn of the century, even in the larger school systems of the country, supervision was being limited to the principal's responsibility for the safekeeping and regulation of the schoolhouse, the furniture, the apparatus, the fences, the trees and shrubbery, the clocks, and the outhouses. All honorable features of a school setting, such educational accouterment, no doubt have their just claim upon the administrator's inspectional eye, but not at the expense of instruction. The rights of the instructional program in time were to be matched with administrative responsibility, but the struggle to achieve that happy balance is a story of conceptions and misconceptions.

THE ADVENT OF SUPERVISION

Today in education the word *supervision* means the improvement of instruction. The struggle to free the concept from classroom inspection reflects the early use of the word in the schools of America. Supervision came in as inspection by local civil and religious officers during the colonial days. Selectmen and ministers gave way to boards of trustees who retained the responsibility well down through the nineteenth century. When the trustees finally set up the superintendency, and delegated the responsibility of supervision, it was inspection for which they were asking.

The Early Superintendent

The office of superintendent appeared in 1837, but for many decades the position was little more than that of school clerk, slow to receive the commis-

sion of school supervision. As shown in the school reports quoted in the preceding chapter, once the superintendency did assume the responsibility, the supervision exercised was still inclined to retain its earlier features of inspection. Efficiency, discipline, and uniformity were the keynotes. When managerial efficiency came over into school administration, supervision was deputized to carry out the job. And even today, in far too many school systems of the country, the presence of the supervisory officer in the classroom carries fear to the teacher rather than help.

The idea of supervisor as overseer of the job generally prevailed throughout the latter half of the last century, with an occasional exception indicating an attempt to turn attention to the improvement of instruction. In Bloomington, Illinois, in 1895, the superintendent was obliged to visit and examine all the schools personally at least once a month, and to record the general conditions, the progress of the classes, and the efficiency of the teachers. He furthermore was to call meetings of teachers "for the purpose of conferring with them in respect to the best methods of discipline and instruction," and he even had "the privilege of calling together, at these meetings, such classes of the school as he may wish to employ in illustrating the principles presented." [1] Demonstration teaching, although indicated in this case, was not general.

The Early Principal

Evidence of the high-school principal giving professional attention to classroom instruction is scarce prior to this century, but as early as 1853, Principal Barney of the Hughes High School in Cincinnati prescribed in his annual report a number of specific rules to guide the teachers "in assigning lessons, preparing for, and conducting recitations." Thus by remote control and on a wholesale basis he guided instruction, directing his staff —

1. To understand thoroughly whatever was to be taught, and to make special preparation for each lesson
2. To teach the subject and not the book
3. To point out the practical bearing of the thing taught
4. To adjust the assignment to the class
5. To expect complete mastery so that the lesson can be repeated without the least hesitation
6. To explain each lesson assigned, if necessary, by familiar remarks and illustrations
7. To require accurate memorization of rules and regulations
8. To refrain from using the text during recitation
9. To pursue a regular course of professional reading and study
10. To refrain from carrying the explanation too far
11. To subdivide difficulties into short steps for the pupils
12. To vary the order of going around the class in asking questions

[1] Bloomington, Illinois, *Report of the Public Schools*, 1895, p. 13.

13. To exhibit interest themselves in the work
14. To require accurate recitations, and make-up work after school
15. To avoid employing in questions language to be used in the answers
16. To cultivate self-reliance
17. To avoid simultaneous recitation, unless for fixing in the mind such things as tables and definitions
18. Not to attempt to teach too may things at once, nor allow pupils to direct their own studies, nor attend to extraneous business in school hours, nor occupy too much time in conversing with visitors, nor make excuses to visitors for the defects of the classes, nor use low and degrading epithets, nor wound the sensibilities of a dull scholar by disparaging remarks
19. To require pupils always to take the same seats
20. To avoid those dull and dragging recitations which always abate the interest of the class
21. To prevent pupils prompting each other
22. Not to help the class members themselves by unreasonable suggestions or hints
23. To refuse to proceed until the recitation can go along, progressing from pupil to pupil, passing by those who hesitate and falter, until the whole lesson is finished
24. To be thoroughly acquainted with the principles of mental philosophy[2]

Demands that the busy superintendent finally placed upon the principal for the supervision of instruction were seldom distinguished from supervision in general, and the responsibility to instruction was looked upon as observing with a critical eye what took place in the classroom. These were stated as obligations of the principalship rather than as instructional opportunities, as the Newark, New Jersey, school rules of 1908 typically indicate:

Supervision — Principals shall have charge and control of their schools, school buildings, and property; the reception and classification of pupils and their instructions and discipline.

They shall have the direction and control of vice-principals and other teachers in the management of their departments and classes, and may require them to remain after school hours, not to exceed once in each week, for instruction and conference.

They shall keep a record of their inspection of classes, the excellencies and defects noted, criticisms and suggestions made and such other data as may be required for a complete record of their teaching and supervision.[3]

About that same time, the superintendent of Rochester, New York, was attempting to set up the principalship on a professional plane, but at the same time he was expecting sound business management first, as a characteristic of the position.

[2] Condensed from the Cincinnati, Ohio, *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Public Schools*, 1853, pp. 50–52.

[3] Newark, New Jersey, *Annual Report of the Public Schools*, 1908, p. 269.

A good principal shall be a good business manager. The successful administration of the school plant is of the highest importance. It is, however, assumed that the principal can successfully organize discipline, and direct in general the company for which his office makes him responsible. In and of itself, school administration soon becomes mechanical, as it should be, and it is reduced largely to a routine business system. Once under way, a good school ought to go on smoothly, every person knowing and doing his part, and all working together for the best interest of the whole.

The apparent status of the principal has changed greatly during recent years. Before the advent of the subject supervisor and the special teacher he was general director of education, subject only to the uncertain mandate of the course of study, or of the occasional suggestion of the superintendent. The principal must now act as the executive of several directors. He must grasp the relation of the different parts of the course of study and see that the just balance of their claims is preserved. Especially must he sympathetically guard the teacher from nervous strain and undue pressure from any direction. No servant of the public has so large an opportunity and so great a responsibility as the principal of the public school.[4]

As indicated in this statement, there appeared on the educational scene early this century a new position — the special position of supervisor. And so the obligation for classroom supervision that was first the selectman's, than the trustee's, then the superintendent's, and then the principal's, finally was passed on, at least in part, to a special subject supervisor. So intricate became the interrelationships of officers in the larger school systems, educational science borrowed from military organization the system of organization known as *line-and-staff*.

THE LINE-AND-STAFF ORGANIZATION

The position supervision finds itself in today, and the teacher's chance for instructional help, can be appreciated by the student of American education only if he senses the line-and-staff principle, and the part that it has played in the day-by-day operation of the schools.

As schools grew in size, principals consequently became busier. As the curriculum was broadened, principals consequently became less familiar with more and more of the classroom program. It was not surprising that special supervisors were added to give help to teachers. First established in such areas as music, art, home economics, and industrial arts, supervisors of arithmetic, history, science, and what not, were not unusual by 1920.

The first demand the idea of supervision made upon educational leadership had been the demand for organization, for the exact establishment of authority and responsibility. It was, then, from the very start, tied directly into school administration and management. Then came the question of overlapping authority between principal and special subject supervisor, just as soon as the latter set foot in the school.

[4] Rochester, New York, *Report of the Public Schools*, 1910, pp. 43–45.

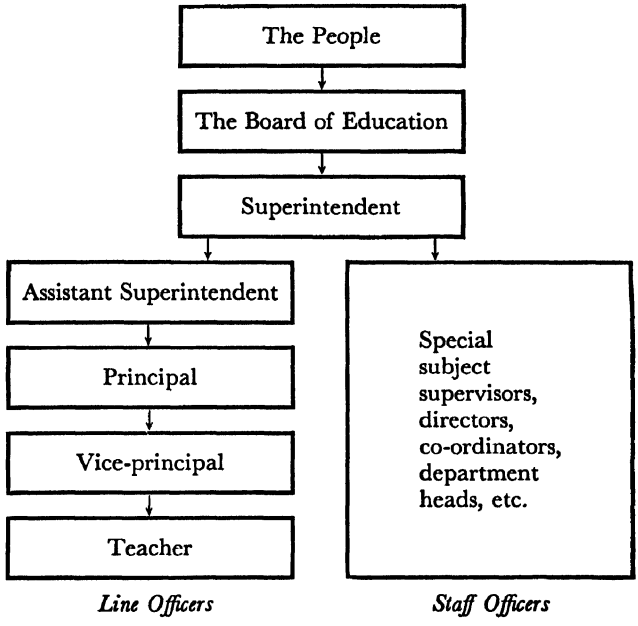


FIGURE 15. Line-and-Staff Organization

Line-and-Staff

After three different systems of organization for school officials had been considered and tried — the dualistic, the co-ordinate, and the line-and-staff — the last was generally accepted as preferred for school operation. Line officers carried authority over those below them in line. Staff officers were to give help but were given no authority over teachers.

This system designated the principal as a line officer and the special subject supervisor as a staff officer. Down the line trickled the authority from superintendent to assistant superintendent and on to the principal, who was designated as responsible for the management of the school, including instruction. The special supervisor, on the other hand, came to the school as an expert in his field, with no authority over either teacher or principal. His effectiveness still depends to no small degree upon the professional foresight of the principal.

Superintendent Blewitt of St. Louis, years ago, idealistically stated the principal's strategic position in the line-and-staff system in this statement:

> The line-and-staff conception regards the principal as vested with the immediate responsibility of setting in motion and directing all those forces that must be at work to instruct and to educate the pupils of the school most skilfully. Under this conception the principal makes use of the supervisor as one of his effective means of accomplishing his plans. He does not regard the supervisor as one who filches from

him his office or as one on whom he may unload responsibility that presses too heavily upon his own easy indifference or incapacity.[5]

Although systems of school organization have been carefully diagramed, and function smoothly on paper, they after all are but systems, and their strengths and weaknesses lie largely in the personnel. A glance at the line-and-staff organization (see Figure 15) leaves one in doubt as to the possibility of the teacher's playing any great part in the determination of instructional and supervisory policies, the structure indicating in the case of authority no reverse of the law of gravitation. Strength in the system implies the principal's interest in and ability to bring all ideas to a head through democratic interaction of all workers. This same diagram may represent both the school system in which administration is strictly authoritarian and the system in which teachers play a great part in the determination of policy and practice.

Poor Relations

The line-and-staff matrix came in when the curriculum was considered as something fixed, when it was looked upon as little more than a number of subjects and skills to be manipulated under well-regulated classroom conditions, when the theory of mental discipline still clung to its exalted pedestal, when psychologists were still courting the mind-body theory, when the out-of-class activities of youngsters were tolerated rather than encouraged, when efficiency in school operation took precedence over respect for personality, when the school was an institution operated apart from the give-and-take of community life, and when supervision centered its attention upon teacher weaknesses rather than upon curriculum improvement. Even if the line-and-staff principle is not to be held accountable for this early association with questionable companions, there are other aspects of its record that should be questioned.

It came in to facilitate the launching of special subject supervisors into a rather well-fixed school situation, the point of contention being that the subject specialist might attempt to wrest authority from the principal, thus throwing the classroom teacher into an ethical dither in respect to the precedence of orders. The obligation of organization-for-supervision to the classroom teacher apparently was considered ended with the definition of the limits within which principal and special supervisor were to be allowed to exercise authority over her. The prevention of the overlapping of authority was the prime concern, implying that instructional blueprints were to be handed down by somebody, and that the teacher must know to whom to pay homage should there be a conflict between the plans of the principal and those of the staff officer. *So impelling is the faith in planned administration in American schooling, a democratic give-and-take approach to instructional leadership has a struggle if it gets beyond the printed word on the page.*

[5] St. Louis, Missouri, *Fifty-sixth Report of the Board of Education*, 1910, pp. 215–216.

But those officers who, in supervisory capacity, have shuttled back and forth between headquarters office and classroom, know full well that the effective improvement of instruction through an in-service training program calls for something more than avoiding conflicts between principal and supervisor, supervisor and director, or principal and teacher. Thinking in respect to the supervision of teachers, that is, the improvement of instruction, needs to begin on ground more hallowed than that represented by the question of who is in authority. Certainly, if we are to provide instruction the intelligent leadership that it needs, we must first read out of the concept of school operation some of its false premises.

A NEW TYPE OF SUPERVISORY OFFICER

In the last couple of decades there has come to the schools an entirely new type of supervisory officer, a trend that at heart represents a revolutionary movement in school administration, one that pits the appreciation of personality against the traditional subject-centered curriculum.

Even if it were conceded that the line-and-staff pattern of operation served in a fair way to unify instructional leadership a few years ago, it could not be automatically concluded that the pattern would fit today's situation. In recent years, curriculum directors or co-ordinators, general supervisors, guidance leaders, research workers, visiting teachers, psychologists, counselors, child development officers, and similar workers have been added to the original headquarters staff of subject supervisors.

These two groups have little in common, and their goals are often opposites. In the event of the retirement of a subject supervisor, it has been common in a larger school system to make the staff replacement with this newer type of teacher-helper. In the case of the smaller systems, and the single larger schools that have never afforded special subject supervisors, it has been common in recent years for them to bring themselves around to spending money for guidance counselors, visiting teachers, curriculum directors, and psychologists. Not so many years ago it was common for the high-school dean of boys and dean of girls to teach two or three classes. Since then, one after another of the larger schools have relieved the deans from all classroom teaching, not to make special subject supervisors of them in the absence of such, but to give them duties in keeping with this growing concern for personality and the differences that exist among youth.

As these newer teacher-helpers were added, the administration got out the old line-and-staff principle, dusted it off, and bent it here and there to try to fit the new situation. But fundamental differences between the new situation and that which existed at the time of the principle's origin should be pointed out. Actually, there has existed such a felt need for these new workers on the part of both teachers and principals, perhaps nobody has had to worry much about lines of authority or precedence of position. The paths

that these new workers beat as they go and come naturally between office and classroom are psychological and not academic, and thus right of way is seldom disputed.

Two types of supervisory officers exist. This recent deluge of new staff officers represents a unique situation. Whether the average school system actually appreciates it or not, behind this popular creation of curriculum director, general supervisor, psychologist, guidance director, research officer, visiting teacher, counselor, co-ordinator, and all their varied associates, rests a general dissatisfaction with the existing school program and the supervisory machinery built around it — built to hold it up. The inception of these positions represents something much more revolutionary than did the inception of special subject supervisors. Special subject supervisors were brought in to strengthen an existing order, not to change or correct it. The very act of appointing a subject supervisor, or a high-school department head in a particular subject field, in itself is highly indicative of the prevailing conception of education.

Invariably, the subject supervisor takes his cue from the subject in question and the requirements thereof. For instance, let us take an example from the field of high-school English — the field in which so many credits for graduation must be earned. For graduation — and for elimination purposes as well — the student is required to spend about eight weeks with *Ivanhoe*, six with *Silas Marner*, four with *Hamlet* or *Macbeth*, and six or so with the *Tale of Two Cities;* and so it has been for years beyond recall. Here the classroom teacher's problem is laid out for her, and accordingly so is the program of the supervisor of that field.

In turn the dean of boys, and at times even the dean of girls, have programs of work automatically set for them, as nonconforming youth are sent from these classrooms to them. In fact, there is a strong suspicion that the pressure of unaccepted subjects has done much to hasten to the schools this new army of newer type supervisory officers that were discussed above. Instead of changing an ailing curriculum, there was added a staff of doctors to treat the perplexed but normal youth. The dean's position is so often a corrective position rather than a preventative one, treating the negative aspects of teaching rather than the positive. Although most of his cases come from instructional maladjustment, the dean is supposedly a guidance officer with no responsibility for or relationship to instruction.

The task of improving instruction, and moving the emphasis of the school from subject to child, is a Herculean endeavor, that, if it is to be successful, is bound to call for a few revolutions that even a rigid statement of rights and duties cannot and should not offset. If it can be said that the creation of a curriculum department, or the appointment of a curriculum director, represents a definite dissatisfaction with the existing school program, it might be asked if it doesn't follow that it likewise represents dissatisfactions with instructional leadership that already exists

in the system. It is quite likely that some of these appointments of the newer types of staff officers have behind them nothing more sincere than the desire to keep up with the Joneses, but in the main they indicate that philosophies of education are at stake, and the resulting situation calls for something more than a principle of staff organization to reconcile it. In fact, isn't friction in instructional leadership at times the first sign of possible advancement in instructional procedure? There is conflict in educational leadership throughout the country today, and good will come of it in time.

The school system that has done so much by law and precept to keep down instructional differences may have been better off had it encouraged conflict, thus forcing antiquated purposes and practices into a death struggle with modern points of view. Actually, antiquated procedures are being sheltered by a line-and-staff principle that has vested their proponents with power. A really good supervisory program is a threat to security.

Staff officer, line officer, and classroom teacher have all three been furthering the usual subject curriculum, with her familiar organizational handmaidens, such as a competitive marking system, the Carnegie unit-and-credit plan, a daily schedule of rigidly fixed periods, fixed student stations in a classroom, and a single class standard of achievement. But suddenly the administration looses upon this peaceful scene a new guidance or curriculum department, conceived in psychology and dedicated to the proposition that all children are created with personalities.

As long as the activities of these new staff officers are limited to teacher discussions, committee meetings, the formulation of instructional objectives, and petty tinkering with existing courses, no conflict arises. But as soon as proposals are made that would actually transpose from mere conference-room talk to actual classroom practice such concepts as educating for international understanding, respecting the creative ability of youth, developing leadership and respectful followership, moving the curriculum closer to student purposes, sharpening an appreciation of democratic principles through practice of them, providing work experience for all school youth not getting it otherwise, and clearing values for living in a highly interdependent world, — then a strain is placed upon educational leadership that is apt to crack the unity that was verbally attested to in the conference room. It is simple for instructional bigwigs to fuss around in committee meeting, and to agree upon fine phrases, but in his growth process the high-school student can get little nourishment from a set of dry objectives.

As schools continue to increase the teachers' salary account it would seem natural to spend more in supervision to up-grade the teaching service rendered. But with school revenue limited, the increase in the teachers' salary account will in turn mean closer scrutiny of the moneys spent for special staff officers. It is well to remember that school budgets can stand only so much in the way of supervisory and staff officers to supplement the

more commonly accepted administrative positions. This being the case, sooner or later educational planning must decide which way it wants to go, and consequently choose between supervisors who specialize in subjects and those who specialize in boys and girls. Since the former are there so often to sit up with and keep watch over a corpse, such as Silas Marner or Peter the Great, and since the latter are there to explore life with active boys and girls, the investing public had better place their money on the latter.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION

Since fewer than 25 per cent of America's high schools have an enrollment of over 300 pupils, the improvement of instruction in the great bulk of the nation's schools will depend upon the principal. There just won't be other supervisory officers in the picture. Consequently, in such cases both administrative and supervisory responsibilities rest squarely with the same office. It has been popular for writers on the subject to tell the high-school principal that he doesn't spend enough time supervising.

He isn't quite sure if he does or if he doesn't, for he isn't quite sure of what is meant by *supervision;* nobody has ever seemed quite sure. Supervision has had a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde quality about it that has been confusing, the Hyde aspects of the job appearing when management and organization were to be carried out, the Jekyll when instructional duties were to be performed. There has been consistent reference to an imaginary line, thought to exist between arranging for instruction and improving instruction, and occasionally attempts have been made to define it. Such attempts stand out in educational literature.

Attempts to Isolate Supervision

The typical treatment of this topic points out that a principal who expects to supervise must make a distinction between supervisory and administrative functions, and proceeds to point out such a difference in this manner:

> A rough distinction may be made by defining as administrative every act or decision that is based upon authority; and as supervision every effort to persuade, to enlighten, and to arouse in teachers a state of readiness to modify their behavior and attitudes in line with the educational program of the school.[6]

Another student of the subject also attempts to define the line that separates the two, or supposedly separates them, when he says:

> The difference between supervision and administration is not merely that the one works directly with the process of instruction and the other with the machinery and management of it. An almost equally important difference is found in the manner of doing the work. Administration executes, directs, tells, orders; supervision

[6] P. W. L. Cox and R. E. Langfitt, *High-School Administration and Supervision,* New York: American Book Company, 1934, p. 566.

advises with, instructs, stimulates, explains, leads, guides, assists. Both plan, both diagnose, both inspect; but administration decides and orders execution, while supervision helps to decide and assists in improving instruction.

As a subordinate of the administrator the teacher takes instructions and orders; with the supervisor he exchanges information and ideas, studies problems and receives suggestions and advice. With the former the teacher is under orders or instructions; with the latter he is on equal terms in matters of authority and enjoys the privilege of drawing upon the special knowledge and skill of an expert, who presumably is his superior.[7]

Such sharp distinctions, strange as they may seem, might get by as long as the two functions are delegated to two different officers — a principal who would carry administrative authority, and a supervisor from headquarters office who would have no such authority. But as soon as we think of making this distinction in the daily work of one person, the principal, then this entire principle of school operation must be brought onto the green carpet for questioning.

Between the lines of these representative statements just quoted can be read the ideal that has been set up for school organization and operation, as likewise can be read the whole crux of the principal acting as supervisor while he is at the same time administrator, and of the supervisor acting as supervisor without doing some administering. If this division actually exists, then the principal can never be both administrator and supervisor. He can hardly go about ordering, directing, and forcing things through, and on the next trip stimulate, guide, assist, and inspire. If this division actually exists, then the position that the line-and-staff position has given the high-school principal is idealistic, and can never transcend the printed page. Such a distinction between duties, in our democratic way of life, would make out that supervision is a more honorable calling than administration, and that if the principal is to act in both capacities he must do the dirty duties of administration and then turn around and be the nice sort of person to the teacher that supervision demands.

Under such conditions, would it ever be possible for his classroom visits to be received as anything more than inspectional tours, and his instructional suggestions as anything more than administrative decrees? No doubt the answer depends more upon the personality and training of the principal than upon such a careful distinction among duties.

Who Will Draw the Line?

It has been assumed by some that the principal is Mr. Hyde as he sits at his desk and as he looks over the plant and its equipment, but that his features change as he steps over the threshold into the classroom. If he sits in

[7] Jesse B. Sears, *Modesto Junior College Survey*, Board of Education, Modesto, California, 1932, p. 176.

conference with a body of teachers and works out a changed schedule of classes for the betterment of the instructional program, is that to be distinguished as administration or supervision? Or where would that line be drawn in this list of typical activities that might be carried out during the principal's day?

1. He discusses with two teachers the possibility of combining American history and American literature into a single, two-period course.
2. He helps to evaluate the past school work of a new student who is making out his program of studies.
3. He spends the evening reading a half dozen late educational journals.
4. He confers with superintendent concerning the possibility of adding a teacher in oral English.
5. He meets with the committee that is developing a new system of cumulative record cards bearing data on pupil health, achievement, social life, etc.
6. He looks over the work that is being done on the new football field.
7. He makes arrangements to bring to school the repair man to adjust the pneumatic clock that controls the classroom bells.
8. He presents in faculty meeting the results of the silent reading tests that have just been given to all tenth graders.
9. He visits the home of a senior girl who intends to drop out of school to work.
10. He spends forty minutes in the biology class.
11. He spends thirty minutes in the student council meeting.
12. He helps the librarian in her final preparation of the annual requisition for departmental reference books.

It is indeed a foolhardy task to attempt to classify into two distinct types of activities these characteristic daily acts of the principal. If supervision is concerned with the improvement of the learning situation, and if the curriculum is conceived as including all the activities in which children engage under the direction of teachers, then supervisory acts extend themselves far beyond the classroom recitation.

TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF SUPERVISION

Supervision as something more than the inspection of the teacher's operation of the classroom is yet to be adequately recorded. The saga of the first period of supervision of instruction in the American high school was well recorded between 1920 and 1940. In neither its nature nor its nurture has supervision revealed the Dick Tracy ingenuity that has been attributed to school administration. The story is one of narrow conception and limited reception. Leaders of school systems have made their reputations in administrative not supervisory activities. That the average principal has neglected

his obligation to supervision may have been as much the fault of the concept as of the principal. We leave it to the educational historians to make the decision.

It was during the 1920–1930 decade that such leaders as Ayer, Barr, Burton, Kyte, and Nutt cast the die for the pattern of supervision so common to American education.[8] The mold was crystallized the following decade by the editorial teams of Barr, Burton, and Brueckner; Hughes and Melby; Alberty and Thayer; Douglass and Boardman; and Cox and Langfitt; and the individual writers Briggs and Collings.[9]

From 1920 to 1950 about a dozen books marked the tenor of the graduate school courses all over America, courses patronized by principals past, present, and future. Practical administrator that he has been brought up to be, it was natural that the principal heed the common techniques running though the series. From Burton and Nutt to Collings and Briggs one follows the principal through classroom visiting, the recording of the observational data, the follow-up conference with the teacher, the demonstration lesson, the faculty meeting, the supervisory bulletin, and the establishment of proper working relationships between supervisor and supervised.

The spotlight of supervision has been focused directly upon the teacher, who has never completely adjusted himself to the glare. Improving instruction has meant improving the teacher, as Ayer and Barr so rather bluntly stated it: "Supervision is a specialized function devoted to the inspection, direction, and improvement of the educational activities of individuals working at one administrative level, administered by superior officers working at

[8] H. W. Nutt, *The Supervision of Instruction*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.
W. H. Burton, *Supervision and the Improvement of Teaching*, New York: D. Appleton Company, 1922.
A. S. Barr and W. H. Burton, *Supervision of Instruction*, New York: D. Appleton Company, 1926.
F. C. Ayer and A. S. Barr, *The Organization of Supervision*, New York: D. Appleton Company, 1928.
G. C. Kyte, *How to Supervise*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930.

[9] H. M. Hughes and E. O. Melby, *Supervision of Instruction in High School*, Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1930.
H. B. Alberty and V. T. Thayer, *Supervision in the Secondary School*, New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1931.
H. R. Douglass and C. W. Boardman, *Supervision in Secondary Schools*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934.
Ellsworth Collings, *Supervisory Guidance of Teachers in Secondary Schools*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934.
P. W. L. Cox and R. E. Langfitt, *High School Administration and Supervision*, New York: American Book Company, 1934.
T. H. Briggs, *Improving Instruction*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.
A. S. Barr, W. H. Burton, and L. J. Brueckner, *Supervision: Principles and Practices in the Improvement of Instruction*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938. (Revised 1947.)

higher levels." [10] This frank statement in itself sums up why supervision as commonly conceived has not been popular with either teacher or principal.

THE CLASSROOM VISIT

The common pattern has assumed that if the teacher is to be improved the first step is to find out through evaluation as scientific as possible exactly what takes place in the classroom, each minute of the period; and one after another the projected proposals have emphasized the finesse the supervisor must exercise in this observation, lest he flush the quarry. Always there was the suggestion that he enter the classroom as inconspicuously as possible, and find an inconspicuous place in the back of the room. He was cautioned about note-taking lest it disturb the teacher. Then there were the physical conditions, called to the supervisor's attention as something worth noting carefully.

He was asked to check to see: if the pupils were sitting erect, with feet planted firmly on the floor; if the blackboards were erased after each class period; if the window blinds were evenly adjusted; if the window sashes were set just right; if waste paper were in the basket rather than in the aisles; if there were something alive in the room (besides the students); and if books were arranged in orderly manner on the shelves. Some writers presented score cards for the supervisor's convenience in checking these mechanics of the classroom.

Stripped of its interest in the temperature of the classroom, waste paper on the floor, the position of the blinds, the posture of the pupils in their assigned seats, teacher weakness in furthering a fixed curriculum, and the mechanical score cards used by the supervisor to check student response to teacher inquiry — that earlier concept of supervision now stands out as rather bare and forlorn, inadequate to cope with the currently accepted ideas of how youth develops, what our democratic society asks of its schools, and what classrooms should be like in the recognition of these demands.

The classroom situation that was conceived for inspection was the fixed recitation in which the teacher spent the bulk of his time directing questions about subject matter that was assigned the previous day. One would almost believe that this highly revered assign-study-recite procedure had been brought down to the schools on the tablet of stone. Elaborate check sheets, sometimes called classroom management score cards, were devised as aids to the supervisor as he sat in his insignificant corner to record the exact degree of participation of each student in the recitation.

Many of these devices provided a duplicate carbon copy for the teacher so that he might better see the specific strengths and weaknesses of his work. One of the goals of the inventors of such cards was to cut down time and

[10] Ayer and Barr, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

energy in recording what took place in the classroom. One of the most highly technical was that devised by R. C. Puckett, offering the supervisor the chance to leave the class with a checked sheet showing exactly who recited and how many times, who had a chance to do so and didn't, who volunteered and how many times, how many made no contributions, and other such data.[11] The ingenious gadgetry of Puckett's card has never been surpassed. However, some of the earlier forms contained as many as forty-four qualities of the teacher, that the critic was expected to judge.

Then there was great emphasis placed upon the economies of time in starting the class, making the assignment, calling the roll, seating the students, and distributing and collecting materials, — giving further evidence that the pattern of supervision so commonly upheld was one specifically designed to fit a formal classroom situation. If high-school supervision and supervisors have been inclined to be stiff, they came by it naturally; they were there so often to pay tribute to the dead.

THE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE

Advocated by most of these early writers as an accepted appendage to the classroom visit, the follow-up conference has come to bear as much fear to the teacher as the classroom inspection itself. Yes, supervision for years was seen primarily as the improvement of teachers through classroom observation of their performance, with emphasis upon weaknesses, and follow-up conferences set by the supervisor to effect improvements.

The Pattern

It is strange how a common pattern of action was laid down for this conference by one writer after another. The supervisor was told first to commend the good but not to overstep the line that separates such commendation from flattery, lest he lose the confidence of the teacher, who, in turn, would be in no mood to receive the full significance of the criticism to follow. The pattern provides that the supervisor tactfully draw out the instructor as to whether the procedures used in his class will reach the desired ends, until suddenly the latter realizes that he is out on the end of a limb and that his superior officer is shaking it vigorously.

The principles set out have held that it was proper for the supervisor to criticize severely the teacher as long as he did it in private and as long as his motives were professionally worthy. Criticism in private is still criticism. At best such supervision is embarrassing for nine teachers out of ten, if not for the critic. It means judgment; it is highly individualized; it is a fault-finding process. It has been emphasized again and again that it was the supervisor's first task to secure the proper attitude of the teacher toward the

[11] See R. C. Puckett, "Making Supervision Objective," *School Review*, March, 1928, 36: 209–212.

former's work, to establish an understanding of his special function, and thus to pave the way for hearty support and co-operation. It was assumed that once the teacher was told what was wrong with him, his professional zeal would rise above mere human nature, and he would go back to his classroom ready to whip a hundred obstacles to stellar performance. But all too often he went back ready to whip the supervisor.

Human Frailties

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that supervision must be kindly and sympathetic, and sensitive to the human factors involved, in spite of the fact that the supervisor has been handed a long list of teacher qualities on which to pass judgment, covering everything from the ability to control one's voice, posture, movements, and mannerisms, to a knowledge of how to apply the laws of learning. It is the unusual observer who doesn't find human weaknesses if he sets out to look for them. One group of administrators and supervisors "found" that many of the teachers they knew have one or more of these shortcomings:

1. Lack of poise and emotional stability
2. Harsh, high, uncontrolled voice
3. Lack of broad outlook on education
4. Tendency to be sheepish in following prescribed methods
5. Attitude of naive trust in tradition
6. Lack of curiosity and flexibility
7. Limited general and special education
8. Too much regard for mechanistic separation of subjects and departments
9. Too much dependence upon printed materials and time-using devices, and too little originality in teaching from and in life situations
10. Lack of ability to fill out school register efficiently
11. Meager powers of expression in correct English
12. Too frequent use of sarcasm
13. Inability to write a good letter of application
14. Fear of responsibility [12]

It wasn't told what these same teachers might have found as the shortcomings of their administrators and supervisors, but it can be guessed that these same fourteen points might have been included in the list. Year after year such lists of human frailties are passed down as educational literature to be standard guides for further supervision; and the teacher, for the sake of professional growth and improvement, has been supposed to like it. Supervision was to have provided a friendly and frank exchange of opinion, with personalities out of the picture, but the emphasis literature has had to place

[12] M. M. Roberts, "The Supervisor as a Reviver," *School Executive*, February, 57:248–250.

upon getting teachers in the right mood for supervision is in itself an indictment of the program proposed.

The plan for supervision has assumed not only that all the duties outlined were desirable, but that the principal was capable of performing them. He has been pictured as one who could discover, formulate, and solve all instructional problems as well as determine a degree of efficiency to be adopted as a standard of instruction. He is supposed to be Dick Tracy, evangelist, subject-matter specialist, trouble shooter, efficiency expert, and engineer of trick contraptions. The faith placed in the one supervising seems to have been almost unlimited.

Many pages have been devoted in educational literature to the personality of the supervisor, the desirable traits for the position commonly including self-reliance, industry, initiative, tact, loyalty, perseverance, enthusiasm, energy, sincerity, adaptability, a sense of humor, patience, and similar qualities. One can turn to the characteristics set out as desirable for classroom teachers and find the same qualities, and it is not surprising to find a number of these repeated on the pupil's home report card as citizenship traits. Perhaps it should just be said that the leader of teachers should be the same kind of person that the teacher is expected to be, and the teacher in turn should be the type individual she expects her pupils to turn out to be.

FALSE PREMISES OF SUPERVISION

And so, as the teacher looks about for help in improving her classroom program, she so often finds her superior officers working on a level above her — on a supervisory platform containing a number of weak planks, too rotten to offer comfort to either teacher or overseer. Thirty years have been enough to reveal these weaknesses of the original conception of supervision to be:

1. There has been a common attempt to base the supervisory program on the false premise that supervision could and should be separated from administration and organization.
2. It was assumed that the royal road to the improvement of instruction lay through the discovery and improvement of personal and professional weaknesses of teachers.
3. An attempt was made to reduce supervision to a single compact system composed of a few well-formulated techniques, that could be applied in all schools and all situations if they were but clearly understood by the one doing the supervising.
4. The program, with the teacher as the focal point and these common techniques as its means of improving the teacher, has disregarded the laws of human nature, conduct, and relationships, attempting through rationalization to hurdle the barrier that such concentration on individual weaknesses naturally sets up.

5. The supervisory program has been outlined for yesterday's fixed conception of the classroom, and is not applicable to the more flexible instructional process that is in keeping with modern educational thought.
6. The popular pastime of educational statisticians in turning out studies of how the principal spends his time, and the tables that result, indicate that too often supervision has been conceived as limited to the observation of what takes place within the four walls of the classroom.
7. Supervision of instruction came in as a child of efficiency in school operation, with its emphasis upon the inspection of school operation, rather than having grown up rightfully out of the instructional needs of the school, and tends in practice to retain much of that conception in spite of the attempt to inject other purposes into it.
8. In its endorsement of the scientific movement in education, supervision in turn was willing to limit its attention to those outcomes of instruction that could be objectively measured, namely, the retention of factual information.

SCIENCE AND SUPERVISION

The scientific movement in education with its emphasis upon objective methods found an early welcome in supervision of instruction. The supervisor was told that he was scientific if he kept such a record of a recitation that he was able at the end of the class period to show exactly how the teacher had distributed his questions among the pupils, and the extent and quality of each pupil's participation. By careful bookkeeping he could say, "Mr. Breyer, you talked a total of twenty-four minutes during that forty-two minute period," and could show evidence to prove it.

Standardized intelligence and achievement tests came along after the first World War. They were a boon to the prevailing conception of supervision, and tended to a degree to shift the improvement of instruction from teacher to pupil emphasis. Measurement of instruction, one pupil against another, one class against another, one school against another, one school system against another, and one method against another, became a part of standard supervisory procedure. Tests gave supervisors something to manipulate, and teachers and supervisors something to talk about.

With all due credit to the advancement the profession has made because of the scientific movement, inspectional aspects of supervision in many respects have been enhanced by the standardized tests. Whether intentional or not, the scores from such tests have been used to rank the instruction of one teacher against another, one school against another, and one school system against another, just as they have more legally been used to diagnose pupil strengths and weaknesses. The habit of discrediting that which is subjective and approving anything that has the earmarks of objective data has befallen school operation and management.

Supervision as improvement of instruction, in falling in with the scientific movement, sold itself to those aspects of instruction that science could measure, namely, the retention of factual information. As long as learning was conceived as an additive process, and the mind as proceeding from these many facts to the whole, supervision and scientific measurement had much in common. The teacher taught the facts in a rigidly controlled classroom and the supervisor checked the class to see if the instruction were efficient. Science made this checking more objective, and found favor in school administration that had long respected anything that emphasized efficiency and uniformity. Supervision became a threefold process — (1) to diagnose, (2) to prescribe, and (3) to administer, the first step depending largely upon the results of tests.

Standardized tests have performed great services, and will continue to do so, but only in so far as they are a means to other goals, and do not in themselves determine the goals of instruction. Science in education has done much to postpone attention on such instructional outcomes as interests, attitudes, and co-operative effort, simply because there were no tests available to measure such outcomes.[13] A testing program can never expect to stand alone as the indicator of instructional outcomes. Broader philosophies of education are moving teaching from a trade to a profession, and as the supervisor consequently loses the qualities of an overseer there will be less checking of efficiency of service and the quantity of production.

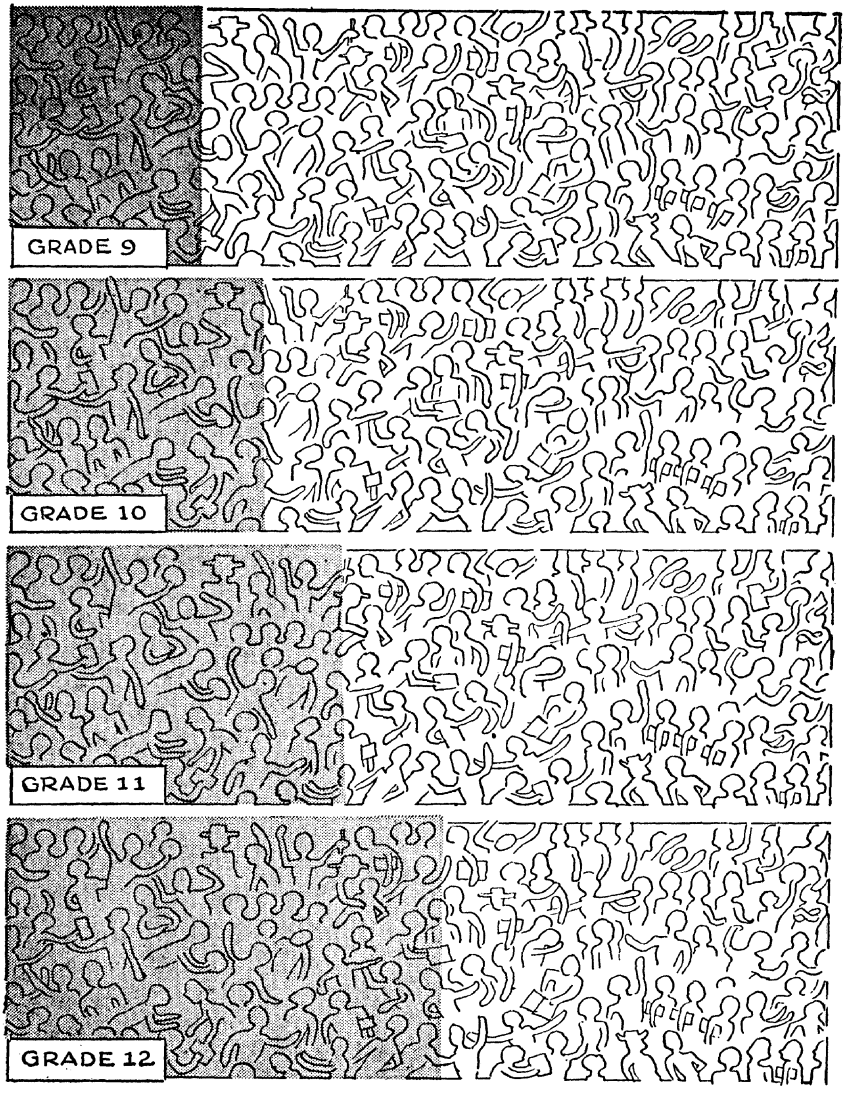
As revealed by his repeated writings in the field, perhaps A. S. Barr, the genial gentleman from the rolling soil of Southern Indiana, holds the deanship of America's school of supervision. Through his relationships with him, the writer appreciates that in recent years Barr has been working to free the supervisory concept from some of its tight and meager beginnings. The last revision of the Barr, Burton, and Brueckner work expresses the desire for the more humane approach to instructional improvement. Supervision must serve the newer patterns of secondary education that have been treated in the earlier chapters of this book.

[13] See Harold Spears, "Attitudes, Interests, and Habits as Outcomes of Laboratory Techniques," Chapter IV, *Laboratory Techniques of Teaching*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Part 5

RESTING THE CASE FOR THE PEOPLE

Chapter 21 THE PEOPLE'S HIGH SCHOOL



THE SHADOW UPON THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL. *Half of those who enter ninth grade quit before graduation.*

Chapter

21

THE PEOPLE'S HIGH SCHOOL

THE PEOPLE'S HIGH SCHOOL — a big order, many of the items on the list still unfilled after these many years, much talk about producing them, but still the cautious search and the slow delivery —

CHAPTER 21 — THE PEOPLE'S HIGH SCHOOL — might have been better left blank, the pages of this final chapter to be filled in by the thousands of towns, townships, cities, and neighborhoods within cities that make the investment in their respective public high schools. For, after all, change — if it is to come — must begin where the local community is, and must include the participation of administration, teachers, and laymen. That one who moves must start from where he is, is a law of physics that cannot be denied.

This chapter will be little more than a summary of conclusions that are being reached about secondary education — conclusions that mark dead-ends as well as marking the more promising freeways leading to the people's high school.

NEW GLORY IN A RECONCEIVED PROGRAM

It is quite apparent that the American high school, at least in its present form, has reached its maturity.

Today the elders of the institution still like to look back, and tell of the phenomenal growth of the public high school from 1890 to 1940 as though such growth in enrollment were synonymous with service to youth and state. They like to retell the story that within those fifty years the high-school enrollment increased nine times as fast as did the population of the country, and twenty times as fast as did the population group of fourteen through seventeen years of age.

But then came the 1940 to 1950 decade, and the facts are that the general population of the country grew while the high-school population declined, and the decline in the high-school population was even greater than the decline in the general age group of fourteen to seventeen.

The school can expect no further glory from multiplying populations, from phenomenal decade-by-decade doubling of enrollments. That period in the story of the American high school has passed. The school and its staff can find new glory only in a reconceived program of service to youth and state, a glory that must be won by concerted effort and hard work behind competent leadership.

OBSOLESCENCE OF THE CURRICULUM

That too many of our young people are receiving an obsolete education, quite far removed from the lives they live outside the classroom and the experiences they are about to face, is an apparent fact.

The field of English can be taken as a typical example of this obsolescence. All high schools require English in grades 9, 10, and 11, and half of them require it in grade 12. This means that between one-fifth and one-fourth of a student's classroom work for graduation must be taken in this field. By and large its emphasis is twofold: (1) the intensive study of literature from the past and (2) written composition approached through a knowledge of formal grammar. Some of the inconsistencies of the program are these —

1. It has never been proved that the best way to improve one's written expression is through the intensive study of formal grammar.
2. Correcting exercises in formal grammar becomes an end in itself to a student. Furthermore, because of the limitations of time, it crowds out adequate opportunities in self-expression, thus becoming an end in itself to the teacher also.
3. Although the person is in much greater need of training in oral expression than written expression, as judged by what the average citizen does in America, the emphasis in the schools is 20 to 1 in favor of written composition because twenty teachers have been trained in written composition to one in oral expression.
4. The average high-school student's use of language on the playground, in his social groups, and in his other out-of-class situations is practically uninfluenced by his three or four years of English study in the high-school classroom.
5. Although at least 19 out of 20 high schools require the study of such classics as *Silas Marner*, the *Odyssey*, and some plays of Shakespeare, not one out of twenty students really enjoys them. Half of those who study them will make good enough marks to stay to graduate, but not more than one of twenty graduates will turn to such literature when picking up something to read in leisure time.
6. A literature course is taught as an assembled collection of selections that all in the class must read, thus denying all known principles of learning.

7. Although one of the most potent of all educational forces is encouragement, a good percentage of English teachers give much lower marks at the end of the first grading period than they know they are going to give at the end of the term.
8. Graduate work of an English teacher —

But why extend this list of indictments? Required composition and literature in their traditional form have such a strangle hold on the American high school, apparently administrators will continue to come to their rescue as student interest and student enrollment continue to be killed off. Apparently the traditional English program is such a fixture our imaginations cannot conceive of the high school without it.

This is reminiscent of the fact that America was willing to let the Latin Grammar School pass out of existence as a secondary school rather than to set about to change the nature of the curriculum.

Changes That Might Come

Although it is somewhat beyond probability, there is the possibility that the school might change its English program along some such lines as these:

1. Set aside the idea of English as such, and instead set about to help students with their *communication of ideas.* Place the emphasis upon *their* needs in communication, and the needs apparent in normal community life.
2. Prominent and essential in the classroom would be the radio, the motion picture, the transcription, the newspaper, the magazine, the advertisement, and similar instruments that are the common means of communicating ideas in the everyday life of the community. This approach would not represent an elective course, but would be the main approach, replacing obsolete courses and materials now in the school.
3. A knowledge of, as well as practice in, *how people make themselves understood* would be emphasized. There would be the treatment of propaganda, sales appeal, and the various techniques of communication, transmitting ideas, and influencing opinions. But there would be the help in transmitting the ideas that the individual student wants to get across in his everyday situations.
4. Since communication is highly abstract unless it is dealing with actual ideas being transmitted, such a study in school would have to embody content from areas of life activity. Since the one first thought of is that of the normal social and civic affairs of the school and the community, what were formerly thought of as separate English and social studies interests thus merge into a common field. The writer is not thinking of merging these two fields as they have commonly appeared in the high school. Not at all. He is speaking of merging their "justifications" — (1) improvement in communication, and (2) improvement in social con-

sciousness and social processes. Much of what is commonly done in English and history courses would have no place in this required area of student work.

The study of how people of the past communicated or even the knowledge of the means of communicating today mean little in themselves. The school must take an interest in the student's needs in communication as it touches his life and as it is about to touch his life of tomorrow, and give him practice where necessary. His needs are twofold — (1) arranging his own thoughts and expressing them properly to others, and (2) practicing the reception and thus proper interpretation of the ideas of others that will come his way — from the radio, the advertisement, the motion picture, the classmate running for student office, and so forth. Just as soon as the school thus comes to grips with the exchange of ideas as a focal point, it finds its content coming from the life of the school, the community, the nation, the international scene. No need of the student will be too small. His asking for a date and his apology for a hasty act will be communication needs as worthy of teacher help as the description of a sunset or the delivery of a ten-minute talk the night of the football banquet. *Properly communicating one's own thoughts is much more educational than copying or reciting the thoughts of a statesman or a poet of an earlier era.*

Scholarship? Yes. But the test is the use of knowledge in attacking real problems. How to attack them, where to get the help, how to interpret the facts assembled, how to pool opinions — all of this reflects real scholarship. The time has passed when we can judge scholarship by the number of right answers to classroom questions meaning little if anything to the lives of the class members. As we move more and more toward the appreciation that subjects are means, not disciplines, we will also move farther and farther away from extrinsic marking systems and the judging of school progress by the awarding of Carnegie credits and units. Once the high school is an institution that treats the essentials of youth, then youth will not have to be goaded into effort by marks, honors, and Carnegie units. One needs but observe the interest and activity — the earnest effort — that goes forward in the primary grades before marks and honors are ever introduced to the school child as work incentives.

Not an Easy School

The emerging school, as treated in this book, does not represent an easy school. It is easy for neither student nor teacher. Rather, it is a harder school. The easiest job that a teacher can carry out is the traditional one of working alone in her isolated classroom, assigning all the lessons and listening to the recitations. But the emerging school is a much more interesting and invigorating school for both teacher and student. Its day will pass quickly.

THE LUXURY OF HIGH-SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

For a sizable percentage of American youth, attending high school is apparently a luxury, something to do when there is nothing more important to occupy them.

The heavy drop-out of students before graduation has been developed in the early chapters of the book and will not be retold here. Important work to do cut down heavily the school's enrollment during the World War II years and the years just following. It is to be recalled that during the depression years the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps programs were established and operated by the federal government to provide worthy activity for youth. The moral of the story is the realization that there might be successfully provided youth services quite different in nature from those commonly offered by the typical high school. Education as wholesome development rather than as merely classroom assignments and book study is a concept inviting a much broader type of school program than the high school has yet conceived.

Education for all American youth, organized at public expense, may yet be achieved, but unless the high school soon changes, education for all American youth may be achieved by two parallel and competing programs: (1) the traditional high school as now known, supported mainly at local expense or with state aid, and (2) a more broadly conceived youth development program, supported at federal expense, and supplied at times of national emergency.

Camp experience, work experience, citizenship training such as cooperative living through experience, and similar concepts bandied about by secondary-school educators for years, became realities overnight in the CCC and NYA programs. There were shortcomings in those programs to be sure, but for the short time they were operated the results in providing meaningful developmental tasks for youth were certainly promising.

BROADENING THE MEANING OF A LIBERAL EDUCATION

The existence of two parallel youth service programs just treated — (1) a study-type, mark-earning, past-exploring high school and (2) a work-experience, social-experience, present-exploring youth agency program — can be avoided only if educators and lay school leaders relinquish the narrow academic view that they hold of culture and the cultured.

We have falsely separated culture from the practical, looking upon the school as the training agency of one and out-of-school experience as the training agency of the other. Culture has been falsely conceived as the cream of the experience of the past, skimmed off to nourish the student of today in his preparation to be a cultured person in his life of tomorrow. Consequently, educators have shied away from considering work experience, vocation, the manual, the practical, as an integral part of the mechanism of the cultured

person. The careful student of secondary education in America can find evidence that America in spirit has wanted her secondary school to treat vocation as well as culture, so-called, but he finds this has not been the case with very many who have had a hand in directing the school.

As pointed out in previous chapters, to offer vocational education in a public school system in itself is not evidence of the acceptance of the broader view of culture. For in most instances, vocational courses are administered as those courses to be taken by the less academically or less economically favored element of the high-school population. In our present high-school setup, we treat cultural education and vocational education as opposites, permitting students to divide themselves between the two. Can't we provide each student with a well-integrated program that includes the practical?

The educational world abounds with evidences of this notion of a division between (1) education as study and mental concentration and (2) actual experience with the practical. The following examples from the author's experience are but a sample of this dual concept.

1. There was the board of education member who so placed what he called cultural or liberal education above vocational or practical that he defended the practice of paying the typing teacher much less than the teacher of history and the teacher of Latin.
2. And there was the teachers college which was training teachers for secondary schools, but it would not add typing and shorthand to its curriculum lest such subjects reflect upon the good name that the school had for its intensive work in liberal arts. To give college credit for typing and shorthand was beyond the thinking of some who dealt in book studies.
3. There was the high-school mathematics department that gave a mathematics test to all entering students from the elementary schools, and placed in algebra courses all those who did well on the test, and placed into the practical mathematics course those who did poorly.
4. There was the so-called graduate student of education who was working on his thesis for his doctorate. It was what he called a guidance instrument. He was studying the relationship of the student's intelligence to the ability to succeed in all the various subjects offered by a comprehensive high school, by finding the intelligence quotients of the students in the various types of classes — Latin, algebra, commercial arithmetic, auto shop, typing, trigonometry, and what not. His guidance instrument was to be a hierarchical arrangement of the many subjects, from most difficult to most easy, with intelligence quotient range indicated for each. A high-school guidance counselor, in his easy chair, with a student before him, would have nothing more to do than to check the student's intelligence quotient, consult the master instrument, and tell the youth what subjects he should take the next semester.

5. There was the mother whose high-school son was very skillful with his hands, as demonstrated in his work in arts and crafts. But she denied him the chance to do any such work in high school, holding him to a strictly academic program that she felt would lead him into the *right* college — one of her choosing.

It must be appreciated that there are educators and laymen brought up in the liberal arts tradition, pure or impure as it may be, that fear the very thought of an educational program that is concerned with such utilitarian matters as making a living and satisfying one's innerself through using one's hands for anything other than writing a sentence. Good books do not necessarily beget good deeds. Liberal and practical are not opposites in real life, only in the limited mental processes of some who have guided education. A liberal education could be conceived as one that recognizes what men do in the world — in civic affairs, in work situations, and in leisure. Certainly that is what *the people* want in *their* high school.

THE HIGH SCHOOL'S GREAT OBLIGATION

The number-one obligation of the high school is to help youth with matters that are of importance to them today and those which they accept as of probable importance tomorrow.

Once this is adequately done by the high school, a parallel youth program such as NYA or CCC would have little reason for origin. Likewise, once this is adequately done, the narrow conception of liberal or cultural education would be absorbed in the broader enterprise. In such curriculum chapters as 5, 6, 7, and 8 have been treated the areas of study and experience that the people's high school might include. Among these areas of experience more commonly found in the thinking of educators today are the following: [1]

1. *Civic consciousness.* A citizenship program leading to values and understanding through knowledge and participation. Emphasis upon civic responsibilities about the school and participation in group management, as well as study of government past and present. Group relationships within the school and the family, as well as among peoples and nations. Service to school and community, demanded of all students.
2. *A work consciousness.* An understanding of the necessity and dignity of all types of labor. Proper attitudes toward work and labor. Appreciation of the fundamental place of individual endeavor in the world of work. Work experience, guided by the school in co-operation with the agency affording the opportunity. The satisfaction of producing.

[1] In mentioning these, the author is not suggesting a curriculum framework, with each area as a subject. It is up to the local authorities who accept them to see that they are all adequately treated in some manner or other.

3. *A concern for one's own place in the world of work.* Determining one's next station of endeavor and preparation for entry into that field or position. Proper work habits.
4. *Exploring and developing one's unique interests and talents.* Exploring fields of study and activity. Trying one's hand at this and that. Satisfying inner urges such as musical participation, written expression, and physical endeavor. Engaging in recreational activities.
5. *Preserving and developing one's physical, mental, and emotional health.* Psychobiological tensions, personality, health problems deserve attention.
6. *Engaging in and improving one's participation in wholesome social activities.*

Practice and improvement in written and oral expression, facility in computation and its application to the everyday activities, reading for information as well as pleasure, and similar practices commonly accepted as fundamentals in an organized school program find their rightful place in such a program. These come in to meet needs as the student attempts to move ahead in these meaningful areas. There is no substitute for solid content that is useful to the one doing the learning. Fundamentals? Yes. But fundamentals as tested by what people do or should do in this world to live richer lives and to make better communities.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SCHOOL DAY. In Smith-Hughes shop courses the half-day course has been common for years to the high school. It is no stretch of the imagination to think of the half-day core course to serve the student in the area of general education, as has been treated at length in earlier chapters. The other half of the day could be arranged with shorter periods, enabling the student to follow as many as three interests besides the broad integrated core course.

THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL. In the junior high school, the gradual transition from elementary to senior high can best be assured by placing the student with one teacher for half of the day. This teacher becomes the close personal adviser of the student, eliminating the necessity of a special counseling period. Such subject areas as language arts, social studies, and general science can be integrated into a common core course for this half day.

DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES

The high school must follow democratic practices throughout, but must respect the fact that democracy cannot be forced.

In a school that has used formal teacher assignments almost exclusively, pupil-teacher planning can come only after teacher patience, attention, and encouragement. In a school system in which only the people at the top had the "right" answers, the co-operative participation of teachers and staff in studying problems and making decisions can come only after administrative patience, attention, and encouragement.

In spite of the importance of the democratic process in the classroom, the process alone cannot replace subject content. The mill must turn, but there must be grain for it. Democratic group processes must operate, but there must be understandings and knowledge to feed the process. The democratic process respects the difference in individual abilities. The dose of knowledge that in the past was put out for the average student made a rebel of the slower-than-average and a trifler of the above-average. Knowledge is not a god, it is a servant.

A few years ago it was the author's good fortune to act as director of an educational mission to Chile. Through a co-operative program sponsored by the governments of the United States and Chile, ten educators from the States served the Chilean Ministry of Education in the reorganization of the school program of that country. The Chilean staff members were most anxious for their secondary schools to play a vital part in training for civic life. One of the school officials of Chile, Martin Bunster, who worked actively in the program, made a tour of schools in the United States to determine the extent of the program of citizenship training. He summarized his quest, to the author, with these remarks:

> Chilean social and economic life emphasizes class distinctions. We must depend upon the secondary school to help bridge the gaps, to lead our people to a civic life that respects the value of human worth. The schools must be a real social force in effecting community changes.
>
> In your country, the United States, there are so many democratic institutions, customs, and practices in your community and everyday life, the high schools have not had to take a lead. In fact, as I noted the school procedures, it seemed that the democratic features of the out-of-school community life were so strong that they overshadowed any such features in your schools. Here in Chile, we cannot afford that type of high-school program. We do not have those strengths in the community life and must develop a high-school program more promising to the improvement of the civic life than is the case with the schools in the United States.

CO-ORDINATION OF EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES

A community must co-ordinate all of its educational efforts for youth into an integrated program leading to a common goal.

There is much community effort and money now squandered in this country because of the overlapping functions of governmental and non-governmental agencies dealing in service to American youth. For instance, in a great city such as San Francisco, the existence of Public Libraries, Public Schools, Public Recreation, and Public Parks under four completely separated governmental divisions marks a waste of facilities and effort at the expense of San Francisco youth. Add to this all of the scattered efforts of scouting groups, social agencies, service clubs, religious groups, and other nongovernmental units dealing in the field of youth service, and the pattern

becomes almost hopeless. Co-ordinating councils must be set up to effect improvements, but such a council cannot overcome the vested interests in city government that fight to keep separated such related services as parks and recreation.

CONTINUOUS SCHOOL IMPROVEMENT

The points just discussed, as well as those discussed in more detail in the previous chapters, do little more than light the entrance to the road leading to the people's high school. This the writer fully appreciates. The different activities that come out of enlightened points of view, to make for the organized improvement of learning in the existing school, are so varied, nobody would dare set up the list of preferred. However, were we to see the following things going on, surely they would indicate administrative leadership and staff enthusiasm in the search for the better school. It can be taken as a typical list of the movements around a school that would mark it as on the march.

1. A majority of the teachers are actively engaged with worthy community enterprises touching the typical affairs and problems of community life.
2. Each year a committee of teachers and the student council make a survey of the out-of-school activities of all the students in the school. The information is then used by all teachers in their better understanding and guidance of their students. For instance, the school's work-experience program takes into consideration the part-time work already carried on by the students.
3. Teachers are reading, enjoying, and discussing together new books and articles of interest appearing in the current educational magazines, a library of these being provided in the faculty rooms.
4. Faculty meetings are professional meetings, planned by a representative group of teachers working with the principal. Studies and discussions grow out of the life of the school and return to enrich it. All faculty members, including the coaches, attend the meetings.
5. Even the teachers of longest experience continue their study of educational trends, returning periodically to the summer campus, engaging in workshops provided in the local schools, and taking educational excursions.
6. Curriculum committees are formed from year to year by the principal at the initiation of the teachers, resulting in (1) the continuous study of the school's efforts to develop youth, and (2) continuous alterations of the instructional approach.
7. A fair percentage of the teachers of the school appear from time to time at church meetings, club meetings, public forums, conferences of tax groups, and similar community gatherings to explain the efforts of the local schools or to interpret the current trends in educational thinking

and practice. Teaching is their profession, and they feel competent and proud to speak for the schools.

8. Fully a fourth of the time of the students and the teachers in the senior citizenship program is spent in close observation of and participation in the community situation, and another fourth in the close study and improvement of the school itself.
9. In large numbers the teachers enroll voluntarily in professional organizations, and actively participate in their work by attending conventions, writing for the professional journals, and assuming assignments.
10. In the federations, councils, or unions that they organize into, teachers give as much attention to the instructional welfare of the student as they give to the personal welfare of the teacher.
11. Teachers take leaves of absence to seek enriching experiences that will contribute to the school's progress. The administration encourages this with financial remuneration.
12. Teachers in general have a broad understanding of the other youth-serving agencies in the community, the contributions they render, and the specific relationships of such agencies with the students of the school.
13. Teachers make frequent contacts with the parents of their students, easily and naturally.
14. The co-operation of nearby schools of education and the state department of public instruction is frequently used in furthering the improvement of the school program.
15. It is common to find teachers observing the classroom work of other teachers in the school. In this way they move easily and naturally in and out of each other's rooms. The presence of many two-hour and half-day core courses, calling for teacher teams, encourages this close co-operation of teachers in classrooms and in community trips.
16. Groups of students, teachers, and parents are frequently seen in an afternoon social hour, the topic of interest often being the experimental work of a particular class.
17. At least 10 per cent of the teachers and the classrooms are engaged in curriculum experimentation each year. Such experimentation is not being done because the principal asked teachers to do it, nor because the teachers got his permission. Rather, it represents the co-operative, on-going progress of the entire school. It is taken for granted that in the face of the unsolved problems of secondary education, certainly it is not out of line to have one out of every ten teachers engaged in experimental programs each year.
18. In late spring, each year, a day is set aside for a conference, when the faculty meets with student and Parent-Teacher Association leaders to make a searching evaluation of the school's total progress for the year.

19. In early fall, a faculty meeting is held at which each department and each experimental group reports the success or lack of success of the new things tried the previous year, and plans for the coming year are made known.
20. At times teachers exchange positions with those in other countries or in other sections of the United States. The full contribution of each new teacher is welcomed by the staff and the administration.
21. Once every two weeks the faculty members turn out at the school for an evening of mixed sports and recreation, and at times a pot-luck supper.
22. In the monthly meetings of the Parent-Teacher Association, groups of parents and teachers study the improvement of the school program. Students frequently meet with the PTA committees in this work.
23. A concerted attempt is made to group senior high-school students by interest groups, such as radio, speaker's bureau, and stagecraft, rather than by subjects marked by grade level, such as English 10A, English 11B, and English 11A.
24. Each spring, a Saturday is set aside as Dads' Day. The boys and girls bring their fathers to school for a day of mixed sports, a box luncheon, and a talent assembly in which the fathers as well as the students participate.

A FINAL NOTE

And so we close the page on another treatment of America's attempt to serve all her youth, of her attempt to show through public education her belief in the equality of these youth. Basically, American youth can be equal if they have as far as possible equal opportunity to develop such ability and talents as they may possess, and equal attention from school administration and teachers regardless of their limitations in such ability and talents. It is appreciated that human life reaches its highest levels only when the individual masters his own experiences, and it is likewise appreciated that the perfection of this mastery is the business of the school.

Can the people's high school reach its goal? The only assurance of any continued development or extension of the American high school must come through the retention of its ideals. Once its faith in being able to serve all American youth is gone, then so is the school itself.

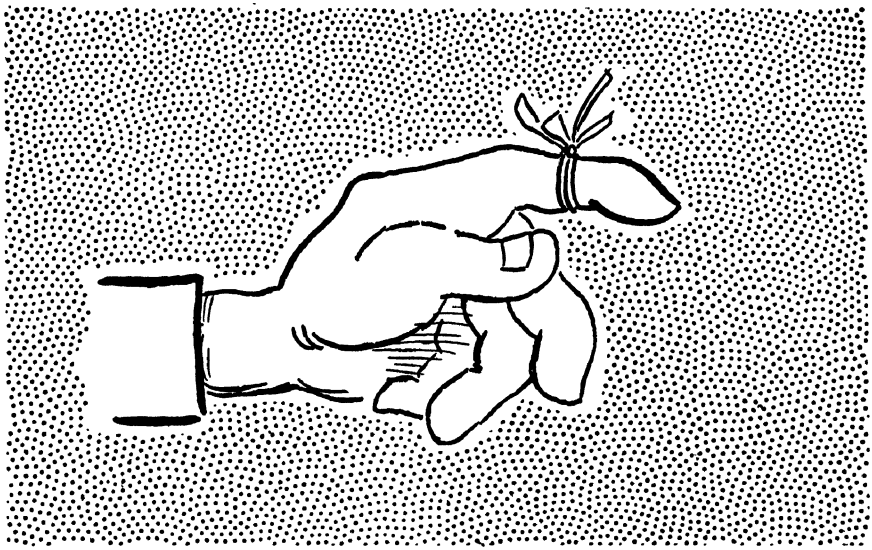
Chief among the ingredients of the high school that has been sought for so long must be (1) the will of the people, (2) the enthusiasm of youth, and (3) the warm hearts of the teachers.

Will the people pay for the school? The answer awaits the solution of these five pressing problems of the school:

1. The problem of holding to high-school graduation ALL American youth
2. The problem of accepting graciously in the high school all the children who come up from the school below

3. The problem of using methods that respect the principles of learning that have been established by research
4. The problem of establishing with high-school youth a genuine feeling of social responsibility or civic consciousness
5. The problem of establishing with high-school youth a genuine respect for the dignity of labor

If these five problems are solved there will be no curriculum problem. If they are solved there will be no problem of support. If the school ever gives the people the returns upon the public investment that are asked for in the solution of these five problems, then there will be so much good will developed for the school that financial support for the school will be forthcoming with little effort on the part of those administering the school. Until it pays full returns upon the present investment, the high school is hardly deserving of more funds; it is hardly deserving of the title — the People's High School.



P.S. — REMEMBER ALL AMERICAN YOUTH

INDEX

Ability grouping, denied in core program, 104; history of, 179–180, 320
Academy, the, as a secondary school, 289–295, 310–311
Accrediting associations, for high schools, 223–224
Activities period, the, 143–145
Administration, as distinguished from supervision, 350–352; line-and-staff pattern of, 344–345
Alberty, H. B., 353
American history, values and limitations, 98–100
American Youth Commission, 28–30
Amherst, Massachusetts, school report, 317, 322
Art, in a core program, 115–117
Assembly, the school, 150–152
Austin, L. H., 322
Ayer, F. C., 353, 354

Barr, A. S., 353, 354
Beginning teacher, the, 233–237, 260–265
Biology, as part of a core program, 111–114
Bloomington, Illinois, school report, 336
Bogue, Jesse P., and Sanders, Shirley, 329
Boston Latin Grammar School, 288–289, 295
Bredin, Elizabeth, 111
Briggs, T. H., 26, 353
Brown, Elmer E., *The Making of Our Middle Schools*, 24–25, 290, 322
Brueckner, L. J., 353
Burke, A. J., 280
Burrell, B. J., and Eckelberry, R. H., 298
Burton, W. H., 353
Butler, N. M., 288, 291, 311, 322
Butte, Montana, school report, 335

California, as leader in public-junior colleges, 329–330
Cardinal principles, of secondary education, 24–25, 287, 314
Carnegie unit-and-credit plan, 43, 85, 313, 318–319
Census Bureau, facts on schooling completed by citizens, 20
Chamberlain, E. B., 215
Chicago, Illinois, school report, 336
Chile, education in, 56
Cincinnati, Ohio, school report, 332, 333
Citizenship training, 27–28, 30–31, 33–34, 53–56, 65–66, 96–97, 98–120, 152–155, 369–371
Civic consciousness, developing in schools, 55–56, 369; in Regents study in New York, 28–30; of the graduate, 7
Classroom, characteristics of the typical, 167–169; visits to by early supervisor, 354–355
Clem, O. M., and Murray, J. F., 282
Cleveland, Ohio, school report, 321, 322
Club program, the, 156–160
College influence upon secondary education, 82, 317–318
Collings, Ellsworth, 353
Colorado State College of Education, high-school program, 88–89
Commencement, characteristics of, 3–5
Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, 314
Commissions, national, 1893 to 1918 series of, 25; recent series of, 25–44
Committee of Ten, the, 304–306
Committee on College Entrance Requirements, 313
Committee on Economy of Time, 313–314
Committee on the Articulation of High Schools and Colleges, 314
Committee on the Correlation of Studies, 312
Community school, the, 121–136; at Evansville, 127–130; at Pine Mountain, 130–134; at Waterloo, 125–127
Continuous school improvement, evidences of, 372–374
Cook, W. A., 299

Core curriculum, 32, 34, 36–37, 40–41, 101–120
Cox, P. W. L., 353
Cumulative record, the, as used in guidance, 185–186
Curriculum, areas of living, 43; as seen by beginners, 235–236; control in Chile, 56; definition of, 21; in Harvard Report, 38–39; John Dewey Society proposals for, 40–42; leadership for change, 21–23; North Central proposals for, 32; obsolescence of, 364–365; outside influence upon, 224–226; preparing for change of, 58–79; teacher's relationship to, 21
Curriculum reorganization, chances of failure, 73; correlation, 67–68; hindrance of mental discipline in, 61–65; integration, 67; machinery for, 73–79; place of subject curriculum in, 57–61; principles for guidance of, 70–72; relationship to supervision, 270–272, 347–350

Democracy, as opposed to totalitarian government, 53–56; in school operation, 265–268
Department head, the, 273–274
Departments, subject, in studying failures, 18
Detroit, work-week of high-school teachers, 230–232
Dewey, John, 324
Diploma, the, form of, 4, 317–318; significance of, 3
Durbahn, Walter, 93

Eckhardt, John W., 277
Education for All American Youth, report of Educational Policies Commission, 32–35
Educational Policies Commission, 10, 33, 211
Edwards, B. B., 292
Ehninger, Douglas, 170
Eliot, Charles W., 303–306
English, as part of a core program, 107–120; emphasis upon classics in teaching of, 348; proposed changes in, 365–366; typical program of, 364–365
English Classical High School, 295–297
Equality of opportunity, as related to the public high school, 3–10, 19–20, 201–202
Evansville, Indiana, school program, 92, 127–130, 296–297
Experience, as a factor in teacher selection, 260–262
Extracurricular activities, detailed description of, 137–164; in core programs, 104
Experiences in Building a Curriculum, 178

Failures in high school, in San Francisco, 16–17
Farmer, Floyd, 276
Federal aid to education, 212–213
Finch, Harold, 164
Follow-up of graduates, 191
Franklin, Benjamin, proposals for secondary school, 25, 57, 289–290
Fretwell, Elbert K., 139
Functions of Secondary Education, 26–27

General education, as described by the North Central study, 30–32; at Colorado State College of Education, 88–89; relationship to special education, 80–88
General Education in a Free Society, the Harvard Report, 35, 38–39
General Education in the American High School, 7, 30–32
Graduation, number who achieve, 4, 13; significance of in American life, 3–5
Guidance in secondary schools, 184–202; cumulative record, 185–186; job opportunity survey, 191; occupational direction, 187–188; organization for, 198–200; testing, 189–190

Hall, G. Stanley, 325
Hamrin, Shirley A., 339
Hand, Harold, 7
Hanna, Geneva, 134–135
Hepner, Walter R., 340
Highland Park, Illinois, High School, 86–88, 93, 107–114, 229
High school, selective nature of, 6–7, 14, 19–21; studying effectiveness of, 18–19
High-school attendance, 4–5, 12–15; in California, in San Francisco, from 1889 to 1944, 13; luxury of, 367; peak of, 12; rapid growth of, 363–364
High-School Victory Corps, 74
Holding-power, of the high school, facts of, 12–14, 222–223, 259, 362–364; how to study, 14–16, 66
Home room, the, 155–156, 200
Hughes, H. M., 353

Indiana, proposed state curriculum reorganization, 77
Intelligence, concept of in relationship to school program, 192–198
Intelligence quotient, as a determiner of high-school graduation, 7; in guidance, 189–190; in sorting students, 81–82, 320
Illinois Secondary School Principals Association, 75

Jackson, Andrew, influence upon public education, 9–10
Jacobs, Charles L., 328
Jefferson, Thomas, proposals for education in Virginia, 8–10
Jersey City, New Jersey, school report, 336
Job opportunity survey, as used by schools, 191
John Dewey Society, study of the high school, 39–41
Junior college, the, 220–223, 329–330
Junior high school, exploratory nature of, 18; movement toward, 325–328

Kalamazoo Case, the, 287, 297–299
Kansas City, Missouri, school report, 335
Knudsen, William S., statement endorsing work experience, 90–91
Koos, L. V., 221
Kyte, G. C., 353

Laboratory procedure, 102, 170–171
Langfitt, R. E., 353
Learning, nature of, 194–198
Liberal education, meaning of, 367–368
Lincoln High School, San Jose, California, daily schedule, 143–145; service clubs, 158–160
Lindquist, Rudolph, 215
Line-and-staff organization of schools, 344–346
Little Rock, Arkansas, school report, 336
Locke, John, 184–185

McMullen, Harold, 111
Marking system, 43, 178–179
Melby, E. O., 353
Mental discipline, misguided faith in, 61–65
Montclair, New Jersey, State Teachers College, 233
Music, in a core program, 117

National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 35–37
National Honor Society, 145–146, 149
National Policies Commission, on separate school administration, 211–212, 217–219
New Jersey, history requirement for graduation, 98
New York Regents, study of high schools, 27–28, 193
New York Times, history study, 98–100
Nonacademic courses, entrance of into schools, 81
Nonacademic pupil, in terminology of secondary education, 319–320
Nutt, H. W., 353

Occupational guidance, 187–188

Participation in activities, limiting and encouraging, 145–148
Pierce, Paul R., 331, 340
Pine Mountain, Kentucky, school program, 130–134
Point system, the, 145–147
Principal, the, as a democratic leader, 265–269; in helping beginning teachers, 260–265; part in curriculum change, 22–23; studies of, 275–282; unique position of, 274–275, 282–283
Principalship, early history of, 331–340, 342–343
Principal-teacher, the, in early school history, 331–334
Private schools, 214–219
Problems facing the high school, 374–375
Professional ethics, code of, 237–242
Prosser Resolution, the, advanced by United States Office of Education, 42–44
Providence, Rhode Island, school report, 321
Publications in school, 160–163
Public, the, belief in mental discipline, 62–63; bulletins sent to, 86–88; influence upon schools, 10, 205–226
Public education, organization of, 206–209
Public high schools, distribution by size, 22
Puckett, R. C., 355
Purposes, of junior high school, 326–327
Purposes, of secondary school, 24–44, 70, 166, 300–304

Raleigh, North Carolina, school report, 333
Recitation, the, 169–170
Rich, F. M., 62
Roberts, M. M., 356
Rochester, New York, school report, 337, 338

Salary policies, 236, 243–257; bargaining for, 244, 246–247; experience as a factor, 245–247; extra remuneration, 249–253; funds available, 255–256; merit as a factor, 245–247; principles of, 245; training, 251
Salt Lake City, school report, 333–334
San Francisco, California, public schools, 16, 254
San Jose High School, curriculum plan, 68–69
Scholasticism, as emphasized in high school, 318
Schooling, years completed by citizens, 19–21

School term, length of in states and sections, 19
Scott, C. W. and Ried, H. O., 339
Secondary education, for all American youth, 5, 8; formative years of, 287–326; purposes of, 24–44, 70, 166
Secret societies in school, 147
Sexton, John A., 209
Shipp, Frederic T., 69, 143, 158
Smith, W. A., 327
Smith-Hughes program, 83, 92, 93–96, 213
Social status, as a goal of schooling, 8–10
Social studies, as part of a core program, 107–120
Spaulding, Francis T., 27
Standards, fear of lowering, 317–323
State department of education, as curriculum leader, 75–78
Stewart, George, 111
Strayer, George D., 271
Structure of American education, 219–220
Student government, 152–155
St. Louis, Missouri, school report, 346
St. Paul, Minnesota, school report, 336
Subject, emphasis upon, 348
Superintendency, the, 209–210, 336–337, 340, 341–342
Supervision, conducted by early principals, 336; difference from administration, 350–352; false premises of, 357–358; meager beginnings of, 341–359; new officers for, 347–350; program of in high school, 268–272; traditional patterns of, 352–357

Teacher, the, code of ethics for, 237–242; early pattern of, 227–228; in core programs, 105–107; qualities of, 228–230, 232–233; salary of, 236, 243–257; workweek of, 230–232
Teacher training, 165
Techniques of teaching, 165–183; ability grouping, 179–180; individualized instruction, 170–172; newer, 180–183; the recitation, 169–170; the unit plan, 172–180; typical, 167–169
Testing, in secondary schools, 189–190, 323–324, 358–359
Thayer, V. T., 353
The Emerging High-School Curriculum, 22, 102, 125
The People's College, as referred to in educational literature, 4, 80
Time and place, as determiners of the educational program, 53–56
Transfer of training, confused with mental discipline theory, 61–65

Unit plan of teaching, the, 172–178
United States Office of Education, 13, 30, 42–44, 74, 213–214

Valedictorian, earlier emphasis placed upon, 4
Victory Corps, of war years, 74
Vocational education, entrance into secondary schools, 82–83, 308–309

Waterloo, Albama, school program, 125–127
Weaver, W. W., 49
Work experience, in high school, 32–34, 41, 90–96, 367–369

Youth, a distinct population group, 47–48; during wartime, 52–53; nature of, 49–52