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EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

by

FRANCIS J. BROWN

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TO

HELEN, MY WIFE,

WHO HAS SHARED EACH HOUR

IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS BOOK

AND HAS MADE LABOR A JOY.

PREFACE

The material of this book stems from three sources: A lifelong interest in human relations which was sharpened and given direction by an undergraduate and a doctorate major in sociology; some twenty years of teaching, from a one-room rural school to ten years of study and teaching in the Department of Educational Sociology, New York University, under the inspiring leadership of E. George Payne; and six years in Washington, D. C., in constant contact with agencies in and out of government and the interplay of many interests and social forces.

Every effort has been made to merge these sources into a consistent approach to the growing and vital field of educational sociology, to avoid overemphasis of one at the expense of another, and to make concrete application to the great challenge of the years immediately ahead. The approach to the study is not that of social problems nor of problems of education, but rather that of pointing the way to a solution of problems through a knowledge of the social processes and their significance in the whole range of education. While constant reference is made to the school, its relation to the total experience of the individual in his cultural pattern and his group relationships is a central emphasis throughout the entire book.

Education is conceived as the major instrument of social control. Through the planned program of the school, coördinated with all other agencies—the family, the play group, and community organizations—personality is developed and group patterns of behavior are directed toward ever higher levels of health, economic welfare, and basic appreciation and attitudes—not for the individual alone, but for the group. Education has not fulfilled its function when it has provided even optimum opportunity for individual development; its greater task is that of looking through

and beyond the individual to the development of the interrelation of person with person and group with group to a new synthesis in terms of human welfare.

If this book may contribute, even in a small way, to the charting of this future through the improvement of education at all levels and by many agencies, the thought and time that have gone into its preparation will have been worthwhile.

Although planned specifically as a textbook in educational sociology or comparable courses in teacher-training institutions, it is hoped that it will find its way into the hands of classroom teachers, school administrators, and those responsible for social and welfare agencies for children, youth, and adults. The author's fondest hope will be realized if the book may also be of interest and value to those not directly connected with education but whose understanding of the function, policies, and procedures of education is necessary if the goals herein presented are to be realized.

The author is grateful to the publishers who have given permission to quote excerpts from books and magazine articles, especially since it was his deliberate purpose to present as wide a range of other material as was possible and yet retain a consistent point of view. Footnotes have been used rather freely, not only to give exact sources of quotations, but also to suggest sources for reading as an elaboration of points raised in the text that are necessarily discussed only briefly. The references may also prove useful for supplementary assignments or for research.

The bibliography varies from that usually given in an introductory text. It is selected to include both earlier and contemporary statements, the criteria being their value in supplementing the material of the book. All references are comparatively short, in order that they may be used as individual assignments or voluntary reading by those who wish to pursue a given field further than is possible in the text. When no specific chapters or pages are indicated, the book or pamphlet is relatively brief.

Many people have contributed, either directly or indirectly, to this volume, and to all the author expresses his sincere apprecia-

tion. Marion Boyle painstakingly typed the entire manuscript for publication; Harrison H. Sasser assisted in supplying data for Chapter 17; Philip S. Van Wyck, formerly of Dunwoody Industrial Institute and more recently Director of the Bureau of Training, War Manpower Commission, is the author of Chapter 18. Dan W. Dodson was particularly helpful in making suggestions and offering constructive criticism. The author is especially indebted to E. George Payne, Dean Emeritus of the School of Education, New York University, whose teaching and writing is reflected throughout the volume. But the one without whose invaluable help and constant inspiration this book could not have been written is my wife, Helen.

FRANCIS J. BROWN

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

It is now a half-century since Professor Ross gave his lectures on sociology applied to education at Leland Stanford University, the first such lectures given in any American university. They might well be called the beginning of Educational Sociology—which is, along with Educational Psychology and the Philosophy of Education, an essential study for all in the educational field.

In its half-century of growth, Educational Sociology has undergone marked development. It began as a social philosophy, but, following the direction of sociology in general, it has become more and more scientific until today it is ranked with psychology as a basic science of education.

I have elsewhere made a statement that I take liberty to repeat because of its particular significance for this book. "Educational Sociology has been developed by two groups of persons. One group is composed of those who are concerned with the problem of education and are impressed with the lack of social emphasis in our educational programs. The other group is composed of sociologists who regard education as one of the most fruitful fields of applied sociology." Dr. Brown holds firmly to the latter view and gave it considerable impetus during his years as a teacher and as managing editor of the *Journal of Educational Sociology,* the official organ of the American Sociological Society.

The same viewpoint governs the present work—a new book with an approach vital to all educators. It is a necessary book in these days of social and educational ferment and world reconstruction. If we are to restore concord and mutual understanding in "One America" and "One World," we must give a new social emphasis to the whole educational process—which is what Dr. Brown has done.

E. GEORGE PAYNE

CONTENTS

Part I Why Educational Sociology?

CHAPTER PAGE

1. THE INDIVIDUAL APPROACH 3
BIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR. PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN HUMAN BEHAVIOR.

2. THE SOCIETAL APPROACH 19
GROUP BEHAVIOR AMONG ANIMALS. CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY. RISE OF SOCIOLOGY. SOCIOLOGY TODAY.

3. THE INTERACTION APPROACH 33
EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. RELATION TO EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY. MAJOR FIELDS OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY. THE DEVELOPMENT OF RESEARCH. THE CHALLENGE OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY.

Part II Individual-Group Interaction

4. OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE 55
THE MEANING OF CULTURE. GROUP BEHAVIOR PATTERNS. THE CUMULATIVE NATURE OF CULTURE. CULTURAL CHANGE. DIFFUSION OF CULTURE.

5. THE GROUP 84
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. FACTORS INFLUENCING SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL GROUPS. FUNCTION OF SOCIAL GROUPS. DYNAMIC CHARACTER OF SOCIAL GROUPS.

6. THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PERSON 109
CHILD BEHAVIOR APART FROM HUMAN ASSOCIATION. ORIGINAL NATURE DESCRIBED. INNATE AND ACQUIRED CHARACTERISTICS. ORIGINAL NATURE BECOMES HUMAN NATURE. SELF IN RELATION TO OTHERS. THE MEANING OF PERSONALITY.

CHAPTER PAGE

7. Social Interaction: The Social Processes 139
Classification of social interaction. Social interaction classified by social processes. Social adjustment. Opposition. Cooperation. Meaning for education.

8. The Social Nature of Education 165
The meaning of education. The function of education. The agencies of education.

Part III Agencies of Person-Group Interaction

9. The Family 191
A social institution. In retrospect. Present trends in family organization. The family and the social processes. The future of the family.

10. Activity Groups of Children and Youth 219
The play group. The organized group or gang. Youth membership groups. Changing attitudes toward activity groups. Social processes and the gang. Relation of activity groups to other agencies.

11. The School: Its Relation to Culture 244
The origin of the school. The growth of the school. Schools and colleges in the United States. Education at outbreak of World War II. Effects of war. Culture and education.

12. The School: The Development of the In-Group . . 277
Education as learning. Education as self-expression. Development of the in-group. The role of the teacher. The larger in-group.

13. The School: The Curriculum 308
Determination of goals. Subject matter. Methods. Social measurement of education.

14. The School: Its Relationship to the Community . . 340
Changing community organization. Principles of school-community relationships. Community surveys. Utilization of community data. School-community relationships in counseling. An appraisal.

CHAPTER PAGE

15. Other Active Agencies of Interaction 375
How leisure time is spent. Institutional agencies. Community councils. Larger units of organization.

16. Passive Agencies of Social Interaction 402
The commercial motion picture. Educational films. The radio. The press.

Part IV Outcomes of Individual-Group Interaction

17. Individual and Community Health 441
Public health administration in the United States. Public health agencies. Health education. Health education in schools. The national health program. Recent and potential developments.

18. Vocational Proficiency 473
Development of training for vocational proficiency. Programs of the war period. Basic problems. Looking forward. A specific program.

19. Purposeful Living 511
Early developments in adult education. Recent trends. Implications for adult education.

20. Social Attitudes 526
Civic attitudes. Attitudes toward minority groups. Attitude toward veterans. Chauvenism. The role of education.

21. Social Planning and Social Control 551
Social Planning. Social control. Education as social control.

22. Educational Sociology and Tomorrow's School . . 572
The immediate postwar years. Tomorrow's school.

Bibliography 581

Index 611

INDEX TO TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I.	Types and Behavior Patterns of Four Social Institutions	71
II.	Motor-Vehicle Accident Fatalities by Years	75
III.	Number and Per Cent of Arrests by Age Groups	76
IV.	Handedness	127
V.	Number and Per Cent of Women Employed Outside the Home, 1870–1945	180
VI.	Net Reproduction Rates of White Urban Population by Educational Status and by Family Income	205
VII.	Marriages and Divorces per 1,000 of Population	205
VIII.	Number of States Requiring Specified Age for Marriage	209
IX.	Number and Per Cent of 1,313 Gangs	224
X.	Year of Organization and Membership of Eighteen Youth-Membership Organizations	233
XI.	Reasons Given for Loss of Interest in Gang	242
XII.	Enrollment by Type of School	258
XIII.	Number of Institutions of Higher Education by Type of Control, 1944–45	261
XIV.	Expenditure per Pupil in Average Daily Attendance 1939–40 by Selected States	265
XV.	School Attendance by Age, Sex, and Urban-Rural Residence, 1939–40	268
XVI.	Enrollments in Full-Time Day Schools	269
XVII.	Civilian Enrollment in Schools and Colleges	271
XVIII.	Number Surviving by Grade or Year per 1,000 Pupils Enrolled by Years and Level as Indicated	278
XIX.	Educational Level of Adult Population in 1940, by Age Classes	279
XX.	Cultural Differences in a Ninth Grade Class	290

TABLE PAGE

XXI. Changes in the Subject Matter of the Elementary School 316
XXII. Composite Rating of 25 Secondary Schools . . 337
XXIII. College Attendance by the Upper Quarter of 1,754 High School Graduates 362
XXIV. Estimated Annual Cost of Recreation 377
XXV. Principal Leisure Time Activities of Youth . . 379
XXVI. Percentage of Young Persons, 18 to 24, Who Engaged in Specific Recreational Activities . . 379
XXVII. Percentage of Young Persons, 18 to 24, Who Used Different Kinds of Recreational Agencies 386
XXVIII. Regular and Emergency Appropriations of Federal Funds for Education, 1943–44 398
XXIX. Frequency of Motion Picture Attendance . . . 403
XXX. Types of Movie Preferred by Youth 407
XXXI. Number of 108 Teachers Colleges Reporting Educational Broadcasting and Reception . . . 428
XXXII. Magazines Read by 2,500 Boys and Girls . . 432
XXXIII. Days Lost from Sickness in a School Year . . 453
XXXIV. Illnesses Causing Most Absences from School . 453
XXXV. Extent of Improvement in Child Health While Under Investigation 458
XXXVI. Death Rates per Thousand 459
XXXVII. Income and Medical Care Expenditures, 33½ Million Families, 41 Million Spending Units . 463
XXXVIII. Occupational Distribution of Out-of-School Employed Youth According to Grades Completed 500
XXXIX. Population Distribution by Nativity and Race 537

INDEX TO FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

1. Number of arrests per age 77
2. Number of patents by decades 79
3. The cycle of social interaction 138

FIGURE PAGE
4. The widening of social contact and resultant interaction 143
5. Per cent of population in rural and urban communities 171
6. Net population movement, farm to city or city to farm 173
7. Expected postwar migration of colored enlisted men . 175
8. Expected postwar migration of white enlisted men . . 176
9. Per cent of total employed in four major areas 178
10. Civilian non-agricultural employment, men and women, in excess over June 1940 179
11. Women workers and former status of employment . 182
12. Per Cent of 309 cities having specified number of radios per 100 inhabitants in 1930 186
13. Per Cent of 303 cities having specified number of deaths each year for each 1000 births 187
14. Comparative educational level of selectees 260
15. Per cent increase in full time enrollment 263
16. Expenditures for public education compared to national income, 1914–1946 266
17. Sources of income for higher educational institutions 267
18. Student participation 292
19. Friendship sociogram, grade four, September 296
20. Friendship sociogram, grade four, December 298
21. Rate-map of juvenile delinquency per 1000 children . 350
22. Social base map 359
23. Migration of college students from New York . . . 363
24. Current expense of public elementary and secondary schools per pupil in average daily attendance 396
25. Population per physician for size of communities . . 462
26. Medical services and economic status 464
27. Selective service classification of manpower 465
28. Causes for rejection for disability, World War II . . . 466
29. Per cent at each educational level by income levels . . 498
30. Major causes of rejection among 18–19 year olds per 100 white and 100 Negro registrants for military service . . 539
31. Public school expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in white and Negro schools, 1941–42 . . . 542

Part I

WHY EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY?

Man, standing astride his world of machines and power,
The labor of his hands, the product of his toil,
The genius of his mind—conqueror of the universe
Of sky, of sea, of earth, and products of the soil.

Yet does his restless mind seek answers still unknown
To questions deep within himself, beyond his ken
E'en as his forebear struggling up from dark antiquity
Wrestled within his world of nature and of men.*

FRANCIS J. BROWN

* This and the subsequent verses introducing the various parts are by the author. Together they seek to express a major theme of the volume.

Chapter 1

THE INDIVIDUAL APPROACH

No QUEST has been so consistently pursued as man's effort to understand himself. No object of investigation has been approached from so many and such varied points of view, as man.

Primitive man, unable to understand his thoughts and dreams, unaware perhaps even of the bodily processes that gave him being, ascribed spirits not only to himself but to others and to objects of the physical world about him. He observed rituals, often of a very exacting nature, since they gave an accepted basis of understanding his own behavior patterns.

From the vague, unrecorded curiosity of primitive man regarding himself to the countless volumes that have been written today is a long step. Some of those who have recorded their search have satisfied themselves with speculative thought, and their writing is called philosophy. Others have turned to the individual, and, often as a result of long and patient research, have added new data about ourselves. These include physiologists, biologists, psychologists. Still others, differentiating between the individual and the person, have studied man in his relationships with others. These are the social scientists—the economist, in terms of trade and commerce and finance; the political scientist, from the viewpoint of government and political activities; and the sociologist, who regards man from the vantage point of the total social *milieu*, including population trends, human institutions, and the processes of a complex society.

The foregoing classification of man's efforts to understand himself is far too simple. Many areas of investigation bridge two or more of these fields. Social psychology, for example, includes studies of how the individual behaves in a group. Other

studies are confined to one segment of a larger field, such as the study of infancy, which is a division based on age-span; the study of the family, which is a portion of a wider research into the nature of human institutions; or criminology, based on types of human behavior. Other areas of investigation demonstrate the application of the findings of the physical sciences to human behavior. Human ecology, to cite but one illustration, is a study of the reciprocal relations between man—both as an individual and as a group—and his environment including natural resources and the spatial distribution of man and his social institutions. And, finally—though no such list could be complete—there are areas of investigation whose avowed purpose is to apply the results of research in many fields to the more effective operation of some such specific agency in modern society as social work and education.

Why has man sought so earnestly to understand himself? In primitive man, partly, and perhaps almost wholly, in order to satisfy an ever-present curiosity. But such a motivation would not have been a sufficient urge to have prompted so vast an amount of study! Rather it is man's desire to be the directive agent of the physical and social forces about him instead of being only the passive victim of such forces. By studying himself in relation to his environment, man learns the relative importance of the complex factors that play upon him, and the extent to which and ways through which such factors can be directed.

Life, then, for each individual is a continuous struggle between the forces that exert their constant but varying influence upon him and his efforts to control such forces and direct them to his own ends and good. That this is true is shown in the forward growth of the physical and social sciences. Illustrations are without number. No longer are we limited to the physical resources as supplied by nature, but by means of research and invention, natural resources are converted into metals that in turn are used to span rivers and erect skyscrapers; into chemicals that save thousands of lives in wartime and have prolonged the average span of life by fifteen years within the century; into a

thousand other properties which have enabled man to change the tenor of his living. To mitigate complete dependence upon caprices of climate and temperature, man has harnessed rivers to obtain power and has constructed systems of irrigation as a by-product of that vast power; invented refrigeration to obtain otherwise unavailable foods, and to provide for his own physical comfort. Illustrations need not be multiplied further, as the evidence and results of man's attempts to be the directive agent of his environment are all about us.

As man attempts to master the physical world about him and use it to his own purpose, so he has sought to understand the less tangible forces operating within himself and others—and for the same purpose.

He has analyzed the bases of heredity and applied them in animal husbandry to produce faster race horses or heavier beef cattle. He has discovered that certain traits are inherited and assumes that the same selectivity could apply to man. Yet, known facts are seldom applied to the race.

Man has studied his ability to learn and has been able to formulate certain principles of learning. He has found ways to measure individual ability and to use more courageously such measures as a basis for predicting success or failure in the individual. He has organized and systematized the learning process, modifying it according to the age and ability of the individual, in order that all may have equal opportunity for maximum development. He has, himself, mastered the art of learning and the essential skills in order that he might have greater achievement and richer enjoyment. Thus he has lifted himself above the level of a passive recipient of thoughts and attitudes of others. Through such learning, he has sought to control first impulses, to act in terms of reason, and to formulate opinions on the basis of verifiable facts.

If man was to be the directive agent of his world, he had to understand, not only the individual, but also the organization of the society in which he lives. Historians and anthropologists have delved painstakingly into the past to discover if there are

lessons there that can help in understanding and giving directions to the present and the future. The sociologist has sought to discover data on social organization, social institutions, and social processes—respectively, marriage, the school, and conflict, to give but one illustration of each. By knowledge of the total social life, both that which follows normal patterns and those that are aberrations, man not only can choose his own patterns of social behavior more wisely but he can also have some influence in controlling the behavior patterns of other individuals and the group. As will be shown later in this volume, except in times of great national emergency, the influence of the sociologist has been only gradually felt and almost invariably resisted. It is not to the point to include the many others—economists, political scientists, ministers—who have sought to understand the forces in their own fields of interest in order to direct the operation of such forces upon their own lives and the lives of others.

As never before, man must learn ways and means of controlling human behavior—his own and others. The physical forces which he has developed must also be directed by him lest they destroy our social organization and even man himself. New processes of production supplant hand processes and, in combination with other economic factors, incite latent tensions between workers and owners of capital. Race and religious differences threaten to become divisive forces in the aftermath of war. During World War. II, instruments of death and destruction compelled humans to burrow for protection like their caveman ancestors. Atomic energy, unless controlled by the highest social organization of all —effective international coöperation—may wipe out mankind and leave the world only to the slow ravages of such life as can survive far below the devastating forces of creative man!

This is the vital, gripping, urgent problem which faces the student of educational sociology. It is the very core of our study and, in different contexts, a point of view to which we shall often return.

Thus far we have emphasized man's efforts to become the directive agent, but it is necessary, too, to emphasize the converse

point of view—the effect of these external factors upon the life of each individual. This can here be only a running glance, as their influence will be pointed out in their context in later chapters.

It was stated above that man had not applied to himself the same principles of biological selection which he had used to improve the strains of plants and animals. The reason is not hard to find: there are other forces, such as religion and the "rights" of the individual, which are stronger in their influence upon his behavior than is his own knowledge of the facts. Although the adult may have a thorough understanding of the principles of learning, he is influenced by habits and attitudes acquired before he has reached the age of discretion, by language, food and health habits, other types of behavior, and specific relations with things and persons. Never can he wholly divest himself of what he has uncritically acquired in infancy. These external forces continue throughout the life of man. His standard of living is determined by economic forces which he cannot fully control. His likes and dislikes are largely the product of group associations, as are his basic attitudes toward government, religion, and peoples of other groups and races.

The constant interaction between the individual and the entire world around him—physical and social—is the basic pattern of life. *Any attempt to understand and foster the development of the individual and every effort to provide the means and the agencies for such development must be based upon an analysis of this two-way process—the individual and the forces external to him in continual interaction, each at times a directive agent, at times directed.* It is forcefully to indicate the importance of this concept that the above brief summary of other fields of study has been presented.

Throughout this study of educational sociology, the emphasis upon *individual-group interaction* will run as a constant theme. However, a digression is required to review in greater detail the specific fields that must be taken into account. Such a summary is desirable in order to indicate some of the data in related areas which have bearing on educational sociology and also to chart

the specific field and function of the study of educational sociology.

As indicated above, there are two divergent approaches to the study of individual development and the forces which direct it —one is from the viewpoint of the individual himself, the other from the point of view of society. Of the specific fields dealing with the former, only biology and psychology will be included in our summary; and of the latter, only sociology.

Biological Factors in Human Behavior

To distinguish the biological from the psychological factor in human behavior is to distinguish between man as an organism purely and simply and man as an intelligent organism. Biology is interested largely in man as an organism, an organism to be compared and contrasted with other organisms ranging in complexity from the microscopic cell to the anthropoid ape and to man.

Organisms—that is, living beings—exhibit certain characteristics in common. Among these characteristics are the basic processes of growth, nutrition, and reproduction. In animal behavior, another basic process is included, that of locomotion. The ways in which these processes take place increase in complexity and variety as the animal reaches a higher stage of development. In fact, this increase in complexity of the life processes is so noticeable and so definite that it provides the basis for the whole biological principle of evolution. The growth, nutritional, reproductive, and motive processes of man are as a whole more developed and more complicated than in lower animals. This is even more true in the development of the nervous system and its function of determining the order and direction of the other bodily processes.

If the nervous system is thought of only as being an invaluable aid in the life process, man then becomes a creature who grows according to certain patterns, who feeds selectively and in predetermined ways, and who reproduces his kind in a fixed pattern. Patterns of growth, nutrition, and reproduction may be called the

biological factors or determinants in human living. To call them determinants does not mean that all of them are fixed for all human beings, although some are. We can only survive under specific conditions of body temperature and atmospheric pressure. On the other hand, many determinants are fixed only for a group of individuals or for one individual. Racial differences illustrate the first; individual differences in color of eyes or innate mental ability illustrate the second.

While biological inheritance assures that certain basic characteristics will exist in all members of a given species, there are individual variations within the general pattern. Some characteristics are termed "dominant," since they tend to recur with greater frequency in the offspring; others are "recessive." Each individual is the product of an infinite number of possible combinations of these traits during the process of fertilization. Again, the higher the species in the scale of development, the greater the possibilities of variation from a fixed pattern. The laws of heredity can be readily charted for rats, but not for the human species.

The major problem of biology is to discover which elements of human behavior are predetermined by biological inheritance, which elements are capable of modification and to what extent, and which elements are the product of environment. Some writers have sought to classify such studies as a special field, "educational biology," though such studies have been of concern also to educators and psychologists. The findings have definite import for sociology as well.

That this is no easy problem is evident from the fact that one cannot study the individual except in terms of behavior responses which are conditioned almost from the moment of birth by the environment. The problem of delinquency illustrates the difficulty of accurately determining which characteristics are inherited. Extreme determinists believe that criminal traits are inherited; the less extreme believe that emotional characteristics are congenital and that these congenital traits provide the basis for criminal tendencies. Others who refuse to accept biological

factors as a basis for delinquency believe that the delinquent is wholly the product of an antisocial environment.

This same problem arises in discussions of the mental ability of the individual. The extreme position assumes that biological inheritance predetermines the mental development of the individual within definite patterns. Thus, races can be described in terms of their levels of intelligence and inherited emotional characteristics. By implication, such a determinist position justifies educational inequality on the basis that it is futile to provide educational opportunity beyond the ability of the race to profit by it. So, too, for the individual, as will be pointed out in more detail later, innate intelligence, both in terms of general ability and in special fields such as mechanical aptitude or music, prescribe certain but ill-defined limits in the educational potentialities of the individual.

We cannot more than hint at the vast amount of research that has gone into the efforts to determine the exact role of heredity in determining physical characteristics and mental traits. Patient observations have been made of the behavior of animals in their natural habitat and under controlled conditions. The white rat and the guinea pig have been the most frequent subjects, so much so that "being a guinea pig" has become a common expression. The actions of the anthropoid ape, being most like man, have been observed and recorded. Physical characteristics of humans have been measured in infinite detail over several succeeding generations. The behavior of infants has been the subject of a vast amount of research and will be referred to in more detail later in this volume. Genetic studies have been made both of gifted and of backward children. However, a difference of opinion still exists on the exact limitations of biological inheritance. There is also the moot issue as to the extent to which acquired responses are transmitted to succeeding generations.

Any study of human behavior must take into account the fact that man is affected by biological determinants; that some of these determinants are absolute for groups and for individuals within

a group; and that the operations of some, although not absolute, are nevertheless difficult to alter. It was formerly assumed that biological factors determined behavior almost completely in animal life below man, but there is now a tendency to ascribe less importance to them even at this level. Certainly, as pointed out by Haldane, Julian Huxley, and others, biological determinants are not the prime factors in human behavior.

Psychological Factors in Human Behavior

The border line between biology and psychology is not sharp and fixed. Even the study of the physical characteristics of the nervous system must include reference to its function. Conversely, a study of the function and adaptability of the mental processes cannot be complete without a knowledge of their innate characteristics.

Psychology has consequently been much influenced by biological concepts. In its early development, it had been primarily a semi-philosophical and abstract "science of the mind." Shortly after the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* in 1859, a new emphasis came into the field of psychology. Man was, after all, an animal, and hence studies of animal behavior would throw light on man's behavior as well.

Even superficial observation of such insects as the ant, or of birds, seems to indicate that their behavior is determined largely by instinct—an unlearned, relatively stereotyped, and automatic response to a given situation. The innate pattern of behavior varies with the species as do the nests of birds, but the individual of the species responds to identical stimuli in the same way. From the relatively simple act of self-concealment to complex and often coöperative behavior of storing food for the winter or raising their young, the behavior of the animal may be predetermined largely by these inborn neural patterns of behavior. They serve also as "drives" to action, because once the situation has been presented, the instinctive acts appear to be carried forward in sequence. Any thwarting of instincts causes the animal to seek to overcome the obstacle that interrupted the patterns of

behavior and supplies also drives for such action. This hypothesis has been challenged by a number of recent investigations that indicate that some types of animal behavior, assumed to be instinctive, are learned through contact with others of the species.

When this instinctivist approach was applied to man, psychologists such as William James, Edward L. Thorndike, William McDougall, and many others, began to enumerate and describe human instincts. Some psychologists limited their classification of instincts to those pertaining to bodily processes—nursing, grasping, locomotion, and mating. Other psychologists, basing their classification on behavior patterns that are the most universal, added many more instincts to their lists. For example, James found approximately thirty instincts, including such complex drives as imitation, acquisitiveness, constructiveness, curiosity, sociability, modesty, and love. One psychologist found only nine instincts, but later added two more to his list. Thorndike identified forty, and other psychologists extended the list to sixty or more instincts, including cleanliness and the wearing of clothing.

When it was pointed out that many of the so-called "instinctive behavior patterns" did not appear until late in life, psychologists countered with the maturation theory. The instincts were present in the organism, they said, but matured or ripened with the physical development of the individual, finding expression only after such maturation was complete.

Certain explanations and descriptions of instinctive behavior reached almost ridiculous extremes. Thus the game of baseball is explained as being an expression of the protective instinct, as shown by primitive man's expertness in throwing stones and swinging his club. Even as careful a psychologist as Thorndike described man's expression of the hunting instinct as follows:[1] "To a small, escaping object, man, especially if hungry, responds, apart from training, by pursuit, being satisfied when he draws

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[1] Edward L. Thorndike, *The Original Nature of Man,* page 52. New York: Columbia Unversity Press, 1913.

nearer to it. When within pouncing distance, he pounces upon it, grasping at it. If it is not seized, he is annoyed. If it is seized, he examines, manipulates, and dismembers it, unless some contrary tendency is brought into action by its sliminess, sting, or the like. To an object of moderate size and not offensive mien, when moving away from or past him, man originally responds much as noted above, save that in seizing the object chased, he is likely to throw himself upon it, bear it to the ground, choke and maul it until it is completely subdued, giving then a cry of triumph!"

It is not surprising that Ellsworth Faris [2] makes the following comment on such a description: "The description is hardly convincing—it smacks of the armchair. How many children in the city parks may be observed pouncing upon small animals (pigeons, dogs or cats) and dismembering them . . . Certainly if the above is the hunting instinct then by me the hunting instinct has never been seen. Perhaps this happens only when the human being is 'apart from training'; but the trouble is that the hypothetical baby who, on a desert island, had no training at all, died at the tender age of two days, and only the writers of books have ever seen a man 'apart from training.'"

The extremists believe that the importance of instincts as an explanation of human behavior cannot be overemphasized. McDougall [3] describes instincts as ". . . the prime movers of all human activity; by the conative or impulsive force of some instinct, every train of thought, however cold and passionless it may seem, is borne along toward its end, and every bodily activity is initiated and sustained. The instinctive impulses determine the ends of all activity and supply the driving power by which all mental activities are sustained, and all the complex intellectual apparatus of the most highly developed mind is but the instrument by which these impulses seek their satisfaction. . . . Take

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[2] Ellsworth Faris, "Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?" *The American Journal of Sociology*. November, 1931, Vol. 37, pages 184–196.

[3] William McDougall, *Social Psychology*, page 218. Boston: J. W. Luce and Company, 1916.

away these instinctive dispositions and the organism . . . would lie inert and motionless, like a wonderful clockwork whose mainspring had been removed or a steam engine whose fires had been drawn."

The weakness of the instinctivist basis of personality is indicated by the fact that no agreement could be reached by the experts themselves on the number or character of human instincts. Freud reduced them all to one. But the chief cause of the gradual lessening of the dominance of the instinct theory is forcefully pointed out by Zorbaugh:[4] "Man's instincts have been generalized from common-sense observations, not from systematic experiments. This generalization has taken place in the study rather than in the laboratory. It has been based upon observation of adult behavior (none of the instinctivists have been students of infant behavior). Yet original nature begins to be modified by learned responses so early in the child's experience (a matter of hours after birth) that it may fairly be said that adult behavior offers no significant evidence as to instincts. . . . The actual procedure by which lists of man's instincts have been drawn up has usually consisted either in the uncritical cataloging of social customs (resulting in long lists of instincts) or in the philosophical simplification of the minimum essentials of life (short lists)."

The deterministic theory of instincts provided a basic attitude of determinism toward many problems. Fighting is an instinct; therefore war is inevitable; jealousy is instinctive, hence little can be done to develop attitudes of tolerance and coöperation. In terms of education, it has been assumed that since all children were prompted by the same instincts, all should be treated in the same way, given the same experiences, and be required to study the same subjects. Frederick Bolton in his *Principles of Education,* published in 1910, outlines a complete curriculum in which the material for each year is based on the instinct which has

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[4] Harvey Zorbaugh, "Personality and Social Adjustment." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* February, 1928, Vol. I, No. 6, pages 313–321.

matured to dominance during each of the elementary school years!

When psychologists began to study infant behavior, the emphasis upon instincts shifted gradually—but never wholly—to an emphasis upon the learning process. One of the earliest books which discarded the instinct theory was John B. Watson's *Behaviorism,* published in 1925. Watson, then director of the psychological laboratories of Johns Hokpins University, conducted his experiments in the nursery of the hospital. He found, not the complex pattern of instincts listed and described by other psychologists, but only three types of unlearned responses: fear, love, and anger. Each response was elicited by a specific stimulus: a loud noise produced a fear reaction; caressing brought a love response; and inhibiting motion, such as holding the infant's arms against its body, aroused anger. Even walking was not the result of imitation, but of trial and error. Watson concluded that all behavior is learned rather than instinctive; that behavior is conditioned by the response to a situation, rather than being the result of an innate pattern of behavior.

Other experimental studies of infant behavior have followed. One of the most continuous and comprehensive is that by Arnold Gesell and his associates in the Clinic of Child Development, founded at Yale University in 1911. Gesell was at first interested primarily in backward children, but by 1919, he had shifted to a study of the normal child. Through the use of a one-way screen, the trained observer could watch the children without being seen by them. In his more recent studies, he has also recorded, on film strips, the behavior of young children, thus providing data for making an accurate analysis of their behavior.

In one of the most recent reports of these observations, Gesell states:[5] "Infants are individuals—individuals in the making as well as by birthright. . . . The child's personality is the product of slow and gradual growth. His nervous system matures by

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[5] Arnold Gesell, *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today,* page 11. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943.

stages and natural sequences. . . . Mental growth, like physical growth, is a modeling process which produces changes in form. Or we might say that mental growth is a *patterning process,* because the mind is essentially the sum total of a growing multitude of *behavior patterns.* A behavior pattern is simply a movement or action which has a more or less definite form. An eye blinks; a hand grasps an object; a tongue protrudes to reject an object—these are examples of behavior patterns in which a part of the body reacts to some stimulus. Or the whole body reacts as in sitting, standing, creeping, walking. These, too, are behavior patterns."

Even studies of animal behavior have tended to shift to this same emphasis upon conditioning behavior through the nature of the response to a specific action. The conditioning of the flow of saliva in Pavlov's dogs has been too often quoted to be repeated here. Rats and guinea pigs have been studied to discover how pleasure and pain determine and modify behavior responses.

The present psychological approach to the study of the individual can be briefly summarized: Each individual possesses a nervous system capable of an infinite variety of neuromuscular reactions. There are a limited number of reflexes, but even these change as a result of physical development or environmental factors. All behavior is, then, *learned,* developing from random movements that are conditioned by the response to such movements. Later, imitation plays a dominant role, but the selective factors in determining and shaping behavior patterns are the satisfactions and annoyances accompanying the response.

The steps in the development of the behavior patterns of an individual are: stimulus, response, reward, repetition—a sequence that can readily be observed in animals and in infants. In the maturing child the sequence is difficult to observe owing to the increasing complexity of his expanding world of people and things. Stimuli are seldom, if ever, single, but are *stimuli situations* involving many factors. Responses are conditioned likewise by even more complex factors, also involving attitudes which are themselves the product of the environment.

At birth, the infant is an individual, but not a person. Actually it is the least equipped of all animals to carry on the functions of life. It is the most helpless, and its period of infancy is the longest. But the infant is born with a nervous system capable of a degree of development higher than that possessed by any other animal. Through the infinite relationships with his environment, the individual becomes a person.

Emphasis upon the learning process is both a strength and a weakness of psychology and educational psychology. Whereas reference is made to environmental factors and the conditioning of behavior, the major emphasis has been upon individual behavior. Since it is assumed that individuals tend to follow the same developmental patterns, the same "laws" or principles of learning are applied to all. This has resulted in uniformity of educational procedures and a tendency to resist change.

Psychologists have made invaluable contributions to the measurement of mental abilities and to the knowledge of individual differences, which might have led away from uniformity in educational practices and attitudes. Actually, cognizance of individual differences and abilities has tended to reëstablish a determinist position—that the innate ability (the mythical intelligence quotient—I.Q.) of the individual predetermines the nature and extent of the desirable education for the individual—even the grade and class in which he should be grouped in the school.

An almost blind faith in the results of such tests and the consequent development of curricula and activity programs for those possessing various levels of ability have delayed by two decades the acceptance of a degree of flexibility in the whole educational process which is essential if the influence of environmental factors are to be given their due place. Again, blind faith in the results of mental tests has emphasized the individual at the expense of the intangible but often determining factors resulting from social contacts. The determination to succeed, stimulated by the home or by the sense of values growing out of the community, may be of much greater importance than "native ability." Conversely, the attitude of the gang may make success in school like the oft-

quoted "Harvard 'B'—damned." Health factors growing out of community patterns of living may be major factors in determining success or failure in school or in life, yet they are not measured by intelligence tests.

Both biology and psychology have contributed much to our understanding of the individual and to the processes through which he develops. The two sciences have largely dominated education. Certainly the scientific study of education has been strongly influenced by these two approaches, and especially by psychology. Courses in method, the curriculum of the school especially through the high school, and even school administration have been based on concepts of the individual supplied by a study of psychology.

If a sound basis for the reorganization and reorientation of education is to be found, education must go beyond the individual. To determine educational procedures and construct curricula, education must reach out into the home, the community, the total social *milieu*. Formal schooling must be related to the total education of the person. Any approach to education that does not give basic consideration to the complex factors of individual-group interaction, both within and outside of the school, falls short of meeting the ever-increasing demands upon the educative process.

Chapter 2

THE SOCIETAL APPROACH

THE second basic approach to man's efforts to understand himself is through the study of the external world and his relation to it—a world which is as complex as man's own nature.

From the infant's earliest perception, man is continuously subject to impact by a physical world of things. His eyes follow a moving object, his tiny fingers clutch a toy. The simple world of single objects rapidly expands to include everything that makes up the natural and man-made world of space and time. So, too, the world of people is at first limited to those who care for his physical needs, but expands over the years to embrace all mankind, present and recorded past. The two worlds of things and people combine to form the total cultural pattern into which each individual is born.

Sociology has delved deep into factors external to the individual. While it would take volumes to summarize the studies made in this field, some major areas can be explored briefly. It would be futile to attempt to trace their development in a time sequence, as the study of most of the areas have been more or less coeval.

Group Behavior Among Animals

Certain species of ants show a definite division of responsibility in their communal activities and coöperate in the construction and protection of their "hill" and in the gathering and storing of food. Birds show similar coöperative behavior in nest building and caring for their young, and some species use different sounds to denote love, anger, or fear. A study conducted at

Cornell University[1] recorded sounds made by mosquitoes. The experimenters found that in not a few respects the different sounds recorded are like bird calls and seem to be in the nature of mating calls, calls warning of danger, calls of anger, and other sounds that are similarly functional. The most surprising observation is that the sounds produced appropriate response in other mosquitoes of the same species.

The higher the species studied, the greater likelihood that group behavior will be evident. Wolfgang Köhler's study of the ape illustrates to what extent such group life prevails:[2] "A certain friendly interaction grows up among apes that have been confined together for any length of time. They feed together and cooperate in certain crude ways in securing food, as in building a rough pile of boxes from which to reach bananas suspended from the top of the cage. . . . When an isolated ape returns to the compound where his fellows are, his joy reaches a high pitch. Apes also show some capacity to care for each other in illness. So, too, they try to protect one of their members from punishment by the keepers, and often larger apes afford protection to weaker ones in times of danger. . . . Also certain definite social gestures grow up. Apes use their feet, hands, eyes, and voice to indicate their emotions and to set up responses in others."

While it is possible to question the value of such studies in assisting man in his understanding of his own social organization, certain characteristics can be noted that are also found in human society. These include: the variable length of dependency of the infant, which increases progressively in higher levels of species; care of the young, often through the coöperation of both parents; the organization of social relations including dominance and submission, conflict and competition both within the group

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[1] M. C. Kahn, William Celestin, and Willam Offenhauser, "Recording of Sounds Produced by Certain Disease-carrying Mosquitoes." *Science*, March 30, 1945, Vol. 101, No. 2622, pages 335–336.

[2] Wolfgang Köhler, *The Mentality of Apes*, page 299. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1927.

and between groups; and rudimentary vocalization with distinctive meaning.

It should be forcefully emphasized that studies of the nature of mosquitoes or of apes cannot be carried over indiscriminately to studies of human nature. Our interest is only in the behavior of man as he is influenced by: (1) physiological capacity about which we can do little and (2) culture which, within limits that will be discussed in later chapters, can be directed and controlled.

Cultural Anthropology

Another field of study which has definite value in adding to man's knowledge of himself is anthropology. It includes the study of skeletal development, racial differentiation, and the civilization of primitive man. It is only with the last we need here be concerned, for it is in the field of social or cultural anthropology that the beginnings of social organization are to be found. Included in social anthropology are studies of social control through taboos; social organization and institutions, such as property rights, the family, and the tribe; and other behavior patterns, including ceremonials, rituals, and superstitions.

Since there is no type of human activity without material accessories, much of the study of cultural anthropology, especially of extinct groups, deals with artifacts—implements of various kinds, from arrowheads to dwellings. From these remains the student of a particular culture seeks to reconstruct the customs and life of the group. Those who study contemporary primitive civilizations are less concerned with these material aspects of culture and some assert that conclusions about culture which are based on artifacts are unreliable because they involve subjective interpretations! But neither aspect of cultural anthropology can be complete without the other.[3]

Man has always been interested in the accounts of travelers who describe the unfamiliar manner of living of strange people. It

[3] Jessie Bernard, "Observation and Generalization in Cultural Anthropology," *American Journal of Sociology,* January 1945, Vol. 50, No. 4, pages 284–291.

was not, however, until almost the turn of the present century that cultural anthropology became a science. Through the work of E. B. Tylor, E. A. Westermark, W. H. R. Rivers, and others, data from expeditions among primitive tribes were analyzed and the complexity of their social organization was fully recognized. Today, through the activities of many organizations such as the National Geographic Society, to name but one, there is hardly an area of the world in which peoples have not been studied. It is well that such complete records are available, for many regions formerly the sources of data for anthropologists, were overrun by modern armies during World War II, and the culture of primitive peoples modified. The next quarter century will provide an interesting field of investigation in the effects of forceful uprooting of native peoples, with the resultant conflict and eventual adaptation of cultures.

In the United States, the contact of the white man with the Indian stimulated an early interest in anthropology, and led to the foundation of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1879. Among the many who have contributed to our understanding of the culture of our Indian groups only L. H. Morgan and Clark Wissler can be mentioned here.

Rise of Sociology

The third approach to the study of social organization is through sociology. To trace the development of sociology and to indicate its major fields in but a few pages entails omission of much that is of interest and importance. However, the omission may not prove too serious, since many concepts of sociology are also those of educational sociology and will be included in their appropriate context.

One cannot say when any major field of study began. It does not spring as a full treatise from the brain of one man, but has many facets that are brought together eventually into a single field and given a label. Sociology developed in this way.

August Comte is often called the "father of sociology." It was Comte who first used the word "sociology" in a series of

lectures given in 1837 and later in his published work, *Positive Philosophy*. In this volume, he attempted to review the prolific writings of the previous century and, for that part of his survey which treated of the influence of the new scientific and historical knowledge on the conceptions of human nature and society, he coined the term "sociology."

Comte believed that sociology was a fundamental science, a method of exact investigation and a body of data about mankind. In his hierarchy of the sciences, the order was as follows: mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology including psychology, sociology. The sequence proceeded from the simple to the complex, and because social phenomena are the most complex and the most difficult to describe as a positive force, sociology was placed last.

While the origin of the term can be definitely indicated, the social phenomena which Comte described had been included in part, at least, and with varying emphasis, in the investigations of many of his predecessors, from ancient writers to those in the century preceding him.

Plato, for example, in *The Republic,* proposed a system for managing the affairs of a perfect state based on selection and training, and a corresponding modification of the social environment of the individual. Aristotle stated that man is a social animal, and that without law and justice imposed by society, he would be the worst of all animals. Likewise, from every historical epoch, could be selected writings that treat of the individual in his relationship to the physical and social world.

Comte's most direct sources for the material incorporated as sociology were social history and social physics. The seventeenth century brought a new emphasis in the study of history. Instead of a recording of events, historians began to interpret events in terms of their influence upon society and the individual. Basic elements of social organization, such as the state, the family, and the church, were seen to run as constant threads, varying in character and the extent of their control. Thus Vico in 1725, in his *New Science,* sought to establish a "science of human his-

tory." Such well-known writers as Montesquieu, Condorcet, Herder, and Adam Smith followed Vico in the period preceding Comte. In fact, Comte himself used the term "social history" prior to his coining of the word "sociology."

For centuries, the mathematical sciences had been far in advance of the social sciences. Only mathematics and mechanics had a structure of consistent definitions, axioms, postulates, laws, and theorems. The seventeenth century brought the extension of mathematical generalizations to include the physical universe. It was only natural that in their efforts to describe social phenomena, writers should draw upon the methods and terminology of mathematical physics. Hobbes, Spinoza, Descartes, and others conceived of man as a wonderful machine, subject to the same laws of inertia, action and reaction, and of force which controlled the physical world. They developed the converse principles of social dynamics—the basic elements of social life and institutions which are continually in process of change—and of social statics —those elements, such as the family and religion, that resist change.

The effort to adapt the vocabulary and principles of physics to the study of the individual and society resulted in some absurd and oversimplified generalizations. It did, however, emphasize the need of objectivity in the study of social relationships.

A contemporary of Comte, J. S. Mill, adopted the term "sociology," but the field was not much further clarified or extended until Herbert Spencer. The first volume of Spencer's *Principles of Sociology* was published in 1876; the last volume, just twenty years later. Spencer, much influenced by the biological works of Darwin, Lamarck, and others, conceived of the individual as a cell, and of society, as an organism. Just as cells have different functions within the organism, so do individuals have different roles within the body politic. As cells cannot function adequately except in relation both to other cells and to the total organism, so, too, the individual cannot function effectively except in relation to others and to the social organism.

Accepting the concept of evolution, Spencer believed that, just

as in the higher biological organisms cells are more differentiated than those in lower organisms, yet are coördinated through a central nervous system, so in the more advanced societies, individuals are more differentiated through division of labor than is the case in less advanced societies, yet have less freedom because of greater integration of the total society. The interaction of individuals was thought of as "super-organic," a phrase later current in social psychology to explain the "mob" or "group mind." Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that as late as 1910, Spencer's analysis of division of labor was used as a basis for justifying the still deplorable conditions of labor and the wide variance of status between rich and poor.

One other contemporary of Comte should be included in even this brief survey—Frederic Le Play. Born in 1806 of humble family, he traveled extensively on foot, witnessed three revolutions, and was a constant and brilliant student of life around him. He rejected the pseudo-scientific approach of the social scientists of his day, and sought some specific unit of society that could be studied and some measure that would be objective. The unit which he studied was the family and the objective measure was the family budget. He early recognized that the budget was often determined by factors outside the family, especially work and the place the family lived.

But even this did not go far enough for, in his study of families in many countries, Le Play found that the family and its immediate community interact upon each other as well as the whole social and political structure of a given society. Utilizing the family budget for his basic data, he was thus able to describe not only the conditions of workers in his *Working Men of Europe*, published in 1885, but also to analyze social systems and to write extensively advocating social reforms.

Sociology Today

From these early beginnings, sociology has rapidly expanded until today it includes a vast scope of social phenomena. It has developed techniques of research, amassed extensive data in many

fields, formulated basic principles of social relationships, and has applied its findings and principles to the better understanding of social organization and the alleviation of at least some of our social ills.

An analysis of ten general college texts in sociology, published or revised since 1937, reveals a wide variation in organization, in relative emphasis, and in technical terms to describe principles and processes, but there is a high degree of consistency in the general content of the texts. The major areas include:

Anthropology: the evolution of man, and race differentiation.
Population: distribution by race and region.
Ecology: relation of man to his environment.
Culture: primitive (ethnology or cultural anthropology) and contemporary; social change and social control.
Social organization: family, school, state, church, industry.
Social principles and processes: conflict, coöperation, interaction, association, acculturation, assimilation, accommodation, adaptation, socialization, exploitation, domination, and others.
Social problems: rural, urban, minority groups, immigration, health, play and recreation, war, leadership, propaganda (called by E. A. Ross "wholesale manufacture of misconceptions").
Social pathology: physically handicapped, mental defectives and diseased, poverty, crime, and social ills such as alcoholism, narcotic addiction, and sexual aberrations.

No one of the textbooks from which the above outline was drawn includes all the listed sub-areas of study, but all include some reference, with varying emphasis and terminology, to each of the major fields. The treatment of sociological principles and processes (often largely social theory) is especially confusing in making such a comparison. There is little standardization of terms. The same word means one thing to one writer and something else to another, and different words are used to describe the same process. This is unfortunate, but it is perhaps inevitable in a field as new and as inclusive as sociology. A recently published

dictionary of sociological terms [4] may prove invaluable in bringing about a greater degree of uniformity in the meaning of terms. However, as the editor points out: "The usefulness of such a dictionary in helping to develop a genuine science must depend largely upon the extent to which sociologists will accept the definitions given in the dictionary and use them consistently and scrupulously in accordance with the meanings indicated."

As in other sciences, sociologists have tended to specialize in one or more of the areas given above. Consequently, over the years there have developed special fields such as rural sociology; urban sociology; the sociology of religion, of the family, of the community, and of war; criminology; the sociology of childhood; and many more.

A review of the literature in sociology of the past decade not only reflects the specialization indicated, but shows a definite trend toward a still further division, especially in the field of research. Such specialized treatment includes: studies of specific regions and of communities, both primitive and contemporary; specific occupational groups; social organization at different age levels, especially early childhood and adolescence; definite types of behavior patterns such as dress, food, or social taboos; and studies of specific behavior patterns such as marriage or religion with their corresponding institutions, the family and the church.

Rather than to formulate an exact definition of sociology, it is more important to understand its relation to other fields of study. The significance of such relationships is forcefully pointed out by Duncan.[5] After defining sociology as "the scientific study of the processes of interactions of persons and the patterns these form in relation to biological, psychological, and cultural influences," he cautions against reducing sociology to too exact terms. "Social relationships and all the interplay of environmental forces

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[4] Henry Pratt Fairchild, Ed., *Dictionary of Sociology*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944.

[5] H. G. Duncan, *Backgrounds for Sociology*, page 11. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1931.

are too dynamic and too ever-changing to be reduced easily to a few words. Perhaps it is better to remember, instead, that persons, each differing from the other, are human beings upon whom physical and cultural forces are ever playing, and that these persons, each bearing his own heredity, act and react upon each other in ways not yet predictable."

As previously indicated, sociology received much of its initial impetus from biology. The basic concept of evolution was carried over into sociology in the studies of racial culture, the laws of heredity, and of population. Spencer conceived society as an "organism." Over the years, however, more definite lines of differentiation between the sciences have developed. The basic emphasis of biology is on the organism—its structure, variation, and evolution. Sociology, utilizing pertinent biological data, seeks to discover the extent to which they affect the individual in his relationship with his cultural environment. Thus, the laws of heredity and the drives of hunger and sex are studied by biologists as a basis for individual behavior; by sociologists, in terms only of the extent to which they determine the person's interaction with others either as individuals or as groups, such as the family, the community, or the race.

There is a fundamental distinction also between psychology and sociology. The psychologist begins with the individual. He studies the structure of sense organs and of the nervous system; he is concerned with heredity, both general ability and special aptitudes; he analyzes basic drives; and he seeks to discover and apply the laws of learning, although the latter is basically in the field of educational psychology.

The sociologist, on the other hand, begins with the total social *milieu* of the individual. He studies the cultural patterns, analyzes the social organization, and seeks to discover the nature and extent of social control through interpersonal and intergroup interaction. He is interested fundamentally in discovering the forces through which the personality of the individual is developed.

In the effort to provide integration of subject matter, all sciences

are drifting toward a synthesis with related fields. Few if any sciences can be pigeonholed into totally and mutually exclusive compartments. Biology and psychology are disciplines which provide basic understanding of the individual; sociology builds upon this knowledge and, relating it to the social environment, discovers the person and points the way to ever higher levels of relationships among persons and groups.

Thus far we have discussed only the historical development of sociology as a field of knowledge. Two other aspects of its origin and growth—as social work and as a subject of study—should be included.

A discussion of sociology in its relation to social work must be broken down into two distinctly different approaches. One is the creation of a theoretically perfect state, a *Utopia,* and the efforts to carry it out in practice; the other approach is work with the needy. The first can be traced to Plato's *Republic* and to the legends of an Atlantis, which was a paradise on earth, allegedly located somewhere in the Atlantic Ocean. Atlantis was graphically described by Sir Thomas More in his *Utopia,* published in 1516. Bacon's *New Atlantis,* published in 1629, made science the key to happiness in his description of an imaginary world in which men traveled under the sea and through the air, a world that since then has been more than realized, but, which, unfortunately, is still without the "perfect happiness." Other Utopias have been created: Butler's *Erewhon* ("nowhere" spelled backwards) 1872, Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), and H. G. Wells' *New Worlds for Old* (1908). Several efforts were made to translate these idealistic states into actual communities but without success.[6]

The care of the needy is the more important aspect of social work in its relation to sociology. Beginning in the spirit and attitude of charity, care for the needy has become increasingly a responsibility of government. Volunteer workers have largely

[6] For detailed analysis of theories, the communities, and the development of the coöperative movement, see Jerome Davis, *Contemporary Social Movements.* New York: The Century Co., 1930.

been replaced by professionally trained social workers. Perhaps the three most direct relationships of sociology and social work are: the better understanding of atypical behavior and the factors that affect it, the development of the case record and interview as techniques of research, and the use of case histories as data for sociological study.

Both sociologies that were written in the United States prior to the introduction of sociology as a definite course of study were: a defense of slavery, Fitzhugh's *Sociology for the South,* and Hughes' *Treatise on Sociology,* both published in 1854. Writings of Europeans, especially Spencer's *Principles of Sociology,* were read in the United States. It was in 1885 that Ward's *Dynamic Sociology* appeared, but the first real textbook in sociology was his *Principles of Sociology,* published in 1903. Sumner's *Folkways* in 1906 and Cooley's *Social Organization,* three years later, were among the early sociological publications by American authors that began the flood of general and specialized books, including some excellent sociological novels, that continue to the present.

As a subject of study, some content of sociological significance was included in other subjects, but the first course bearing the term "sociology" in its title was given at Yale during the academic year 1875–1876, the students having as a text Spencer's *Principles of Sociology.* The course was withdrawn for ten years, but reappeared in the year 1885–1886. By 1900, a total of 98 colleges and universities were giving one or more courses in sociology. The University of Chicago established in 1892 the first Department of Sociology headed by A. W. Small. Columbia followed in 1894 with F. H. Giddings as head of the department, and the University of Missouri, in 1900, under the headship of C. A. Ellwood. The growth has been rapid since 1900, especially since World War I.

Our brief summary of the development and the subject matter of sociology is broadly indicative of the wide range and extent of man's effort to understand and interpret the human aspects

of the world. It brings sharply into focus two basic facts that run throughout the whole field of the social sciences, and especially of sociology: (1) that each individual is born into a cultural world created by his predecessors and which has a continuity of existence seemingly independent of the endless succession of individuals who enter and leave this culture stream, and (2) that the individual becomes identified with this vast body of culture, finds his role in it, seeks to modify it through the continuing interaction of himself and the world of things and of people about him, and becomes not an individual, for he was that at birth, but a person.

But in this twofold analysis, sociology has virtually ignored the educative process. Sociology, beginning as it did in social theory, and borrowing heavily from the physical and, later, the biological sciences, included primarily the study of group phenomena rather than the process and the agencies through which the individual acquires personality.

Then, too, the individual, as pointed out in Chapter 1, had been studied through the sciences of biology and psychology, while the group had been treated only in terms of philosophic concepts. Thus the study of group life in animals, in primitive man, and in our contemporaneous society offered an almost unexplored field.

Another factor that tended to influence the exclusion of the school and the educative process from the consideration of the sociologist was the growth, from earliest times to the present, of a vast body of literature in the field of education. Certainly the pedagogy of the seventeenth and later centuries was already replete with famous works: Comenius' *Great Didactic* (1630), *Thoughts on Education* (1693) by Locke, Rousseau's *Emile* (1762), Pestalozzi's *Leonard and Gertrude* (1781) and *How Gertrude Teaches Her Children* (1801), Herbart's *Pedagogy* (1806), Froebel's *Education of Man* (1826), and many more. So, too, down to the present, the science of education has been assumed to be a field of study in and of itself.

Whatever may be the reason for giving such little consideration to education or even its formal organization through the school, this lack has led to the need for the development of a new science, a new approach to both sociology and education. This is the study of educational sociology.

Chapter 3

THE INTERACTION APPROACH

Educational Sociology

In the preceding chapters, a brief review has been given of the two approaches to man's efforts to understand himself—the one through a study of the individual, the other, through an analysis of the physical and cultural world external to the individual. From the content of these chapters, we derive, at least by implication, the answer to the question: What is educational sociology?

The approach of educational sociology is not alone individual or societal: it is both. Educational sociology is the study of the interaction of the individual and his cultural environment, which includes other individuals, social groups, and patterns of behavior.

The key word in this definition is "interaction," for almost from birth the individual begins to influence the behavior of others about him, and his behavior, in turn, is influenced by that of people and things in his environment. In later chapters we shall see that the degree and nature of the interaction is conditioned by many variable factors, both of the individual and of the environment. Nevertheless, the individual becomes a person—acquires his personality—through this interaction. Without it, as is shown by the few authentic accounts of children reared without human associations, the individual is little more than an animal. Human nature, as we are accustomed to think of it, is acquired only through the constant interaction of the individual and his social environment.

E. George Payne,[1] who may be called the "father of educa-

[1] E. George Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology—An Outline*, page 20. New York: New York University Press Book Store, 1928.

tional sociology" in a much more significant way than Comte is called the "father of sociology," gives the same emphasis to the significance of the constant interaction of the individual and his environment:

"By educational sociology we mean the science which describes and explains the institutions, social groups, and social processes, that is, the *social relationships* in which or through which the individual gains and organizes his experiences.

"These *social interdependencies* include not merely those in which the individual gains and organizes his experiences as a child, but also those social groups and processes in which he must function in adult life. These social relationships are furthermore regarded particularly in relation to the educational system in its evolution and changing function."

Charles A. Ellwood gives a somewhat more restricted field for educational sociology but stresses also the element of social interaction:[2] "Educational sociology is the science which aims to reveal the connections at all points between the educative process and the social process. It is the science of the educational phase of the social life, or more exactly, of the educative aspect of the social process. Its business is to show the origin, development, and function of the educative process in human society."

In a recent letter to the author, Dr. Ellwood reëmphasizes the same position: "Educational sociology should be centered about the process of 'inter-learning'—learning from one another. A scientific educational sociology must make central the concept of culture, and show that human society, in all of its stages and various developments, is a product of processes of learning. The thorough understanding of social learning ('inter-learning,' as it is called by Spiller) in all phases of culture is the key to a science of *educational* sociology."

One writer, E. B. Reuter, poses alternative approaches to the

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[2] Charles A. Ellwood, "What Is Educational Sociology?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1927, Vol. 1, No. 1, page 27.

field of educational sociology:[3] "Educational sociology is obligated to analyze the evolution of the educational institutions in response to the needs of their creators, and it is concerned to define the influence of the educational institutions in determining the social personality of those who come within their influence. The nature of the problem makes it amenable to approach either from the side of personality or from the side of culture. Accepting human need and personality as constants, the educational sociologist may undertake the analysis of the factors, or forces, operating to determine the form and function of the institution in a given culture, its interaction and integration on the institutional level with coexisting institutions. Or, accepting the institution as an existing constant, the educational sociologist may undertake to define its influence on the personality and character of those exposed to its influence."

It is true that some writers have emphasized the cultural or institutional aspect almost exclusively, but to the degree that they hold to a purely institutional study, they miss the field of educational sociology and their writings are in the area of either sociology or education. Others have written almost exclusively on the individual and belong to what Sorokin[4] calls the "psychological school of sociology," which is the field of social psychology, not of educational sociology.

A comprehensive study of educational sociology must involve both approaches, but must view neither the individual nor the institution as independent of the other. It must treat of their inter-relationship, for it is *the process of social interaction* that provides the subject matter of educational sociology. Thus educational sociology is neither education nor sociology alone; it is education and sociology when these are both considered as a total educative process. Educational sociology utilizes all that has been learned in both fields but joins them in *a new science*

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[3] E. B. Reuter, "The Problems of an Educational Sociology." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* September 1935, Vol. 9, No. 1, page 15.

[4] Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories,* pages 600–659. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928.

by applying sociological principles to the whole process of education, including subject matter and activities, method, school organization, and measurement.

Since the behavior of the individual from birth to death is continually conditioned by culture, educational sociology is even more inclusive. It is concerned not only with the specific educational agency—the school—but includes such agencies as the family, motion pictures, and the press, as well as the broader cultural patterns embodied in the folkways and mores.

Thus, despite the fact that educational sociology is inclusive in its field of study, it is exclusive also because it is not concerned with aspects of any given field which do not condition personality development. This differentiation can be illustrated by reference to the family. The sociologist is interested in the historical development of the family: its patterns of relationships—polyandry (one wife and plural husbands), polygamy (one husband and plural wives), or monogamy (one husband and one wife); marriage and divorce rates; and decreasing birth rate. These are interesting and important facts and determine the total culture pattern of the family, but they are not the facts regarding the family with which the educational sociologist is primarily concerned. His interest is that of discovering areas of interaction among individuals within the family and through the family, with the school and other agencies of the community, for it is in this process of interaction within the family that the personality of the individual first develops.

In a personal letter to the author, Dan W. Dodson has effectively summarized this point of view as follows: "Educational sociology is interested in the impact of the total cultural *milieu* in which and through which experience is acquired and organized. It is interested in the school but recognizes it as a small part of the total. Educational sociology is particularly interested in finding out how to manipulate the educational process (social control) to achieve better personality development."

Relation to Educational Psychology

The difference between educational sociology and educational psychology requires clarification. In Chapter 2 it was stated that psychology was a study of the individual whereas sociology concerned itself with cultural forces which make the person. This generalization indicates the major difference between educational psychology and educational sociology, since the latter stresses the individual's relation to society rather than an evaluation of experience or learning, as is done by educational psychology. The line of demarcation is definite between psychology and sociology, but is not as apparent between educational sociology and educational psychology because both deal with the same agency—the school—and both seek to determine and give direction to the school's effect upon individual behavior.

The distinction between the two fields is drawn by Zorbaugh as follows:[5] "Educational psychology has concerned itself with the technique of building new habits into the child. Educational sociology has interested itself in the implications for curriculum construction, classroom organization, and teaching methods of the fact that the school is a social institution and part of the larger social organization, is itself a form of collective behavior, draws its human materials from the surrounding social life, and professes to prepare these human materials for further participation in that social life." Carrying this distinction still further, Payne describes it as follows:[6]

"Educational psychology is an applied science and lies in the field of applied psychology. It is concerned primarily with the laws of psychology applied to the acquisition, organization, and evaluation of experience or learning. It seeks to answer the question: 'What is the optimum condition for learning and how can this best be realized?' Educational sociology, on the other

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[5] Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "Significant Books of 1929." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* April 1930, Vol. 3, No. 8, page 510.

[6] E. George Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology,* page 29. New York: New York University Press Book Store, 1928.

hand, is likewise an applied science in the field of sociology. It is concerned not with the method of acquisition and organization of experience, but with the effect of learning upon group life, and in turn the effect of smaller group life upon the larger society. It seeks to explain how education as a social process may, under optimum conditions, eliminate social defects, perpetuate desirable institutions, group activities, group forms and practices, and attain for society the ideals and standards it aims to achieve."

Educational sociology is concerned with the problem of personality or behavior as determined by culture. In a phrase, it may be defined as the *science of social control.* Educational psychology is concerned with the learning process, as between the situation-response mechanism. These basic conceptions define not only the relationship but also the difference between the two fields.

More recently, and especially within the last decade, educational psychology has tended to extend into the distinctive field of educational sociology. That the educational psychologists are increasingly conscious of social values is indicated by the definitions given in a widely used text in this field:[7] "Psychology deals with responses to any and every kind of situation that life presents. Educational psychology deals only with experiences and behavior of human beings in response to educational situations. It selects from the total field of psychology those facts and principles that are of general significance *to living and social functioning,* and of special significance to learning and teaching. It is also concerned with all aspects and levels of human growth and development." The author frankly admits that "the facts and principles of educational psychology are the accumulated results of relevant contributions from all other sources, such as educational sociology, educational biology . . . anthropology, psychology, and medicine."

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[7] Charles E. Skinner, Ed., *Educational Psychology,* pages 13–14. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941.

It is not necessary to pursue further this differentiation by definition. No definition as such can be completely explicit, but the broad outlines are definite. Since the fields overlap, familiarity with one will but make a study of the other the more complete.

Major Fields of Educational Sociology

Much of the field of educational sociology has already been delineated. In its study of social interaction, educational sociology includes not only the school, but the total culture. Only as personality is recognized as the product of the total process of interaction can education, whether thought of in terms of the formal agency of the school or in the broader context of experience, be a significant agency for social control. As the old adage phrases it, "A little learning is a dangerous thing," but so, too, is much learning unless it is directed to social ends. It is this emphasis that must run as a consistent thread throughout the study of educational sociology. It is this fact that makes it a distinctive field of science.

In terms of the school, the educational sociologist is concerned not only with the aims of education, curricula, methods, and measurement, but also with the relation of the school to the total community. Its approach is that of seeking to understand better the interactive process through which the school is an effective agency in social control.

The importance of culture in determining personality was emphasized in the definition of educational sociology. The role of culture will be analyzed as a total process in Part II and will be the major theme running through all of the chapters dealing with specific educational agencies. *Since social control is the central problem of education, the processes by which it determines human behavior is the central problem of educational sociology.* Behavior is, to a large degree, the resultant of attitudes, including sentiments, prejudices, and values, and these are transmitted through the normal interaction in the family and community. For the most part, they are transmitted from adult to youth in virtually unmodified form. Education has the prime responsi-

bility for the reconstruction of this whole attitude-life and providing for new elements in control which will assure social welfare, progress, and definite social advance. To discover these new elements and ways by which they can modify the whole educative process is a challenge to educational sociology.

A brief backward glance at the development of educational sociology will indicate its major fields in greater detail. Because of nineteenth-century emphasis upon biology and psychology, education had become highly individualistic, having for its chief function the mastery of subject matter, often formal and little related to the life of the individual. Herbart's "Five Formal Steps" had replaced purely rote learning, but it was not until near the turn of the century that a need for the recognition of the social function of education began to be increasingly emphasized.

Early indications of this newer emphasis were shown in the growing concern on the part of educators to answer the question posed by Herbert Spencer in his widely read essay *What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?,* first published in 1861. Lester Ward, in 1883, wrote his *Dynamic Sociology* largely in protest to Spencer's social statics, including a final chapter on "Education as the Proximate Means of Progress."

A decade later, other sociologists joined Ward in his insistence on the social role of education. In 1896, Small [8] gave an address before the National Education Association in which he concluded: "Sociology demands of educators that they shall not rate themselves as leaders of children but as makers of society. . . . The teacher who realizes his social function will not be satisfied with passing children to the next grade. He will read his success only in the record of men and women who go from the school eager to explore wider and deeper these social relations, and zealous to do their part in making a better world. We are dupes of faulty analysis if we imagine that schools can do much to promote social progress until they are motivated by this insight and this temper."

[8] A. W. Small, "The Demands of Sociology upon Pedagogy." *American Journal of Sociology,* May 1896, Vol. 2, No. 6, pages 839–851.

The contributions of later sociologists to education will be included in appropriate chapters. It is significant to note, however, that these early writers conceived of education as a means for social control. Since the development of educational sociology as a separate branch of sociology, fewer writers in pure sociology have given any important place to education.

A second source of emphasis upon the social nature of education comes from educators. In 1893, W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, wrote:[9] "No philosophy of education is fundamental until it is based on sociology." In 1899, John Dewey wrote a little book that exercised a profound influence on education. This little volume, *The School and Society,* was the series of lectures given by Dewey to the parents of the children in his experimental University Elementary School, established at Chicago. In simple, forceful manner he points out the social aspects of teaching and learning, and insists that if the school is to be an effective agency, it must be regarded as a social institution and be closely related to the community. A year later, S. T. Dutton, then superintendent of schools in Brookline, Massachusetts, wrote on the *Social Phases of Education in the School and the Home* in which he emphasized the need of relating education to the experience of the child in the family and community.

During the decade between 1907 and America's entry into World War I, educational periodicals were replete with emphases upon the application of sociology to education. Textbooks were published to meet the need of students registered in the courses which were being established in normal schools and a few universities. Among these texts were: C. A. Scott's *Social Education* (1907), O'Shea's *Social Development and Education* (1909), King's *Social Aspects of Education* (1912), Bett's *Social Principles of Education* (1912), E. A. Kirkpatrick's *Fundamentals of Sociology with Special Emphasis upon the Community and Education* (1916), and W. R. Smith's *Introduction to Educational Sociology*

[9] *Educational Review,* June 1893, Vol. 6, No. 1, page 84.

(1917). The latter was the first text to embody the term "educational sociology" in its title.

The period immediately following World War I was marked by two developments, often in conflict. One was in relation to the individual and resulted in the rapid rise in the use of objective tests, grouping according to individual ability, and the reorganization of curricula and school activities along lines suggested by Thorndike's laws of learning, and the rapid expansion of educational psychology. In all this emphasis, the individual was highlighted, and education was considered only in terms of individual growth and development. Emphasis upon the individual varied from attempts to measure exactly the extent of individual learning, to almost complete freedom for the individual in order to provide self-development through creative expression.

The other emphasis in the period following World War I was in terms of the social values of education, which today is expressed not by sociologists or by educators, but by educational sociologists. Among the books that appeared in the decade following the war were: C. L. Robbins' *The School as a Social Institution* (1918); W. E. Chancellor's *Educational Sociology* (1919); F. R. Clow's *Sociology with Educational Implications* (1920); Snedden's *Educational Sociology* (1922), followed by three other texts by this author which embodied the same point of view; and C. C. Peters' *Foundations of Educational Sociology* (1924).

Another type of book frequently used as a text for educational sociology courses dealt with social problems. Among these, and the one of this type which perhaps had most influence upon educational sociology, was Charles Ellwood's *Sociology and Modern Social Problems* (1910). Other books in this general group include E. R. Groves' *Social Problems and Education* (1925) and Alvin Good's *Sociology and Education* (1926).

The list of writings need not be extended since the more recent texts will be referred to in their appropriate context later in this book. Two other important steps taken during the decade of the 1920's were important in giving direction to the development of educational sociology: the establishment of the Depart-

ment of Educational Sociology in the School of Education at New York University and the publication of the *Journal of Educational Sociology.*

The first course in educational sociology had been given by Henry Suzzallo as early as 1910 at Teachers College, Columbia University, and in 1916 a Department of Educational Sociology was established in the same institution under the chairmanship of David Snedden. By 1926, Lee[10] found that 194 institutions of higher education were offering courses in educational sociology.

It was stated earlier that E. George Payne is, in a real sense, the "father" of educational sociology. His only general book in the field is his *Principles of Educational Sociology—An Outline,* published in 1928. It is, rather, through his clear conception of the meaning of educational sociology and his inspiring conviction as to its role that Payne has continually exerted an unparalleled leadership.

While at Harris Teachers' College, Payne had become deeply interested in the need for reëvaluating the whole educational process in the light of the principles and data of sociology. When he transferred to the School of Education at New York University, he was able to translate his interest into a program of courses and research. He conceived education as reaching out to embrace the total experience of the person, and its chief function, as social control. In the practical laboratory of a metropolitan area having suburbs representing almost every type of community, the material and content of courses were constantly checked against experience, and the field of educational sociology was both expanded and delimited.

Payne and others organized the National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology in 1923. The dual relationship of educational sociology was shown by the fact that the society met in December of each year with the American Sociological Society, and in February, with the Department of Superintendence of the

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[10] Harvey Lee, *Status of Educational Sociology,* page 35. New York: New York University Press Book Store, 1932.

National Education Association, now the National Association of School Administrators. Although the National Society continued in active existence but a few years and issued only three Yearbooks, the last in 1931, it exercised significant influence in interesting both sociologists and educators in its approach to the whole educational process. It was an important factor, too, in counteracting the growing individualistic emphasis of psychology and education.

In September 1928, the *Journal of Educational Sociology* was first published, with Payne as editor-in-chief. It has continued as a monthly publication, except from June to August, and has exercised significant leadership in the development of educational sociology as a separate field of study and research.

The Development of Research

An important factor in clarifying the field of educational sociology and transferring it from a social philosophy of education to the science of social interaction has been the development of research in the whole field of the social sciences. Volumes have been written on the comparative research techniques of the physical and the social sciences. Mayer,[11] after an analysis of various "misconceptions" regarding assumed distinctions in types of research, concludes, "There appears to be every reason to believe that present-day methodology in the social studies is developing in a consistent and constructive manner." Huxley has stated the case even more forcefully:[12] "The scientific spirit remains unaltered whether it is contemplating a nebula or a baby, a field of wheat or a trade union. But the methodology of social science is inevitably different from that of natural science. It is different and must be different for one basic reason—the investigator is inside rather than outside his material. . . . It must, therefore, work out its own technique and its own methodology

[11] Joseph Mayer, *Social Science Principles in the Light of Scientific Method,* page 84. Durham: Duke University Press, 1941.

[12] Julian S. Huxley, "Science, Natural and Social." *The Scientific Monthly,* September 1940, Vol. 50, No. 1, pages 5–16.

just as natural science has had to do. . . . We need have no fear for the future of social science. By the time that the profession of social science, pure and applied, includes as many men and women as are now engaged in natural science, it will have solved its major problems of new methods, and the results it has achieved will have altered the whole intellectual climate. . . . Life will go on against a background of social science. Society will have begun to develop a brain."

A fundamental distinction can be drawn between sociology and most of the other social sciences. Culture can be studied objectively, thus providing sociology with its own data. The family, the school, the community are each a laboratory in which behavior can be recorded and analyzed. The social processes can be observed in action. Although single determinants of behavior cannot be isolated to the same absolute accuracy as elements in organic chemistry, contrasting behavior can be studied in varying culture patterns, and cause-and-effect relationships inferred, if not established, in absolute detail. Since the objective of educational sociology is to analyze the bases and methods of social control, research becomes the basis on which to postulate fundamental changes in the entire educative process. The pseudo-science based on analogy with the biological and physical sciences has been discarded as tools of research have been developed, largely within the last two decades. The methods and techniques described below are not those exclusively of educational sociology but are, with individual variations, those of all of the social sciences.[18]

Methods of social research fall into three major categories: historical, case study, and statistical. Each may involve one or more techniques: observation, interviews, questionnaires, and analysis of records and other documents.

The historical method is a common approach to the study of any institution and of behavior patterns. Westermarck's *History*

[18] For a comprehensive treatment of this field, see Pauline V. Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.

of Human Marriage is a perfect illustration of the historical approach to a better understanding of our present family organization by tracing it in its various forms, from earliest antiquity to the present day. Sumner's *Folkways* does the same for many of our present customs and behavior patterns. A conception of society as being dynamic, and the whole emphasis upon social change, involves an historical approach, not only for the determination of the degree of change but also of basic trends in the culture pattern.

The case-study approach requires the assembling of data about individuals. Clifford Shaw's *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career* or *The Jack Roller* are based on a collection of information about persons—their economic status, ways of behaving, and their attitudes. Depending on the purpose of the study, such case studies may include reports of medical examinations, results of psychological tests, educational records, family background and status in the neighborhood, and a description of the individual's behavior in different situations, and his sense of values.

More recently, the term "case" has been applied to an institution, a community, or a group when considered as a unit. This use of the term takes it far beyond its original and common-sense usage and is more nearly a synonym of a "survey" than of "the utilization of the case method." There are, however, border-line studies such as Thrasher's *The Gang* which study individuals, but within specific group patterns and geographic areas.

The purpose of the case-study method is primarily to draw generalizations regarding group patterns of behavior. The method involves a whole series of problems which, if not adequately solved, may challenge the validity of the findings: Are the cases typical in that they represent a true cross section of the subject under inquiry? Are they sufficient in number so that additional cases would not give different results? Are the data sufficiently reliable to make comparisons or generalizations possible?

The statistical method has long been the basis of procedure in the physical sciences. It is equally applicable in certain

sociological areas of study such as population changes, mobility, marriage and divorce rates, and school attendance. Through correlations certain relationships, as between economic status of the family and the number of years the child attends school, can be established. But the statistical method has definite limitations when applied to the social sciences, since many social phenomena are not subject to quantitative measurement and cannot be isolated and counted.

An increasingly important field of sociological research, in which all three methods and varying techniques are employed, is the study of a given geographical area. Reference to this field will be made later in more detail. Zorbaugh's *The Gold Coast and the Slum,* the Lynds' *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition,* and Warner and Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community,* are illustrations. In each, a research staff lived within the community, studied its people, its institutions and its social organization, and described the many forces, often conflicting, that determined its behavior.

Other types of social surveys, such as those of an institution or of a particular field of social interaction, exist. The first is illustrated by studies of the church or the school; the second, by analyses of race relations or of play groups.

The three methods of research are not mutually exclusive. An individual study may involve historical background data, case studies, and statistical tabulations and relationships. In fact, the research worker in educational sociology, as in all sciences, uses the method or combination of methods that best serves the nature of his research.

Although the gathering of data by observation is an important method of research, this method is not reliable unless it is specifically limited. One of the earliest studies based on observation as a method of research study was Shinn's *Biography of a Baby,* published in 1900. The method is used, under controlled conditions, by the Yale Clinic of Child Development described in an earlier chapter. The Institute of Human Relations, also at Yale, as well as other research groups, in order to convert obser-

vation into a valid research instrumnet, set up techniques for controlled observations.

The interview is another very common technique of research. It varies from the census taker, who records the data on the government blank, and the poll taker who reports opinion on public issues, to prolonged and repeated conversations with a subject. The validity of the findings are determined by subjective factors, not the least of which is the rapport established between interviewer and subject. Use of the technique does, however, procure a vast amount of data that could be obtained no other way.

The questionnaire, a written form of interview, is subject to even greater limitations. Meaningful questions are difficult to formulate. There is no opportunity, other than by the printed word, to establish rapport. On the other hand, the questionnaire is able to procure data from a large number of persons, widely scattered geographically, and can cover both questions of fact and matters of judgment. As an instrument of scientific research, the value of this technique has been seriously questioned, but if the questionnaire is brief and specific, it frequently provides an economical and effective way to carry on an extensive type of investigation in such fields as school costs or number and types of student organizations.

Documentary data may include personal letters, diaries, and life histories. Personal letters and diaries may have been written without thought to their eventual use as bases of sociological research. Other studies have been based on letters written specifically by request, but in such instances letters are little more than uncontrolled questionnaires. The personal data accumulated by Thomas and Znanieski, referred to above, were gotten through life histories, which they regard as "the perfect type of sociological material." Despite the weaknesses of the technique, since it requires the subject to interpret half-forgotten facts, it has been widely used. The personal-data method portrays, as does no other technique, the individual's interpretation of his own experience.

Students who wish to engage in even elementary research in educational sociology should first define specifically the purpose and scope of their investigation and then select the methods and techniques which will procure the most reliable data. In the interpretation of results, every effort should be made to avoid subjective factors and hasty generalizations made from insufficient data or too few cases.

Many areas exist in which research is needed. Payne[14] lists six areas related directly to the school, and there are many more. The following are only suggestive:

1. *Aims or objectives of education.* There have been many hundreds of statements of what education should accomplish. Some are very general, others quite specific, but almost without exception, statements of aims have been based on the judgment of the individual or of such groups as the President's Advisory Committee on Education. The objectives of education should be formulated rather on the basis of research on the needs of children and the changing cultural pattern both of the local community and of the nation.
2. *Curricula.* All too large a proportion of the curricula of the schools and colleges are determined by what has been, rather than based on research on the results derived from school and college instruction. Careful studies should be made of the social outcomes and the changes in the behavior of the individual. Zorbaugh[15] describes this need a little differently. "Educational sociology is interested in working out a technique for measuring, not the acquisition of 'Knowledge' as reflected in verbal behavior, but the changes in total behavior in the direction of social adjustment."
3. *Classroom and school organization.* Many types of organization have been developed and glowingly described by enthusiasts, but there is surprisingly little factual data from which to determine the outcomes of one as compared with another.

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[14] E. George Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology—An Outline,* pages 47–50. New York: New York University Press Book Store, 1928.

[15] Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "Research in Educational Sociology." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* September 1927, Vol. 1, No. 1, page 20.

4. *Methods of instruction.* Psychologists have developed tests to determine the speed and extent of learning under various methods, but the educational sociologist has not developed comparable measures to determine other values. For example, experiments conducted by the armed forces demonstrated economy of learning in the linguistic, as contrasted to the grammatic, approach in learning a foreign language. Yet many believe that the grammarian's approach gives a deeper appreciation of social values. Method is a much needed and extremely important area for research in educational sociology.

It is not necessary to describe other types of research. Fields for investigation are as numerous as the areas of social interaction: community activities, institutions and organization, the reading interests of children and adults, radio and motion-picture programs most popular for children of a given age group, and the effect of family status on child health.

The Challenge of Educational Sociology

Readers of educational sociology will probably be familiar with much of its content, except for the unfamiliar terms with which it is described. They have been reared in families and communities; they know about social groups and have participated in groups since childhood; they have already acquired not only the obvious characteristics of the group, such as language and customs, but its subjective characteristics of attitudes and values as well.

But few indeed have retained an objective attitude toward their cultural world. Few have sensed its significance in their own lives and the lives of others. Few understand that the interaction between individuals and things is not, after infancy, merely a matter of chance, but that it follows a complex, definite set of patterns.

Students of social phenomena cannot retain the same degree of objectivity attained by students of chemistry or other natural sciences. The individual can never wholly divorce himself from the data of educational sociology; he is an integral part of the

whole process of social interaction. But this very fact will provide a basis for relating the data to his own experience and life. To do so, however, will require a reëxamination of his own behavior and attitudes in the light of a scientific analysis of social principles and processes.

Educational sociology does not offer the complete answer to man's quest to understand himself. No single field of study, nor all combined, can satisfy the yearning of mankind to be the master rather than the servant of the forces about him. The biological sciences, including psychology, have enriched man's grasp of his physical and mental inheritance, growth and development. The social sciences have analyzed the history, structure and function of the cultural heritage which is both the product and the determiner of human behavior. Sociology has described the complex patterns of culture and, through analysis of the social processes, has shown that personality is the product of the constant interaction of the individual and the cultural world of things and people with which he comes into contact. Educational sociology applies the principles, research data, and techniques of sociology to the educational process, both within the classroom and in the total educative experience of the person. It conceives education, in this inclusive sense, as social control. As such, it is necessary to turn first to an analysis of the total pattern of culture.

In Part II the process of social interaction will be studied in broad perspective—the meaning and significance of culture, the role of group associations, and the social nature of education. In later sections, social interaction will be viewed in terms of specific institutions, with major emphasis upon the school. In the last part, potential outcomes will be emphasized, for unless our study provides the means to modify human behavior, it will be futile.

Part II

INDIVIDUAL-GROUP INTERACTION

Man was not like the moveless plants about his feet
Nor sky-borne birds, nor land-held beasts that roamed the sod
For he could see beyond his sight and with his hands
Create the vision of his mind as though a god.

But not alone could he command the birds and beasts
Or shape the wonder world as he would have it be,
Only with others could he match his puny strength
'Gainst nature—being thus more bound and yet more free!

Chapter 4

OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE

HIGH on a precipitous mesa, four hundred feet above the windswept desert lands of central New Mexico, stands what is reported to be the oldest inhabited settlement in the United States —the home of the Acoma Indians, probably built in the twelfth century, three hundred years before the first white man set foot on American soil.

The origin of these Indians is described in their own myth, which forms the basis of much of their present ceremonials and purports to reach back to creation.[1] The Spirit Tsichtinako came from Uchtisiti, father and creator, to Iatiku and her sister living in darkness within the earth. The Spirit brought baskets of seeds and carved objects that, as they were brought to life, became trees and plants, animals and birds, and Spirits, both good and evil. On one of the trees, the sisters climbed to the surface and to the light. The Spirit first brought twin sons to Iatiku and, later, as each girl baby was born, she gave it a clan name: Sun and Sky, then Antelope, Deer, and Bear, and later, names of animals and birds. The Spirit taught Iatiku the ceremonials of initiation into the tribe, of the hunt, of planting, and of burial. He taught her, too, how to make the costumes and masks, to sing the songs, and to make the prayers accompanying the ceremonials, and all of this she in turn taught to the others. Iatiku first made a model of the homes (pueblos) they were to build, their places of worship (Kivas) and of how the "town" was to be laid out, with an open court for the dances. She told clan

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[1] Matthew W. Stirling, *Origin Myth of Acoma and Other Records.* Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942.

members, too, how the Spirit had taught her, Iatiku, to make prayer sticks and fetishes representing objects or animals, or people. She apportioned the responsibilities for the governing of the tribe among the various clans, and designated the "officers"; the "chief" was to be always of the Antelope clan.

In the mythology of origin, repeated through the ceremonials, is found the pattern of behavior, followed still in infinite detail and without variation. Here, too, is the "blueprint" of the home, the native place of worship, the relationships within the tribe.

The early history of the Acomas is woven into the myth and lost in legend. They journeyed far, building their villages, but always a part or all of them moved on again searching for the rock that would give back an echo and which the Spirit had said would be their permanent home. At last those remaining together came to a huge rock; the Country Chief cried "Haako!" four times, and each time the echo returned; and at the foot of the rock they built their village.

Not far distant is a still higher rock, its sides now sheer and inaccessible, but on one side heaped with tremendous boulders. Legend has it that some of the Acomas left the village to live on that sheer-sided rock, on what is now called Katsima, the Enchanted Mesa. They were able to climb to the top because at that time the loose boulders had been a part of the rock, forming a steep but safe means of access to the summit. Some say only that the group of Indians soon returned because there were no crevices to hold sufficient water. Others say that the Spirits were offended and, in a terrific storm, shook the mesa, loosening the sloping side, the cliff then rising precipitously above the fallen boulders. The Spirits had avenged the trespassing and the Indians hurled themselves from the summit to their death on the rocks below.

It was then the Acomas remembered that they had been told that they would live on top of the rock which returned the echo. Here they could see the lands reaching away to the horizon, and when they left the mesa they could look back and know that their home towered above all the world.

Observing the ritual of the past, the men skillfully and painstakingly hacked toe holds up one of its sloping sides, planted prayer sticks, cleared its surface of all plant and animal life, and built their pueblos. It took two days to move all the people up, for every ceremonial detail was observed for each clan and society, including "sweeping" each person free of illness or disease. Guards were put on each of the four walls, and now, for centuries, the Acomas have lived on their mesa, year after year going through their ceremonies.

The known history of the Enchanted Mesa can be briefly told. Discovered first by Coronado in 1540, the Acomas surprised and defeated a Spanish detachment in 1598, but were conquered the following year after heavy losses to both the Indians and the Spanish. A decade later, a Catholic mission was established on the mesa. In 1680, the Acomas joined the rebellion of the other Pueblo tribes and the mission was destroyed.[2] Later the mesa was recaptured and the mission reëstablished. The present population of the village is over 1,300;[3] it is estimated that the tribe numbered 1,100 when first discovered.

A government-built road leads off the main highway, and the Enchanted Mesa is perhaps twenty miles from any other habitation. Comparatively few tourists take this by-road and many turn back when they discover that they, too, must climb one of the tortuous trails carved into the side of the rock by those who first sought shelter from their angry gods.

Clustered on the sheltered side of the mesa are sheep pens made of a curious mixture of gnarled branches from native scrub pine and of "store lumber." Mutton is the major item in the Acoma's food supply, and the treated skins with the wool attached is the Indian cover against the quick-descending cold of the night. A mile or more away, in a declivity that holds meager but sufficient moisture, are their fields, with crops, originally

[2] The story of this mission is beautifully told by Willa Cather in *Death Comes to the Archbishop.*

[3] July 1, 1945 population, 1,322. Data from U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs.

maize, but now diversified somewhat as a result of learning from contact with the white man.

Atop the rock, with an open court in the middle, the houses follow the typical style of the pueblos—made of adobe, three or four stories in height in which each successive "front porch" is the roof of the story just below. Crude handmade ladders that can be pulled up provide the only means of getting in and out of the stories above the ground level. Tallow candles, rather than windows or electric fixtures, supply dim light. Originally the only heat was from an open fire in a room ventilated by a hole in the roof, but now improvised stoves are used and rusted stovepipes stick out at various angles through the walls. The furniture is simple still and, before the white man's influence was felt, was little more than a log along one wall and a pile of dirty sheep-wool skins in the corner.

The village has its own water supply. The drainage from the surface of the mesa runs into natural reservoirs, where it is stored and dipped out as needed. The water from one reservoir is used exclusively for drinking. During a ceremonial, fresh water from a distant spring is dropped into the reservoir to assure an adequate supply and to "purify" it.

On one side of this huge rock formation are the Catholic Church and the cemetery. The church, with its inner courtyard and adjacent rectory, is larger than many that have been built on level ground with modern equipment. Typically Spanish in style, the walls of the church are some fourteen feet thick at the base and taper in thickness to the tower, in which hangs an old bell reportedly brought from Spain. Flowers and several fruit trees grow in the courtyard, watered in the dry season fom the reservoir. Every bucket of adobe mud that went into the erection of the church and its surrounding walls was carried up the trail on the backs of tribesmen.

To have buried their dead in the sand at the base of the rock would have left the corpses to the ravages of hungry wolves. On the corner facing the church, a deep crevice sloped down the side of the mesa. Again on the backs of the Indians, buckets of sand

were labored from below until the huge crevice was filled, the outer edge having been gradually built up of rock and adobe.

Today, completely surrounding the graveyard is a mud fence decorated at regular intervals with busts molded from adobe. The "governor" said that they were former heroes of the tribe; a woman guide said they were Saints of the Church. Perhaps both were right for there has been, across the three centuries, a blending of native ceremonial and religious ritual.

The men of the clan herd the sheep, but all other work is done by women. Cooking is over open grates in the courtyard; a heavy bread is baked in adobe ovens. There is little concern for sanitation and the members of the family eat with their fingers or with crude utensils out of a common dish placed in the center of the circle of diners.

The tribe is ruled after the manner of its heritage. The Antelope clan selects the officers—the Country Chief, the tapu'pu or Governor, and their assistants. The Governor has ten principals or advisors who hold office for life. The transfer of authority from the old officers to the new is an annual ritual, every step taken in the manner prescribed by custom. The tribe is divided into clans, each with its own section of a pueblo. As in its origin, clan organization is matriarchal in that men, at marriage, become members of their wife's clan. Like most other Pueblo Indians, a communistic form of property exists—all property, including herds and fields, belongs to the tribe.

Although certain officers must always wear only buckskin, and ceremonial dress is rigidly prescribed, for the most part, both men and women wear "store" clothes. The women wear many layers of flowing skirts so long they drag along the ground. The skirts are usually black in color, and always dirty. The tight-fitting blouses are sometimes of gay color. The hair, except during observance of ceremonials, is pulled straight back and twisted into a straggly knot at the back. The head covering, when worn, is a colored but dirty cloth tied under the chin.

The tribe has adopted Catholicism, but maintains a dual sys-

tem of religion, seemingly unaware of any inherent conflict between them. The tribe selects those who will assist the Priest, thus officially recognizing the Church. The kiva, a large, round hole at the bottom of which is an altar, is constructed exactly as prescribed by legend and is still a place of worship. The only access is by a tree ladder, symbolic of that used by the Indian Mother Iatiku when she ascended to the surface of the earth. The Acomas continue their ceremonial, ritual, and the worship of their Spirit gods, a single ceremonial often requiring several days. Yet the Indians have accepted also the ritual of the Church and its attitude toward marriage, divorce, and other aspects of behavior. In this respect, the Acomas are in sharp contrast to such tribes as the Zunis and many of the Navahos. The dual culture of the Acomas is shown also in their language. They speak good English, for the Church is also the school, but they use their native tongue exclusively in all the ceremonials.

The inroads of the white man and his ways are indicated in many other aspects of their lives. One white man's lesson is shown the moment the tourist completes his arduous climb and steps out onto the level surface of the mesa. A native woman meets the tourist with "Hello. Fifty cents, please." She then shows a scale of prices for taking snapshots or motion pictures and for visiting the graveyard, the Cathedral, and the pueblos. Several other girls and women have pieces of porous and unartistic pottery which they have made to sell as "souvenirs."

But in spite of the influence of others, the tribe has retained its legends and folklore, many of its customs, its pride, and its sense of unity.

This small, compact, and comparatively isolated Indian tribe has been described in detail, for it illustrates, in a simple pattern, the cultural heritage, which in varying pattern is bequeathed to each person. In later chapters, frequent reference will be made to this illustration, for here the social processes can be more readily analyzed than in the complex social organization of modern urban or even rural life. In the homogeneity of this community, the basic premise of this book can be objectively evaluated: that to

understand the person, it is necessary first to know and to appreciate the culture into which he is born, which exercises its inexorable influence throughout the span of life and which determines the place and ceremonial of his burial rites.

The Meaning of Culture

The term "culture" has been used with various meanings. In common usage, it is defined as "good manners and good taste." In the parlance of science, it means very much more and has no reference to the quality of action or of things. Culture was defined by E. B. Tylor,[4] the English anthropologist, as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

The definition given by Ellwood[5] is more specific and more inclusive. "Culture is transmitted socially, that is, by communication, and gradually embodies in a group tradition of which the vehicle is language. Thus culture in a group is a matter of habits of thought and action acquired or 'learned' by interaction with other members of the group. Culture includes all of man's acquired power of control over nature and himself. It includes, therefore, on the one hand, the whole of man's material civilization, tools, weapons, clothing, shelter, machines, and even systems of industry; and, on the other, all of non-material or spiritual civilization, such as language, literature, art, religion, morality, law and government."

Although this distinction between the "material" and the "non-material" elements of culture is in one sense valid, the two, in another sense, are so dependent upon each other that the one cannot be thought of independently of the other. One aspect of the environmental world is made up of the physical objects that man has created for his own use. Thus through the degree

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[4] E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* page 1. New York: Brentanos, 1924. Reprint of original first published in 1871.

[5] Charles A. Ellwood, *Cultural Evolution,* page 9. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1927.

of development of these artifacts and the materials used in making them, it is possible to determine the cultural progress of a people. Dress is a distinguishing characteristic among nations, as witnessed by the costumes worn at folk dances throughout the world, and in American cities having citizens of varied national origins. Dress is also frequently indicative of the economic status of the wearer. As Ellwood states, regions, even areas within the same community, differ in terms of systems of industry. There are many elements of contrast between life on a farm, in a village maintained largely because it is a political or educational center, and in a large manufacturing city.

These material aspects of culture might be termed cultural instruments, since the use which is made of such artifacts is the important consideration. Use is largely determined by ideas and values, the non-material aspects of culture. To an Acoma Indian, or perhaps also to a mountaineer, a golf club would be only something to burn or to use in self-defense. Conversely, the development of cultural artifacts is determined by the attitudes and values of people. Again returning to the Acomas, there is no reason for them to continue to live as their ancestors have lived for generations, without modern furniture, typical American dress, or canned foods, except that the use of these goods would be contrary to their basic custom of living. At first, many farmers refused to install electricity in their homes for little reason other than that it was "something different."

No further illustrations are required to demonstrate that, although the differentiation between material and non-material culture provides a basis for analysis, it should not be assumed that either develops independently of the other. Each interacts upon the other, and in this very fact lies one of the major problems of social control.

Since culture is a collective term for all behavior patterns socially acquired and socially transmitted, it is necessary to break it down into its elements for purposes of analysis. The simplest functional unit into which a culture can be divided is termed a "cultural trait." This may be either an abstract entity, such as the

Acomas' belief in their origin myth, or a concrete entity—a peculiar mannerism of speech or of dress.

Although these traits can be analyzed individually, they have little meaning alone. They are interwoven with other culture traits, the whole forming an interrelated chain around some central trait. This cluster of traits forms a "culture complex." For example, machine production or the belief in one God are central culture traits, but around them are a whole series or a complex of related traits. The term therefore becomes of great importance in understanding the social behavior of any group or the personality of any individual within the group.

Culture traits are not only interwoven into larger patterns, but are also characteristic behavior patterns of constituent groups or portions of humanity best described as "culture areas." The size of a culture area depends upon the particular trait or complex used as the basis of differentiation. Thus, if specific traits are used to differentiate groups, a few city blocks, occupied by peoples of a specific minority group, is a culture area; if a central trait, such as the caste system, is used, then the culture area includes the vast regions of the Orient dominated by caste. As will be pointed out in discussing the diffusion of culture, no area is in a condition of complete cultural isolation.

This emphasis upon interaction suggests a somewhat different definition of culture as *the total behavior pattern of the group, conditioned in part by the physical environment, both natural and man-made, but primarily by the standardized ideas, attitudes, values, and habits which have been developed by the group to meet its needs.* Viewed as group patterns of behavior, the material aspect of culture—its artifacts—becomes objects which are the products of cultural behavior or which are necessary to such behavior.

Since culture is transmitted by teaching and learning, both formal and informal, the interrelation of culture and the educative process is apparent. It is necessary to know both the fundamental characteristics of culture and the means through which it is modified to meet changing conditions in succeeding generations. It is

this interrelationship between culture and the educative process that makes education the major factor in social control.

Group Behavior Patterns

Sociologists have used various terms to describe the group behavior patterns of folkways, mores, and institutions. The term *folkways* is self-explanatory as the common ways of people, and includes such factors as clothing, manners of greeting, food habits, and common superstitions. *Mores* are ways of behaving around which an emotional tone has been developed and which are associated with attitudes of right and wrong. *Institutions* are patterns of behavior that have clustered around a specific need or desire.[6] The family is more than a husband, wife, and children living in the same abode; it is associated with a whole group of behavior patterns—chivalry, courting and marriage, shared responsibility, coöperation, status, companionship, and love.

No sharp lines of differentiation can be drawn between these three types of group behavior patterns. They are illustrated in the description of the Acomas and in much of the descriptive material that follows. These behavior patterns merge one into the other; the same behavior is commonly accepted in one group and condemned in another; they are constantly changing. For example, dancing may be for one group only a folkway to be enjoyed at one's pleasure; in another group, dancing is considered "an instrument of the Devil"; while in a third, the ceremonial dance of many of the Indian tribes is an integral part of their religion. The Annette Kellerman bathing suit was considered grossly immodest when it first appeared; today even more abbreviated suits are an accepted folkway. It is interesting to note, however, that place association is also involved, for the same suit

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[6] Some sociologists have sought to differentiate between an "institution" and a "social organization." The former refers only to behavior; the latter, to relationships and cultural equipment, as, for example: marriage is an institution; the family is one type of social organization. Although such a differentiation is possible, it is contrary to common usage and establishes an artificial division not true in fact.

worn on main street would still, in many communities, be considered "wrong." To the degree that clothing is associated with modesty it becomes embedded in the mores. The same is true of other behavior patterns to which conformity is considered right; non-conformity, wrong. As will be pointed out, conflict between children and their elders grows out of this continually shifting pattern of folkways, mores, and institutions.

That groups have definite patterns of behavior has been abundantly demonstrated by anthropologists from E. B. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* to Melville Herskovits' *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples.* Contrast, for example, the behavior pattern of the Acomas with that of the Navahos who live in the same area, actually among the various Pueblo tribes. The Navahos have never adopted the masonry houses, sedentary life, or, except to a limited extent, the agriculture of the Pueblos. In fact, for several centuries, the Navahos raided the Pueblos, and by stealing from the latter, have gradually acquired herds of horses, cattle, goats, and especially sheep, from which they still largely derive their living. Navahos are matrilinear, as are the Acomas, that is, property is handed down through the wife. When a man marries, he goes to live with or near his wife's family. They may or may not build a separate *hogan,* or house, depending on convenience. The original taboo against the son-in-law seeing his mother-in-law has been eased by custom, but even today they can converse with each other only through a third party.

In organization, the Navahos differ markedly from their neighbors. Instead of the closely knit community or clan, the family is the chief unit of organizational life. There are between 50 and 60 clans, each with a nominal leader, but there is no sense of unity within the clan. Property owning is so strongly individual that each reserves property for his own exclusive use, refusing to share it with other members of the family. The Leightons [7] emphasize this attitude by the story of a Navaho Indian riding

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[7] A. H. and Dorothea Leighton, *The Navaho Door,* page 19. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945.

toward a trading post, on a horse, while his wife trudged behind on foot. The trader rebukingly asked, "Why is your wife walking?" The Navaho replied, "Because she ain't got a horse." To us, such an attitude toward personal property may seem like indifference, but in terms of Navaho custom, it was a sensible reply.

Navaho marriages may be performed by the Church, may be an elaborate "native" ritual, or may be, and more often are, simply by common consent, comparable to our common law marriage, except that the relatives must agree to it. Many Navahos have more than one wife, although the custom of plural marriages appears to be declining. In 1944, the Navaho Tribal Council adopted regulations barring new plural marriages, but such a regulation will mean little unless is reflects a changing attitude on the part of the members of the tribe. Faithlessness is a personal matter and, in marriages by Navaho custom, divorce is simply a matter of one or both parties deciding to separate, in which case the man returns to his family.

Instead of the pueblo, which may house as many as 50 families, each Navaho family has its own hogan, frequently in some partially sheltered arroyo, many miles from any other habitation except that of the wife's relatives. Their winter hogans are made of sticks and mud, their summer ones, often only of branches loosely interlaced. Each hogan is exactly alike—eight-sided with an opening for a door, and a screen built in front to deflect evil spirits. There are no windows, and the dwelling is warmed in winter by an open fire in the center.

The pottery, for which most of the Pueblo Indians are noted, is almost unknown to the Navaho. Navahos, however, are famous for the graceful silver and turquoise ornaments made by the men, and for the beautiful and distinctive rugs and blankets woven by the women. One marvels at these works of beauty, made with only crude, handmade tools amid the filth and squalor of the hogan and its surroundings. Every step in the making of a rug, from killing the sheep and shearing the wool to obtain raw material, to the final weaving of the rug is done by the Navaho woman. The frame on which the rug is woven

is made of limbs of trees wrapped together at the four corners. Sitting cross-legged in front of the frame and with the desert winds blowing the sand around her, she weaves with no pattern except that in her own mind. As she passes the different colored threads in and out of the woof, she pauses occasionally and packs them together with a handmade wooden comb. The art of rug-weaving is passed down from mother to daughter, and it is not uncommon to see little girls of four or five years of age helping with the weaving.

Another form of art, belonging almost exclusively to the Navaho, is sand-painting. With natural colored sands, painstakingly selected from the "Painted Desert" or ground by hand from vari-colored sandstone, the sand-paintings are made free-hand, and are brilliant in color, beautiful in design, and intricate in detail. They are drawn as a part of the "healing" of the sick and every line is a symbolic prayer to their gods. It has no other utilitarian value, as it must be destroyed before sunset.

Navaho rituals differ also from those of the Pueblo Indians. Their great ceremonial lasts nine days, and it is only at this and other ceremonials, such as the ritualistic "basket weddings," burials, and healings for the sick, that the Navahos come together. More nomad by custom than the Pueblos, the whole family frequently attends. Along the trails and on the highways, they leisurely journey to the place of the ceremonial—the men riding bareback, the women walking, often carrying infants too young to walk by themselves, for Navaho families are large. Some travel in carts and, in normal times, a few have cars, from old Model T Fords to modern limousines.

Navaho religion is a loosely integrated pattern of thirty-five ceremonials, largely centered around the curing of illness. Special singers are hired as well as a "diagnostician" who conducts rituals and prayers to the Spirits. A single ceremonial may take as long as nine days. The Leightons [8] report that in going to and from these ceremonials, in preparing for and observing them, the

[8] A. H. and Dorothea Leighton, *ibid.*, page 30.

average familly spends twenty per cent of its income; the man from one fourth to one third of his productive time; and the woman, from one sixth to one fifth of hers. The Navahos have no kivas, or altars, no designated leaders in the ceremonials; those who lead the ceremonials have voluntarily learned the songs and the rites.

Other details of contrast, or others of similarity between Pueblo and Navaho culture groups, could be given. The comparison between them is summarized by Goldfrank[9] as follows: "The adoption of agriculture and agricultural techniques from the Pueblos seems obvious from archaeological and linguistic evidence, and from Navaho legend as well. But the organization that resulted (from such culture contacts) while exhibiting many Pueblo features, by no means mechanically imitated Pueblo institutions."

It is not necessary to turn to anthropology for illustration of culture patterns, for they are everywhere about us. Since they are group characteristics, a more detailed analysis will be included in the succeeding chapter. It is important here to analyze culture in its larger aspects, to note its characteristics, and the social problems inherent in its function in social control.

The Cumulative Nature of Culture

Culture is cumulative. This is shown in the preceding illustrations; it is evident in the whole history of mankind. Our language, for example, is the result of centuries of accumulation. The development of oral language is lost in antiquity, but the records of the growth of written expression is clearly recorded on the surfaces of bone and rock preserved through the ravages of time. The evolution of writing may be described as having proceeded through three stages, each blending into the other. The earliest stage was pictographic, in which the picture indicated a specific object—a tent, a fish, or a person. The picture was thus

[9] Esther S. Goldfrank, "Irrigation Agriculture and Navaho Community Leadership." *American Anthropologist,* April–June, 1945, Vol. 47, No. 2, page 273.

the symbol of an idea but could not express abstract relationships or conditions. It was used by many peoples, but only a few developed it to the second stage—the rebus or mixed phonetic stage. The Chinese and Egyptians began to use the pictograph to represent either an object or a sound. Thus the pictograph of an eye was either the object or the sound; the meaning could be determined only by the context. The present written language of the Chinese is still largely of this type, but developed to include complex characters. The third and present stage is the invention of the alphabet in which each letter is the symbol for a sound, syllable, or word. Developed about 1000 B.C., letters were for some time endowed with spiritual significance, and only the priests and scribes could make them "talk." Chapin points out that the close association of the written and the spoken word is indicated by the fact that "when puzzled by writing we cannot decipher, we ask, 'What does it say?' not, as we should, 'What does it read?'"

If this illustration of the accumulation of culture is followed further, it includes the development of papyrus, the scroll, and paper which made it possible to communicate long distances by the written word. The invention of the printing press substituted mechanical reproduction for painstaking copying of manuscripts. The vastness of modern production is indicated by the fact that the armed services during the two years of 1944 and 1945 received and distributed overseas a total of more than twenty-five million books!

An analysis of community organization also demonstrates the accumulative nature of culture. The early community was almost autonomous, connected with the outside world by straggling dirt roads. It supplied its own needs for food, clothing, and shelter; recreation was simple and opportunities for organized association were meager. Today, the events halfway around the world are made known in the most isolated hamlet seconds after they occur. The food in the village store comes from plantations and mills thousands of miles away and, with the expansion of air transport, perishable fruits and vegetables, tomatoes from Florida and

bananas from Brazil, will be sold fresh on the markets in Detroit or Bangor.

Community life has grown increasingly complex with constant regrouping in terms of specialized interests. Some are local, but others such as the Boy and Girl Scouts, the Campfire Girls, the League of Women Voters, and the Grange are national in scope and develop local chapters. In almost every aspect of institutional life, economic, social and political, the same accumulative characteristic could be traced in detail. Herskovits [10] describes the division of labor and specialization among several primitive groups. Work is specifically allocated to age groups and to the sexes and, in certain specialized occupations, transmitted from father to son as their exclusive right. The number of occupations which the individual may follow varies with the group, but in none of the illustrations given does the list extend beyond fifty. In the early period of industrialization, the number of occupations began to increase, but were still relatively stable. The youth selected his trade within a fairly narrow range of choices and followed through its stages of apprentice, journeyman, and master. A recent Occupational Index prepared through the United States Employment Service describes over 30,000 separate occupations, many of them general types which could be broken down into still further sub-classifications!

In later chapters, attention will be given to individual institutions, but at this point it should be pointed out that behavior patterns of the family, religion, and other institutions have taken on specific types of behavior. The structure of institutional life has grown increasingly complex even without taking into account its interrelation with other cultural influences. Chapin charts the characteristics of four present-day social institutions (Table I).

No analysis can be complete, and only the more common characteristics under each type are included. The data clearly show the complex nature of institutional culture patterns for each

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[10] Melville J. Herskovits, *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*, Chapter V. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940.

Table I *

TYPES AND BEHAVIOR PATTERNS OF FOUR SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

Type Parts of Structure	Family	State	Religion	Industry
I. Attitudes and behavior patterns	Love Affection Devotion Loyalty Parental respect	Devotion Loyalty Respect Domination Subordination Fear	Reverence Awe Fear Loyalty Devotion Subordination	Fair play Loyalty Cooperation Conflict Workmanship Thrift
II. Symbolic culture traits	Marriage-ring Crest Coat-of-arms Heirloom	Flag Seal Emblem National anthem Army-Navy	Cross Ikon Idol Shrine Hymn Altar	Trade mark Patent sign Advertising emblem
III. Utilitarian culture traits	Home equipment Personal property	Public buildings Public works Warlike equipment	Church buildings Cathedral Temple Sanctuary Altar	Stores, shops Factories Railroads Machinery
IV. Oral or written specifications	Will Marriage license Genealogy Mores	Treaties Constitution Charter Laws Ordinances Mores	Creed Doctrine Hymn Bible Sacred book	Franchise Licenses Contracts Partnership papers Articles of incorporation

* Stuart Chapin, *Cultural Change*, page 49. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1928.

type-part of the social structure. Add to these institutional patterns the accumulation of the ages in the whole range of human behavior and its accompanying artifacts, and some conception can be grasped of the importance of culture in the life of man.

Cultural Change

The second characteristic of culture is that it is in constant flux. Some sociologists distinguish between universal behavior patterns, those related to basic drives of hunger, shelter, and sex, and differential patterns, which vary with different groups whether families, communities, nations, or whole cultures, such as the contrast between Occidental and Oriental. Other men have referred to culture as a "stream" with its various elements gradually blending into a total and ever-broadening body of behavior patterns. Neither description is adequate. While the "drives" are universal, the patterns of behavior through which they find expression vary widely both in eras of time and between groups. The stream-concept may include the constant accretions to culture, but it is inept in that it makes no provision for the dropping out of culture patterns or the continuance of variation in spite of contiguity.

The most realistic analysis of cultural change is to conceive it as a series of cycles. This does not imply that all change goes through identical cycles, but rather that each cultural-form has its own law of change which, by analysis, can be fairly accurately described. The most obvious illustration is the business cycle within a capitalist economy. It must be recognized, however, that the change in each culture-form is influenced by the degree of change in other aspects of culture. So a comparatively inconsequential behavior pattern, such as dress, may become fixed by religious sanction or by changes in economic conditions.

Utilizing the concept of cycles, Chapin [11] divides cultural change into three orders. The most objective and those which change most rapidly are the ones that relate to material culture. Of

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[11] Stuart Chapin, *ibid.*, page 208.

these, those of minor degree may be studied in a given community such as changes in public utilities or in a method of manufacture; those of major degree are illustrated in the rise and fall of social systems as the fall of feudalism or the rise of industrial capitalism. Cycles of the second order relate to non-material culture. Those of minor degree are illustrated by the rise and fall of a religious sect or the city-manager form of government; those of major degree are the changes in more basic patterns such as totalitarian government or ancestor worship. The cycles of the third order are those which relate to the whole composite of culture. Those of minor degree are the rise and fall of dynasties; those of major degree are changes such as the rise and fall of early Greek culture.

This concept of social change is in sharp contrast to that held by the early sociologists. Spencer, much influenced by the biological theories of his time, believed that social change was synonymous with social evolution—uniform, gradual, and progressive. Each social form passed everywhere and always through the same stages of development. Even more important was his acceptance of the principle that all change points in the direction of improvement, from less satisfactory to more satisfactory adjustments, from lower to higher forms. This evolutionary concept of social change was accepted by other English sociologists, such as L. H. Morgan, but was challenged by Lester Ward,[12] one of America's early writers in this field. A natural scientist turned sociologist, he believed man capable of defying the inexorable laws of evolutionary change and of substituting a "telic" process—*the intelligent, planned direction of natural and social forces toward the achievement of a purpose.* He discarded the biological concept of natural selection and survival of the fittest when applied to culture survival and, in so doing, disagreed also with the theory of the inevitableness of progress. Instead, he believed that man could determine the goals he wished to achieve, and direct social change toward the achievement of these goals. Education was thus a vital agency in imparting these desirable

[12] Lester F. Ward, *Applied Sociology.* New York: Ginn & Co., 1906.

goals to children and young people, and in giving them the tools with which to achieve such purposes. Thus the school took on a new significance since, viewed in the light of purposive change, it had a social function of greater importance than its role in educating the individual. Ward's writing had definite influence in the work of such educational leaders as Dewey, O'Shea, and others referred to in an earlier chapter.

The biologist, Huxley,[18] has recently expressed the same need for planning: "The biological analogy to social affairs is obvious. It provides the most abundant justification for the abandonment of *laissez-faire* in favor of social planning; but the planning must be designed to give society an internal environment which shall be both stable in essentials and flexible in detail, and to enable it to undertake the greatest diversity of functions with the least dislocation."

Whether social change is conceived of as cyclical, evolutionary, or purposive, one fact is inescapable: that the rate of change is uneven. This variability of cultural change characterizes different groups whether a family, a community, a nation, or a total culture. Contrast, for example, the rapidity of change between the Western world and the Occidental, at least prior to World War II. Variation in change also exists in different aspects of culture—the material changing more rapidly than the nonmaterial. This is abundantly demonstrated in a series of contrasts.

Instantaneous communication and unprecedented speed in transportation have broken down artificial barriers and made the peoples of all the world neighbors, yet "states' rights" is still a major factor in determining national legislation and policies, and nations place their own interest above human welfare. The very instruments that could have built unity among nations have been used by them to destroy one another in the greatest orgy of death and destruction in all history. Only the future can deter-

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[18] Julian S. Huxley, "Science, Natural and Social." *The Scientific Monthly,* September 1940, Vol. 50, No. 1, page 15.

mine whether or not the kind of political organization essential for world security and lasting peace can at long last somewhat approximate the physical oneness resulting from the virtual elimination of space and time.

The mechanics of automotive construction have been improved by many types of safety devices. Highways have been widened, "clover leaves" have eliminated dangerous intersections, and mechanically operated traffic signals have been installed. But the toll of death and injury from automobile accidents continues. Table II gives only the number of deaths, which is constantly

Table II *

MOTOR-VEHICLE ACCIDENT FATALITIES BY YEARS, 1910–1941

Year	Number of Deaths	Rate per 100,000 Population	Deaths per 100,000 cars
1910	1,663	1.8	159.8
1915	3,573	5.8	201.3
1920	8,878	10.3	119.3
1925	17,149	16.8	95.9
1930	31,256	26.7	123.3
1935	36,369	28.6	137.2
1941	39,969	30.0	114.7

* Adapted from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1943*, pages 80 and 447. Washington U. S Government Printing Office, 1944

increasing both in total number and for each 100,000 of the population. Perhaps even more significant is the fact that the death rate per 100,000 cars rose to 1915, dropped sharply during the next ten years, then rose and has continued significantly above that of 1925!

The means of production and distribution of goods have advanced in the same accelerated pace as communication and transportation. The relatively simple implements of hand manufacture have given way to power-driven machines which operate with greater precision than the human hand and with a speed and continuous productive capacity that are the marvel of modern science. In 1929, however, America was plunged into an eco-

nomic depression, the wheels of industry creaked to a stop, 11,000,000 were unemployed, and haunting hunger gripped a third of the nation's people. Despite many earnest efforts to bring production back to full capacity, it was only the artificial stimulus of war that restored full employment. Many agencies, national, state, and local are attempting to draw up plans to forestall an economic depression as an aftermath of World War II. On the national level they include: the National Resources Planning Board, now defunct; the National Economic Commission; the Committee on Economic Development; the Congressional Committee on Post-War Planning; the National Planning Council; and many more both in and out of government.

Only one other contrast between the rapidity of change in material and non-material culture can be given here. Through the expansion of recreational facilities and social welfare services, society has sought to provide for the leisure activities of children and youth. Conversely, science has made rapid advances in crime prevention and prosecution. But crime continues, the largest number of offenders being those 18 and 19 years of age as shown in Table III and Figure 1.

Table III *

NUMBLR AND PER CLNT OF ARRESTS BY AGE GROUPS IN 1942

Age	Number	Per Cent	Age	Number	Per Cent
Under 15	4,714	0.9	23	17,880	3.0
15	4,206	0.8	24	17,325	3.0
16	10,735	1.8	25–29	82,175	14.0
17	18,267	3.1	30–34	76,547	13.0
18	26,371	4.5	35–39	71,246	12.2
19	25,738	4.4	40–44	57,870	9.8
20	22,455	3.9	45–49	42,970	7.3
21	22,465	3.9	50 and over	64,326	10.9
22	19,996	3.4	Age unknown	702	0.1
			Totals	585,988	100.0

* Adapted from *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1943,* page 95. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944.

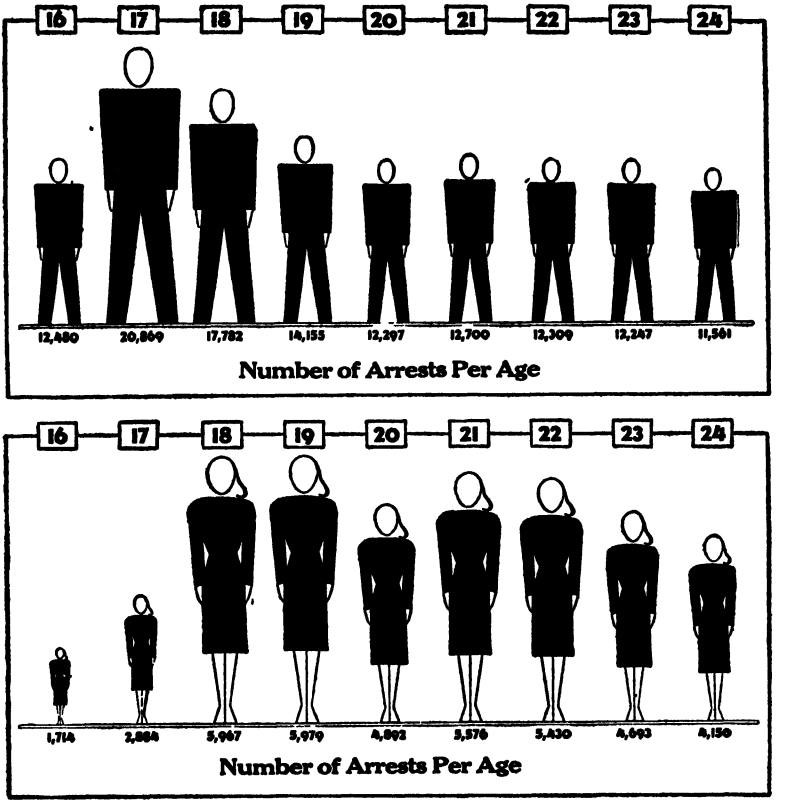


Figure 1.

(Source: *Uniform Crime Reports for the United States and Its Possessions,* Vol. XV, No. 2, 1944, pp. 93 and 95. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Department of Justice.)

The report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, released in March, 1946, shows a rise of 12.4 per cent in crime—the largest increase over the preceding year since 1930, the early years of the depression. The age of 17 stood out as predominant among those arrested and age 18 came next. Of all persons arrested, 21 per cent were under 21.

These and the many other contrasts that could be drawn illustrate *cultural lag,* which is a fundamental concept of social life

and is defined as: *the degree to which certain aspects of culture lag behind changes in its other and related aspects.* Ogburn[14] gives the following description of cultural lag: "The thesis is that the various parts of modern culture are not changing at the same rate, some parts are changing much more rapidly than others; and that since there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of our culture requires readjustments through other changes in the various correlated parts of culture. . . . Where one part of culture changes first, through some discovery or invention, and occasions changes in some part of culture dependent upon it, there frequently is a delay in the changes occasioned in the dependent part of culture. The extent of this lag will vary according to the nature of the cultural material, but may exist for a considerable number of years, during which time there may be said to be maladjustment. It is desirable to reduce the period of maladjustment, to make the cultural adjustment as quickly as possible."

In each of the illustrations given above, changes in cultural equipment have run ahead of comparable developments in the folkways, mores, institutions, and other behavior patterns. It is this unevenness of change that creates many of our social problems. Herein lies the real challenge to education—to assist youth and adults to face realistically the cultural world and to direct its development toward ever higher human goals.

Culture develops, accumulates, and changes as a result of many factors. One is the physical environment. The study of the physical environment, as stated in an earlier chapter, is the ecological approach to sociology, or what Sorokin[15] calls the "Geographic School." Since these factors influence the development of personality, the discussion of them will be postponed to Chapter 6.

A second factor causing changes in culture is invention and

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[14] W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change,* pages 200–201. New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1922.

[15] Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories,* pages 99–193. New York: Harper & Bros., 1925.

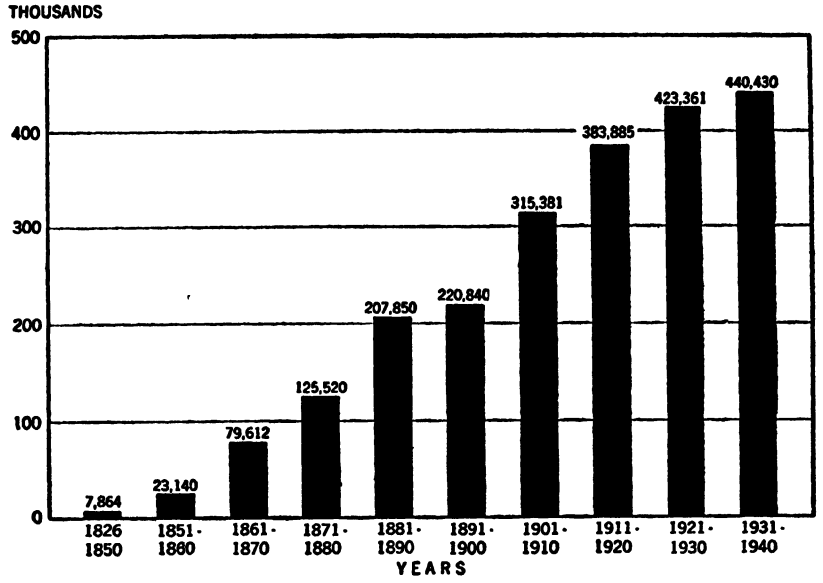


Figure 2. Number of patents by decades, issued by the United States Patent Office. (Data from *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1943*, p. 830. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944.)

discovery. Although there is a distinction between these two concepts, in that discovery is finding that which already exists and clarifying the relationship of its various elements, and invention is the combination of devices or principles of action into new forms, the distinction between invention and discovery is often difficult to maintain. The distinction has little value, since both invention and discovery are cumulative and are dependent upon each other. Both result from man's constant effort to understand his world better and to find improved ways of satisfying his needs. The cumulative nature of invention and discovery is apparent from Figure 2, which gives the number of patents issued in the United States from 1826 to 1942. If it were possible to show a comparable graph for developments in the fields of medicine, public health, community organization, and all other aspects of culture, their courses would vary, but would be positively

accelerated, that is, each succeeding decade would show greater increase than the preceding one over the decade just before.

Diffusion of Culture

The third factor in culture is diffusion. An invention or discovery, whether physical or social in nature, is often first made by one person or a group. If it remained exclusive to the discoverer it would disappear with the death of the individual or the group. History records a number of such losses. Depending on certain negative factors that resist cultural change, worth-while inventions are taken over by others and become a part of the total cultural pattern. Man had long aspired to fly, and when a way was found to harness a gas lighter than air, a few venturesome men entrusted themselves to the mercy of air currents and sailed upward under a balloon. Inventors here and abroad sought ways of flying in a heavier-than-air machine, and the Wright Brothers' flight at Kitty Hawk became a milestone in the development of aviation, which has since become an integral part of world economy. To design and build huge planes capable of carrying 200 passengers from New York to Paris in twelve hours is no longer a "Buck Rogers' dream!"

"Diffusion" also means "the acceptance of cultural patterns from other groups." Direct diffusion results from contact of one group with another, but it may also be indirect as by the printed word, by radio, or by the infiltration of goods and ideas. Diffusion occurs in such elemental traits as styles of hair dressing, for example, as well as in fundamental traits, such as the spread of Christianity or of the Industrial Revolution.

Diffusion, like invention and discovery, is influenced by the total social structure. During crises, diffusion rises to a rapid tempo; in normal periods, it proceeds gradually, almost imperceptibly. Global war has brought American jeeps to the once secluded islands of the South Pacific, and, conversely, millions of American men and women have had direct contact with the culture of the Orient, otherwise little known to them. So, too, millions have learned to use new machines, some of war, and others

useful in peaceful pursuits. Aviation industries are planning to supply planes to many of the hundreds of thousands who would perhaps never have flown had it not been for World War II. There is no question that the acceleration of change brought by war will leave an indelible imprint upon the cultural pattern of the entire world. The telescoping of change that would normally have taken decades into the span of a few years has accelerated diffusion, but it has created even more serious social lag and consequent maladjustments.

It was stated above that there were certain negative factors that resisted cultural change. Of the many that can be included, only four are cited: the overlapping of generations, cultural inertia, vested interests, and the degree of isolation.

In all ages, man has sought a utopia where there would be no hate, no discrimination. Such a utopia might become a reality but for the fact that there is never a new people to inherit the new earth. Children are imbued by their elders with much that they, in turn, have learned from their parents. Through the endless succession of generations, superstitions, attitudes, behavior patterns, and standards of value are passed on from adult to child. Occasional periods of great mobility such as war may momentarily break or weaken this endless chain. The writer has frequently met with groups of hospitalized service men. Almost invariably the question is raised such as that posed by a young soldier from a "back-woods" community: "I don't see how I can go back and live again the way we used to, yet I know the folks back home have changed little if any in the three years I've been away."

Closely related to the overlapping of generations is cultural inertia—a satisfaction with things as they are, a fear of change. Inventions that depart too far from the familiar are often not accepted, even though they might be of demonstrable value. When the steam railroad was first invented, many were afraid, and some advanced the argument that "the human body could not stand the strain of being catapulted through space at the unprecedented speed of 25 miles an hour!" Manufacturing con-

cerns and sales agencies frequently spend huge sums of money to overcome such inertia when a new product is about to be introduced on the market. An interesting illustration was the advertisement run by a cigarette company which showed an elderly gray-haired woman sitting beside a table on which was a package of cigarettes. She was looking furtively around to see if anyone were watching and saying, "I think I'll take one, too."

A third influence that resists change is vested interests, not only financial, but often only in terms of personal, or group status, or prestige. Although it is difficult to get facts, since motives are always mixed and frequently concealed, many new discoveries and inventions are suppressed to keep them from competing with or supplanting existing commodities. Changes in government which might be in the public good are frequently prevented by those who fear they will lose by the change. Institutions, such as churches and community welfare agencies, which would be much more effective in some communities by uniting, resist doing so because none is willing to make the necessary sacrifice. With the linking of the world by radio, it would be desirable to have a single world language, but every attempt to achieve this has failed. The reason lies in vested interests—each nation is fearful that by adopting a common language it would lose the distinctive character which language fosters.

Finally, too, geographic isolation plays an important part in determining the degree of diffusion. It was as late as 1941 that anthropologists reveled in the culture of the islands of the Pacific. Recently, when a well-known student of the culture of these islands was asked what effect the war would have upon them, she replied, "Anthropologists have lost their last living laboratory!" With the rapid breakdown of isolation, one of the significant barriers to cultural diffusion is broken down.

Our discussion of culture has seemingly omitted the question of values; there has been no reference to one culture being "better" than another; no indication of whether cultural change is progression or retrogression. This omission was deliberate, since our concern here is not with philosophy but with social phe-

nomena. In so far as values themselves are a vital aspect of culture, they are by implication inherent in the entire analysis. To have treated them separately would have exaggerated beyond the fact the distinction between material and non-material culture.

The importance of culture was forcefully stated by Archibald McLeish in a radio discussion held during the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations in May, 1945:

"Culture is one of the things you don't define. It is too close to life itself to be defined. You describe it. You begin by clearing your head of the notion which Webster's dictionary gives you that culture has something to do with taste and aesthetics. Maybe it did in the nineteenth century in the ladies' Browning societies. Actually what you mean by the culture of a people is the way of life of that people: its civilization—its contribution to common civilization—the things its people value and the things they don't value—the way they make music—the way they express themselves—their habits of life—their works of art—their novels —their history—the things they have learned in their effort to penetrate the common mystery and experience of mankind by the instruments of poetry and science—briefly, what they are, what they do, what they are like. When you talk about cultural relations and cultural interchange between peoples, you are talking about the means by which the peoples of the world get to know each other in terms not of news events, not of news sensations, *not* of political developments, but in terms of real things—in terms of themselves as people—in terms of their lives as people."

Throughout this chapter, culture has been studied as though it were external to the individual. This artificial distinction has been maintained only for purposes of analysis. In the next chapters, culture will be studied through an analysis of the social processes in the interaction of individuals and groups, of the resultant development of personality, and then of the concept of education.

Chapter 5

THE GROUP

As THE individual is born into a physical world of things, so is he born into a social world of persons and groups, each with its own previously established behavior patterns. The interaction with other individuals and with groups makes the individual a person, or, stated differently, transforms original nature to human nature. The specific process of such change will be presented in the next chapter, but it is necessary first to analyze cultural inheritance in terms of its social organization and the factors which influence it.

From the primitive tribal organization, such as that of the Acomas or Navahos, to the multitudinous social contacts of a modern metropolis, man has lived and moved as a member of a social group. Through the group the individual satisfies his most fundamental needs and achieves his greatest sense of accomplishment. Through group associations he may feel the most acute frustration. We must stand back from ourselves and, as objectively as possible, analyze these group patterns in order that they may be better understood and more consciously directed.

Social organization is not mysterious, though some sociologists have phrased their description of it in language that makes it difficult to understand. Social organization is everywhere about us and of us. We are members of families, gangs, or cliques. We belong to the Boy or Girl Scouts, the Y.M. or Y.W.C.A., a fraternal organization, or a labor group. We see churches and schools, libraries and theaters. Smoke belches from the chimneys of factories in which, by means of a minute division of labor, are produced in huge quantities cars and dresses or tanks and uniforms to be transported by common carriers to the far reaches

of the earth. Streetcars and busses pass at regular intervals. A radio program, originating in a broadcasting station perhaps hundreds of miles away, blares out onto the street. The soldier standing on the corner brings a vision of others who fought on some battlefield halfway around the world. The stately bank building symbolizes money and exchange, our entire economy of private property, and the public tax.

All of this is social organization, which is functional in that through such organization men achieve their goals, whether to be transported quickly to some other place, or to have the sense of security given by a job and a home. Social organization is also structural, in that it has crystallized into definite forms and patterns. The two cannot be separated for they are but two ways of viewing the same phenomena.

Social Organization

Man has not always lived in so complex a social organization, nor do all men now. Like material aspects of culture, social organization has changed, advancing into ever more complex social structure. Primitive man lived in loosely organized clans and even this organization was primarily for protection against the greater strength or instinctive cunning of the animal world around him. The male assumed little responsibility even for his own offspring—hence the tracing of descent through the matriarch. The elemental drives of food, shelter, and sex directly dictated the strength of social bonds and the character of coöperative behavior. Man's only artifacts were the rock and the club with which he could strengthen his might and lengthen the reach of his arms. Villages were established to obtain the greater security of mutual defense.

Across the span of centuries, certain individuals became more proficient in specific skills or demonstrated "special powers." Specialization of function arose, first, perhaps, for an individual, but later for groups such as the priestly class or medicine men, hunters, weapon-makers, and chiefs. The economic and social roles of men and women gradually developed. As these changes

occurred, a group awareness arose, not only of the total clan or tribe, but also of functional units within the larger group. Specific patterns of behavior became associated with those of a specific group; likewise the groups adopted identifying characteristics such as hair dress, or clothing, or a marked face. Initiatory ceremonies were developed by which new members were brought into the group—rites jealously guarded from becoming known to the uninitiated. Among certain tribal groups, the initiation ceremony lasted for weeks or even years during which the novitiate was forced to undergo hardship and acute pain.

Keller [1] describes in detail the initiation of both boys and girls among several Australian tribes. Actually, for the boys, it consists of four separate ceremonies spread over a period of ten to fifteen years. During the first period, at the age of about twelve depending on his physical development, the ceremonial consists of painting the body, elementary tests of courage, such as throwing him up into the air, and the solemn injunction that from this period on he is to accompany only the men. The second period is primarily centered around ceremonial circumcision. The third and fourth are usually only five or six weeks apart and during this period the young man, now about twenty-five years of age, is presumably to have been taken into the bush by a spirit whose voice is the bull-roarer. The older men occasionally go to visit the novitiate and, at such times, he has to undergo the painful rite of head-biting. The men, two to five in number, bite the scalp of the novitiate until the blood flows freely. Prior to the final ceremony, he is whipped by his sisters and can then take a wife. The last ceremonial involves more beating from the men and the scarring of his back and neck. These scars are evidence of belonging to the select group and have mythical significance. No man will stand or sit, if avoidable, with his back to the women or children. During the initiatory period, the novitiate is gradually introduced into the more solemn ritual and sacred lore of

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[1] William G. Sumner and Albert G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, pages 548–555. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.

the group. It is accompanied by many taboos with serious penalties, if violated. It is impressed upon him, too, that he is now a man and that he: "(1) must obey his elders; (2) must not eat certain foods, but must provide food for individuals who stand in a certain relationship to him; (3) must not attempt to interfere with women who have been allotted to other men or who belong to groups with the individuals of which it is not lawful to have marital relations; and (4) must on no account reveal any of the secret matters imparted to him."

Girls during the age of adolescence also undergo an initiatory ceremony, which likewise involves privation, pain, and the imparting of the rites observed by the women.

Another initiatory ceremony, which was related to the author by a member of an Indian group, has much in common with that described by Keller. Its ritualistic aspects are still continued but the physical hardships have now been almost entirely eliminated.

Lads, selected annually by the elders as having reached an appropriate stage of maturity, are withdrawn from association with the women and children and are instructed in the lore of their elders. Following an initial period of rites, ceremonial dancing, and teaching, each youth is given only a hunting knife and is driven out into the forest where he must live absolutely alone for one full year. Through winter cold and glaring heat he must find ways of protecting his body and supplying his food. As among the Australian groups, men go out, but not to beat the novitiate. Rather, their purpose is to tempt him into conversation or to eat prepared food which they have brought. After the passing of the many moons, those who survive return to the ceremonial encampment. There is a period of celebration followed then by further instruction and the final ceremony.

As the first rays of dawn light the sky, the men, in rank, file out to the place prepared for this last rite. Each novitiate kneels in a hollow pit and, after the preparatory ritual, during which the chief symbolically injects the wisdom and blood of the tribe into his mouth, a hard, blunt piece of wood is placed against his two front teeth. By tapping at first lightly and slowly but then

harder and faster, accompanied by the increasing tempo of the drums and the rhythmic dancing of the elders, the teeth are knocked completely out. He is now a member of the group! But if, at any time during the entire initiatory period, he violates the taboos or flinches with pain, he is forced to return and live with the women and children until he is again selected for another trial.

These somewhat detailed descriptions have been given because, taken with the descriptions of the Navaho and Acoma cultures in a previous chapter, they illustrate a fundamental concept which it is necessary to understand if we are fully to appreciate the organization of contemporary society. *Just as the overt aspects of culture accumulate, so does its social organization evolve.* This genetic point of view must be kept constantly in mind. While it is possible to describe the status of the culture as it exists at any one time, such a description is comparable only to describing one "still" in a motion picture. Social organization is not static, but has moved from the simple and rudimentary types in the past to our present complex social structure; it will continue to become ever more complex as a great evolving body of human culture.

The enmeshing character of present social organization has been only hinted at in the early pages of this chapter. This character of culture has often been described by sociologists in community surveys, and need not be repeated here. One of the most complete investigations made of a modern community is that by Warner and Lunt of a New England area which they call Yankee City.[2] As the authors point out: "All the individual

[2] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, page 17. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. This is the first of a series of six volumes. The others are: *The Status System of a Modern Community; The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups; The Social System of the Modern Factory; American Symbol Systems;* and *Data Book for the Yankee City Series.* Other studies of modern communities include those of Chicago by Robert Park and Ernest Burgess and their students; two studies, *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition* by Helen and Robert Lynd; *Southerntown* by John Dollard; *Your City*

members of these groups have social relations directly or indirectly with each other. The social relations are ordered and their totality forms the social structure of the group. With an amount of change that is proportionately small, the structure of a group continues through the changing generations of individuals born into it. There may or may not be great variation in the autonomy exercised by any one group and in its differentiation from other communities, yet all local groups differ sufficiently everywhere for the individuals in them to be aware of belonging to one group and not to another, even though the other may be but little different from their own."

Factors Influencing Social Organizations

The social organization of any community, small or large, is determined by the combined influence of many factors. These factors vary from those that are distinctly external to the individual to those that are an expression of his inward drives—from rainfall to hunger. Only a brief summary can be given of the vast amount of research expended to determine the relative importance of these various factors.

The most obvious factor in determining the character and type of social organization, and one which has been the subject of many investigations, is that of geography. Certainly natural harbors have produced such great port cities as Boston, New York, New Orleans, and San Francisco. Inland waterways have been a contributing force in the development of such cities as Chicago, Buffalo, and St. Louis. Proximity to natural resources gave impetus to the growth of lumbering and mining communities, and the combination of resources and transportation influenced the growth of great industrial centers like Detroit and Pittsburgh. Vast stretches of open land for grazing or farming naturally result in distributing population and limiting the size of cities in the midwestern and southern states.

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and *144 Smaller Cities* by Edward L. Thorndike; *Plainville, U. S. A.*, by James West; and many more.

Frederic le Play and his successors have pointed out that the geographic factors associated with *place* determine types of labor, forms of property, whether communal or individual, the extent of patriarchal control within the family, and the nature and development of institutions. E. Huntington showed the effects of rainfall upon the total civilization of the area, including its types of schools. The volumes of Sumner and Keller, *The Science of Society,* begin on the premise that social organization is based upon the man-land ratio: "How much land there is to how many men is the fundamental consideration in the life of any society." This theory, developed primarily through German writers, gave rise to the concept of *Lebensraum* (room to live) which, combined with racial superiority, became the rallying cry of the National Socialist Party under Hitler.

It is evident, and recognized by all but the more ardent of this "geographic" group of writers, that the higher the stage of civilization, the greater the accumulation of culture and the less social organization is dependent upon geographic factors. One community in the West was at one time a thriving town, constantly pushing new streets farther up the steep slopes above the river. The town was located at the terminal point of rivers and wagon-road transportation, whence mountains rose steeply to snow-capped ridges, the haven of prospectors and hunters. Logs were sluiced down the fast-flowing streams. Then came the railroad, piercing the mountain range and linking East and West. No longer the terminal point of natural transportation, the community declined as its population gradually shifted to other places. The once thriving city stands now almost as a "ghost town."

The pressures of war production and the concentration of troops made cities spring up almost overnight and whole new communities, such as Oak Ridge, Tenn., were organized where before there were but wooded hills or barren lands. In modern society, geography, as such, plays a decreasing role and certainly the particularist point of view of a single causal factor being predominant no longer can be given credence.

A more important and more meaningful analysis of social or-

ganization is the ecological approach, which is, in a sense, a modification of a geographic emphasis, but with no significant distinction between natural and cultural (man-made) differentiating factors. Thus a railroad track or a factory may be more important in determining the social organization of a community than any natural factor. The importance of human ecology will be shown later in discussing community patterns of behavior.

Explanations of social organization by reference to the individual vary from the too simple explanation based on a gregarious instinct to that of Giddings'[8] "consciousness of kind." He believed that the individual early becomes aware of differences and similarities among people and groups around him, and that greater pleasure is derived from association with those who are most similar to him. The aspects of similarity vary with the individual. At one time, he is conscious of kinship; again, only of similar political affiliation or religious belief; at another, of recreational interest; while at some other time, only of economic status. Because of man's desire to associate on the basis of like with like, the multitudinous number of institutions and taboos have been established regarding relationships with those of a different group. It is comparatively easy to demonstrate the validity of a single-factor explanation in a simple social structure, but the principle breaks down when applied to the complex structure of modern social life.

Interaction of man with his total environment has been prompted by many factors: mutual protection, satisfaction of physical needs, a common culture, and common aspirations. With the exception of the family and kinship, which were the primary bases of organization among primitive societies, the single factor has given way to a host of other factors.

Classification of Social Groups

Thus far, the discussion has dealt with social organization as a whole. Actually, however, the individual is seldom aware of

[8] F. H. Giddings, *Sociology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1908.

this total structure. Rather he sees it in relation to himself, and the microcosm is more important than the whole. It is necessary, therefore, to turn to a more detailed analysis of the social organization of which the individual is a part. Only as we understand social organization in its totality and the groups of which it is made up, can the processes of education be directed to achieve socially desirable goals.

There are several bases for the classification of groups. Sumner[4] presents a somewhat different concept than Giddings' "consciousness of kind." He classified groups on the basis of "a differentiation between ourselves, the we-group, or in-group, and everybody else, or the others-groups or out-groups." The in-group is the association toward which the individual has a sense of loyalty and of solidarity. It is the group with which we identify ourselves and toward the other members of which we have a feeling of friendliness, a desire to coöperate, and a sense of obligation, especially in times of stress or need. Their manner of acting and thinking is familiar to us and ours to them. We are deeply conscious of their judgment of us and crave their respect, confidence, and, for some at least, their love. Our very inflection changes when we speak to them or of them and as we say "*We* believe" or "*We* do this." The number in such a group or the number of such groups varies with the individual, but is usually comparatively small. Some can undoubtedly count on their fingers the number of individuals for whom the we-feeling is so intense that they would modify their actions to gain their approval. Despite the limited scope of such deep feeling, or perhaps because of it, it is vitally important.

In a less personal sense, the we-feeling is much more inclusive. When applied to a particular situation, it may include many persons not even known to the individual. "We" are Boy Scouts, Catholics, Masons, or veterans. In the early days of long-distance travel by automobile, the farther one was away from his home the more we-feeling there was with those in a car having the license

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[4] William G. Sumner, *Folkways*, page 12. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1907.

of his home state. So with traveling in out-of-the-way places abroad, there was a "we-feeling" in meeting an absolute stranger if only he were also from the United States. In time of war, this sense of oneness rises on a national basis and in World War II it included all in the United Nations.

Those of the out-group the individual views with indifference or scorn or even hate. The group and all individuals of it are inferior to "us" and we avoid association with them. We are not concerned regarding their judgment of us for they mean nothing to us, or, if we are concerned, it is only to impress them with our "rightness" or superiority. We do not try to understand them for we are prejudiced against them. Again the "out-group" may be small and personal or it may be specific and impersonal and hence large in number. Those not members of the "we-group" are of the "they-group."

The importance of the in-group *versus* out-group pattern can be clearly seen on even a national basis, especially in times of growing tension or of war, whether among primitive peoples or the so-called civilized nations. The in-group values the customs and folkways of all others solely in terms of their own and disparages and discredits them. It considers its own welfare paramount and is willing to destroy others that seem to thwart its own interest. Its own people are the "chosen ones," its gods are exalted. It evolves a special name for itself and uses disparaging encomiums for the out-group. Special insignia are developed and group rites are performed. How cleverly this fundamental differentiation between the we- and the they-groups was cultivated by the autocratic governments on the road to war! The United Nations were forced to intensify something of the same concept but it is an infinitely more difficult and distasteful task in a democratic nation.

A fundamental fact of social organization can be inferred from the above illustration: the degree of we- *versus* they-feeling is intensified on a large scale by competition or conflict. Thus racism results in a dual society in the southern states but not in the North. The awareness of we and they is more intense be-

tween workers and owners of capital during a wage dispute than at other times. In times of tranquillity, there is little feeling, but in times of stress the individual becomes acutely aware of the in- *versus* out-group relationship.

One further qualification is necessary. It is not to be inferred that there is an out-group corresponding with every in-group. Toward many groups we are completely indifferent, and in many of our associations with other individuals, we respect them as persons rather than in terms of any group relationship. In fact, it may be said that a truly democratic people would be not only tolerant, for this still implies awareness of the individual as a member of an out-group, but would be totally unaware of other than the most intimate we-group relationship. This distinction, then, is not structural since it is in constant flux: it is functional.

Another basis of classification which has the we-group concept in common with that of Sumner, is based on the degree of intimacy which the individual feels with other persons or groups, or what Cooley termed a "we-feeling." On this basis, groups may be classified as primary, secondary, and tertiary.

The *primary* group is defined by Cooley:[5] "By primary groups I mean those characterized by intimate face-to-face association and coöperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The result of intimate association is a certain fusion of individualities in a common whole, so that one's very self, for many purposes, at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a 'we'; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which 'we' is the natural expression."

The first and usually the most lasting primary group is the family. There is a oneness in the total relationship which makes for unity of thought and action. Each willingly makes sacrifices for the others, shares responsibility, and coöperates in carrying

[5] C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization*, page 23. New York: Scribners, 1909.

forward the many activities of the home. The size of the family has little or no relationship to the we-feeling of each member.

Another primary group is the play-group, especially of children, or as Young[6] calls it, "the congeniality group." It also is an intimate face-to-face relationship and one in which, to varying degrees, a we-feeling exists akin to that within the family. Frequently temporary in character, especially among small children, common interests are developed, and common activities are planned and carried out by the group. It often develops its own rituals, and, in its older counterpart among teen-agers, the gang, as Thrasher[7] emphasizes, "represents the spontaneous efforts of boys to create a society for themselves where none adequate to their need exists."

A third primary group is the community or neighborhood. As the term is used by sociologists, the community is not a political concept though the two may be contiguous. As MacIver[8] points out, the community or neighborhood is distinguished from other areas in that it has common elements such as manners, traditions, modes of speech, or interests. The general and varied needs of the group are recognized as common needs, as concerns of the group as a unit, planned for and worked for by the united action of the group in direct, personal relationships and in a spirit of fellowship.

While primary groups are based on proximity and face-to-face relationships, mere proximity does not create a primary group. Families may live in the same apartment house for years; their members may regularly pass each other in the corridors, and yet have nothing in common except the fact that they live on opposite sides of the same wall. Conversely, a primary group such as the family, once established, may continue throughout life even

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[6] Kimball Young, *Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture*, page 22. New York: American Book Company, 1942.

[7] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, revised edition, page 37. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937.

[8] R. M. MacIver, *Community: A Sociological Study*, page 22. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

though separated by great distances. The distinguishing characteristic is not space but the we-feeling.

Secondary groups are those characterized by more casual relationships, and frequently are the result of a single bond of interest. Although there may be face-to-face contact, it is not essential, and where it exists, it is usually less frequent than within the primary group. Social clubs, fraternal societies, lodges, professional associations, religious bodies, political party organizations, and many more illustrate the importance of secondary groups in contemporary civilization. To a very large degree they reflect and are an expression of the cultural life of the community. In an area made up largely of first- and second-generation foreign-born, there are folk-dance groups and societies to promote the interest of their country of origin. Some such groups still use names of organizations brought with them when they first came to America. In a typical farming community, the 4-H Club, Boy Scouts, the Grange, and local chapters of one or more national organizations comprise the usual secondary groups.

The *secondary* group differs from the primary in that many of them tend to have an existence that survives the continuous entering and dropping out of individual members. They have definite organization, select officers, and engage in whatever type of activity that carries out the purpose of the group. In fact, these more permanent secondary groups take on an institutional character.

The primary and secondary types of associations are not sufficiently inclusive to embrace group association that is of a purely transient character. For these, the term *tertiary* or *marginal* is used. We travel in buses or trains often in close proximity with others. We join others in the crowd at a ball game or to watch men digging a basement for a new apartment house. We work in the same office building and ride up and down in the same elevators. We may or may not speak to each other, and even if there is frequent conversation it is, for the most part, impersonal. In times of tragedy or momentary need, such a group

may temporarily take on the characteristics of a primary group and a member may even risk his life to save a stranger. When the occurrence is passed, the same impersonal relationships tend to be resumed.

All can recall one or more times when they have been members of such a group. A huge barn filled with hay was struck by lightning. Flames reached high into the night sky. The members of the owner's family and their immediate neighbors who hurried over were driven back by the flames and heat, but not before some had risked being caught inside while rescuing the frightened horses. Soon people arrived from the town some four miles away and, at first, only stood looking. Someone shouted, "Look! the roof of the house is smoking from the heat." The pump which was close to the barn had already burned and the only source of water was a stream a hundred yards or so from the house. A bucket-brigade was formed, and these strangers stood in line and passed the pails of water from one to the other, the last two carrying them up the ladder and throwing the water on the roof. Because of the quick, spontaneous action of the members of this temporary group, the house was saved. For a time they stood and watched the fire die down and, then drifted off to their respective homes.

Another type of marginal group relationship is one individual interacting with another. Such interaction is usually on a one-to-one basis, but may take on mass proportions—such as the social relationship which the individual senses with characters in books, with motion-picture stars, radio crooners, or news commentators. The mass characteristics for the moment are shown by "bobby soxers," but these characteristics shift rapidly. Their importance, even if transient, is illustrated by the fact that the story of the death of a famous movie star several years ago drew a three-inch, front-page headline and the story was spread, with pictures of his life, throughout the newspaper. In the same paper, the death of a well-known president of a great university was relegated to a few paragraphs on an inside page!

Other bases of classification might be given[9] but regardless of whether groups are classified functionally, as above, or structurally, as by the Gillins, the major consideration is their dynamic character. Groups are dynamic in relation both to the individual and to the group. Individuals continually modify their group relations, though such relationships tend to become more permanent as one grows older. Likewise, the group itself may be at one time primary; at another, secondary; and again, the individual's relationship to it may be only marginal or tertiary.

Functional emphasis upon the group illustrates two sociological concepts that have important bearing upon social organization: social distance and ethnocentrism.

Social distance may be thought of as both vertical and horizontal. By vertical is meant the sense of difference between individuals and groups based on status. In a caste system, such status is formalized, as it is also in military organization. To a lesser degree, a status differentiation exists in the relation of employer and employee, in government positions, and in the assignment of rank to faculty members in a university. In nations with an inherited aristocracy, status is general; in a democratic nation, such as our own, it is for the most part situational. For some, however, even these specific differences of level influence their total attitude toward those of a different economic or professional status.

Horizontal social distance is based on attitudes of intimacy or degree of we-feeling, and is both personal and societal. To a

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[9] John P. and John L. Gillin give a classification which is based more on structure than function:

Blood groups: family, clan, and caste groups.

Groups based on bodily (including mental) characteristics: sex, age, and race groups.

Groups based on proximity: crowds, mobs, community, and territorial groups.

Culture interest groups: congeniality, economic, technological, religious, aesthetic, intellectual, educational, political, recreational, and ameliorative groups.

(Gillin and Gillin, *An Introduction to Sociology*, pages 202–314. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.)

large degree, horizontal social distance is based upon individual attitude toward other people or groups, and is constantly changing. To some degree, however, it is also a part of the cultural pattern of society. Southern states prohibit by law the intermarriage of the races and require separate waiting rooms and segregated seating in public carriers. Definite *mores* have been established which are carried forward from one generation to another.

Eubank[10] describes a third type of social distance which he terms "lateral" or "third dimensional." He refers to "the degree of similitude and sympathy between individuals whereby they enter understandingly into the emotional and intellectual life of each other. Individuals will be near or far apart according to the extent to which this spiritual reciprocity of mind and heart makes possible their mutually sympathetic understanding."

Social distance is seldom the result of reason or judgment. It is irrational and based to a large degree on tradition and prejudice. Social distance is crystallized by the development of stereotypes through which all members of a group are similarly described. Mexicans are termed "greasers," Chinese, "Chinks," and those of Italian origin, "dagoes." So, too, Negroes are "niggers" in the South and the poor whites are "white trash." Too often businessmen are considered "penny pinchers" and educators "impractical idealists in ivy-covered towers."

The concept of social distance has given rise to a mathematical approach, called "sociometrics," to individual and group relationships. It is an effort to introduce quantitative measurement into the study of social interaction.

One other sociological concept is related to the classification of groups; that is, *ethnocentrism*. This is the belief that one's race or society or group is superior to all others. Ethnocentrism most commonly refers to the we-feeling applied to the national state. In milder form, ethnocentrism is nationalism; in extreme

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[10] Earle E. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*, page 329. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1932.

form, it is chauvinism. It is expressed in the development of the concept of being "the chosen people," the "divinity of kings," and "purity of blood." "Il Duce" and "der Fuehrer," with all that these terms implied, provide the best illustration in our time of extreme ethnocentrism. However, the variation is one of degree only, for all peoples believe that their own ways are best, that their own institutions are superior to all others and frequently of divine origin. Barnes [11] states that "this is even true of the attitude of the people of the United States toward the Constitution, which was made as recently as the late eighteenth century by men who deliberately voted in the Constitutional Convention to keep the name of God out of the Constitution."

Function of Social Groups

The function of groups is both individual and societal. It is individual in that it provides the agencies through which the needs and desires of the individual are to a degree fulfilled. It provides likewise the means through which each individual acquires the essential knowledges, skills, and attitudes to adjust to his maturing experience in the larger group.

Sumner,[12] although not the first to emphasize the societal function of groups, has made, together with his student and co-worker, Keller,[13] one of the most comprehensive analyses of the vital place it plays in the life of the group. His first book carries the subtitle, "A Study of the Sociological Importance of Usages, Manners, Customs, Mores, and Morals" and the following quotation from *Hamlet:*

> "That monster, custom, who all sense doth eat,
> Of habits devil, is angel yet in this,
> That to the use of actions fair and good
> He likewise gives a frock or livery
> That aptly is put on."

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[11] Harry Elmer Barnes, *Social Institutions in an Era of World Upheaval,* page 35. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942.

[12] William G. Sumner, *Folkways.* Boston: Ginn & Company, 1907.

[13] William G. Sumner and Albert G. Keller, *The Science of Society,* 3 Vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927.

In the previous chapter, brief reference was made to folkways, mores, and institutions. Since they are effected through the group, it is necessary to analyze them at this point in more detail. They are mass phenomena and it was to these continuing, although changing, elements in the social pattern that Spencer and others applied the term "super-organic," and that later writers, especially in social psychology, called the "group mind."

Folkways arise unconsciously; they are spontaneous; they are uncoördinated and irrational. The Acomas shun the Enchanted Mesa; they use only tree ladders to enter and leave the kiva; a few drops of natural spring water ceremonially purify the drainage water in the cistern from which they drink; specific rituals must be performed always in the same way before each planting and every harvest. The Navahos do not permit an individual to die within the hogan or if he does, the hogan is vacated and a new one built, lest the evil spirits remain to enter another member of the family. Navahos have faith that the incantations of the witch doctor and the songs of the relatives will appease the evil spirit and restore health to a sick person.

But so, too, do we cover our mouths when yawning to keep out the evil spirits and are entitled to a "God bless you" when we sneeze because we forefully ejected an evil spirit. The gallant male opens the door for a female companion thereby saying, "I am stronger and superior to you" and walks on the outside, not to protect her as assumed, but the more readily to escape the dishwater poured from the windows of European houses prior to the installment of sewage systems. The modern young man still wears a high collar; his neck is further protected by a tie, and his coat still has a buttonhole (the button is occasionally retained also) to hold the coat collar over the throat—all reminiscent of the time when the neck must be protected against the unexpected thrust of a rapier or the long spear during a joust in a tournament. The coat and vest are replicas of medieval armor with its coat of mail, and the stiff-bosomed formal shirt lacks only the coat of arms. The sleeves of the coat still have three buttons and a little slit below them—a heritage of the time when the slit went

to the elbow, for it was then necessary to speedily free the arms from the flowing fullness of the sleeves and be ready for sword-play at a moment's challenge. The pocket lapels and buttons were originally patiently sewed on to prevent objects in the pocket from slipping out while the man was riding horseback. The hat still carries a little bow at the back, recalling the time when hats could not be purchased in different sizes but were adjusted to fit by a string tied at the back!

Fashions of women are no more sensible than those of men but they change more frequently, are more susceptible to the style marts of metropolitan centers or to what a movie star wears.

Folkways prescribe courtship, marriage rites, and the disposition of the body of the deceased. They dictate food habits especially when the latter are associated with religious belief.

Some folkways perpetrate discomfort or are definitely harmful. They compel men to wear too much clothing in summer and women, too little in winter. The sense of "feminine weakness," developed largely during medieval days, barred women from many occupations which they now pursue as successfully as men. Only years after germs had been proved to be dread carriers of disease was the communion cup replaced by individual glasses, and in some cases, this change was not effected until legislation outlawed the common drinking glass.

Even more harmful instances are found in such practices as the sacred regard held for the cow in India, or the destruction of a man's goods at his death or placing them with him in his grave, a custom that prevailed among many primitive peoples.

Folkways extend over every basic aspect of life, determining the prescribed way to dress, to honor guests, to treat comrades or strangers, to behave toward the opposite sex, to win and marry a loved one, to raise children, and to behave toward a member of a different race or class. Folkways are both positive and negative; they indicate both what to do and what not to do. The latter is expressed in terms of taboos, things that must not be done. They are the ways of life practiced by successive generations. They are not subject to verification as are other experi-

ences, but being tradition, their very existence is their justification. As Sumner[14] states: "The notion of right is in the folkways. It is not outside of them, of independent origin, and brought to them to test them. In the folkways, whatever is, is right!"

All that has been said of folkways could be said also of the mores. In fact, the mores cloak the folkways of dress, language, manners and all the rest with the mantle of current custom, and prescribe regulations and limits within which the folkways can be questioned. Folkways thus are controlled by some undefined standard of propriety and decency. The mores sanction social customs, give them form, and regulate them by etiquette. The mores define property rights. Property of the deceased, who died intestate, must go to the nearest of kin regardless of need or worthiness. The mores dictate the character of basic family relationships. Marriage is polygamous among some of the Navahos; a divorce from ceremonial marriage is a matter of individual desire. Among Christian peoples marriage is monogamous and divorce restricted to grounds defined by the law. Mores, like folkways, lead to what rationally appears to be contradictory courses of action. For decades a few individuals have advocated "mercy killings"—putting to death individuals that because of extreme age or incurable diseases are permanently bed-ridden, a misery to themselves and a burden to those who must support and take care of them. Yet the mores declare for the sanctity of human life and prohibit relieving the individual of pain and discomfort even at his own request.

Conversely, the mores sanction mass murder during war. American casualties alone passed the million mark just as our troops marched into Berlin. But war sanctions the murder and crippling of non-combatants as well as the military; the mores prescribe decorations for those who drop bombs upon women, the aged, and children cowering in blacked-out cities. Every sane thought and rational judgment cries out against the exigencies of war which require such wholesale destruction; each grave is

[14] William G. Sumner, *ibid.*, page 28.

a mute appeal to reason; each cripple is a living cry against the mores. Yet, even during war, diplomats wrangle over vested interests, ethnocentrism prevents world coöperation, and our own Congress considers legislation to conscript indefinitely every able-bodied male to be the sacrifice to the mores in the holocaust of a next World War!

When the mores become fixed into specific patterns of group behavior, the result is an *institution,* as is illustrated by religion. In its early beginnings among primitive peoples, religion rested primarily in the folkways and mores. Phenomena that could not be understood became objects of worship—the sun, the moon, the storm, the flying bird, fire, or a deceased loved one. There developed right ways of behaving toward each object of worship; wrong behavior toward it brought down the wrath of the gods through flood, drought, pestilence, disease, and death. There were places such as the kiva that became restricted only for ceremonials, and individuals were found who possessed special powers of supplication. Specific paraphernalia became necessary, such as prayer sticks, masks or feathers, and either natural or artificial ground elevation was required for certain ceremonial observances.

Without planning or design, religious worship became set in a definite pattern for each group: worship became an institution. Administers of rites are consecrated as a special class; forms of worship are established; rules of conduct with divine origin are codified into sacred books; and buildings are erected along prescribed lines. Religious requirements differ among the various faiths: Mohammedanism, Brahmanism, Judaism, and Christianity. Worshipers divide into denominations: Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, and many more.

The church is an institution, as is also the state, the school, and the family, to name only three of many others, because it has a total configuration of prescribed behavior patterns. As society has grown more complex, the number and variety of its institutions have multiplied apace. Institutions are both vertical and horizontal. They are vertical in that some include only those of a given age-group or sex, such as the Boy and Girl Scouts or a

specific interest illustrated by professional societies, but make no discrimination as to other factors. Other institutions may be thought of as horizontal in that they include in their membership all within a given community who care to belong. A local church or a community service agency represents such an institution.

Among still larger group organizations there would be little difference in the general pattern except that of magnitude. In order of size, the larger group organizations include the community, whether a rural area or a large city. Differences of internal organization have justified separate treatments of rural and urban sociology,[15] but the social processes are similar, varying more in degree than in kind. The state is a group with constitution, ritual, and symbols. Race is a group differentiation with many problems peculiar to itself. Larger units of civilization such as Oriental and Occidental cultures exist. Finally, all mankind may be thought of as a social group having distinct characteristics of communication and other behavior which sets it apart from the rest of the animal world.

Dynamic Character of Social Groups

The static element of group behavior has seemingly been stressed to the virtual exclusion of the concept of change. Such an implication is contrary to fact for folkways, mores, and institutions are changing. The change is in form, but not in function. Manner of dress changes, but dress remains a field for determination by the folkways. The status of woman in modern industrial society, especially during war, has changed; mores have been

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[15] See, for example, T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940; John M. Gillette, *Rural Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936; and Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organization*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1939; in comparison with: W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *ibid.*; S. A. Queen and L. F. Thomas, *The City*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939; Niles Carpenter, *The Sociology of City Life*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1932; and Edward L. Thorndike, *Your City*, 1939, and *144 Smaller Cities*, 1940. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company.

modified; but they exert powerful pressure to reëstablish the former status when the emergency is over. We live in a man-made world and man makes concessions but prescribes new limitations to the sphere of woman's activities, but the patterns still govern the behavior of its members. Such control of a given institution is, however, only in terms of its specific purpose. Institutions may disappear, but new ones develop to take their place. One of the most serious problems which America faces is how definitely will veterans of World War II sense a unity of interest and organize *as veterans*. How much will they sense their interest to be different from and perhaps opposed to that of the non-veteran? To what extent will they feel they have rights independent of the total welfare of the nation? Newly organized veterans' organizations as well as the Big Three of World War I (the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Disabled War Veterans) are promoting this separatism in order that they may gain members. As of May, 1945, there were 104 veterans' organizations, each with a national office and a paid national secretary. There is no dearth in the development of new institutions! Perhaps the competition for membership may break down the sense of solidarity just as it has tended to do among labor groups and in the field of religion.

Groups are constantly subject to two opposing types of forces. On the one hand are centripetal forces which seek to retain continuity and resist change; on the other, are centrifugal forces which tend to destroy internal unity, the we-feeling, and produce change or dismemberment.

The centripetal forces include the dominance by older age persons, the development of vested interests, the formulation of rules of order and succession of officers. Sometimes those in control go so far as to seek to limit the association of the members with those outside of the group, or of contact with literature presumably subversive to the existence of the group.

The centrifugal forces are many, and the war accelerated them. They include: contact with people both direct and by literature, radio and movies, which have different standards of values; wide

travel and the consequent removal from the restraint of the local community; and new inventions that encourage behavior that does not follow former patterns. The almost complete passing of the rural church is an illustration of the effect of the automobile upon only one institution.

In periods of local, national, and world tranquillity, group organization tends to remain static; in periods of national emergency, such as war, the centrifugal forces predominate. Even such a fundamental institution as the family is already feeling the repercussions of war, as is illustrated by the fact that in May 1945 the number of individuals who filed for divorce in a large eastern city was almost twice that of one year before, and was more than three and one half times the average for the five prewar years, 1935 to 1940.

Group organization brings with it both gains and losses for the individual. It provides greater strength, security, and companionship. It is through the group that the individual reaches his highest fulfillment and achieves his greatest satisfactions. There is no more vital influence in the life of the person than to know he "belongs."

But with gains there are also losses. The individual has lost much of his freedom. The discipline of the group exerted through devious but definite channels has restricted his action, even his vocabulary. His opportunity for initiative and self-expression must always be within the limits which the group will accept, lest he be socially ostracized—a penalty too severe except to a few.

As the individual is restricted so, too, is society as a whole. Stagnation and intolerance are in direct proportion to the degree of total group solidarity. This is as true for a group of only a few members as it is for an entire nation.

These two conflicts, one between change and resistance to change, the other between the individual and the group, are as old as man himself. The first can be resolved only by constructive, functional, and realistic social planning. The second will never be wholly resolved, but through the further development

of an education based upon a thorough knowledge and appreciation of sociological data and social processes, individual and group interests may become increasingly synonymous. Education will then assume its rightful place as an agency in social control.

Chapter 6

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE PERSON

PERSONALITY is not innate: it is the resultant of the processes of social interaction, fundamentally between persons, but including also the whole complex of the total cultural pattern into which the individual is born and which is ever present everywhere about him. To analyze the influence of culture upon the individual and to see how the individual becomes a person through interaction with culture, is the purpose of this chapter.

Few problems of research are as baffling as the attempt to determine what the individual would be if totally divorced from his cultural environment. For human behavior, only incomplete data are available, such as the few authoritative instances of feral man, summarized below. In terms of animal behavior, it is possible to be more objective and to set up specific controls.

To determine the results of different environmental conditions upon physical growth or upon the development of habits of plants or animals, members of a species are placed under controlled conditions. One individual or group is paired with another. Each is given a different environment or a different set of stimuli; their behavior is accurately recorded; the experiment is repeated under identical conditions with other subjects or, in some experiments, it is possible to use the same subjects and reverse the environment or stimuli. It is thus possible to compare the behavior both of the same subject with his own behavior under different situations, and of different subjects under varying controlled situations. Thus, cause and effect can be determined and principles of behavior established.

Despite the difficulties involved in experimenting with human beings, there are *certain behavior areas* that are subject to almost

as accurate controls and observation as the work carried on with white rats or guinea pigs. To control the total environment of an individual, however, is impossible. Infants cannot be kept in isolation or reared on a deserted island. Consequently, the sociologist must look for situations that are sufficiently different to warrant comparisons, or must observe phenomena that are the result of unplanned controls.

Child Behavior Apart from Human Association

Fortunately, there are a few instances of children who, through some chance, have been separated from human environment, and whose behavior has been studied progressively in terms of their reaction to human contact. Mythology includes several such children, the two best known being the legendary founders of Rome—Romulus and Remus. A number of modern cases have been authenticated and are worthy of consideration. We shall here cite only two: the Hindu children, Amala and Kamala, and an American child, Anna.

Amala and Kamala are frequently referred to as "wolf-children," for when they were first seen by natives, they were living in a wolf's den.[1] On October 17, 1920, they were removed from the den, and on November 4 were taken to the house of Reverend and Mrs. Singh, who gave them the names Amala and Kamala. The younger child, Amala, was approximately two years old when found and died on September 21, 1921. Kamala was eight years old, and lived nine years more before dying of uraemia in November, 1929. During these nine years, accurate records were kept regarding her development.

Very little is known even among the natives regarding the origin of the children or the way they lived while in the cave, other than that the children had apparently been totally deprived of human association from early infancy. When discovered, they feared human association. Both traveled on all fours using

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[1] For a detailed account, see J. A. L. Singh and R. M. Zingg, *Wolf Children and Feral Man*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

either hands and knees, or if running, they used hands and feet. Their eyes were adjusted to darkness rather than to light. They seldom slept after midnight, and at night, they moved around freely, unafraid of the dark. During the day they remained inside, slept a good deal and avoided light as much as possible. They ate raw meat and enjoyed gnawing a big bone on the ground. Their sense of smell was exceedingly acute, especially for meat, and animal-like, their hearing was more keen than that of normal children of the same age. They did not talk, but used grunts or growls instead of words, even making sounds at night that were neither animal nor human but had definite resemblance to the howling of a wolf. Seemingly insensitive to heat or cold (except that the authors report that the children would open their mouths and pant on a hot day) they refused to wear clothing and Kamala would tear it off herself and Amala. When given milk or water to drink, they would take it only in a shallow receptacle from which they lapped like a dog or a wolf.

Equally interesting are the changes that occurred in Kamala's behavior during the nine years at the orphanage. Amala had changed almost not at all in her few months of life with human associations, and at the time of her death, Kamala refused to eat or drink for several days, but moved from place to place smelling where Amala had been. Only gradually was she influenced to resume her accustomed ways of behavior.

Not until a year and a half later was Kamala able to hold a dish in both hands, and it was longer before she learned to eat or drink other than by lapping. It was a year and a half before she learned to stand erect, and months more were required to teach her to walk. Language development was very slow and never complete; by December 1926, she spoke some forty words intelligibly and could combine them in two- or three-word sequences. At seventeen she had acquired the language ability of a five- or six-year-old child. Gradually, too, she learned not only to wear clothing but to take pride in her personal appearance; she was embarrassed at reference to her former behavior. Her food habits also changed and she came to enjoy cooked meat and

vegetables, raw meat becoming distasteful to her.

In social development, Kamala's change was even more pronounced. It was ten months before she would even accept food from Mrs. Singh's hand, and longer still before she would sit with other children in the orphanage while she ate. Fear of humans gave way slowly to enjoyment of the daily massages at the hands of Mrs. Singh, and this association, in turn, led to dependence upon human companionship with adults and children. Gradually Kamala became aware of her social role, was concerned about the attitude of others toward her, responded to praise, and assumed responsibility in the more elementary tasks in the home, even acquiring a concern for the welfare of others. Very slowly at first, but more rapidly as the years passed, she lost her animal nature and became human.

The story of Anna was first released by the press in February 1938. From the age of six months until she was five years of age, Anna had been confined in an upstairs room in a Pennsylvania farmhouse. She had received the scantiest of personal attention and had had no normal association with either adults or children. When removed to the county home, and, nine months later, to a foster home, her attitudes and behavior were observed and recorded.[2] Anna's physical condition speedily responded to massages and a normal diet. She lost her inertness, learned to walk within six months, and later regained normal neuromuscular coördination. Like the wolf-children, her language development was very slow and even after a year she had not learned to talk. Her most significant development was in terms of social relationships, as she gradually became interested in other people and learned to play with normal children.

These cases have been described in detail to illustrate graphically that original nature is not human, but acquires humanness only through the interaction of the individual with his cultural environment, physical and personal. The wolf-children, devoid

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[2] Kingsley Davis, "Extreme Isolation of a Child." *American Journal of Sociology*, May 1940, Vol. 45, No. 6, pages 554–565.

of human association and having interaction only with animals, took on animal nature to the best of their capacity. The development that occurred in the cases of both Kamala and Anna show the adaptability of original nature to the external influence of culture. The time factor in making this adjustment might be explained by inferior native ability, but a more demonstrable explanation is the absence of the normal processes of transmitting the cultural heritage through human contact, especially language.

The positive aspects of social interaction have been previously illustrated by the Acomas and Navahos and by the summaries of modern culture. It has been continually emphasized that culture, rather than being a single pattern of behavior, is characterized by profuse diversity. Limitless differences appear at different times, between communities and among groups, yet, despite the variability of culture, the same basic interaction patterns determine the development of the personality of the individual. The end product may be vastly different but the means are the same.

Original Nature Described

Philosophers, poets, religious leaders, and scientists have all sought to define original nature. They have conceived it to be inherently evil: "I was born in sin and in iniquity did my mother conceive me" or "The good that I would, that I do not, and the evil that I would not, that I do." At the other extreme is the poet, who asserts, "In trailing clouds of glory do we come from God who is our home." To the physicist, original nature is matter and force; to the biologist, the chance mating of genes, possibly of millions of combinations; to the psychologist, it used to be a "bundle of instincts" but is today thought of as elemental drives preconditioned by innate abilities and emotional traits; to the psychiatrist, it has expanded from the "libido" of Freud to include the complex struggle within the person which results from an inner feeling of need thwarted by experience—a conflict which may lie on the borderline of consciousness.

The educational sociologist gives full recognition to the data

of human biology and psychology, which has been briefly summarized in earlier chapters. Innate individual differences prescribe limitations to the potential development of the person. This is true of mental and, to a lesser degree, of emotional development, just as it is true of physical characteristics. Physiological factors, such as the endocrine glands, also may condition the social development of the individual, especially through their effect upon physical growth and development and upon emotional attitudes and temperament.

The study of the individual *per se* is the field of other sciences; sociology is concerned with personality development through individual-group interaction within the cultural pattern. Original nature defined from this point of view is *an organism possessed with (1) basic elemental drives (nursing, elimination, vocalization, and movement), (2) extreme sensitivity to stimuli both internal (hunger, pain, and fatigue) and external (touch, sight, sound, taste, and smell in order of their probable development of sensitivity), and (3) varying but unparalleled ability of adapting to and modifying (interacting with) the environment both physical and human.* The first two characteristics the individual shares, in varying degree, with the animal; the third is the basis of major differentiation and makes possible the transition from original nature to human nature. Professor Zorbaugh,[3] after describing several instances of feral man, forcefully concludes: "It is a picture of untaught man, of what any one of us might be, isolated from the social heritage that man slowly has accumulated throughout the ages. It is hard to discern in the picture the 'noble savage.' The traits which we are accustomed to think of as human, as distinguishing man from the other animals, are missing. We begin to realize that human nature is a cultural product—that man's original nature (which is biological and inherited) becomes human nature (which is social and acquired) only as a result of man's humanizing contact with culture."

[3] Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "The Human Organism Devoid of Human Contacts." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, January 1931, Vol. 3, No. 5, page 273.

Spiller[4] presents the same point of view: "The individual, as individual, is by nature a being full of possibilities and no more. From the evolutionary viewpoint we cannot regard man as constitutionally much more or much less depraved or noble than the anthropoids who are not remarkable for any conspicuous moral or immoral qualities. From the particular standpoint of man's evolution, we are further inclined to assume that the outfit of fixed emotional impulses and directive responses was originally weakened to the point of being indefinitely adaptable to educational and environmental contingencies. The individual is hence ethically somewhat in the position of the 'clean slate,' various conditions determining what shall be written there."

Innate and Acquired Characteristics

Spiller's point of view, quoted above, raises an intriguing moot question—the relative importance of inherited and acquired characteristics in determining behavior. To the educational sociologist, this question is more than merely intriguing: it is fundamental, for if the individual's behavior is determined solely, or even primarily, by heredity, then education had best be left to the educational biologist and psychologist for determining what constitutes original nature and for devising effective means of learning. If, however, environment plays a dominant role in shaping individual and group behavior patterns, then educational sociology is vital for finding ways through which social control may better the individual and society.

Brief reference has already been made to the extensive research which has been carried on in an effort to find a factual answer to this question. On the human level, the most comprehensive studies have been carried on in four general areas: similarity and differences of siblings—biologically only identical twins but commonly used to include members of the same family; the effect of environment upon both general intelligence and special abilities; racial differences; and handedness. Investigations have been

[4] G. Spiller, *The Origin and Nature of Man*, page 313. London: Williams & Norgate, Ltd., 1934.

made by nativists, who believe that inherited abilities and tendencies play the dominant role in human behavior, and by environmentalists, who assert that even mental ability is largely an acquired trait. Both schools have found comfort in the results of their own research.

Illustrations of the nativist type of study are those of Newman. He compared the degree of similarity of twins who have lived continuously together with the degree of similarity of twins who have lived apart from each other since early infancy.[5] For example, identical twin girls were separated in early childhood. After more than twenty years in which their environment had been markedly different, they remained identical physically, one was more intelligent than the other, and they were dissimilar in personality traits. He concludes: "So far we have studied six cases of identical twins reared apart, and these have been compared with regard to their physical, mental, and temperamental characters, and checked against the base line of the average differences of 50 pairs of identical twins reared together. The results so far indicate that the environment very distinctly modified some physical characteristics, such as weight, general health, etc., but does not alter others, such as eye-color, hair color, teeth, features, etc. Moreover, the environment profoundly modifies those characters described by the terms 'intelligence' and 'personality.' In some cases the intelligence of a pair of separated twins was three times as different as the average of 50 pairs of twins reared together."

An analysis of all such studies indicates areas of difference between even "identical" twins especially in personality characteristics, and, to a lesser degree, in mental ability. There are also areas of continuing similarity especially of physical characteristics. Although the preponderance of evidence favors environment as the more important determining factor, the patterns of similarity and deviation vary.

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[5] H. H. Newman, "Aspects of Twin Research." *Scientific Monthly,* February 1941, Vol. 52, No. 2, pages 99–112; "Identical Twins." *Scientific Monthly,* February 1932, Vol. 34, No. 2, pages 169–171.

Studies have also been made of siblings in comparison with non-siblings to determine both the extent of deviation among the siblings and whether or not such deviation is greater than among non-siblings. The most striking studies of this nature are those of the Dionne quintuplets. Born on May 28, 1934, in a Canadian farmhouse near Toronto, they were shortly removed to a special unit of buildings constructed for them. Through a one-way screen, they were under almost constant observation by specialists from the St. George School for Child Study, yet they were allowed to develop in as nearly a natural environment as possible. The following statement is taken from the Blatz's report[6] at the time the quintuplets were only four years of age: "The question arises, how did these differences emerge in a situation which, on the surface, presents so many common elements? Are these children not living in a common environment? From a superficial point of view they have lived under the same influences; with the same nurses and teachers and in the same rooms; eating the same food; playing in the same garden; and meeting the same people. But it is not this aspect of their environmental influences which has been most important in the development of their personalities. These have been, strangely enough, mere incidents in their lives. The continuous influence has been the interaction of four of them on each of the others. . . . It is not astonishing, with this view in mind, to observe and demonstrate the differences in these children, and also to anticipate that they will diverge more and more in their personalities. It would be far more astonishing to have discovered that even within the narrow limits of this social community of five, these sisters had resembled themselves as closely in their personalities as they do in their physical characteristics."

Recent reports of the St. George School more than bear out Blatz's concluding prediction that as the sisters grow older there will be continually greater variation in their behavior.

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[6] William E. Blatz, *The Five Sisters*, pages 192–194. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1938.

Interest in the relative importance of heredity and environment in determining mental ability was first stimulated as a field for research by the publication of *Hereditary Genius* by Galton in 1869. Through statistical data, Galton demonstrated that high ability tends to cluster in family lines and hence, he assumed, was the result of heredity. This, he asserted, was true not only of general ability but also of high ability in such fields as mathematics, music, and even statesmanship. The chances for high ability were reduced to an arithmetical ratio:[7] "The expectation of noteworthiness in a kinsman of a noteworthy person is greater in the following proportion than in one who has no such kinsman: if he be a father, 24 times as great; if a brother, 31 times; if a grandfather, 12 times; if an uncle, 14 times; if a male first cousin, 7 times; if a great-great-grandfather on the paternal side, 3½ times."

More accurate studies using the correlation method worked out by Karl Pearson were made by Pearson and others. All studies show the variability of individuals in terms of traits measured, but the authors almost uniformly agree that whether these variations in abilities are favorable or unfavorable to the individual, they are inherited. Studies of inbecility seemed to show the same tendency to follow family lines as did genius.

The data from the Army classification tests of World War I[8] provided the first mass testing which included personal information such as race and geographic location, and also an objective test score, presumably of intelligence. These data were summarized by Brigham,[9] and races and nationality groups were ranked in terms of their average intelligence. The study brought a storm of protest, not in terms of the data, for the facts were equally available to all who chose to make a comparable study.

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[7] Francis Galton, *Hereditary Genius*, p. 53. London: The Macmillan Company, 1869.

[8] R. M. Yerkes, Ed., *Memoirs of the National Academy of Science*, Vol. 15, 1922.

[9] C. C. Brigham, *A Study of American Intelligence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923.

Objections to the study were in terms of computing the average score for all of a given group without regard to individual variations within the group and the total disregard of environmental factors as a contributing variable. One of the most ardent critics was Bagley,[10] who broke down the data on a geographic basis and showed that Negroes from two of the northern states had a higher average score than whites from two of the southern states. In fact, Brigham himself later repudiated the classification by race and minority groups which he had advocated in his earlier study If World War II records are made available, they will prove in valuable not only because of the larger number of men and women in World War II than in World War I, but also because the personal data are much more inclusive, including amount of education received by members of the armed forces.

Comprehensive studies have been made of the inheritance of special abilities or aptitudes. One of the most studied fields is that of music.[11] As in general ability, the data are not convincing. It is impossible to totally divorce the individual from an environment of appreciation of music, art, or skill with tools. Someone has said that a real test would be: "If Chopin had been born in a primitive environment, would he have become the best tom-tom player of his tribe?"

While the battle of words between the "determinists" and the "environmentalists" was at its height, the National Society for the Study of Education was conducting a four-year program of research of various types and in different parts of the nation. Its purpose was "to find the relative potency of all types of human environment to add to, or to detract from, human endowment, and to know the limits placed upon achievement by endowment." The report was published in 1928.[12]

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[10] William C. Bagley, *Determinism in Education*. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc., 1925.

[11] See, for example, Carl E. Seashore, "Musical Inheritance." *Scientific Monthly*, April 1940, Vol. 50, No. 4, pages 351–356.

[12] National Society for the Study of Education, *The Twenty-Seventh Yearbook: Nature and Nurture*. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1928.

As far as possible, the various studies used comparable techniques and, with one exception, used human subjects. The results are, however, at wide variance. For example, a comprehensive study of twins conducted under the direction of Lewis M. Terman led the author to conclude [13] that its findings "support the conclusion reached by the first pioneer to study mental heredity by statistical methods (Pearson)—that heredity is a force in the determination of mental ability by the side of which all other forces are 'dwarfed in comparison.'" The author specifically states that "the total contribution of heredity (i.e., of innate and hereditable factors) is probably not far from 75 or 80 per cent" and that "home environment contributes 17 per cent of the variance in the intelligence quotient." [14] The studies conducted under the direction of Frank N. Freeman showed very different results. He studied siblings placed at an early age in different adopted homes in Illinois. His findings support those of Newman and indicate that after four or more years in a foster home, there was a higher correlation in intelligence between the child and its foster parents than between the child and its native parents, and that the siblings became more divergent in proportion to the extent to which their respective foster parents differed in intelligence.

The writer still vividly recalls that, at the meeting in Boston at which Terman and Freeman reported the divergent results of their investigations, Charles H. Judd stated that if the findings of both studies were correct it would be well to close all the schools in California (since there was only 3 per cent of the I.Q. left after hereditary and family influence were accounted for), and that all of the children should be moved to Illinois and be put in good foster homes!

Many later studies have been conducted in the fields of both general and special abilities. The current point of view is well

[13] *ibid.*, page 309.

[14] See also, Lewis Terman, *Genetic Studies of Genius*, 3 Vols. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1925 to 1930.

summarized in a recent report from Harvard University:[15]

"This much seems clear: that, however finally rooted in native endowment (the mere physical and nervous make-up of the brain), intelligence depends also on habit and outlook which in turn go back to earliest opportunity. A child brought up where books are read, interests are in the air, and promptings everywhere solicit his own small explorations, will evidently stand a better chance of exhibiting intelligence, as our society judges it, than one who has felt no such promptings. But who can say that at birth the one child was more promising than the other? One approaches here a realm of causation doubly shaped by physical accident and the visible hand of the social order. The result is that what passes for intelligence is certainly in part the same thing as opportunity, by which is meant the whole complex of surroundings which help to shape a child's view of the world and of his place in it."

As indicated in the above quotation, the battle of words has largely subsided, but, as will be pointed out, the controversy has had significant repercussions on education.

The third field of investigation, that of race differences, has also been studied both intensively and extensively. Reference has already been made to the "race-hierarchy" originally drawn up by Brigham on the basis of scores on the Army classification tests. Comparative studies of Negroes and whites have been made by E. L. Thorndike, Rudolph Pintner, J. Peterson, S. Z. Pressey, A. H. Arlitt, and many more; of Indians in relation to their proportion of "white blood," by T. R. Garth and W. S. Hunter; of other racial groups, by W. H. Pule, K. Murdock, and others. Almost without exception, these earlier studies showed the inferiority of other races when compared with the average for native-born whites.

Here, too, the "determinists" have been challenged by many

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[15] *General Education in a Free Society*, page 10. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945.

recent investigators who assert that it is fallacious to assume that because average scores differ for those of different races such variation is due only or even primarily to inheritance. They have abandoned the "single factor" theory and have sought to determine other contributing factors, such as differences in economic status, in the cultural environment, and in educational opportunities. The attitude of expectancy is also an important influence in that the dominant group tends to expect the minority groups to be inferior. The influence of the economic factor is forcefully presented by Benedict:[16] "The racists have claimed superiority for this race or for that. But superiority has never been perpetuated in any community by mere germ plasm. Wherever we look in the past history of Western civilization, we find that favored groups have achieved brief, brilliant success when they were assured economic sufficiency and freedom and opportunity in certain directions. When these favorable conditions no longer existed, the torch soon fell from their hands."

Montagu has emphasized the importance of the total cultural pattern as the major factor in racial differences and asserts that the fallacy of race is man's most dangerous myth:[17] "Since mental functions are so largely dependent upon experience, upon cultural conditions, it is impossible to make any inferences as to the equivalence or non-equivalence of mental potentialities as between ethnic groups. . . . No discussion of 'racial' mental characters can be countenanced which neglects a full consideration of the associated cultural variables. For it is evident that it is precisely these cultural variables that play the most significant part in producing mental differences between groups."

In his chapter, "Racial Psychology,"[18] Otto Klineberg briefly reviews the studies of race based on the use of tests. His statement

[16] Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics,* page 143. New York: The Viking Press, 1943.

[17] Reprinted from M. F. Ashley Montagu, *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* by permission of Columbia University Press, pages 60–61, 1942.

[18] Ralph Linton, Ed., *The Science of Man in the World Crisis,* pages 63–77. New York: Columbia University Press, 1925.

regarding the Brigham study characterizes the conclusion of his careful study of the whole field of race psychology: "The most probable interpretation (of Brigham's findings) is that when American Negroes live under relatively favorable environmental conditions their test scores are correspondingly high, and when whites live under relatively poor conditions their test scores are correspondingly low. It is apparently not 'race' but environment which is the crucial variable."

This conclusion is borne out by a recent study by McGurk [19] of school children in Richmond: "If the Negroes of the South are to be segregated, if they are to be deprived, if they are to be slovenly because of lack of opportunity, teaching, and ambition, and if their lives are to be lived in such totally different surroundings, with different chances than their white brothers, then they should be judged according to the standards which are common to their life. These standards probably will change as their lot in life becomes better, and as they absorb the white man's culture."

Reference has already been made to the studies of the American Indian by Garth and Hunter. Both found that the higher the percentage of Indian blood, the lower was the individual's score on the tests used. As with so many earlier studies, they used the single-factor theory and consequently assumed that Indian blood is inferior to that of whites. Alice Brown [20] made a comparative study of 203 Indians but took into account also economic status and educational opportunity.

The subjects chosen for the tests were students of Bacone College, a Baptist Mission School of Muskogee, Oklahoma; 63 were from the junior college, 61 were from the high school, and 79 were from the elementary school. (All three divisions of the school are accredited by the State University and the State Board of Education. The college is a member of the American

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[19] Frank C. J. McGurk, "Comparative Test Scores of Negro and White School Children in Richmond, Va." *Journal of Educational Psychology,* November 1943, Vol. 34, No. 8, pages 473–484.

[20] Alice Clara Brown, *An Analysis of the Intelligence of Indians.* Norman: University of Oklahoma, unpublished M. A. Thesis, 1932.

Association of Junior Colleges.) These Indians represented forty-five tribes or combinations from seventeen states and Alaska. Of the 203 Indians, 138 were full-bloods, 25 were three fourths, 23 were one half, and 17 were less than one half. Three tests were given to each student: the Stanford-Revision for the study of individual difficulties; the Otis and National as a basis of comparison with previous findings by other investigators (these two tests were those most frequently used by Garth and his students); and the Dearborn and the Cole-Vincent tests because they do not emphasize ability in language.

All students who ranked highest in vocabulary and on the three tests given knew only English, which they had learned while very young, or had been forced by circumstances to acquire an efficient knowledge of English. All students who ranked lowest both in vocabulary and the three tests given came from Indian-speaking homes. An analysis of the individual tests showed that, apparently, the Indian's chief difficulty with taking standardized tests was a deficiency in speaking and writing, though he may understand when spoken to. Many times a student would say, "I know what you want; let me tell it to you in Indian and I can say it." He ranked unusually well in artistic tests and those involving handwork. He failed in proportion to the knowledge of English demanded for understanding and answering the tests. As measured by the education of the parents, there was a social handicap, the child coming from the more educated home obtaining a higher intelligence quotient than the child from the less favored home in this respect.

The author gives the following summary of, and conclusions from, her data:

1. "On the three tests given, the junior college students ranked lowest on the Stanford-Revision Test with a median I.Q. of 95.68; the Otis median I.Q. was 98.39; while the Dearborn median I.Q. was 112.88.
2. The high school group tested lowest on the Otis, with a median I.Q. of 88.50; the Stanford-Revision I.Q. was 91.38; and the Dearborn median I.Q. was 104.80
3. With the elementary school students, above nine years of

age, the median I.Q. on the Stanford-Revision was 82; on the National, 84.44; and on the Dearborn, 90.00.

4. On the Stanford-Revision Test, the pupils of the elementary school nine years old and under had an I.Q. of 85.83; with a median I.Q. of 104.58 on the Cole-Vincent Test.
5. These median I.Q.'s were in marked contrast to those of Garth who found a median I.Q. of 69 for all full-bloods, with an improvement of only 3 points for a non-language test.
6. Garth found a positive correlation of .41 between the amount of white blood and the I.Q. Since this diminished with the amount of schooling, he concluded that the correlation was due to social factors which schooling tended to eradicate.
7. In this study some positive correlation was found to exist between the degree of white blood and the I.Q.; this, however, was found to be due to the more favorable language situation which the Indian child has, usually in proportion to the amount of white blood.
8. While there was much overlapping in the middle range of all the groups tested, there were wide variations between the upper and the lower groups in I.Q.'s, practically all of which were dependent upon the student's language situation.
9. The relationship between the favorable language situation and the vocabulary test results was as evident as that existing between the language situation and the total I.Q. score.
10. Every child to whom the Stanford-Revision Test was given in his own Indian language showed from 1.64 to 19.35 points of gain over his own score when the test was given in English, except one child who has grown up on both languages. With her there was no change in either direction.
11. When the full-blood Indian's language situation has been as favorable as that of the mixed-blood he tested as well, equaling or surpassing the white standard norm.
12. A study of the high school group shows a positive correlation between the amount of schooling of the parents and the I.Q. rating. This correlation holds true, also, for the other groups in so far as it has been possible to determine. (The amount of English used in the home is usually in proportion to the amount of schooling the parents have had.)"

It is impossible to summarize the vast amount of literature dealing with this problem. *An American Dilemma* by Myrdal [21] and the studies of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education [22] all bear out the fact that while there are differences in ethnic groups, such differences, other than the physical characteristics, are the product of historical and environmental factors rather than genetic and racial. This change in emphasis, largely within the last fifteen years, reflects the growing recognition that culture is the prime determinant in the development of personality. It is a tribute to the development of scientific research in sociology.

The last field of investigation included in this summary is that of handedness. It is popularly assumed that people are born left- or right-handed. Gast [23] studied the customary behavior of 169 males and 164 females aged twelve years or older in regard to which hand or foot was used in 24 different actions. Table IV, adapted from his study, gives the number and per cent of right- and left-handedness and ambidexterity for selected actions.

The author found that whereas the majority of acts, 72.2 per cent, were performed with the right hand or foot (15.1 per cent with the left and 12.7 per cent with either hand), none of the subjects performed all of the acts with one side of the body only. He concludes that handedness is the result primarily of the fact

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[21] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma,* 2 Vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944.

[22] J. Howell Atwood, *et al., Thus Be Their Destiny: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in Three Communities,* 1941; Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage: The Personality Development of Negro Youth in the Urban South,* 1940; E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways, Their Personality Development in the Middle States,* 1940; Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt: Negro Youth in the Rural South,* 1941; Ira DeA. Reid, *In a Minor Key: Negro Youth in Story and Fact,* 1940; Robert L. Sutherland, *Color, Class, and Personality,* 1942; and W. L. Warner, *et al., Color and Human Nature: Negro Personality Development in a Northern City,* 1941. Washington, D. C.; American Council on Education.

[23] Ira M. Gast, "Handedness." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* April 1930, Vol. 2, No. 8, pages 487–491.

Table IV *

HANDEDNESS OF 169 MALES AND 164 FEMALES

Action	Number			Per Cent		
	Right	Left	Either	Right	Left	Either
Throwing ball	275	44	14	82.5	13.3	4.2
Hammering	283	35	15	84.9	10.5	4.6
Eating with fork	277	32	24	83.1	9.5	7.4
Drinking from cup	264	38	31	79.3	11.4	9.3
Brushing hair	227	37	69	68.2	11.1	20.7
Buttoning clothing	184	63	86	55.3	18.9	25.8
Writing	321	11	1	96.3	3.4	0.3
Receiving food at table	225	34	74	67.5	10.2	22.3
Turning knob	267	37	29	80.2	11.1	8.7
Kicking ball	278	32	23	83.5	9.6	6.9

* Ira Gast, "Handedness," *ibid*, page 490

that we live in a right-handed world and that children are taught from infancy to use the right side of their bodies. Heredity plays little, if any, part in determining handedness.

These studies lead to the acceptance of several basic assumptions:

1. The only basis of measuring individual characteristics is through observation of behavior but behavior is influenced, at least from the moment of birth, by environmental, and hence, variable factors.
2. The behavior of the individual is at all times the resultant of both innate and acquired characteristics; the former prescribes variable limitations to potential development, the latter is capable of almost limitless modification.
3. The elemental drives of original nature are conditioned by the cultural pattern which assumes primary importance in very early infancy.
4. Socialization is an inter-acting process between the individual and his total environment, through which the individual becomes a person.

These assumptions, borne out both by common-sense observation and by research, are fundamental. Were the converse of any

one of them accepted, man would be no better than the beast, society would become stagnate, and education would be futile.

Original Nature Becomes Human Nature

Spencer and his immediate successors explained social processes by analogies with physical phenomena. Although significant and useful, such analogies represent a philosophic rather than a scientific approach to the problem. As Huxley[24] points out, "Analogy is in the majority of cases the clue which guides the scientific explorer towards radically new discoveries, the light which serves as first indication of a distant region habitable by thought. . . . Analogy thus provides clues but they may be false clues; it provides light but the light may be a will-o'-the-wisp. However pretty, however seductive, analogy remains analogy and never constitutes proof. It throws out suggestions which must be tested before we can speak of demonstration."

One of the first sociologists who attempted to explain social organization on the basis of observation was Tarde, a French jurist. He became interested in sociology as a result of first-hand knowledge of the many cases brought before him as a judge in criminal court. In 1890, he wrote the first of several sociological treatises in which he presented what he considered were the essential factors in understanding social organization.[25] The significant fact was that the patterns of behavior of those who were brought before him varied not by individual cases but were dependent rather upon the social group or level to which the person belonged. It appeared, then, that the chief factor in determining behavior was imitation of others, and with this as a starting point, he formulated his sociological system.

Tarde rejected the conceptions of "super-organic" and "group mind" current in his time. He believed that social organization

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[24] Julian S. Huxley, "Science, Natural and Social." *The Scientific Monthly,* January 1940, Vol. 50, No. 1, page 12.

[25] Gabriel Tarde, *Les lois de l'imitation* (1890). Translated by E. C. Parsons, *The Laws of Imitation.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1903.

resulted from the interaction of individual minds and that the degree of development of social groups was determined by the extent and nature of the beliefs and desires of interacting individuals. This exchange or "circulation" of desires and beliefs results from three processes: imitation, opposition, and adaptation or invention.

To Tarde, the basis of social organization is imitation, a phenomena which he studied extensively by recorded observations and for which he formulated specific laws.[26] Imitation, which is dominant during infancy, loses its dominant character for all but the few who never achieve social maturity. Tarde's emphasis upon a factual analysis of social processes rather than his descriptions of social organization has made a distinct contribution, also, to sociological thought.

The American sociologist, Ward,[27] emphasized the dynamic character of human society. The dynamic factors are the desires and feelings of the individual—desires furnish the energy, feelings provide the discriminate agent to select ways and means of satisfying desires.

One of the most complete analyses of the individual determinants of both individual and group behavior is that described by Pareto.[28] The generalized drives he calls residues. These he classifies into six groups, each further broken down into subgroups. The first sub-group Pareto terms residues of combinations, that is, drives to put things or ideas together; second, residues of the persistence of aggregates or the desire to retain social relationships and social organization past and present; third, residue of the manifestation of sentiment, such as religious expression or political agitation; fourth, residue of sociability by

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[26] For a summary of these laws, see Pitirin Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, page 639. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928.

[27] Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1885.

[28] Vilfredo Pareto, *Trattato di Sociologia Generale* (1919), edited by Arthur Livingston, *The Mind and Society*, 4 Vols., Vol. II. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935.

which Pareto meant the drives through which the individual accepts the common patterns of behavior imposed upon him by the group; fifth, residues of the integrity of personality, that is, the drive to retain one's own personality and to resist change; and last, residues pertaining to sex as the basis for family organization.

The variations between individuals or between groups is, according to Pareto, the result of differences in the dominance of one or another of the residues. Residues are relatively fixed, changes in behavior resulting from changes in what Pareto calls "derivations from residues" rather than in the residues themselves. Since they are but an expression of the individual's residues, he gives little attention to them. To modify the behavior of the individual, one must first understand the relative dominance of the various residues in the individual or the group and then direct their expression (derivations).

The analysis of human behavior that is based on wishes deserves brief reference. The sociologists, Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, W. I. Thomas and others, like the advocates of the instinct theory in psychology, do not agree on the number of wishes that motivate conduct, but four are specifically identified by Thomas: the wish (1) for new experience, (2) for security, (3) for recognition, and (4) for response. The terms aptly describe each desire.

The urge to have new experience prompts infant and adult to do new things, to make new associations, or to go to new places. Movies and novels, even comic books, satisfy this desire vicariously.

The wish for security is opposed to the desire for having new experience. Security implies caution and conservatism, and prompts the establishing of the family, economic groups, and even the state. Such group organization provides the individual with a sense of greater security.

The desire for recognition prompts the individual to deeds which cause others to take notice of him, whether to dress in a certain way or to succeed in business or a profession. Military decorations are presumably based on this wish for recognition.

The fourth wish, for response, is for recognition of a personal and intimate nature. Love, family affection, and friendship are ways through which the individual satisfies this desire.

Thomas believed "our hopes, fears, inspirations, joys and sorrows are bound up with these wishes and issue from them." Frustration produces fear, hate, and intolerance, and these in turn may frustrate other wishes. Relative dominance of wishes changes constantly and wishes are mingled like colored glass in a kaleidoscope. *The personality of the individual is "his conception of the relative dominance of these desires."*

Such analyses are efforts to find universal drives and to explain personality and social organization. They are mere descriptions, savoring of an "arm chair" approach. Unfortunately, such analyses offer only vague ways through which social control can direct the individual or group to improved patterns of behavior. By means of such classifications, sociologists have attempted to describe original nature in terms primarily of the behavior patterns of the group. But description is not enough! Analysis is needed of the *process of individual-group interaction* if a constructive action-program is to be developed.

Self in Relation to Others

A somewhat different approach to the problem of personality was developed by C. H. Cooley and William James, who both recognized that the personality of the individual was markedly influenced by his conception of his role in the social group. To describe this principle, Cooley coined the term "looking-glass self," by which he meant that the individual's behavior is the reflection of (1) what he imagines he appears to be to other people, (2) what he thinks the judgment of the other person is regarding such appearance, and (3) a resultant self-feeling, such as pride or humiliation. In one sense, this description is but an elaboration of the old and oft-expressed saying of Robert Burns, in his *To a Louse,* "Oh, wad some power the gifte gie us to see oursels as others see us! It wad frae monie a blunder free us, an' foolish notion."

Coincidentally, this concept of "person" or "personality" is reflected in other languages, notably Greek and German. The Greek equivalent of the Latin *persona* or *prósōpon* means literally "the appearance connected with somebody," that is "face" or "countenance." In later usage, *prósōpon* came to denote a character in a stage performance (the actors on the Greek stage always wore masks). The German *gesicht* means primary "sight" or "eyesight" as well as "face" or "countenance." The English language also has its colloquialisms, "What a sight you are!" or "I don't like his *looks*."

Certainly we are much influenced by a feeling for the judgment of us held by others, but, as will be pointed out in the next chapter, our concern for such judgment usually depends upon the degree of our sense of primary relationship or "we-feeling" with the individual or the group.

The psychologist James went beyond the instinct theory in which he firmly believed, recognizing that behavior varied in different situations. To explain these apparent inconsistencies he postulated an *I* and *Me*. By the first, he referred to thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and standards of value. By the second, he referred to behavior in a group situation. Thus, the *I* is always an observer of the *Me;* it is the judge, while the *Me* is the judged. He then described several types of *Me's* and indicated the analysis could be much extended for each individual. There is a "religious *Me*" which is the way *I* behave while in church or among church groups. This *Me* may differ much from the rather grasping Economic *Me* when carrying on a business deal. Both may be different than the Family *Me,* for, in the privacy of his own home, the individual may be gentle, generous, and loving, or he may be the reverse, depending upon his role in the group. At times *I* am very pleased with *Me,* at other times only tolerant, while at others *I* censors *Me* severely.

The emphasis upon the cultural-social basis of self is basic to our understanding of human behavior. It is fundamental in any effort to provide the basis for social control.

In infancy, behavior is based on the pleasure-pain theory of the

stimulus-response behavior cycle. The drives to activity produce random movements—of crying, kicking, or movement of the entire body. The mother responds, and pleasure or pain results from the nature of the response. Such pleasure or pain may at first be primarily physical—being fed, picked up, or given an object to hold. But such purely physical responses are quickly modified to generalized feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. Activities, at first wholly random or trial-and-error, become selected on the basis of the response; those are repeated which give pleasure, those that result in pain, tend to be discontinued. Thus the action of the individual becomes a conditioned response to previous experience.

This basic theory, clearly demonstrable in animal behavior and in that of infants, has been assumed to be the basis of all behavior. Even if this cycle of stimulus-response, pleasure-pain, and selective repetition is accepted, it does not go far enough. It is necessary to determine *why* certain responses give pleasure and others, pain; why the same response gives pleasure to the individual at one time, and pain at another; and why a response may be pleasurable to one individual and painful to another. Neither does this theory go far enough to give clues as to means by which pleasure-pain responses may be modified.

The answer to these questions can be found only in the growing identification of the individual with selective elements of his cultural environment and the discovery of his role in the social group. We cannot look into the mind of the infant and record the extent to which he has a consciousness of self. It is probable, however, that self-consciousness develops later than, and is the product of, the interaction of the individual and his environment. Personality develops only gradually.

The infant's behavior, conditioned by the response—at first almost wholly physical—becomes associated with non-physical behavior, such as the tone of the voice of the mother, her soft singing at sleep-time, or her smile or scowl. Other members of the family gradually are assigned their roles; faces, features, and voice come into the widening consciousness of the child, not alone

as recognizable objects, but as persons with whom there arise varying degrees of identification. The three-year-old sister may be a happy playmate; the father, a kind but more stern individual who ignores some kinds of behavior to which mother or sister pay attention, such as crying or getting angry; the visitor is someone of whom to be just a little afraid although the stranger acts in some of the same ways toward him as do members already within his group.

Out of this varied and widening individual relationship, the growing infant begins to develop generalized concepts of types of behavior which are approved or disapproved, *as determined by other's responses.* Anger, a common behavior pattern in small children, may persist if it is the means by which the individual gets what he wants; it tends to disappear if ignored, and thus the generalization of self-control has its inception. So through the long succession of experience are behavior patterns selected. Development of word-meaning speeds up the process beyond that possible only by facial expression or tone of voice. Growth of type-concepts is still further increased in tempo and effectiveness when the child learns to talk, for language substitutes symbols for experience. Words of warning, of praise, or of criticism are in lieu of actual reaction to specific acts.

Generalized concepts are further extended by anticipatory responses in which the child envisages the probable consequences of an act: reasoning thus begins. The child will talk to himself, frequently imitating the tone of the reply of the one to whom he imagines he is talking. The child may also act out both his own part and that of his imagined "other person."

During these early months of growing up and of increasing awareness of the varied responses of others, there develops also a consciousness of self. The response is more than one of physical satisfaction, for it becomes associated with a feeling-tone. The parent's praise gives a feeling of gratification; and blame, a feeling of humiliation. Some new toy or a new experience gives a feeling of happiness; an anticipated experience which is not carried out, a feeling of disappointment, perhaps of anger.

When anticipatory behavior also brings the feeling-tone response of actual behavior, imagination develops. The young child tends to supplement pure imagery by personification and symbolism. A stick is at one time a "bucking bronco," at another a magic wand, or a bayonet-fixed rifle. A chair is a battleship, a castle, or a cradle. Objects become persons as real and as valued as a human association. A little girl of five has a teddy bear and four dolls. Each has a name, each has its own place to sit and sleep. The toys are dressed with varying degrees of care and are fed with the accompaniment of much of the same conversation she has with her mother during her own meals. "Let's count the bites . . . there, that's the last one. Now, wasn't it good!" and a doll replies for her, "No, I didn't like it!" Occasionally, one is ill and the little mother then becomes both doctor and nurse. But of all dolls and pets, one is more favored than all the rest; it sits at the head of the table, has the center place in the carriage, and is carefully nestled in her arms, as she drifts off to sleep. And the favored one is an old rag doll with a once painted face but from which any possible human resemblance is almost gone!

The individual thus develops generalized concepts of the role of things and people. Out of these experiences the individual also recognizes his own role. At first his role is in terms of the behavior of others in interaction with himself, but his imagery also becomes anticipatory of the role which he assumes others ascribe to him. Sometimes this assumed role is wholly imagined but *it has its beginning in, and is the result of, statements or actions of parents or playmates.* The inability to participate equally in some sport with others of his own age, even though caused by physical disability, may create a deep-seated sense of inferiority that carries over to the individual's entire attitude toward himself. The lad who was always selected last in "choosing-up" for a ball game (being told in the meanwhile, "Oh well, we'll have to take you!") had a difficult struggle to overcome the feeling that he was unable to do anything well. Only excellence in school work gave the boy an opportunity to sublimate his inferiority. He

has never liked baseball, though he is a fairly competent athlete and enjoys other sports.

Assumed roles may not be the result of overt behavior or of deliberate statements by other people, but of what Duncan [29] calls "secret controls." The term is used to describe "an attitude originating in some unsuccessfully met experience or series of experiences usually occurring during adolescence or early childhood." The individual repeats the experience in memory, exaggerates its importance, and directs his behavior, more or less completely, in the light of this experience. A careless or wholly unintentional remark by a playmate or teacher about a child's dress, accent, or big ears may lead the child to withdraw within himself, to lose his desire to succeed, or to find other friends who do not require him to exercise a painful control. Not a few cases before juvenile courts can be explained by sublimation of secret controls.

The writer sat on an extra-legal tribunal to which individuals voluntarily brought their problems for decision. Litigants agreed in writing that they would abide by the decision of the "judges." One case was a boy of sixteen who had been arrested with a gang of older boys for pilfering from a number of homes. The boy's parents, who were comparatively well-to-do, wished to pay the costs. However, the parents could not understand why their son, who apparently had all he really needed, should join such a gang. Gradually, the parents themselves answered their own question. The father was a tall, well-built man, a star athlete during college days. The boy was small and frail despite pampering parental and medical care. He had been constantly compared with a neighbor's husky lad, and even success in school did not compensate the parents for their disappointment at their son's small stature. The parents loved, but did not understand, their son. Being made to feel inferior at home, the boy began staying away in the evenings and picked up with the gang. He was light

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[29] H. G. Duncan, "Secret Control." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, January 1929, Vol. 2, No. 5, pages 300–309

and agile and could easily and quickly be lifted under a "jimmied" window or through a transom. He had found a satisfying role with the gang!

Secret controls may be positive and may stimulate the person to ever greater effort. The lad described above might have been stimulated to be successful in other fields. Parental expectancy is of tremendous importance.

The concept of one's role in the social group carries over also to the development of attitudes. At first specific and expressed in terms of other individuals, the concept of one's role becomes a "generalized other," or public opinion. Folkways and mores are not accepted because they are the patterns of behavior of an individual, but because they are those of the group or of "society." Right and wrong likewise have developed from specific acts to generalized concepts.

Finally, from the total process of interaction, the individual has acquired status with those with whom he has a definite we-feeling, status also in terms of his varying roles in the many social groups that make up his "great society." *Self attitudes have developed from social attitudes.* From the vantage point of self, the person views the world of people and of things.

The Meaning of Personality

Human nature is socially acquired. The individual becomes a person only through social interaction. These two statements form the basis of our definition of personality: *personality is the person's concept of his role in social groups.* This concept determines his behavior within the group.

Personality, however, is not fixed and static, but is constantly changing in terms of the roles, assumed or actual, which the person ascribes to himself in relation to his *environments.* The plural is used deliberately because the person's status varies in different situations. From these many concepts of status, the person accrues a more stable sense of his own role so that his behavior in a given situation can be predicted with some assurance.

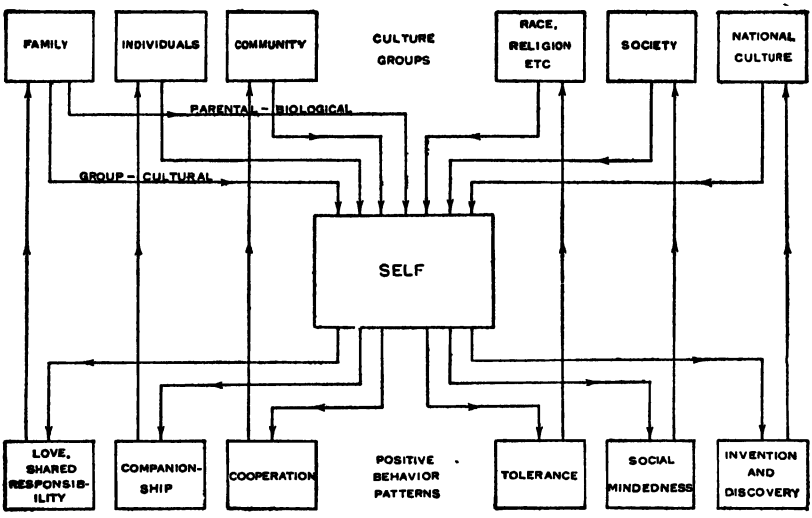


Figure 3. The cycle of social interaction. Potential negative behavior patterns are also determinants.

Although a graph frequently tends to oversimplify, the social interaction through which personality develops is pictorially presented in Figure 3. The self is in constant interaction with both material culture and with culture groups and is the product of such interaction. Culture groups vary from individuals to mass movements and from the family to Western Civilization. *The socially acquired self gives direction to the individual's behavior in social situations which, in turn, modify the culture pattern. This is the cycle of social interaction.* That the cycle is subject to definite direction through social planning and through education of children and adults gives hope for the betterment of both individual and social welfare.

Chapter 7

SOCIAL INTERACTION: THE SOCIAL PROCESSES

THE term "social interaction" is defined[1] by the *Dictionary of Sociology* as "social processes when analyzed from the standpoint of the interstimulations and responses of personalities and groups." Social interaction is a process, not a structure, and is ever in a state of flux. *It is a two-way process whereby each individual or group stimulates the other, and, in varying degree, modifies the behavior of the participants.* Interstimulation is going on between the person and many other persons at the same time; it is seldom, if ever, exclusively between one person and one other person or group, as shown in Figure 3, page 138. Interaction also exists between and among social groups. Whereas, for purposes of analysis, social interaction may be broken down into fairly elemental patterns, in the life of the person and of society social interaction is highly complex. It results from social contact—the primary requirement for all social interaction.

Classification of Social Interaction

Sociologists recognize three bases of classification of social interaction: (1) *in terms of the number of persons involved,* (2) *on the basis of degree of intimacy,* and (3) *by social processes.*

The first type of social interaction is elemental and is based on a common-sense analysis. There are three types: one-with-one; one-with-group, and its reverse, group-with-one; and group-with-group.

The infant's first sense of relationship is between itself and the

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[1] Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Dictionary of Sociology,* page 285. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944.

mother, or any other member of the family who is the principal responder to its needs. Within the course of even a few weeks, the infant responds to attention—smiles when smiled at, or gurgles in answer to speech or caresses. The response of the infant, whether in positive reaction to pleasurable experience or in negative reaction to unpleasant experience, tends also to influence the action of the responder. As other members of the family and friends come into association with the child, the one-with-one interaction is extended to include them, but without recognition of any group concept. In early infancy, the adult is the more dominant in the interaction process, but before long the child senses his own powers and may become the dominant member. The "spoiled" child is one whom the responders have permitted too early to assume the dominant role.

The one-with-one interaction rapidly increases to include playmates, school companions, and friends. In infancy, it is the most important interaction relationship, and in some cases, continues to remain so throughout life. Such persons shun groups, but have one, or at most two or three, close personal friends with whom they share every activity and inner thought.

The second type of interaction that is based on the number of persons involved, one-with-group and *vice versa,* also is first manifested in the home. By the time the child walks and talks, the family has become more than an aggregate of individuals, assuming a group configuration in which each individual has a different status. The family, in varying degree, has internal cohesion or group solidarity. Members have accepted group patterns of behavior and attitudes. Family morale, with which the child identifies himself, becomes as much a part of his inheritance as physical features or language. In the family, the factor of status begins; for it is there that the child first recognizes his role in the social group. Few can ever wholly escape the patterns of interaction established during early years!

As the child grows older, new associations are made outside of the family, and he tends to identify himself with other groups. To a considerable degree these first outside group associations

are selective through the projection of family controls, but, with wider range of contacts made possible by the school, outside associations become more diversified. Early group associations are almost always temporary and for a specific purpose, such as a game of tag or playing house, but, as will be shown in a later chapter on the play group, the "we-feeling" becomes more permanent in adolescence and adult life.

Person-with-group interaction brings an awareness of difference in status, since conformity with one group almost always entails non-conformity with another. Standards of approved conduct vary, as the slang of the play group often differs from the vocabulary of the home. Faced with such inconsistencies among the behavior patterns of the group, the person begins to form varying self-roles—the various *Me's* described in the previous chapter.

It should be emphasized that social processes are interactive—the person modifies the behavior of the group and the group modifies likewise the behavior of the person. The extent to which such interaction is reciprocal will depend upon the dominating character possessed by the person and the rigidity of the group behavior pattern. A dominating child may virtually control the play group; an adult member of an institution, such as a labor organization or a church, may have little influence in modifying the purpose, ritual, or program of the organization. Though membership implies the acceptance of the group pattern, there is still, within the range of immediate association, some degree of change as a result of the person's influence. Even institutions are changed through the impact of interaction! The larger the group, the less likelihood of reciprocal interaction. When the group has authority to compel conformance, as in the military organization or under a totalitarian regime, the flow of interaction is almost wholly from the group to the person. Democracy seeks to preserve reciprocal flow even between the person and the state.

The third type of interaction based on numbers—that of group-with-group—is more complex than either of the others, varying from the neighborhood quarrels between two groups

of children to the interculturation when two widely divergent culture groups come into contact. Mingling of Catholicism and Indian ceremonials among the Acomas is an example of interculturation; on a larger scale, it is illustrated in the interaction of Mohammedanism and Christianity. As is effectively pointed out by Angell,[2] "So significant has become the role of free-standing groups in contemporary life that one is tempted to say that our society is characterized by group individualism. 'Each group for itself and the devil take the hindmost' might seem to be the principle under which we are operating." Basic in this connection is analysis of the whole problem of group-with-group interaction and the discovery of ways through which it may be cooperative rather than obstructive. Coöperative or obstructive, group-with-group interaction is, however, always reciprocal. If management refuses to coöperate with labor, labor, in turn, becomes antagonistic. Many major social problems—economic inequality, racial discrimination, and intolerance—have their roots in group-with-group interaction.

The second classification of social interaction is based on *degree of intimacy,* of we-feeling, or of the will to achieve a common purpose. Three aspects of this type of interaction—primary, secondary, and tertiary or marginal—have been described in Chapter 5, where they were considered in a structural sense, as groups. However, they may be considered with equal propriety as processes and hence referred to as primary interaction characterized by a high degree of mutual sharing and a common will; secondary interaction that is less reciprocal; and tertiary or marginal interaction, usually unplanned and always comparatively incidental. Used as descriptive of social structure, groups are classified on the basis of social distance; when groups are used as descriptive of social processes, they are differentiated on the degree of interaction.

The line of demarcation between the three types is not fixed

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[2] Robert C. Angell, *The Integration of American Society,* page 3. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

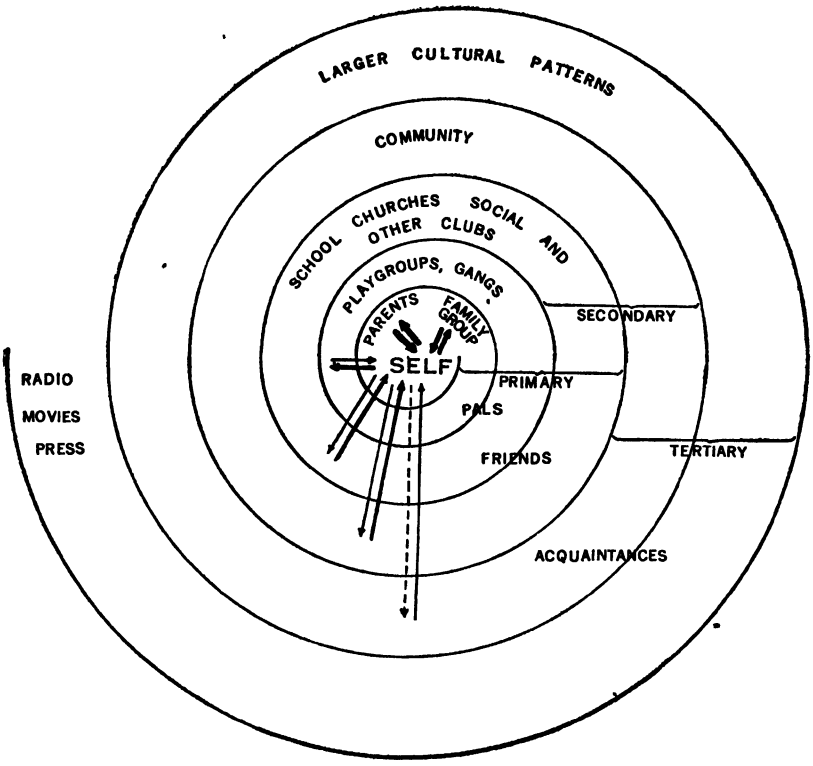


Figure 4. The widening of social contact and resultant interaction. (The thickness of the arrows represents the probable relative degree of interaction between the self and the various individuals and groups.) (Adapted from author's *Sociology of Childhood,* p. 45. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1939.)

and rigid; they blend one into another as a concentric circle, ever widening with the person's expanding social contacts and resultant social interaction. Figure 4 shows the process of interaction, extending from self-with-others in the family group, the play group, school and church groups, the community, and the larger cultural patterns. The circle is never closed, short of complete isolation of the person or of death. The overlapping in the designation of types of interaction indicates, for example, that the interaction of the person with play groups and individuals within

them may be primary for some and secondary for others. The fact that interaction is not equal between the self and others, as in the case of interaction with parents or the community, is shown by the relative thickness of the arrows.

Social Interaction Classified by Social Processes

Social interaction was described as a process characterizing all human relationships. It included only the interaction of the person with other persons and with groups.

To be wholly inclusive, interaction (not social, however) also takes place between the person and the material culture of his environment. In describing cultural change, it was indicated that the person's behavior is partially determined by the physical world around him and that, through discovery and invention, he is constantly changing the character of his physical environment. This is as true in the swift, destructive processes of war as it is in the slow, constructive process by which man has achieved material and spiritual satisfaction.

Although social interaction and the social processes form a major portion of the subject matter of sociology, sociologists do not all use the same terminology for identical phenomena.[3] The

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[3] Note the long list of terms given under social processes on p. 26. The fact that different sociologists may use different terms for the same phenomenon further illustrates this lack of standard terminology. The following are various terms used by sociologists to designate the social processes: By Gillin and Gillin for *socialization,* "general social process"; for *interaction,* "dissociative process"; for *competition,* "contravention" and "conflict"; for *processes of association,* "accommodation," "acculturation," and "assimilation." By Groves and Moore for *contact* and *interaction,* "communication," "coöperation," "conflict," "accommodation," and "assimilation." By Ross for *contact* and *interaction,* "association," "communication," "domination," "exploitation," "conflict and adaptation," and "coöperation and organization," and by Young for *contact* and *interaction,* "competition," "conflict," "war," "coöperation," "age and sex differentiation," "specialization and leadership," "stratification and class structure," "accommodation and assimilation." (See J. L. and J. P. Gillin, *An Introduction to Sociology,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943; Ernest R. Groves and Harry E. Moore, *An Introduction to Sociology,* New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941; E. A. Ross, *New-age Sociology,* New

Dictionary of Sociology is only partially helpful in this case. It lists as forms of social interaction: "opposition (including competition and conflict) and coöperation. Accommodation and assimilation are often mentioned as coöperative forms of interaction, but they may be regarded even better as social processes related to social change and social adjustment. Isolation may be regarded as the zero degree of social interaction." Under social processes it lists: imitation, acculturation, conflict, social control, and stratification. Opposition and coöperation are not adequate since there are social processes which cannot be included under these terms. The longer list, as the *Dictionary* indicates, is descriptive of social change as well as of social processes.

It will therefore be necessary to depart slightly from the *Dictionary* usage, and add to "opposition" and "coöperation" the term "social adjustment." *The social processes, then, will be: adjustment, opposition, and coöperation.*

The terminology selected indicates a basic difference between sociology and educational sociology. The former is concerned almost entirely with total culture and its influence in determining the larger group behavior patterns, including society as a whole. Educational sociology is also deeply interested in culture—both material and non-material—but primarily because of its influence on the development of personality. Thus such terms as "accommodation" ("alteration of functional relations between personalities and groups so as to avoid, reduce or eliminate conflict and to promote reciprocal adjustment provided the altered behavior pattern is transmitted by social learning rather than by biological heredity" [4]) and "assimilation" ("the process by which different cultures, or individuals or groups representing different cultures, are merged into a homogeneous unit" [5]) are not as applicable to educational sociology as to sociology.

That such concepts do have significance is indicated by the

York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1940; and Kimball Young, *Sociology*, New York: American Book Company, 1942.)

[4] *Dictionary of Sociology*, page 2.

[5] *ibid.*, page 276.

inclusion earlier of the description of the accommodation of native Acoma patterns of behavior to Christianity and Western Civilization. Here conflict is now almost entirely eliminated, yet each culture has retained something of its own autonomy. But the interest of educational sociology is not in the process of accommodation; it is rather in the effect of this dual culture upon personality.[6]

Social Adjustment

By "social adjustment" is meant the processes through which the relationships between persons, groups, and culture elements are established on a mutually satisfactory basis. The biological counterpart is adaptation through which the organism adapts itself to its environment through evolution (including mutation) and change in individual behavior as a result of climatic or other factors.

In early infancy, adjustment has much of this adaptive character. In behavioristic terms adjustment is referred to as "conditioning." Zorbaugh [7] describes social adjustment as both *negative and positive adaptation.* By the former, he refers to ways through which early—possibly innate—behavior patterns are discontinued by (1) disuse, (2) frequent application of the stimulus, (3) gradually changing the intensity of the stimulus, (4) failure to procure satisfactory response, and (5) associative inhibition.

The first is illustrated by the disappearance, usually by the age of two and often much earlier, of the nursing response. The second is shown by the fact that if an object of which the infant is afraid is brought to him frequently, the fear reaction tends to diminish or to disappear. Gradually diminishing the intensity

[6] It should be pointed out that some of the more recent texts, notably those of Gillin and Gillin, Groves and Moore, and Young (see footnote 3, p. 144) use both "accommodation" and "assimilation" to include both personal and societal aspects.

[7] Harvey Zorbaugh, "Personality and Social Adjustment; How We Learn —Negative Adaptation." June 1928, *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, No. 10, pages 613–625; "How We Learn—Positive Adaptation." September 1928, *ibid.,* Vol. 2, No. 1, pages 9–25.

of the light in the room of a child who is afraid of the dark is an illustration of the third type of negative adaptation. The fourth is a common-place in every home with a small child. If the infant cries just because it is left alone, refusing to give it the attention it desires will usually stop the practice. Associative inhibition is produced by attaching two incompatible responses to the same stimulus. It is illustrated by attaching physical punishment associated in time with what otherwise would be a satisfaction-giving response to a given stimulus. As Zorbaugh states, the inventor of a device whereby a small child would receive a slight shock when he touches the forbidden objects—vases, books, or eye glasses—would be assured of a princely income from distraught parents.

Positive adaptation is the attachment of responses to stimuli which originally did not elicit them. Its forms are (1) the conditioned response, (2) transference, and (3) the development of serial responses. The first was high-lighted by Pavlov's experiments on dogs: the flow of saliva accompanied the showing of meat: a bell was rung simultaneously: the ringing of the bell produced the saliva flow. Parents substitute facial expression, sounds, and later, words, to procure a specific response. Many one-month-old infants smile in response to mother's smile; later the same response is produced by other stimuli.

Transference is, in a sense, the converse of conditioning; it is the spread of the same response to other related situations. If the child responds favorably to a rabbit, for example, he tends to have the same pleasurable response to all furry objects. In the extreme position of the now almost defunct "transfer of training" concept in educational psychology, the logical organization of the study of mathematics, especially if one disliked it, allegedly disciplined the mind for all other difficult tasks requiring organization ability! Accepted on a sound basis it implies the spread of skills and appreciations to related fields. The third type of positive adaptation, that of serial responses, is illustrated by such a daily routine as each act in dressing serving as the stimulus to the next act.

Gesell and Ilg[8] describe the typical "behavior day" of infants at four months and other ages through the five-year-old. At each stage, the authors indicate both the physical growth and the new behavior patterns that have been acquired, and conclude:[9] "The five-year-old is ripe for enlarged community experience. Home is not quite enough. He is already well domesticated; indeed, almost self-dependent in the everyday personal duties of washing, dressing, eating, toilet, sleep, errands and simple household tasks. He wants to go to school; he is anxious to be on time when he does go; he glows with pride when he brings home his drawings and handicraft for admiration. He is proud of his possessions, proud of his clothes. He has a vivid sense of his own identity. He likes to come back to home base, but he displays a pleasing seriousness of purpose and interest in the wide-wide-world. He is beginning to distinguish between truth and falsehood. All told, he presents a remarkable equilibrium of qualities and patterns—of self-sufficiency and sociality; of self-reliance and cultural conformance; of serenity and seriousness; of carefulness and conclusiveness; of politeness and insouciance; of friendliness and self-containedness."

This description given, as the authors point out, without the limitations that might also have been included, indicates the extent to which the process of social adjustment has functioned. The child has acquired all of the elemental cultural behavior patterns; but, even more, he has become aware of his role in the widening group associations and is, by the identity of himself and his possessions, a person. At this stage, he is, granting biological and physical developmental factors, the product of the fairly consistent culture which surrounds the average child for the first five years of his life.

Imitation has played an important role and, to a large degree, these early behavior patterns are acquired unconsciously.

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[8] Arnold Gesell and Frances L. Ilg, *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today*, pages 92–257. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943.

[9] *ibid.*, pages 247–248.

Throughout the whole process of social adjustment, but especially during early years, adults and the cultural environment are dominant and the child, receptive. This is true to such an extent that the author in his *Sociology of Childhood* has used the term "passive adaptation" to describe this aspect of social adjustment. Passive adaptation, however, is an interaction process in that the child, by acquiring personality, modifies, by the increasingly selective character of his own behavior, the behavior of individuals and groups with which he has social contacts.

Social adjustment does not cease with early childhood, although passiveness decreases. Throughout life, the person identifies himself with many social groups and, to achieve and maintain status in the group, accepts its culture. The Acoma and Navaho Indians illustrate how significant to our understanding of human relationships is this adjustment to the group pattern of behavior. The initiatory ceremony is the seal of acceptance of that pattern.

How completely the person sees the world of persons and of things around him through the eyes of his group is beautifully illustrated in the following description of Navaho religion in its relation to healing:[10] "Outside the hogan the patient stands facing the East, breathing in the dawn four times. The white man would see the yellow day coming up over miles and miles of sage, a copse of pinyon, three or four yellow pines in the soft light, distant blue swells of mountains, with here and there a volcanic cone, and very far away, the snowy top of Mount Taylor.

"But this is not all the Navaho sees. The sage-covered earth is Changing Woman, one of the most benevolent of the Beings, who grows old and young again with the cycle of each year's seasons. The rising sun is himself a Being who, with Changing Woman, produced a warrior that rid the earth of most of its evil forces and who is still using his powers to help the people. The first brightness is another Being, Dawn-Boy, and to the North, South, East and West the Navaho sees the homes of other

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[10] Alexander H. and Dorothea C. Leighton, *The Navaho Door*, page 35. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944.

Beings. To the North is bitter, unhappy First Woman who sends colds and sickness; to the South is the Gila Monster who helps the diagnosticians reveal the unknown. The cone-shaped mountains have lava on their sides, which is the caked blood of a wicked giant killed by the Sun's warrior offspring, modern evidence of the truth of Navaho tradition. The white peak of Mount Taylor is the top of Turquoise Mountain, built and decorated by the Hogan God, who later knocked its top off in a rage when he could not get the name he wanted for it and forbade any living thing to try to reach the top.

"This contrast between white and Indian views of the same objects is a sample of what cultural differences mean, and the significance of values. It is true that all human beings have the same 'dimensions, senses, affections and passions,' but these affections and passions are not all aroused by the same things, and there lie the seeds of misunderstanding and conflict imbedded in culture."

Attitudes are another aspect of the acceptance of the group pattern. Before the growing child has had sufficient experience to develop a judgment that is based on relevant facts of a situation, he has acquired attitudes of social distinction and economic status, of religion, and of other group values. Not long ago the author was talking with a Navaho lad who had just completed his studies at a missionary secondary school. In response to the question as to what he intended to do, the boy replied, "I will return to my people and live as my fathers have lived." Almost the same answer, because they are those of "my people," could be given by many of us and, to a varying degree, by all of us, when asked why we hold certain attitudes, accept superstitions, belong to a particular religious faith.

One type of attitude, and one that is difficult to modify, is the *stereotype*—a group-accepted image or idea, usually expressed by a single word or phrase. The stereotype is an oversimplified description, sometimes a caricature, and is a substitute for accurate facts or individualized experience. "Penny pinchers" (persons excessively thrifty), "bobby soxers" (teen-age girls), "Kikes" (Jews), "Huns" (Germans—a term common in World War I

and revived during World War II but which did not gain equally wide acceptance), are but a few of hundreds that could be given. Stereotypes change in relation to general public attitudes. One of the most interesting illustrations is the use of the word "Bolshevik" to describe all Russians. When American policy toward the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was changed, the term disappeared from use, as did also the caricature by which the Russian was depicted. The fact that stereotypes are accepted uncritically and are an easy substitute for judgment makes devising the means of controlling them a vital problem for educational sociology.

Each institution—the family, gang, school, church, labor organization, and all the rest—has its own folkways and mores. Through social adjustment, its members accept the behavior, attitudes, and values of the group. Foster[11] illustrates this fact by listing the types of conformity required of the child in a typical American school as follows: punctuality; compulsory attendance for a fixed number of days per year between prescribed ages; discipline—being quiet and properly respectful; achievement in accordance with fixed standards; submission to school organization—a time schedule, grade placement, organized courses, and curricula; homework demands; extracurricular activities; ability grouping; personal demands of teacher; extra-school demands, such as salvage drives, bond sales, or thrift campaigns; health requirements, now including mandatory physical examination in many schools and, in some, treatment also; compulsion to choose vocational interest, often before life interests have developed; and contradictory demands of the school. Others could have been added such as neatness, correct speech, and care of personal and school property; many listed could have been broken down into further classification. And this is but one institution!

No wonder Wordsworth said, "Shades of the prison house be-

[11] Robert G. Foster, "Objective Methods in Sociological Research Generally Applicable to Child Development Studies." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* October 1935, Vol. 9, No. 2, pages 73–85.

gin to close upon the growing child" or Faris[12] states: "The group is not only a reality, it is a *prior* reality. The children with whom we deal do not grow up as individuals and then for the first time form groups. They were born into groups and were the recipients from the beginning of group influences. Families and schools, government and churches, take the raw material and begin their work on it. The institutions and groups in our modern life are not alone altering personality, they are creating personality. The ideals, the ambitions, the purposes, the habits, the very objects of attention are the result of group influence."

All of this is true, but fortunately it is not all of the truth, for social adjustment is but one of the processes of social interaction. Adjustment does imply, however, that it is not enough to study only the learning process. Even the most effective system, in terms of economy of learning, might be the most harmful. Certainly, when carried to the extreme of national conformity, adjustment is a threat to the security of the entire world, and sometimes requires to be broken at the awful cost of war. To appreciate fully the importance of social adjustment means a recognition of the fact that the betterment of individual behavior will result from modification in the cultural pattern, on the one hand, and through the interaction process of social control, on the other.

Opposition

"Opposition," the second social process, is essential in the development of personality. The sociological meaning of the term differs little from that of common usage:[13] "that species of social interaction in which personalities or groups seek to attain any objective under such conditions that the greater the immediate or direct success of one personality or group, the less the immediate or direct success of the others. Social opposition in-

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[12] Ellsworth Faris, "Standpoints and Methods of Sociology in the Study of Personality and Social Growth," Proceedings, *Fourth Conference on Research in Child Development.* Washington, D. C.: National Research Council, 1933, Appendix C, page 3.

[13] *Dictionary of Sociology.* Page 286.

cludes competition and conflict; it is the opposite of coöperation." Many sociologists distinguish between competition and conflict. Conflict involves face-to-face relationships and is usually accompanied by emotional responses. Competition is usually impersonal and seldom involves deep emotion. Because a person is aware only of the total pattern of opposition, such a distinction, important in sociology, does not have the same significance for educational sociology. For educational sociology, "competition" includes the awareness of opposition which the person feels within himself—a conflict between irreconcilable values or between his *standards* of behavior and his actual behavior.

If the person could be reared in an environment that was internally consistent and totally harmonious, the sense of opposition would not arise. Presumably, too, it would not exist in an individual totally isolated from other persons or between groups in a totally isolated society.[14] Such a society does not exist either for the person or for any social group within modern society. Opposition is a universal social process, although it varies in amount and intensity among different social structures.

Social anthropologists have described primitive cultures which were internally consistent and isolated from other groups to an extent sufficient to keep opposition at a minimum. The role of each person is established by the cultural pattern; behavior is prescribed even in its minute detail; property rights are fixed and accepted; and taboos circumscribe both the child and adult. But even within such groups with their swift and definite punishments (or rewards) opposition develops.

Modern efforts to establish a model community, such as that organized by Robert Owen at New Harmony, Indiana, failed primarily because of opposition among its members relative to property rights and individual status, and of the group toward

[14] Park and Burgess devote considerable attention to isolation as a social process, but such a concept, other than in relative terms, is unrealistic in our modern world. See Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, pages 226–227. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.

the policies and practices of other groups. Hailed as a modern Utopia, New Harmony was unable to bar opposition or to isolate itself from the rest of our social and economic structure.

Opposition exists within primitive groups such as described by Hartland:[15] "The individual is hemmed in on every side by the customs of his people; he is bound by the chains of immemorial tradition, not merely in his social relations, but in his religion, his medicine, his industry, his art; in short, in every aspect of his life." Opposition also exists within Utopias in which individuals presumably accept the pattern of values as a condition for belonging; therefore, how much more important does opposition become in the complex social world of the present! As each new invention —the automobile, telephone, airplane, radio, and soon television— breaks down the little remaining isolation of the person or the group from the pulsing stream of American life and of the world, opposition as a social process increases. War telescoped the changes of decades into months and years. Unless we can understand the role of opposition and substitute coöperation and social control in the interaction of nations, personality will face disintegration, and the world, chaos.

Sociologists have usually classified opposition (competition and conflict) on the basis of economic, cultural, age, urban-rural, religion, and race differences. Such a classification denotes areas of opposition rather than designates fundamental differences in the social process. The following classification is more applicable, at least to educational sociology: (1) within the individual himself, but created through social contacts; (2) between persons, but not involving group interaction; (3) between individuals and the group; and (4) between or among groups.

The first type of opposition falls in the borderline area between social psychology and educational sociology. Floyd Alport uses the term "covert" to describe conflict within the person. Although the opposition actually takes place within the one person,

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[15] Sydney Hartland, *Primitive Law*, page 138. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1924.

it is usually the result of conflicting social contacts. The struggle is thus a social process compressed within one individual. In extreme instances and in cases of serious shock, such opposition takes the form of schizophrenia (split personality) and other forms of abnormality. As a normal process of social interaction, opposition within the person is based primarily on the effort of the person to adjust to conflicting elements in a particular situation. In its early stages, opposition is better described, as Zorbaugh has done, as negative and positive adaptation. As the child grows older, opposition is largely a struggle between two immediate and irreconcilable values or between immediate and ultimate values. It is what Cooley referred to as the struggle between the Self and the "looking-glass self" and James called the conflict between "I" and the various "Me's."

Many illustrations could be drawn from the daily life of each of us: Shall we stay home and listen to the radio or go to a movie? Shall we take a vacation or save to buy a new car? Frequently the opposition involves basic and fundamental values that may influence the entire course of the person's life. Although arising through social interaction and comparison of one's self with others, the real battlefield is within the person and a feeling of inferiority or superiority develops. "Secret control" is often the result of this type of self-opposition.

Another frequent cause of this type of opposition is identification—the process by which the individual puts himself in the position of another and seeks to assume the other's role. The assumed role often is in sharp contrast to the real self. It is a form of hero-worship, but is infinitely more than childhood fancy or adolescent daydreaming. As will be pointed out later, opposition is also a fundamental type of social control.

With the transition from primitive conformity to modern complexity for society as a whole, and from comparative isolation in the family to the multiplicity of patterns in a typical community for the person, the responsibility of education in recognizing and in giving direction to this type of opposition becomes continually more important.

The second type of opposition, that between persons but without involving group interaction, differs from the first in that both persons are aware of the attitude of the other toward himself and the behavior of each is modified though not to the same extent. It varies from momentary childhood squabbles to deep-seated aversion or even hate. Its root is primarily the struggle for status, including possession. Small children frequently resent the infant that takes parental time and attention formerly given to them; boys fight for the position of leadership in the gang; young people are rivals in love; and elders compete for that which both desire whether political position, success in business, or rivalry for any one of the many adult values.

So common is this form of opposition that society has established controls to regularize it through custom and through law. Zorbaugh [16] draws interesting contrasts in the forms of opposition between two persons which are condoned in different social groups: "In Anglo-Saxon countries, for centuries, the rank and file of angry men have settled their differences with their fists. . . . Among the Eskimos, on the other hand, the common mode of settling a dispute is for one party to challenge the other to a satirical song contest. Each party composes and sings songs ridiculing the other, and the one who is most loudly acclaimed by the audience is acknowledged the victor. In the interior of Australia is a people among whom men who become angry with each other go into the brush and cut one stout club. By their equivalent of our custom of tossing a coin, they determine who shall have first clout. Having taken his clout, the first man passes the club to the second and stands while the second takes a clout at him. So the club is handed back and forth until one man beats the other into submission. The Zunis settle their differences in still another way. In a Zuni village, when two men are angry they get across the road from one another and hurl abuse back and forth!"

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[16] Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "Human Nature." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, January 1930, Vol. 3, No. 5, pages 262–274.

Not only is such opposition inevitable, but it is desirable to the extent that it develops a sense of fair play and of the rights of others. If it is to be restricted only to achieve this purpose and to prevent its extension to involve others, it will be necessary to analyze its expression in the specific types of social situations which will be presented in later chapters.

The third type of social opposition, person with group, is the age-old struggle of the freedom of the individual *versus* the control of the group. The extent of opposition is in inverse ratio to the strength of the folkways and mores, and to the extent the total social *milieu* is internally consistent. The child who identifies himself with a play group which has different standards of behavior from those of the home, frequently is in opposition to the family group. In so far as the struggle for leadership is within the group, it would likewise be classified as person-group opposition.

To avoid such opposition, the individual frequently adopts different behavior patterns for different group contacts; but to carry this diversification to an extreme is to be a will-o'-the-wisp. Such a person lacks the depth of conviction or the courage to be a party to opposition. On the other extreme, to be constantly in conflict is to be a rebel and, frequently, a social outcast. Since opposition of person with group is always situational, it will be discussed again in its appropriate specific context.

The last type of opposition—group with group—has been the subject of hundreds of volumes in sociology. It is the theme of novels, the subject matter of textbooks, and the object of research. It is represented by the play-group scraps of children; the rivalry of cliques of adolescent girls; the struggle of rival gangs; the competition of institutions for members and for status; economic conflict; feuds; racial and religious discrimination; class and caste differentiation; and world wars. It is sublimated by group games—organized recreation, prize fights, and competitions of a thousand types. It is prescribed by rules, as is even war by international law! It is group opposition, but it is also opposition which is personalized in that each individual in the group is

subject to it. The individual is either an active participant, in which case he has a sense of security and dominance resulting from identification with this group; or the individual may not be a participant, in which case he becomes subject to the prejudices and discriminations arising from opposition to the group.

The universality of opposition as a social process is well stated by Kallen:[17] "There is an issue of human relations which is as old as mankind and as inveterate as thought. Philosophers call it 'the problem of the One and the Many' and find it also the basic problem of existence. Humanly, however, it is the problem of how people who are different from each other shall live together with each other. It is the critical problem of each personal life, of each race, sect, sex, occupational group, political party, sovereign state, and religious establishment."

Opposition in the social structure is determined by two interrelated factors: the system of values held by a given social organization, and its group structure. The former is a basis for and justification of the latter. In the early period of the Industrial Revolution, the class system in England was based upon the relative values placed upon human life. The aristocracy lived in ease and luxury while children of the laboring class, often as young as four and five years of age, were forced to drag coal in the mines through passages too small to admit the body of a grown man. Lads of ten to fifteen worked long hours at grueling tasks under indentured service. In America the slave system was introduced and a complete caste structure developed with all its inconsistencies. Negro mammies virtually reared the white "chillun" of their owners, but were not permitted to enter the mansion by the same door. They prepared food for the whites, but could not sit at the same table to eat it. The dual system of social structure in the South is paralleled only by varying degrees of segregated housing in many northern cities. On the West Coast, Oriental labor was at first welcomed, but when eco

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[17] H. M. Kallen, "'E Pluribus Unum' and the Cultures of Democracy.' *Journal of Educational Sociology,* February 1943, Vol. 16, No. 6, page 329.

nomic competition developed between white and Oriental land owners, a series of legislative acts and court decisions placed the Oriental in a lower caste. The bitter and ruthless persecution of the Jews by the Nazis in contrast to the luxurious mansion for the rearing of the children who were the offspring of high ranking Nazi officials and their selected mistresses of "pure blood," and who were to be the future leaders of the Nazi State, is an extreme illustration of group structure.

In every instance, such social organization found its origin and its justification in the system of values of the group. The first was justified on the *laissez faire* policy that, by natural selection, the fittest would survive and hence such differentiation was in the best interests of society. Slavery was justified on many grounds as is also the present caste system, the heritage of slavery. Basically economic, the system of values ascribes basic differences in race. Some men "are born to be free; others to be slaves." The Oriental issue is, again, economic but many other elements of social values were ascribed to justify the maintenance of the caste system. The Nazi system of values was raised to the fervor of a nationalistic faith in which economic values were sublimated by Aryan superiority, decadent democracies and all the rest of the State ethnocentrism which, in terms of its resultant political structure, has been destroyed.

But opposition is more than a behavior pattern. It is a total process of interaction and also involves the opposition of ideas. In many instances, it is not persons who are in opposition to each other, but the ideas which each holds. It is not uncommon to like the person yet be in strong opposition to his ideas on specific issues such as politics, religion, or other personal values. Opposition of group with group involves even more the conflict of ideas, for, as pointed out in the earlier discussion of social groups, the degree of dominance of the "we-feeling" determines likewise the sense of opposition with the "out-group."

The interrelation of the system of values and the social structure makes opposition between groups persist. It is difficult to change values within the framework of a social structure which fosters

them, yet such structure cannot be permanently changed unless approved also by changes in the value system held by the individual members of the groups. Revolution and war may bring cataclysmic changes in social structure, but the gains are temporary unless supported by comparable shifts in values. One of the basic world problems is that, having destroyed the social, economic, and political structure of Nazism, Nazism as a system of values may be retained in the minds of the ardent youth who have been reared in its system of ideas or values. "Tomorrow the World" is more than an effective theatrical production; it poses the basic problem of the world! The Nazi youth is but one of millions who have drunk deep of the convictions of totalitarianism. Armies may destroy social structure, but ideas live on in the minds of those who give lip service to the new order of social organization.

Much of the writing of early sociologists on conflict and competition had its genesis in the biological theory of evolution. Through natural selection, those best able to withstand the rigors of the existing social order would survive. It was only when it was recognized that even in the plant and animal world it was possible to give direction to natural processes, that opposition was viewed from both its positive and negative values. In fact, Kropotkin defines "the fittest" as "those who practice mutual aid." Conflict and competition are essential in the development of personality and the determination of status; they are an inevitable concomitant of social change, but unless understood and directed, they lead to personal maladjustments, social demoralization, and world conflicts.

The problem of educational sociology is not to describe in detail the situations characterized by opposition, interesting as such an emphasis would be. This is the field of sociology. The function of educational sociology is to determine the influence of conflict and competition upon the development of personality and to point out specific ways through which education can utilize opposition to achieve the best interests of both the person and society.

Coöperation

The third social process in this classification, coöperation, is defined in the *Dictionary of Sociology* as "any form of social interaction in which personalities or groups combine their activities, or work together with mutual aid, in a more or less organized way, for the promotion of common ends or objectives, in such a way that the greater the success of one party to the interaction, the greater the success of the other party or parties."

Although the division of so complex a process of interaction as coöperation cannot be absolute, two fundamentally different types of coöperation can be distinguished: voluntary and coerced. The first is that in which the coöperating personalities or groups hold the same purpose and mutually assist each other to achieve their purpose. The second type of coöperation is that in which the purposes are not shared equally by all the persons or groups whose activities are combined, but for fear of punishment, they join activities with the others. There is also a deviation of coerced coöperation in which the person or group voluntarily joins an activity with others in order to achieve his own ends. Such interaction might be called egocentric coöperation.

Coöperation is a more deliberative process of social interaction than either adjustment or conflict. The infant is primarily egocentric; other people exist primarily to provide for its needs. In his first play activities the child is self-centered, and it is only as a result of opposition and the expanding interest of the child in activities that require two or more participants that coöperation develops.

In its early stages, coöperation is largely of the egocentric type. The individual discovers that to satisfy his own wants he must join activity with one or more others. The child can play house alone, and an imaginative child can create all the "others" needed, but he cannot play hide-and-seek by himself. Primitive man, individually weak and in a hostile environment, found it expedient to join with others and thereby increase the stature of each. From elemental games and the primitive's need for greater

strength, and hence security, to the complex organization of modern society, coöperative behavior has self-interest as one of its motivating forces. It is futile to pursue this distinction further for it entails the interpretation of motives, and motives are both subjective and extremely complex.

From children's games to the subdivision of labor in our modern industrial system, voluntary coöperation is basic to the existence of both the person and society. As Durkheim[18] has pointed out, division of labor in our industrial life is more than mutual dependence, which is an external relationship. It is much more important than the concept of mutual dependence implies, since voluntary coöperation involves also the mental image of the person or group with whom the individual has joined activities. A workman who performs but one task in a factory is mutually dependent upon other workers—even persons hundreds of miles away—as shown by the strikes in one industry that stopped war production in other areas using such materials. But industry has recognized that it is important for each individual to know the whole process of production and, in many plants, an orientation course is given each new employee to familiarize him with the product and the production processes that produce it.

Coercive coöperation exists to the degree that the person or group joins with another through fear of punishment or desire for reward, but does not accept the standards or attitudes of the group as his own. It exists in varying degree in every group and in all social organization. The child in school may participate in the activities of the class and conform to the group pattern in standards of achievement, yet do so only by compulsion. Fear of being socially ostracized is an important factor in developing and maintaining coöperation.

The relative role of voluntary and coercive coöperation is one of the areas of basic disagreement among educators, philosophers,

[18] Emile Durkheim, *La Division du Travail Social.* Paris: F. Alcan, 1902. Translated, *The Division of Labor.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

and social theorists. On the one hand are those who believe that coöperative interaction must be voluntary if it is to be effective: unless the will to work together is present, there can be no lasting basis for coöperation. On the other hand, some believe that the major means of establishing and maintaining coöperation is through compulsion. Still others take a middle ground and accept the principle that coöperation should be voluntary, but that coercive coöperation is often expedient and may be the means through which coöperation develops on a voluntary basis. The child compelled to coöperate in school and classroom activities may soon find himself coöperating because he wishes to do so. A grave problem now facing the world is to determine the extent to which occupied nations have now accepted voluntarily the ideology and practices of totalitarianism originally forced upon them, and to what extent these nations are now able to recapture values and policies existing prior to the advent of totalitarianism.

The means through which coöperation is achieved vary from situational behavior (coöperating in a specific situation but not accepting it in his own system of values), through compromise (mutual agreement upon a course of action midway between that deemed desirable by either proponent) to conversion (individual acceptance of the will of the other person or the group) or assimilation (group acceptance of the culture of another group).

Meaning for Education

One of the basic problems of educational sociology is to determine the role of the school and other educational agencies in the social adjustment of the individual to the total cultural *milieu.* The school must achieve two seemingly antagonistic ends: the transmission of those elements of the cultural heritage essential to the perpetuation, and the well-being, of society, and the development of the personality of the individual, not as a blind conformist bound by the weight of tradition, but as a person—free and possessed of knowledge to dream and think and plan for a better world.

So, too, the full implications of opposition and coöperation

must be fully understood. They are not respectively the negative and positive aspects of social interaction. From the point of view of personality development, opposition is essential, for it is only through conflict that the individual comes to appraise relative values. Yet out of such conflict must arise, through the consciously planned processes of education, an integrated personality.

Viewing the same problem in its relation to social organization, whether primary, secondary, or tertiary, the first step in accommodation—"the conscious or unconscious alteration of functional relations between personalities and groups so as to avoid, reduce or eliminate conflict and to promote reciprocal adjustment"—is to recognize stratification as a fact in social organization. Superordination and subordination represent the dominant and the submissive elements in the social group. But simply to recognize the fact of stratification is to fail to meet the tremendous challenge which faces every social group and all mankind today. Conflict between labor and management, among racial and religious groups, must be analyzed in terms of the fundamental factors which produce and perpetuate them. The third step is the most difficult of all; to discover and put into practice educative processes that will retain the challenging values of opposition and, at the same time, will make for assimilation of conflicting interests into a homogeneous unit.

It is through social interaction that the individual develops personality and society is perpetuated. The social processes are continually functioning in the complex relationships of modern social organization—an organization highly dynamic and in which new adaptations must be made. These processes can be directed, as is evidenced by the individual and cultural variations in behavior. Social planning is not only possible, but essential, and now more than ever, as the family, the community, the nation, and the world are faced with the problems of post-war rehabilitation. In this planning, education can and must play a leading role.

Chapter 8

THE SOCIAL NATURE OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION has been defined many times by many persons. Each definition reflects either the personal point of view of the individual or that of the field of knowledge of which he is an exponent. To the biologist, education is largely adaptation; to the psychologist, it is synonymous with learning; to the philosopher, and especially to the educator, it reflects the school of thought to which he belongs. Definitions vary from that of the extreme conservative, who views education as a protective process of the State to preserve the *status quo,* to the extreme progressive to whom education is self-expression—to assist the individual to do better the things he would do anyway.

The Meaning of Education

Educational sociology previously has been defined as "the study of the interaction of the individual and his cultural environment, including other individuals, social groups, and patterns of behavior." The continual emphasis upon social interaction gives the key to education as conceived by the educational sociologist. *Education is the consciously controlled process whereby changes in behavior are produced in the person and through the person within the group.* From this point of view, education is a process that begins at birth and continues throughout life.

The phrase "consciously controlled" requires elaboration. Some have maintained that all experience of the person has some, although varying, influence on his behavior, and hence on his education. From this point of view, education is life and all of life is education. The root meaning of the word "education"—"to lead out"—implies a degree of awareness of the goals to be

achieved. This does not imply that education is limited to the school and the Church, the two institutions whose primary purpose is to influence human behavior. The mother and other members of the family exercise sometimes more sometimes less conscious control than does the school. While economic motives may prompt the development of commercial recreation, such as the movies, their importance in influencing behavior is evidenced by legal censorship in a few states and voluntary censorship by the producers themselves. Conversely, the term "education," as here defined, does not include modification of behavior which results from the mere fact of growth or the purely incidental or accidental learning in the usual course of the day. No definite lines can be drawn between such incidental learning and that which is consciously controlled, but the fundamental distinction differentiates education and life.

Another term that requires further consideration is "behavior changes." Here, too, a dual precaution is necessary: not all changes in behavior are the result of education, and not all learning produces social interaction; hence these are not social learning and cannot be "education" in a sociological sense. Language may be used as an illustration. The infant develops vocalization in the normal process of growth. Parents and others in the family group call objects by their names and, at the first sound that is even remotely similar to a word equivalent, the response is highly pleasing to the infant. Through such responses, repeated when the sound is made, together with imitation of the sounds continually made by those associated with the child, a one-word vocabulary gradually increases, becomes short sentences, and then emerges into normal word usage. Thenceforth, until the child goes to school, the further development of his language is usually due to incidental learning. One of the first and primary functions of the school is the improvement of pupils in both oral and written expression. In every grade, through at least the first year of college, English is a required subject. All too often, language becomes disassociated from its original function of producing behavior changes to become rote learning. Studies of reading

habits of adolescents and adults are abundant testimony that, for many, the classroom fails to influence the person's choice of free-time reading.

One other fundamental distinction between educational sociology and the common approach to education is the relation between individual learning and changes in group-behavior patterns through social interaction. Except for material culture and the formalized social organization, all changes in group behavior are changes in the behavior of the individual members of the group. But changes in behavior that are solely in terms of individual learning and have little social context cannot be considered as education by the educational sociologist. This is a fundamental distinction between educational psychology and educational sociology—the former is chiefly concerned with the *learning* process, the latter, with the *educative process.*

A further differentiation is clearly drawn by Payne.[1] "Education has been frequently conceived as growth or development. And rightly so, for all education implies growth or development. Education involves changes in behavior, and all such changes imply growth, whether the changes take place in a desirable or undesirable direction. The boy in the predatory gang that learns to outwit the policeman, steals wares from the corner groceryman, sells bootleg whisky and escapes the clutches of the law, or commits successful burglary is growing in one direction and is thus being educated. The process of education taking place in these instances is as definite as those that occur when the school or the family creates or provides situations that result in desirable behavior changes. The distinction, then, between mere learning and education or the learning process and the educational process hinges upon the character of the situation in which the growth or learning takes place."

This emphasis upon social interaction should not be construed to imply that the educational sociologist is interested only in resultant changes in social behavior as such. By social behavior

[1] E. George Payne, from an unpublished manuscript.

is included the whole field of human values and resulting attitudes. Education in its highest sense has taken place when external controls have been accepted as convictions by the person and have thus become internal controls. Nor is it to be assumed that education must be functional, if conceived in the narrow meaning of the term. It can be related to life without being vocational, for, again, the development of appreciations, of desire for more information, of ability to weigh and judge relative values is just as functional—perhaps, for many, more so—as knowledge or skill that can be turned to vocational use. The development of common elements of courtesy and a deep sense of human relationships is a vital element of the educative process. Here, too, is a distinction between the psychological and the sociological emphasis. Psychology studies individual emotions—fear, love, anger, and the rest; sociology studies desirable behavior patterns which direct the relative development of emotional responses into socially desirable channels. In terms of social interaction, no lines of distinction can be drawn paralleling the artificial and unrealistic division between vocational and general education. *That which makes for more effective participation in the total process of social interaction whether in terms of social, economic, health, or any other socially desirable human value is education.*

The Function of Education

Educational literature contains numerous statements regarding the function of education. Such statements reflect the economic, political, social, and religious values of the period or country in which they are made. The present rapid changes in the cultural pattern of the world, the meteoric development of our material world of man-made commodities, the breakdown of traditional modes of behavior, and the resulting emphasis upon social structure and social processes dictate the objectives of education in our time. These objectives from the viewpoint of educational sociology are stated by Payne as (1) assimilation of traditions, (2) the development of new social patterns, and (3) the creative or constructive role in education.

The descriptions of culture patterns in earlier chapters indicate the importance of *assimilation of tradition* as a basic function of education. The biological counterpart of education is inheritance; its sociological aspect is the social process—processes through which the folkways and mores, together with the institutional patterns in social organization, are transmitted to each new generation. Payne describes the process of assimilation of tradition as "imitation" and "inculcation" which he distinguishes on the basis of "whether the initiative is taken by the giving or receiving party. When the receiving party adapts himself to a social situation consciously or unconsciously, the process of adaptation is imitation; when the receiving party, through social pressure, propaganda, or other instruction, is led to change his behavior or to make adaptation in conformity with the social group, the process is inculcation." While such a distinction is valid, it is but two aspects of social interaction which have been previously described as the social processes of adjustment and social control.

Many agencies contribute to achieve this function of education, beginning with the family and carrying through the formal agencies of the school and the Church, and the constant interaction through the informal agencies of the community and the State. In social organization, they are more or less separate and autonomous institutions and agencies. But the person, in his total social interaction, is only casually aware, and then only when two or more are in conflict, of their distinctive impingement upon his development.

This fact is well illustrated by Mead:[2] "I once lectured to a group of women—all of them college graduates—alert enough to be taking a fairly balanced adult-education course on Primitive Education. I described in detail the lagoon village of the Manus tribe, the ways in which the parents taught the children to master their environment, to swim, to climb, to handle fire, to paddle a canoe, to judge distances, and calculate the strength of materials.

[2] Margaret Mead, "Our Educational Emphasis in Primitive Perspective." *The American Journal of Sociology*, May 1943, Vol. 48, No. 6, pages 633–639.

I described the tiny canoes which were given the three-year-olds, the miniature fish spears with which they learned to spear minnows, the way in which small boys learned to calk their canoes with gum and how small girls learned to thread shell money into aprons. Interwoven with a discussion of the more fundamental issues, such as the relationship between children and parents, and the relationship between younger children and older children, I gave a fairly complete account of the type of adaptive craft behavior which was characteristic of the Manus and the way this was learned by each generation of children. At the end of the lecture, one woman stood up and asked the first question, 'Didn't they have any vocational training?' "

Partly as a result of our artificial divisions of education, partly because of the complexity of our total cultural pattern, the transmission of the cultural heritage is a difficult task. What aspects of the cultural heritage will be of value to the person in the mature years of his life? Whose cultural pattern shall be transmitted—that of the Church, of the State, of capital or labor, of the local community or the nation?

For long, the Church held a dominant influence in both the informal and the formal agencies of education, but with the reestablishment of the State, as the supreme organ of society, many of the values that were of prime importance to the Church have become of less importance—some have said even hostile—to the State. "Secular and religious education," "private and public education" are terms that, in juxtaposition, are the bases of long and sometimes bitter struggles in education. They are illustrated by the discussion regarding a bill introduced into the 79th Congress calling for a small appropriation of Federal funds to assist colleges and universities to continue in operation during World War II. Although the bill gave aid only to those institutions in greatest need and was restricted to the period of the war, the age-old cry of federal control of education was raised by those who opposed such legislation. Although textbooks presumably have been impartial in their treatment of the problems of the relationship of capital and labor, many have believed that the

influence of capital has been dominant, and labor organizations are now actively seeking to have courses on labor problems taught by those who are thoroughly familiar with the problems of labor. Another controversy in education is over whether the cultural heritage shall be that of the adult world or that of the child's world.

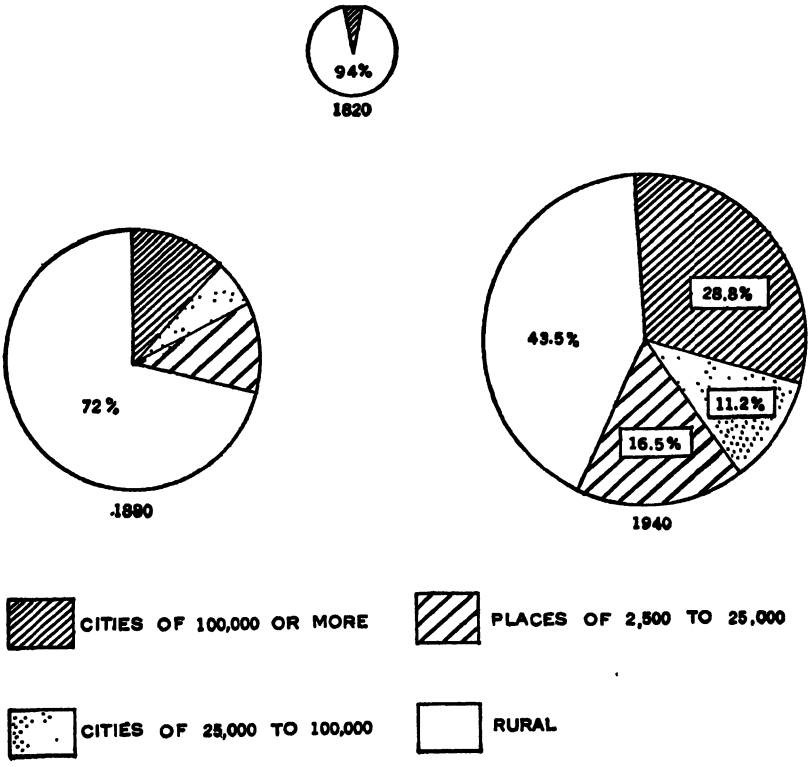


Figure. 5. Per cent of population of the United States living in rural and urban (by size of city) communities in 1820, 1880, and 1940. (Data from U. S. Bureau of the Census.)

These few illustrations indicate the concern that must be given to the whole problem of cultural transmission. In its extreme form, cultural transmission leads to totalitarianism, wherein all of the agencies of education are utilized only to suppress individual

judgment and to bring all citizens into conformity with the doctrines of the State. Total absence of conscious efforts to provide for the transmission of culture can lead only to anarchy and social disorganization. To permit the control of the agencies for cultural transmission to fall into the hands of a single group results in the perpetuation of caste and class.

The greater the degree of cultural isolation, the simpler are the problems of education. In the world of today, with its rapidly changing culture and in which isolation is impossible even within the home, the problem becomes acute. In a democracy in which the right of freedom of expression and of individual judgment is inherent, the earnest, coördinated efforts of all are required. Only by constant reappraisal of the agencies of education can social stability and security be retained.

Assimilation of tradition is but one, though perhaps the most important, function of education. The second is *the development of new social patterns.* As Payne[3] has emphasized: "Social progress depends as much upon the modifications of social heritages as it does upon the incorporation of the past culture and traditions, from group to group and from the old to the young. The development of scientific knowledge requires a transformation of the practices of agriculture and industry, a reconstruction of our modes of living in the fields of health, leisure, vocation, and home life. The scientific development requires new behavior patterns in which inculcation or planned education plays an almost exclusive role."

In the earlier chapters of this Part, cultural changes were analyzed in their total aspects. It is necessary here to summarize certain aspects of them in some detail. Only two illustrations need be given to indicate the need for the development of new social patterns adapted to the world of daily experience of almost every person. Changes, being made at a positively accelerated rate prior to World War II, were advanced with such speed during the war that the problems are almost staggering.

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[3] E. George Payne, from an unpublished manuscript.

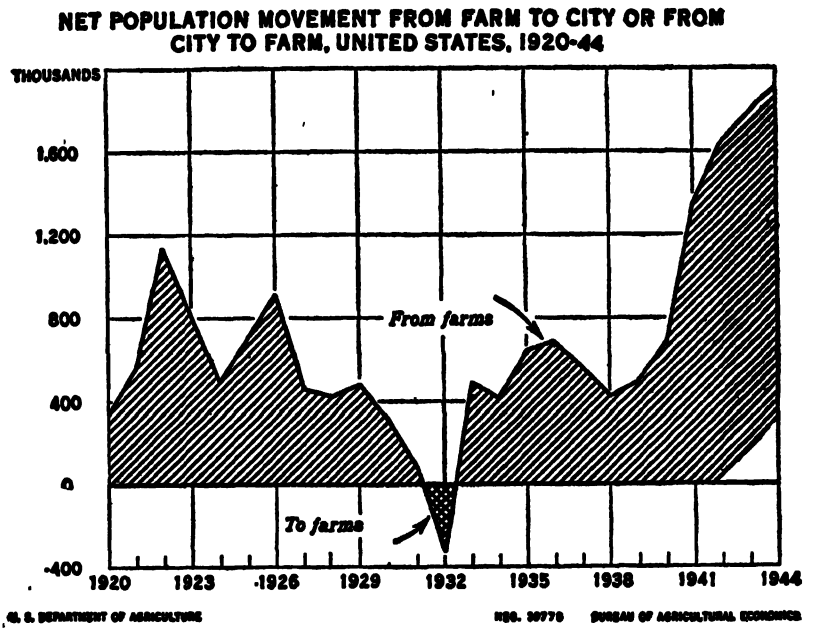


Figure 6.

(Source: *Hearings, Full Employment Act of 1945,* p. 60. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1945. Data from U. S. Department of Agriculture.)

Total social structure varies with changes in population. For two centuries, America was predominately rural, with scattered towns that were little more than trading areas. In 1800, only five cities had a population of 10,000 or more. A century later, the number had increased to 447, and in 1940, five cities had a population of over 1,000,000; 92, between 100,000 and 1,000,000; 412, between 25,000 and 100,000; and 3,464, between 2,500 and 25,000. Even more significant than these gross figures are those in terms of the percentage of the total population classified as urban. The five cities with a population of 10,000 or more in 1800 contained only about 4 per cent of the total population. The 447 cities in 1900 accounted for almost 32 per cent of the total population. In 1940, 47.6 per cent of the population lived in cities of 10,000

or larger. Using the division between urban and rural of the United States Census, that is, those living in cities with populations over 2,500, the ratio in urban communities increased from just under 40 per cent in 1900 to 56.5 per cent in 1940. Figure 5 (page 171) presents this change graphically for the years 1820, 1880, and 1940; Figure 6 (page 173) shows the shift in more detail during the last twenty-five years.

The shift of population is illustrated by the growth of New York City. Not until 175 years from the date of its founding, did it attain a population of 33,000. During the next fifty years, it increased to 280,000; in the next thirty, to 630,000; and in the following twenty years, to approximately 850,000 or a rate of gain more than 200 times that of its first 175 years. In 1870, the population of New York City had reached almost one million; it was 5,620,000 in 1920; 6,930,000 in 1930; and 7,455,000 in 1940. If New York City is thought of in relation to its commuting area, one twelfth of the entire population of the United States lives within a 45-minute ride from Washington Square on Manhattan Island.

World War II has shifted population at a rate that seemed incredible even in a nation so highly mobile as ours. The population of New York State has decreased by 1,000,000 between 1940 and 1945, while that of California has increased by the same amount. The population of Washington, D. C. almost doubled in the same five-year span and that of cities producing heavy war materials, such as Detroit, Boston, and Los Angeles, has increased proportionately. Conversely, other cities, small and large, which had little or no war production, and all rural areas, have shown a sharp decline in population.

Perhaps more important than these cataclysmic changes caused by war are the potential shifts in population after a war. Industrial production is curtailed and plants will become smokeless piles of concrete surrounded by ghost towns. The post-war plans of soldiers were surveyed by the Research Branch, Information and Education Division of the Army in the fall of 1944. The soldiers were asked to indicate whether they planned to return

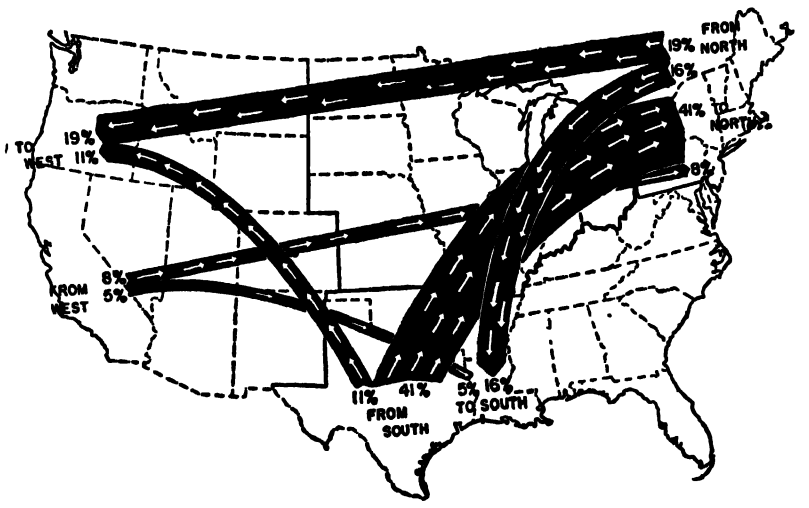


Figure 7. Expected post-war migration of colored enlisted men. (Width of bar represents percentage of all colored migrants.) (Source: *What The Soldier Thinks: Post-War Plans of the Soldier,* p. 4. Research Branch, Information and Education Division, Army Service Forces.)

to their own communities and, if not, to state where they wanted to live. Of the white enlisted men, one in five did not intend to return to what was his home community before the war, and one in ten expected to live in a different state. Of the colored enlisted men, one in three expected to move to a different state. The direction of movement is shown in Figures 7 and 8. Migration of 39 per cent of white soldiers to the West Coast and of 41 per cent of Southern Negro soldiers to the industrial Northeast will create problems of great significance.

If to these shifts in population are added the changes in birth rate, the implications of population data for education are all the more significant. Urbanization has continued despite the fact that the net reproduction rate, based on the average number of daughters born per 100 females,[4] is almost twice as high in

[4] A net reproduction rate of 100 is required to maintain a constant population. Some writers express the ratio as 1.00.

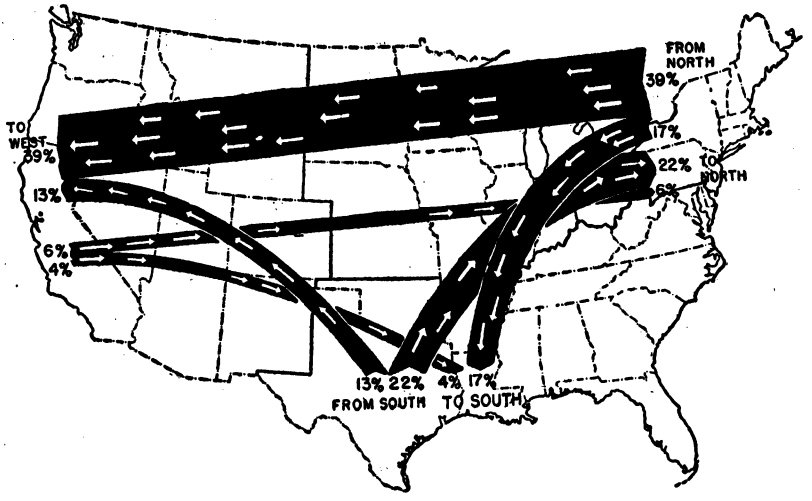


Figure 8. Expected post-war migration pattern of white enlisted men. (Width of bar represents percentage of all white migrants.)

rural areas as in cities of 100,000 or more population: 144 births in rural areas compared with 74 in the cities. In 1930, the ratio was 171 to 76, thus showing a slight drop in the net birth rate in cities but a very much larger decline in rural areas.

Although reliable birth statistics were not kept in the United States prior to 1929, such data as are available would indicate that the rate of birth in 1920 was less than half of that of a century before, and the decline had come largely since 1890. The rate continued to decline still further until 1941, when war marriages momentarily reversed the trend.

Urbanization has brought with it a high degree of mobility, both in the daily life of the community and in place of residence. New York City's buses, subways, and streetcars collect over 8,000,000 fares every weekday. Before gasoline rationing was introduced, the average number of cars entering central Manhattan was approximately 275,000 per day. Over a million persons commute in and out of New York City every day. More

than 70,000 persons cross 7th Avenue and 40th Street every hour during the day, and an average evening crowd in the theater district is estimated at 150,000. If the moving vans of New York City in 1940 had moved a different family every time they transferred household goods, each family would be in a different residence approximately every year!

Patterns of behavior, well adapted to a predominantly rural and relatively stable population, are not adequate to modern life. Old controls are no longer effective when the world at large is brought to the community and to the home; when a few minutes' ride frees one from all social controls except the minimum of law and one's own standard of values.

One other change, closely related to population, is the shift in major areas of employment. The facts from 1820 to 1945 are presented graphically in Figure 9 (p. 178)—the rapid and continuing decline in agriculture, the increase in industry and in transportation coming largely during the period from 1870 to 1910, and the more recent increase in the service fields. The last include salespeople, gas station attendants, cooks, waitresses, and many more. World War II temporarily changed these trends, bringing a further sharp decline in agriculture, a more than corresponding increase in industry, and a decline in the service fields. The war brought also an unprecedented rise in government employment, not only of those in the armed forces but of civilians as well. In June 1945, just at the beginning of cut-backs in government employment, 12,300,000 men and women were in the military forces and 3,600,000 civilians were in the employ of the United States government. The return to an economy of peace will bring serious problems of adjustment and old patterns will not meet the problems. *If new social and economic patterns are not developed, America will be faced by economic collapse or by the need for adopting state socialism.*

Not only have the areas of employment shifted but so, too, have the age and sex of those employed. Children long formed a large proportion of the labor force both in Europe and America. As late as 1910, approximately 2,100,000 children ten to fifteen

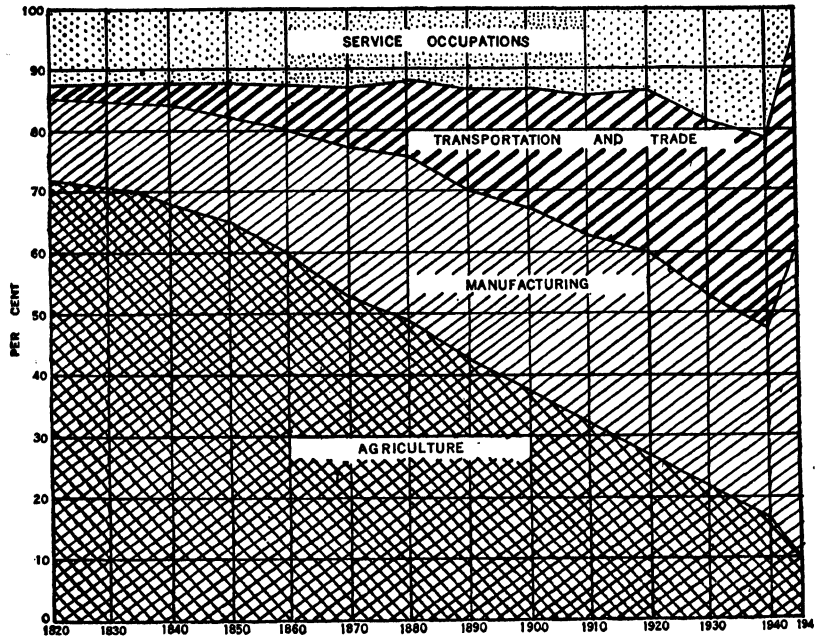


Figure 9. Per cent of total employed in four major areas, 1820–1945. (Data from Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

years of age in the United States were gainfully employed. In some industries, they comprised as high as 25 per cent of the total labor force. By 1920, as a result of an awakening of public concern and the enactment of child labor legislation, the number had been reduced by one half to 1,061,000 and of this number, 70 per cent were in agricultural occupations. The decline continued to 1941 when the shortage of labor made it desirable to suspend enforcement of child labor legislation. At the peak of employment in 1944, it was estimated that some 800,000 children under sixteen years of age had dropped out of school to go to work. From July 1944, to July 1945, the total labor force was reduced from its peak of 66,500,000 to 64,100,000, and with further cut-backs in employment, child labor laws will again be enforced and the number of child workers will rapidly decline.

More important than this change in child labor has been the increasing number and percentage of women who are gainfully employed. Before our industrial system had been developed,

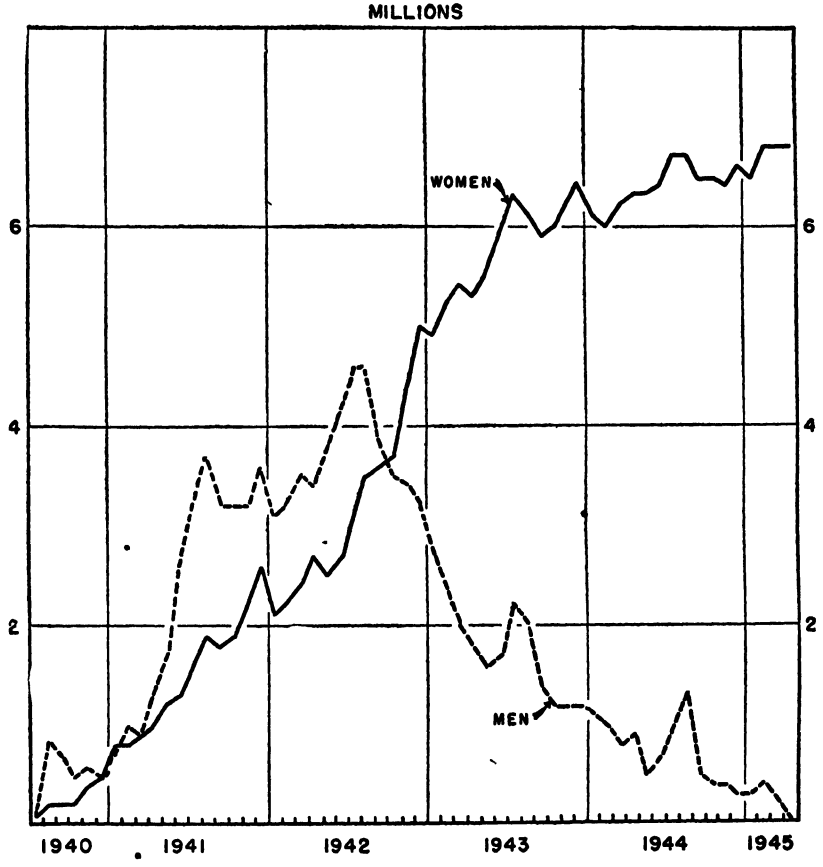


Figure 10. Civilian non-agricultural employment, men and women, in excess over June 1940 employment. (Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics.)

the majority of women employed were either "in service"—cooks, maids, and other household servants—or in teaching. Women began to enter industry largely to continue occupations learned in homemaking. World War I brought a sharp but momentary

rise in the employment of women in many fields, but women had unprecedented opportunity of employment at all levels during World War II. They entered heavy industry, operated streetcars and buses, and held important administrative positions. Table V presents the facts over the period from 1870 to the present; Figure 10 (p. 179) tells the story of five years of war, in terms of civilian non-agricultural employment in excess of that of 1940.

Table V *

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF WOMEN EMPLOYED OUTSIDE THE HOME
1870–1945

Year	Number over 10 Years of Age Gainfully Employed	Per Cent of All Women of Working Age
1870	1,800,000	12.1
1880	2,600,000	14.7
1890	4,000,000	17.4
1900	5,300,000	18.8
1910	7,400,000	21.5
1920	8,600,000	21.4
1930	10,800,000	22.0
1940	12,800,000	25.4
1944 (July)	18,500,000	36.7
1945 (July)	18,100,000	35.9

* Data from Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Of even more significance are the data shown in Figure 11 (p. 182) on the number of women employed at the peak of war production in relation to their former activities. In manufacturing, for example, only approximately half were formerly in the labor force. Two thirds of the 2,500,000 women who had not previously been employed had been "at home," and most of the remainder left school to take manufacturing jobs. The consistently large per cent of women and girls who left home and school to assist in meeting the unprecedented demands of war created a serious problem as millions of veterans returned to civilian life.

Studies made in Detroit and other industrial centers during

World War II show that as high as 75 per cent of employed women wanted to retain their jobs after the war, despite the fact that one million of them were over 45 years of age. The problem is dramatically described by Mezerik: [5] "The most curious of all the factors in the condescending attitude of men toward women is the persistent treatment of women as a minority. They are not a minority today; 53 per cent of the voters in 1942 were women. It is the men who are the minority, for there are fewer males in this country than women. And as man-made wars grind on there are even fewer.

"Perhaps it is because they do not know their own strength that they do not take over; but for whatever reason, women have not moved along to help themselves to equality—much less the superiority to which their numbers entitle them. As matters stand, in discussions and in action, they are still treated as a minority, through in 1944 they held down one in every three jobs available in the country, along with every non-paying householding job the country over. (The Negroes are our largest real national minority, and they total only 10 per cent of our population.) Yet women continue to be pushed from pillar to post to the kitchen."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics recently conducted a job analysis of 1,500 types of industrial work. Of this number, they found women could do 1,050 as well as men. Parts of 350 more jobs were suitable for women, leaving only 100 jobs at which men excel. If full employment means only full employment for males and if, in our concern for veterans, any larger number of women are thrown out of work, the women will be confronted with problems of maladjustment which face unemployed men. No "back-to-the-home" movement will solve the nation's problems; only new social patterns can meet the need of an earned equality.

Changed methods of production, both agricultural and industrial; the multiplicity of institutions and agencies; new types of housing and of household utilities; the development of commer-

[5] A. G. Mezerik, "Getting Rid of the Women." *The Atlantic Monthly*, June 1945, Vol. 175, No. 6, pages 79–83.

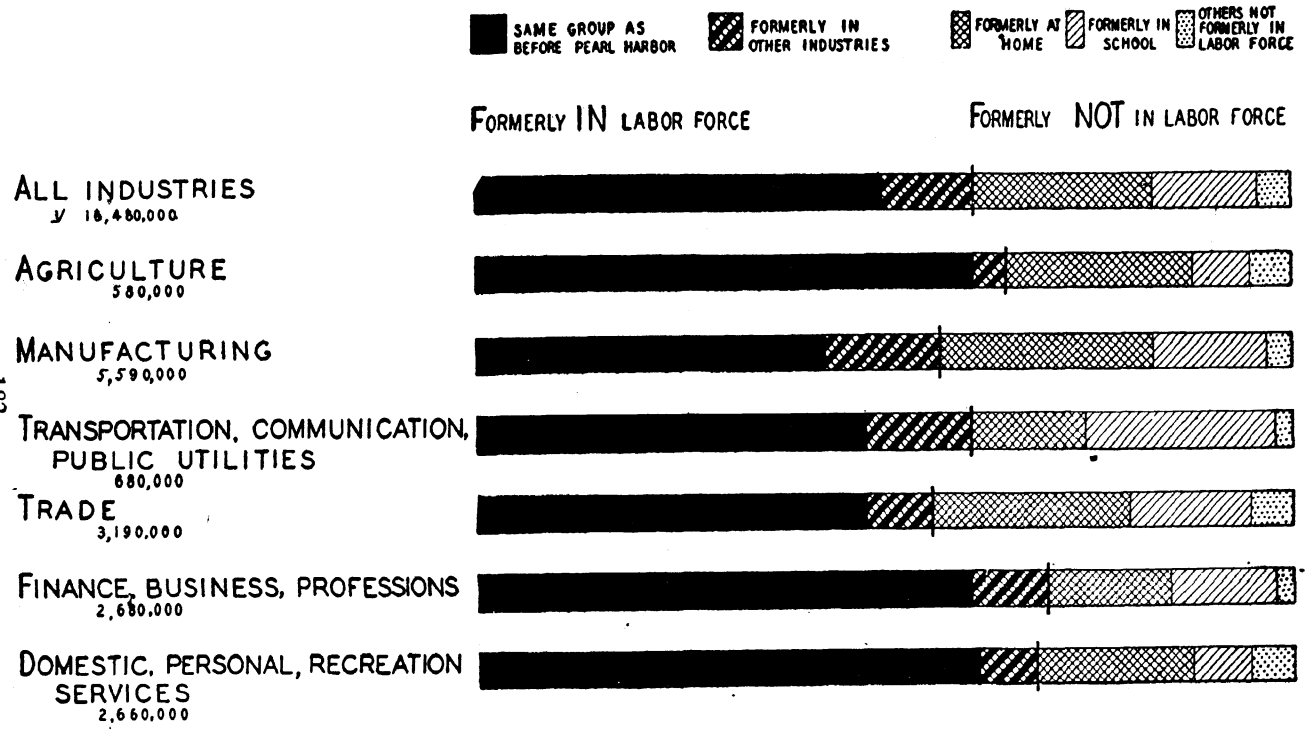


Figure 11. Women workers, by industry, 1944, and their former status of employment.

cial and non-commercial recreation; and extension of leisure make nineteenth-century patterns of social behavior inadequate to equip the person with the necessary knowledge and basic attitudes essential in years of adjustment just ahead. Maladjustments had already been on the increase, and World War II brought a sharp rise. *New social patterns are necessary and the agencies of education must take the lead in giving them direction.*

The third function of education—*its creative or constructive role*—is less tangible but is equally important. It entails providing for the development of open-mindedness to meet the changes which have already begun and will inevitably increase in our dynamic world. Too often education has assumed its purpose has been fulfilled with the transmission of cultural heritage and with assistance to the individual in adjusting to the changes of the moment. The importance of this third function is pointed out by Payne [6] as follows:

"We can, therefore, say that one of the great problems of modern education is to develop a program that creates greater flexibility in the practices of the individual and leads him to make changes in conformity with social changes. Furthermore, we may hope to so educate that at least the leaders in various lines of endeavor will not merely follow the great social changes that are taking place but will also serve a creative function in bringing about change essential to the greatest social progress. Writers have variously designated this function of education as that of developing open-mindedness, of logical mindedness, and the like. We conceive the educational function to be primarily creative or constructive."

This function is, in a sense, idealistic in that it can be only approximately achieved. The first step in its realization is the development of an awareness of difference between what is and what can be. It entails a rich background of pertinent information on basic issues and an attitude of appraisal of such data, not in terms of prejudice and fixed opinion, but with a mind

[6] E. George Payne, from an unpublished manuscript.

ready and willing to draw new conclusions and formulate new policies. The individual and the nation that no longer "dream dreams" cannot move forward to make and possess the new Heaven and the new earth that are within their grasp.

Mead[7] has beautifully and forcefully expressed this point of view: "There has grown up in America a touching belief that it is possible by education to build a new world—a world that no man had yet dreamed and that no man, bred as we have been bred, can dream. They argue that if we can bring up our children to be freer than we have been—freer from anxiety, freer from guilt and fear, freer from economic constraint and the dictates of expediency—to be equipped as we never were equipped, trained to think and enjoy thinking, trained to feel and enjoy feeling, then we shall produce a new kind of human being, one not known upon the earth before. . . . Phrased without any of our blueprints, with an insistence that it is the children themselves who will some day, when they are grown, make blueprints on the basis of their better upbringing, the idea is a bold and beautiful one, an essentially democratic and American idea. Instead of attempting to bind and limit the future and to compromise the inhabitants of the next century by a long process of indoctrination which will make them unable to follow any path but that which we have laid down, it suggests that we devise and practice a system of education which sets the future free. We must concentrate upon teaching our children to walk so steadily that we need not hew too straight and narrow paths for them but can trust them to make new paths through difficulties we never encountered to a future of which we have no inkling today."

It may appear that these three functions of education are internally inconsistent because the educational agency which seeks to inculcate the cultural heritage cannot also aid in the development of new social patterns or excercise a creative role. This is true only if an institution accepts one function to the exclusion of the others, but therein lies the greatest challenge to all education—

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[7] Margaret Mead, *op. cit.*, page 639.

the need of keeping a balance, of retaining enough of our heritage to assure social stability in the person and in our social structure; of continual adjustment to new social patterns in which war has accelerated the tempo of change beyond any that we have yet known; of continuing to envision the world that the labor and the genius of man can transform into a living reality —a world in which the person willingly gives up an element of freedom in order that, together with others, he may be more free —free from ignorance and superstition, free from insecuity and unemployment, free from prejudice and discrimination, free from the hideous fear of another World War!

The Agencies of Education

In Part II, the dominant role of the culture pattern has been described both in its impersonal or non-material aspects, including folkways and mores, and in its personal factors through group behavior patterns, including institutions. The processes of social interaction were analyzed by which the individual, in contact from birth to death with the cultural world around him, becomes a person. The process of social adjustment, dominant in early years, shifts, through conflict and coöperation, to social control. Such processes must, in the interest both of the person and of society, be constantly directed. The alternative of such social planning or social telesis is insecurity and instability; for the person, maladjustment; for society, chaos.

Society, across the span of centuries, has created an increasing number and variety of specialized agencies to carry out such planning. The function of these educational institutions and agencies is threefold: the assimilation of tradition, the development of new social patterns, and the creative or constructive role in education.

In Part III, the educational agencies will be studied to determine the extent to which they are achieving their purpose and maintaining a balance among the processes of social interaction. Specific recommendations for changes will be pointed out in order that they may more nearly fulfill their functions.

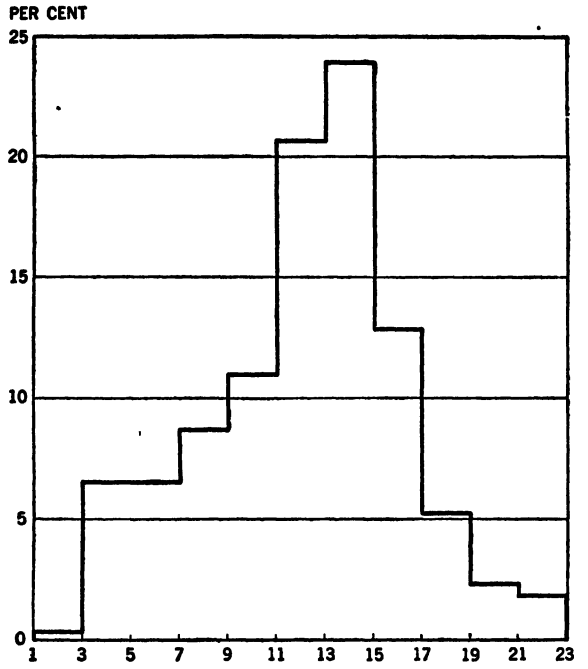


Figure 12. Per cent of 309 cities having specified number of radios per 100 inhabitants in 1930. (Source: E. L. Thorndike, *Your City,* p. 16. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939. Reproduced with permission.)

Although no effort will be made to classify the educational agencies, they fall into four major groups: (1) the formal institutions set up more or less deliberately by society as educational agencies: the school, the Church, museums, libraries, organized recreation centers, and others, (2) groups organized to meet other societal needs but which have a vital educational function, such as the family, the playgroup, and the community, (3) commercial organizations operating for profit but whose purpose is that of appeal to the interests of people such as the movies, the press, the radio, the theater, and other agencies of commercialized recreation, and (4) commercial and industrial organizations that,

through the situations within the plant or store, or on the farm, are factors in determining the total cultural pattern for the person. An increasing number of the last group of agencies are conducting programs of education and organized recreation.

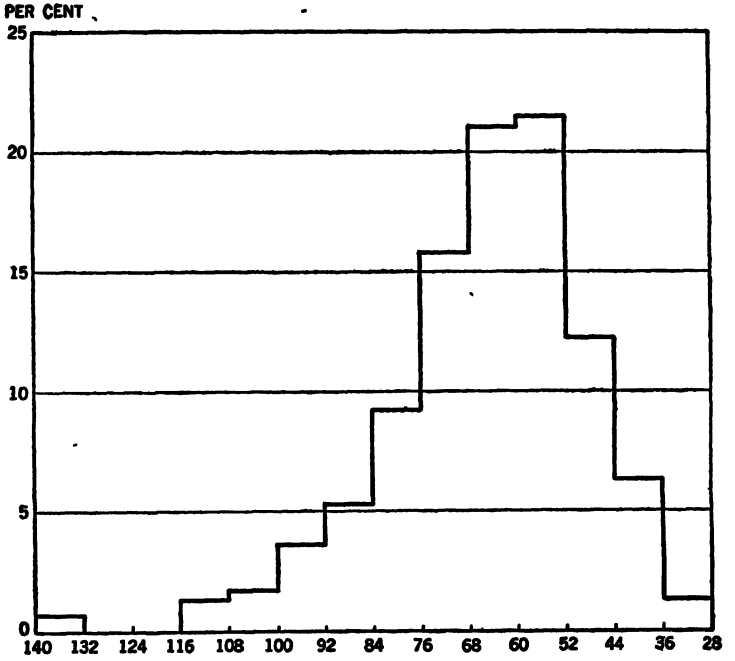


Figure 13. Per cent of 303 Cities having specified number of deaths each year for each 1000 births (excluding still-births). (Source: E. L. Thorndike, *Your City*, p. 17. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939. Reproduced with permission.)

The person is hardly aware of these distinctions since the above classification is structural rather than functional. But as Payne [14] has stated: "Each of these groups of educative institutions and agencies is constantly operative in society and exerts a definite influence in social adjustment. Each contributes to the develop-

[14] E. George Payne, *op. cit.*

ment of social controls. They are determining the habits, knowledges and attitudes, in a word, the practices of the population." This being true, it is necessary to study the whole educative process rather than the learning process alone. It is necessary also to appraise varying forces in the total community as shown in the wide differences among cities graphically presented in Figures 12 and 13 and which will be discussed in detail later.

To assume, as has been too often done, that the school is the sole or even the primary agency of education of the person, is to lose sight of some of the most important agencies in society for personality development and for societal welfare.

Part III

AGENCIES OF PERSON-GROUP INTERACTION

Across the span of centuries, Man wove the pattern
For his life and for his offspring through endless years;
Fixed class and caste forming a changeless social world,
Ruled by his gods, the sanctions of his clan, and fears.

Restless still, Man sought new vistas of space and time;
Through tireless quest, he made his strangest dreams come true,
Only to find with each new conquest, his fixed and ordered life
Was challenged, and old patterns must give way to new.

Chapter 9

THE FAMILY

In the study of person-group interaction, the family is first not only in time but in primacy as well. It is in the family that the child has his first social relationships "in which and through which he acquires and organizes his experience." No other institution has so significant a role in the transition of the individual to a person—from original nature to human nature. Only in the family are the social processes in such continuous interplay—from adjustment, through opposition and coöperation, to social control.

It is important, therefore, that all who are interested in education should understand the role of the family in the life of the person for as Payne [1] states, "the school begins its educative work with children who have already acquired many of the social patterns, who have developed definite personalities, and who have a body of habits, knowledges, and attitudes that will determine their whole future adjustment."

More specifically, by the time the person comes to school he has acquired language ability in the mother-tongue of his family, whether English, Italian, or any other, and whether brogue or dialect, slang or profanity—sometimes using words of which he may not know the meaning. He has developed food and eating habits, likes and dislikes, a degree of neatness in dress, a manner of greeting others, and an attitude toward bodily care and cleanliness. As the author has stated elsewhere,[2] "The extent to which

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[1] E. George Payne, *Principles of Educational Sociology,* page 66. New York: New York University Press Book Store, 1928.

[2] Francis J. Brown, *Sociology of Childhood,* page 111. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.

the individual shows warmth and congeniality or is cold and reserved in relation with others is largely the product of the family pattern. In homes in which there is a wholesome and sincere expression of love, the child tends to develop a warmth of personality that is reflected not alone within the family but in his relations to those outside of the family group. On the other hand, if affection is suppressed, the basis is laid for a more or less impersonal attitude toward others that often carries over into adult relationships."

A Social Institution

The modern family is more than a number of persons living in one household. It is a group of interacting personalities in which each member has a definite, although varying, role. The respective roles are never static, changing both with different situations and with the passing of time. In one situation, such as matters of dress, the mother is usually in the dominant role while in matters dealing with expenditures or the use of the family car, the father's decision is frequently final. The child's role shifts from more or less passively accepting the authority of others, to sharing in decisions or, perhaps, being the dominant member of the family group.

Not only is the family an institution in that each member has status, but the family itself may be said to have a personality. Children are told, "We don't do things like that in *our* family." The family is a "we-group" with definite standards of behavior presumably binding upon each member. Family genealogy need not be traced to the "Pilgrim Fathers" or be "old and established." What is important is that common folkways and mores be held in such regard as to make the family different from those families around it.

These differences are many. One family may have a 1,000 word vocabulary, another, 10,000. Each family has definite speech mannerisms, superstitions, and interests. The economic level may be a contributing factor, but even more important is the family's attitude toward saving and spending and the value

which they place on time. One family has a definite anti-Jewish attitude, another anti-Catholic, while other families may assiduously avoid any prejudicial attitude toward other groups. There are basic differences in the sense of mutual responsibility both for other members of the family and for others outside the kinship group.

This emphasis upon family solidarity is so well described within a specific community by West[8] that it is quoted at some length: "As each individual born into Plainville society begins to talk and to 'understand,' the language begins transmitting to him a series of kinship terms. Through observation, direct instruction, and innuendo, he learns to feel the sentiments and practice the behavior considered appropriate toward each relative. His task is not easy, however, because there is a great gap between the way in which Plainville 'kinfolks' actually treat each other and the way in which they are 'supposed to act.' . . . The firmest kinship bonds are between members of one's 'own' or immediate family. The husband 'owes his wife a good living'; he should be 'true to her,' and 'kind to her'; he should not 'meddle with the house.' The wifely obligation is 'to be a good help-mate.' . . . She should be 'a good and patient mother to her children' and a 'comforter' to children and husband. She should 'tend to her business' and not 'meddle with the farm' or with 'money matters.' Husband and wife should 'advise with' each other, however, when important decisions must be made in either's economic domain, or when problems arise regarding the children. If they fail to reach a common decision, then the wife should yield to her husband's judgment.

"Parents are supposed to take care of their children until they are 'educated,' 'grown,' 'married' or 'able to make their own living.' . . . Through all this 'support' and 'loving care,' a 'debt of gratitude' is built up in the growing child which he must 'pay off' as well as he can—he can never fully repay it—through work

[8] Reprinted from James West, *Plainville, U. S. A.*, with the permission of the Columbia University Press, pages 57–68. New York, 1945.

at home or through 'leading a good moral life both as a child and as an adult.' . . . What children, while children, owe their parents is love, respect and obedience. Grown children owe parents love, or at least respect, the gratitude already mentioned, and economic care in case of need. [Similar relationships are described between siblings, with grandparents, in-laws, and more distant of kin.] Most real obligations between relatives stop with the immediate family and the parent-child relationship. The 'own' family is the unit of obligation. . . . The maintenance of kin solidarity is aided not only by hospitable acts or attitudes toward each other, but also by acts that demonstrate the willingness to receive hospitality. People are criticized for not 'eating a meal' with kinfolks, or for not staying at the houses of kin, when traveling, just as they are criticized for unwillingness to entertain and feed their kin. People say, 'It's about time we eat at John's, to show 'em we're still kin.' "

The above description shows the homely pattern which comprises the typical American family. Although, as will be pointed out later, the family pattern is changing, the change is gradual in human relationships even though the physical environment of almost every family has been altered considerably during the past quarter century.

The third aspect of the family as an institution is that the obligations and responsibilities voluntarily assumed in family interaction originally had been enforced by community sanctions and taboos, but today has become formalized through laws regulating marriage, divorce, property rights, and inheritance. The state also assumes regulative power to prevent cruelty to children or neglect. It is interesting to note that the state had legal authority to protect animals from cruel owners before it had the right to protect a child from neglectful or vindictive parents. In fact, in the first court case, in 1874, it was necessary to consider the child an animal in order to bring it under the protection of law.

The family does not depend upon sanction by secular and ecclesiastical law. It lies deep within the customs, standards and ideals—the folkways and mores—of society. The family is

an expression of the richest fulfillment of human need among peoples of every race and nation: it is as old as man himself.

In Retrospect

The origin and development of the family has been the subject of extensive research and discussion by anthropologists, geneticists, sociologists, and historians, the last both lay and cleric. Influenced by the development of the evolutionary concept, the studies by Rivers, Frazer, and others trace dthe evolution of the family from virtual promiscuity through its matriarchal form when kinship was through the mother; to the patriarchal form of dominance of the eldest male; and to biarchal control, in which husband and wife share the responsibility for, and authority in, the family.

Westermarck in his *History of Human Marriage* and Sumner and Keller in their *Science of Society* describe instances of little regulation of sex relationships, but prefer such terms as "minimal regulation" to promiscuity. Other recent writers support this position; in fact, these writers challenge the whole evolutionary concept and especially that matriarchal organization of the family was an intermediary stage. Such writers emphasize, rather, the functional aspect of the family, its essentiality in meeting human needs, and its relationship with self-perpetuation, property, religion, and law.

The three aspects of the history of the family which have value for educational sociology are the changes in the interaction pattern (1) of the child-parent relationship and (2) of husband-wife relationships. Correlative to these changes are (3) the shifts in the function of the family in its interaction with other community groups, agencies, and services.

Child-parent relationships vary so widely that there is no common pattern among primitive peoples—from child-trading to parental love, from neglect to devoted care. But regardless of the variation among groups, there is one element in common: the child must conform to the behavior pattern of group relationships. Unfortunately, most anthropological studies have

been of societal structure—ceremonials, rituals, and institutions—rather than functional in terms of relationships, but from scattered data, it is apparent that most babies are wanted, especially sons. "By a son, a man gains heaven; by the son of a son, he gains immortality; by the son of this grandson, he rises to dwell in the sun. But if a family dies without a male child, the celestial dwellings are closed to him, and his parents and grandparents for whom they had already been opened are expelled forever."

Likewise, although children in primitive cultures are little disciplined, they follow the behavior patterns of their elders. Young Papuan children are much pampered, but they acquire a degree of self-control exceeding that of white people. The mother cannot punish the child; in fact, the boy may strike the mother and be commended as a brave son. Bushmen leave their children to their own resources, and the latter become relatively self-sufficient at an early age.

Apparent lack of discipline accompanied by general conformity seems incongruous in comparison with the kind of child-parent relationships existing in Western civilization. The explanation probably is that in a simple environment a close connection exists between the failure to follow the example of the elders and failure to satisfy the individual's need. Only when desirable behavior has little real relationship to immediate desires is discipline necessary. In primitive society, the child who does not conform gets hurt, fails to catch fish, or is deprived of a mate.

The Western world has been influenced by the Biblical injunction, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." If other justification were desired, the parent could assume the role of God-head for "Whom the Lord loveth, He chastiseth." Theodore L. Stoddard in his interesting description, *The Story of Youth,* concludes that until the middle of the last century children were brought up strictly and "often treated with rank injustice or revolting cruelty." Any notable degree of kindness or consideration was apt to be reproved as "fond cockering and indulgence," to use the terms of one stern medieval writer. Certainly we know

that among the upper classes especially, until almost yesterday as time runs, children were dressed as young adults but treated as inferior, to be served last "if company comes"—and sometimes just as a family custom—and "to be seen and not heard." No differentiation was made in court decisions or law between the youthful and the adult offender nor did parents recognize differences in age or motive.

During adolescence, boys were trained in the skill of their fathers—like father, like son. Land was tilled through generations within the same family. With the advent of the Industrial Revolution and the transfer of employment from home to mill, this heritage began to be of less consequence, but the responsibility of parents to decide the occupations of their children tended to remain. Girls, likewise, learned homemaking and the arts of the group from the mother, just as Navaho girls learn rugmaking from their mothers.

Although educational practices varied among groups, and class and caste dictated relationships and procedures, adolescent girls had little, and in many cases, no choice in the major decision of their lives—the selection of a husband. The "match" was made by the parents, sometimes with the assistance of an intermediary, the "matchmaker." Frequently, nuptial bonds were arranged between the respective parents of infants, thus "foreswearing" them to marriage: often girls never saw their husbands until the wedding day. The history of the marriage contract, courtship, and marriage ceremany makes one of the most interesting stories of family relationships,[4] but this is the field of anthropology. Only two generalizations can be stated here: Western civilization gave greater recognition of spontaneous love and more opportunity for individual selection than did Oriental or most primitive societies; and whatever were the mores of the village or group,

[4] For documented and comprehensive studies, see Edward Westermarck, *A History of Human Marriage,* 5th edition, 3 vols. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921, or William G. Sumner and Albert G. Keller, *The Science of Society,* Vol. 3. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.

they were enforced by civil and canon law, and by an exacting social pressure.

Husband-wife relationships show wide variation across the span of history, but for each group, they are more expressly defined than are those between child and parent. Although relationships maintained within some groups, such as polygamy or wife purchase, are wrong according to present standards, the mores make such relationships proper within the group, for "the mores make anything right." In a sense, this discussion might have been termed "the changing status of woman," for the variation of her role has been more in evidence than any other's in the family; but every change in her status involves also changes in the whole pattern of relationships. This is now becoming very apparent in post-war adjustments.

Beginning far back in primitive life, there are many instances, cited by Westermarck and others, of groups which were unaware of the relationship between the sex act and pregnancy, which was ascribed to a particular god or spirit. In such groups, responsibility for the care of offspring rested with the mother, and gave rise, together with the physiological but not understood characteristics of childbirth, to the "blood-bond" or clan-family which included all who were related by blood ties to the mother.

Long after the specific relationship of the father to pregnancy was recognized, this type of family organization, referred to as "matriarchal" by some anthropologists, persisted among many groups. This term implies succession of authority, as well as descent and property inheritance, and the number of groups is small in which all three elements essential to societal organization reside with the mother. Perhaps the nearest approximation of a completely matriarchal organization was the Iroquois Indians living in "long-houses" along the Great Lakes. The "matron" controlled all fundamental institutions of tribal organization, including the lodge and all its furnishings, the lands of the clan, all offspring, the men who married into the clan (if the matron was displeased with a husband of the blood-related women of her clan she could peremptorily order him to go, his children

remaining with the mother), and the authority to designate the sons to be the chieftains of her tribe.[5]

Such completely matriarchal societies are comparatively few in number. In many in which descent and inheritance are through the mother, men have authority over tribal matters and succession of power is through the male. The Navaho and Pueblo Indian groups described earlier illustrate this type of family organization for which the term "Mother-family" is more accurate. While no instances have been found in which the "Mother-family" replaced a previously existing "Father-family" organization, and there are several of the latter replacing the former, it should not be assumed that the "Mother-family" is a necessary stage in the evolution of the family. They are different types of social organization rather than one evolving from the other.

Cultural anthropologists give much importance to "place" as a basis for family organization. Among groups in which marriage was permitted outside of the clan and it was necessary for either the husband or wife to leave one clan and go to another, it was, with few exceptions, the woman who came to the man's clan. Stealing a woman from another tribe (which became among several groups an exciting ceremonial) may have contributed to male dominance. The freedom of the male from rearing children gave him time and energy to be the provider. Whatever may have been the determining factors, the cultural inheritance of Western and most of Occidental civilization was the patriarchal form of family organization, in which the woman leaves her family and goes and "cleaves to her husband."

Wife-purchase, which is midway between wife-stealing and the dowry system, is an example of a custom which considered wives the property of their husbands. When the woman went to live with her husband, her family lost the product of her toil and, to compensate for this loss, the bridegroom paid an agreed-

[5] For a detailed study of family organizations among the Iroquois and other Indian tribes with comparable organization, see John N. B. Hewitt, *Status of Woman in Iroquois Polity*. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1933.

upon amount for her. Such payment or "purchase price" was paid in whatever was the medium of barter—cattle, sheep, shells, dog's teeth, or wampum. The amount varied with the economic status of the groom, although sometimes the entire clan contributed to the amount. Payment for wives did give a distinct advantage to the upper classes who, unless barred by other taboos, could purchase the most-to-be-desired wives. Often the purchase price was paid with elaborate ceremonials and the amount and manner of payment formally agreed to by contract. In some groups, the groom made only a partial payment, and continued to pay installments to his wife's clan for longer or shorter periods of time depending upon the folkways of the group. In several instances, the final payment was not made until the wife had given birth to a living child, seeming to indicate that it was not the wife who was being purchased, but prospective offspring.

The transition to the dowry, which is "husband purchase," is difficult to trace. Not all groups have passed through the stages of wife-capture—wife-purchase—dowry. The custom of presenting gifts to the bride's parents is still not uncommon. An illustration of a transition stage is the practice of the girl's father of returning part of the bride-price as symbolic of his right to intervene, if necessary, to protect the interests of his daughter. The exchange of gifts between the parents, or gifts by both bride and groom to the other's family, are intermediate steps which show the gradual shift to male dominance and the resulting dowry system. This practice is still common, the amount and nature of the dowry varying with the mores of the group and the economic status of the family.

It has been suggested that the use of cosmetics and the wearing of ornaments was stimulated by the desire to make the prospective bride more attractive personally and thereby either to increase her purchase price under wife-purchase or decrease the amount of dowry which would be exacted under the dower system. An interesting custom was developed which had the same purpose, that of the "bride show." Among the Somals, for example, the

prospective bride is decorated in ornamental style, covered with oils and perfumes, and is led about on horseback or on foot. Families of low economic status present their daughters, reeking with perfumes, to assembled friends in order to make the atmosphere bewitching. This practice does not differ significantly from the present "debut" arranged by the well-to-do family for the eligible-for-marriage debutante. The purpose is the same—to increase the daughter's chances of a more desirable marriage, desirability being measured either by wealth or by social position.

The dower system was but an expression of husband-wife relationships. In groups in which the dowry was high and became the exclusive property of the husband at marriage, the wife was totally dependent upon her spouse, waited upon him even to not eating with him at table, and accepted his status as master of the house and his word as absolute authority. This male dominance was sanctioned by both canon and civil law. Among certain groups the husband could dispose of the wife's property at his discretion and without her consent while the wife could not dispose of even such property as might be in her own name. It was not until the last century that women began to have equal property rights with their husbands, and even yet we live in a man-made world in terms of social interaction.

Sumner and Keller [6] summarize the data on family organization by pointing out that: "Society has been very slow to interfere with the control of a man over his wife, child, or slave, for the anterior code which accorded him power, sometimes nearly absolute in degree, was stubborn against alteration. It has always been the case, as it is now, that though the mores and laws concede rights to the wives, yet they cannot get them if husbands do not grant them; for the process of remedy is slow, costly, and difficult and is attended with publicity and even public scandal. This is well recognized and also resented by agitators of women's rights."

It should not, however, be assumed that the interrelationship

[6] William G. Sumner and Albert G. Keller, *op. cit.*, page 1946.

of the economic factor with the relationship of the spouses lessened the quality of the love element. It may actually have strengthened it, as the definite prescription of relationships by the mores decreased the areas of potential conflict. This was true despite the fact that not only did family organization vary among groups, but there was and is wide variation also among families within the group.

The *functions of the family* have changed more than its organization. Ogburn [7] has described seven functions, based on what the family has done in the past. These are: (1) affectional, (2) economic, (3) educational, (4) protective, (5) recreational, (6) family status, and (7) religious. Other writers, while recognizing the important economic factors inevitably related to the family, believe that the economic factor is only a means of achieving other functions which Bernard [8] gives as (1) reproductive, the reproduction of legitimate offspring; (2) protective, the protection of these offspring; (3) socialization, the socialization of these offspring; (4) affectional, the furnishing of affection and emotional security to family members; and (5) regulative, the regulation, as an institution or complex of institutions, of the relationship between the sexes, between parents and offspring, among siblings, and other relationships within the family. Although there is no particular validity to either of these classifications nor to the others that have been given by Nimkoff, Mowrer, and Groves, the classification by Ogburn is more definite in its distinctions than most.

The illustrations given thus far in this book indicate the extent to which the earlier family, especially the clan-family, performed each of these functions. It was only with the advancement in culture in China, and later in Western civilization, that some of the family functions described began to be carried on by

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[7] William F. Ogburn, "Decline of the American Family" in E. George Payne, *Readings in Educational Sociology,* Vol. 1, page 252. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932.

[8] Jessie Bernard, *American Family Behavior,* pages 26–31. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1942.

specialized agencies. In *Recent Social Trends,*[9] Ogburn summarizes data bearing on changes in each of these functions of the American family. He shows the increase in utilization of out-of-home services such as laundry, baking, and canning, thus decreasing the family's economic function; assumption by the state of an increasing proportion of the protective function; unprecedented growth of public recreational facilities outside of the home; decrease of worship and religious practices, such as prayers and grace at meals, within the family; lowering age requirements for entering children in school, increase in the number of school days per year, and lengthening of the total time spent in school; and increase in the number of women gainfully employed outside of the family, thereby lessening the role of the home in determining family status and in developing the social role of its members. Ogburn concludes that in the long range of history and with accelerating tempo, the family is declining in effectiveness to fulfill all but its affectional function.

Much the same conclusion is reached by Bernard[10] after she has analyzed the extent to which the American family "passes" in fulfilling the five functions she ascribes to it. She points out the extent to which out-of-home agencies have taken over functions previously to be achieved in the home, and then states, "We may expect the family's affectional function to continue to be of major importance and even to grow in significance. As life becomes more regimented and disciplined outside the home—indications point in this direction—the home will have an even greater responsibility for emotional release and expression."

Present Trends in Family Organization

It has been generally assumed that (1) the age of marriage is rising and (2) the percentage of the population that is married is decreasing. Both of these assumptions are false. The average

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[9] *Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends,* McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1932. William F. Ogburn, "The Family and Its Functions," Chapter XIII.

[10] Jessie Bernard, *op. cit.,* page 550.

age of marriage in the United States has shown a gradual but consistent downward trend, although the age of marriage varies with economic status—those of the higher income brackets tend to be older than those whose families have low incomes. The rate of marriages per thousand of the total population has shown temporary variations, such as during World Wars I and II, but has gradually increased from 8.7 in 1890 to 11.8 in 1940. (See Table VII, p. 205.) This ratio rose sharply to 13.2 during the first years of World War II but leveled off again in the later years at approximately 11.8. The American family is decreasing in size and is now below the level presumably required for perpetuating population at its present level. In 1790, the average number of persons per family was 5.7; in 1890 it was 4.9; and in the next fifty years, it dropped to 3.8 in 1940. If the father and mother are considered a constant factor, these figures are even more significant since they indicate that the number of children decreased from 3.7 per family in 1790 to 2.9 in 1890 to 1.8 in 1940 —less than half as many, and the decrease was twice as great during the last fifty years as during the previous 100 years! Again, World War II brought a sharp rise in the birth rate, but such increase was only temporary and by July 1945 had begun again to decline. The same variation is found on the basis of economic and other factors as for age of marriage. *The reproduction index is in inverse ratio to social and economic status.* Phrased differently, families in which livelihood is gained by unskilled labor, are, on the average, almost twice as large as those of the professional group. The relationship of educational level to income is shown in Table VI; again an inverse ratio of almost two to one in relation to education, and over two to one in relation to income!

Size of families are largest in the rural farm population and decrease consistently through rural non-farm (communities less than 2,500 population) to cities of 100,000 population and over.

Data on the number of divorces and marriages are shown in Table VII. The most important figures are those in the last

Table VI

NET REPRODUCTION RATES OF WHITE URBAN POPULATION BY EDUCATIONAL STATUS * AND BY FAMILY INCOME **

Educational Level	Net Reproduction Rate
Under 7th grade	.97
7th and 8th grades	.86
High school	.68
College	.52

Income Classes	Net Reproduction Rate
All incomes	.70
Under $1,000	.96
$1,000 to $1,499	.75
$1,500 to $1,999	.63
$2,000 to $2,999	.55
$3,000 and over	.42

* Bernard K Karpinos and Clyde V. Kiser, "The Differential Fertility and Potential Rates of Growth of Various Income and Educational Classes of Urban Population in the United States." *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* October 1939. Vol. 17, page 385.

** Frank W. Notestein, "Differential Fertility in the East North Central States." *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly,* April 1938, Vol. 16, pages 173–191.

Table VII *

MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES PER 1,000 OF THE POPULATION 1890 TO 1940

Year	Marriages per 1,000 Population	Divorces per 1,000 Population	Ratio of Marriage to Divorce
1890	8.72	0.53	16.3
1900	9.01	0.73	12.3
1910	10.25	0.92	11.0
1920	10.83	1.39	7.7
1935**	10.41	1.71	6.09
1940	11.80	1.90	5.78

* Harry Elmer Barnes, *Social Institutions,* page 623. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942.

** 1930 was abnormal because of economic depression. Divorces decline sharply during depressions and rise with periods of prosperity.

column, the ratio of divorce to marriage. In 1890, there was only one divorce to every sixteen marriages; in 1900, one to every twelve; and in 1940, more than one in six. Although the increase in the divorce ratio has tended to level off since 1920, it has been estimated that, if present trends of marriage and divorce continue, by 1965 the ratio will be one divorce to each two marriages. Since this will include the marriage span of young people now being married it appears, on the basis of statistical data at least, that unless these trends are reversed, half of their marriages will end in the divorce court! Already the trend is up sharply over that of 1940 in spite of the fact that women whose husbands were in military service could not apply for a divorce without the written consent of their husbands. Prediction based only on projection of the past may be erroneous, but it raises the basic question as to what is the relative importance of factors that make for family disorganization and those that make for integration.

Another significant trend is the transition of family patterns of behavior from the mores and common law to statutory regulations.[11] Rapid social change and the breaking down of community and other controls has brought a vast amount of legislation seeking to maintain order in the relationship of the members of the family. Such laws prescribe minimum age for marrying, greater equalization of responsibilities, rights of men and women, a waiting time between granting the marriage license and marriage, physical examinations, and many more regulations.

Post-war houses will be marvels of scientific construction and will relieve the family still more of home activities. Luxurious and economical means of transportation will make for greater mobility: the "cruising range" will be expanded beyond the imagination of the present generation. Only one illustration will suggest these developments. It took the author's father, when a lad of eight, three months to trek by ox cart with his parents across the trackless Iowa plains. As a man of fifty, he

[11] For a detailed compilation of state laws, see Chester G. Vernier, *et al.*, *American Family Laws*, 4 volumes. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1931 to 1938.

traveled almost the same trail in ten hours by car. Twenty years later, he flew across the state in one hour and fifty minutes. As a boy, his cruising range was limited to the speed and distance of the travel of an ox or a horse; in middle age, to that of the "horseless buggy"; and as an older man, to the swiftness of the plane. Cruising range is not a matter of geography alone; it sets limits on every aspect of family organization or frees it from such limitations; it correspondingly extends the potentiality of conflict as the culture of the family is brought into comparison and contrast with that of other groups and regions!

The present is a period of transition. Perhaps every generation believes it is living in a transitional period, but measured by social change, the present family cycle—from marriage of parents to the time the youngest child leaves the home—includes changes that would have required a dozen or more cycles prior to 1875. Parents and children actually live in two different worlds of experience, and World War II has immeasurably widened the social distance!

The Family and the Social Processes

The role of the family in the *social adjustment* of the child has been indicated in previous chapters. The functioning of each of the other social processes—opposition, coöperation, and social control—requires further analysis.

Opposition is inevitable both among members of the family group and between the family—the "we-group"—and persons and groups outside of the family. Although human relationships are extremely complex and motives never single, there are two major factors which contribute to child-parent opposition: the differences in their cultural experience and the projection of parental ambitions. The shift of sociology to an analysis of function rather than of structure has brought an increasing amount of research in this field.[12] These and other studies indicate that although there

[12] Ralph Linton, "Age and Sex Categories," Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles." *American*

will be personal opposition, the sense of cultural opposition does not develop until the child comes into contact with persons and groups having different cultural backgrounds from his own. Only then does the child begin to question the culture in which he has been reared.

The extent and seriousness of the opposition depends upon: (1) the degree to which the child has accepted his family patterns and accepts them as his own, (2) the degree of intimacy which the child develops in his out-of-family group relationships, and (3) the extent of diversity of the behavior patterns. All of the earlier discussion of group relationships bears upon this analysis. If the "we-group" feeling is stronger with the family than with the non-family group, there will be little opposition; if the "we-group" is not as strong with the family, then the child-parent interaction is one of frequent opposition. All the more true will this be if the new group patterns differ in any significant degree from those of the family. The most frequent causes of opposition are: relationships with those of the opposite sex (more common between girls and their parents than between boys and their parents), staying out late at night, expenditures, and dress. This opposition is epitomized in the reply of a son to his father's criticism of his behavior, "But Dad, you lived in the horse-and-buggy and curfew age; I don't!"

A complicating factor in the American home is the lack of standardization regarding maturity. Among primitive peoples, the initiative ceremony marked the transition from a child to an adult. In our times, a person must be 21 years of age to vote in all but one state; he is allowed to work at ages varying from 14 to 18 depending on the state laws; the age at which young people can marry, as shown by Table VIII, is a matter of geography; and the variation among parents is from those who believe that home discipline should be retained until marriage, to those who

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Sociological Review, October 1942, Vol. 7, No. 5, pages 589–631. James H. S. Bossard, "Family Situations and Child Behavior." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* February 1944, Vol. 17, No. 6, pages 323–338.

assume that even young children should be treated as nearly as possible like adults.

Table VIII *

NUMBER OF STATES REQUIRING SPECIFIED AGE FOR MARRIAGE

Age	With Parental Consent		Without Parental Consent	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
12		6		
13		1		
14	7	9		
15	1	7		
16	9	26		
17	3			
18	29		5	37
19				
20			1	
21			44	12

* Tabulated from data *World Almanac, 1945,* page 577. New York: *World-Telegram.*

The second major cause of child-parent opposition is that described by the term "projection of parental ambition." A boy of seventeen was in his sophomore year in high school and failing in his subjects. Tests showed that he had average ability, but that he consistently refused to apply himself to his studies. He was moody and irritable except during a free period of optional shop work, when he would apply himself wholeheartedly to auto mechanics. After school, he would stop at a neighborhood garage and often come home late for dinner and dirty. He had urged his parents to let him quit day school, work in the garage, and go to evening classes in auto mechanics, but the parents had persistently refused. Both parents demanded that he finish college and the father wanted the boy to become a physician. During an interview, the parents said that neither had been able to go to college, and the father had "always dreamed of being a great surgeon." In their only son they found a way of satisfying their own thwarted ambitions and could not tolerate "our son

being only an auto mechanic." The mother is now beginning to reconcile herself to a different occupation for her son, but the father is still adamant. It would be significant to know how many children are compelled to take music lessons because one or the other parent had always hoped to be a musician; to associate only with "the better class" because the parents felt the lack of their own social standing; or to continue in school only to fulfill an unattained ambition of one or both parents.

The basic factor in opposition of siblings is rivalry for social status. Again, age differentiation is frequently as important as it is in the family in which the youngest was five years the junior of his next older brother. The home was the center of social and recreational life of the neighborhood, but always that of the older children in the family. As a result, the younger lad tried to bring parental and companion disapproval on his older brother, and after several years of failure in being able to fit into the group, retreated to books and enjoyed being entirely alone.

These and all the other areas of opposition are within the family, but they affect the child's behavior in his relationships outside of the home. They become, therefore, of deep concern to all in the community who have responsibility for the welfare of the child, especially to the teacher and administrator of the school. This whole aspect of the problem is well summarized by Davis:[18] "The family is a case of authority within the primary group. Simmel has pointed out that authority is bearable for the subordinate because it touches only one aspect of his life. Impersonal and objective, it permits all other aspects to be free from its particularist dominance. This escape is lacking, however, in parental authority, for since the family includes most aspects of life, its authority is not limited, specific, or impersonal. What then can make this authority bearable? Three factors associated with the familial primary group help to give the answer: (1) the child is socialized within the family, and therefore, knowing nothing

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[18] Kingsley Davis, "The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, August 1940, Vol. 5, No. 4, pages 530–531.

else and being utterly dependent, the authority of the parent is internalized, accepted; (2) the family, like other primary groups, implies identification, in such sense that one person understands and responds emphatically to the sentiments of the other, so that the harshness of authority is ameliorated; (3) in the intimate interaction of the primary group, control can never be one-sided; there are too many ways in which the subordinated can exert the pressure of his will. When, therefore, the family is a going concern, parental authority, however inclusive, is not felt as despotic."

Opposition between the family and individuals and groups outside of the family are determined largely by cultural differentiation. If, as Plainville, the community is relatively stable and homogeneous, there is little intergroup conflict and competition. If there is marked differentiation, then opposition is inevitable and may be a serious factor in family disorganization.

This opposition is best illustrated in families of foreign stock.[14] One fifth of all the children in the United States are in such transitional groups, and three fourths of these are in urban areas. For more than a hundred years, America was the goal of a rising tide of immigrants from the Old World which reached its flood during the decade 1905 to 1914. During this period, new arrivals were in excess of a million a year. In the last half of the last century, the immigrants came largely from Northern Europe; in the first two decades of the present century and before the floodgates were closed by legislation in 1921 and 1924, they were for the most part from Southern Europe. When America first became aware of the problem of diversity of culture, the theory of the "melting pot" was advanced to quiet those who were becoming concerned regarding the social problems that had developed from the islands of culture—little Italys, little Polands, and many more—that were being maintained. It was tacitly assumed that, in some mysterious way, these peoples of widely different backgrounds, dumped in "the crucible of democracy,"

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[14] See Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, *One America*, especially Chapters I, II, and XX. Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945.

would emerge in a common pattern of American culture. But the facts refuted the theories. Old World traits persisted in the home, in the market place, in the church. Children born in America came to school unable to speak English and almost unaware of a culture different from that of the home land, even the home village, of their parents. The school accepted as one of its major functions that of developing discontinuities in the experience of the child—substituting English for the language of the parents, demanding changes in manner of dress, health habits, of diets, and of attitudes—even attitudes toward parents, for the child could not conform both to home and to school behavior patterns.

The child was forced by his duality into opposition either against the culture of the new land or the culture of the family, frequently against both. Since the child discarded that of his family yet had no basis on which to accept the better aspects of the new world, the result was social maladjustment of the person and social disorganization within the family and neighborhood group. One of the most frequent types of conflict was that regarding paternal domination. In many of the countries of origin, the word of the father or older brother was law. Daughters, even more than sons, were under strict control, and girls and young women were constantly chaperoned. Two specific cases are illustrative. A Polish girl related that she did not become aware of the difference in attitude shown by her parents toward her and that of other parents toward their daughters until she got into high school. A lad in the junior class asked her to go with him to the roller skating rink but when she timidly told her parents about the invitation, they absolutely refused to let her go and reprimanded her for even thinking about going without her older brother as chaperon. The brother, however, quietly sided with his sister, and when she was again asked, he accompanied the young people for several blocks from home, and told them to proceed alone. They arranged to meet later that evening and the three came home together. When the parents later learned of the arrangement, which had been repeated several times, they

punished the daughter and refused to let her go out in the evening.

The other instance is of a young woman who had been reared in a family in which she had had normally wholesome freedom, and who had, after graduation from college, procured a good position. A few months later she married an Italian somewhat older than herself, who had been reared in a home in which there was paternal dominance. He refused to let her continue working and assumed exactly the same attitude toward her that characterized parental relationships in his own home. The husband's father died shortly after the marriage, and the husband insisted that they live in the parental home, since, as the eldest male, responsibility had devolved upon him for his mother and the younger brother and sister still living at home. The wife said that she had honestly and sincerely tried without success to accept mores and attitudes of her husband's family. After about a year she went back to live with her own family, accepted another position, and later divorced her husband.

Just as the "melting pot" had failed in these two instances, so it failed also in the total problem of cultural assimilation. Gradually a new point of view developed, one that had long been held by many of the churches located in areas of foreign-born population. This new point of view was that it was desirable that the different cultures be permitted, even encouraged to continue. This theory of cultural pluralism gave a new twofold emphasis in education: to help the child understand and appreciate the cultural background of his own family; and to develop an appreciation of the cultural contributions of his group to American life.

With the closing of the doors against further immigration and the transition now in progress from foreign-born to first, second, and third generation removed, cultural pluralism is being replaced by a concept perhaps best termed *cultural democracy*. The full implications of this point of view will be discussed in a later chapter but, as the author has stated elsewhere,[15] "The first step, but only the first step, is knowledge of, and appreciation for, the

[15] Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, *op. cit.*, page 621.

contribution of each group. Sharing of the normal experiences and responsibilities of community life is essential to the development of a truly democratic way of life for all."

While such an emphasis must characterize all education, its chief significance is for the family, since it is within the family that the roots of dual culture are perpetuated.

Opposition is inevitable both within the family and between the family and the "out-group." Wholesome opposition is desirable, but it must be thoughtfully and skillfully directed if it is not to lead to family disorganization. The school has a direct responsibility that it must increasingly assume in directing opposition into desirable channels and in the stimulation of the other social processes of coöperation and social control.

Coöperation is as important as opposition in personality development, though it is less brought to the awareness of the individual. The family provides the ideal setting for the initiation and increasing significance of coöperation. Here is the opportunity for the sharing of family responsibilities at the child's level of maturity, increasing with advancing years. The family group with its "we-feeling" is the most significant agency in society for the carrying forward of common interests and common activities. As has been emphasized in the general discussion of the social processes, the family is the first and, for the majority of persons, the most lasting of all the agencies in the formation of attitudes of coöperation and unselfishness.

It is in the family that the child also participates in the interaction of his family group with other families, with institutions, and in the larger setting of the total community. Such coöperation implies a give-and-take relationship, a willingness to compromise for the common good and to work together for a common cause.

Provision for social interaction leading to the wholesome development of personality is a primary responsibility of the family. It is based not upon license nor upon discipline, but upon (1) an increasingly rich background of knowledge, (2) a recognition of the relative importance of the incessant experiences of daily life,

and (3) the development of a fine sense of deferred values, including use of time and money, sex values, personal friendships, and many more.

A complicating factor in the American home is the wide variation of parental attitudes toward authority. At one extreme are those who still accept the dictums of Rousseau, "Everything is good as it comes from the hand of the Creator and deteriorates in the hands of man" and "The child should be free to make his own decisions." At the other extreme are those who believe in a firm hand and strict disciplinary control. The first is based upon two false conceptions: that the child is imbued by nature with wise judgment and that every child should relearn by *experience* the cultural heritage of the group. The second fails to provide for the development of conviction on the part of the child, which is the basis of social control.

Social settlement workers have long sought to know the home background of the children who came to them for recreational and other activities. All too often, teachers have totally ignored the family and its influence upon the child, tacitly assuming that the school was a different world, and failing to recognize that the relative importance of the social processes has to a large degree shaped the behavior and the attitude of those who first come to school, and will continue to be important throughout the school life of almost all pupils.

The Future of the Family

Many efforts have been made to evaluate the family, its role in social organization, and predictive factors in marital happiness.[16] In Bernard's study previously referred to, much factual data are given on almost every aspect of the family, from which the author concludes,[17] "No one with scientific training will ex-

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[16] For two such studies, see E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939; and L. W. Terman, *et al., Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1938.

[17] Jessie Bernard, *op. cit.*, page 551.

pect miracles. A certain amount of malfunctioning and maladjustment is inevitable. Furthermore, we cannot fly in the face of social trends and try to reverse the direction of social change —no scientifically minded person would consider adopting such a procedure. All that we can hope for from science is that it will help us to discern trends and give us methods of adjusting family life to them. This hope is sufficient to warrant optimism."

Chapin,[18] after viewing the whole background of cultural change, states, "We have stated that the mores of the family lag in social culture. Changes in material culture have revolutionized the family as a home environment, as a place of work, as a place of recreation, and as a center of protection. These changes have involved splitting off the original functions of the family and breaking down its old system of mores. Unfortunately, this splitting-off process has been going on without much conscious guidance because there has been little depth to our knowledge of (1) the permanent social values of family solidarity, or (2) which social changes are relatively beyond the individual's control and which can be collectively controlled. Our attitude has been one of passive observation alternating with one of indiscriminate interference."

Many predicted that World War II and its aftermath would bring the decay of the family, perhaps its total disappearanec as a unit of social interaction. Burgess[19] answers his own question, "Will the war, by increasing family instability, hasten the time of its passing?"

> 1. The companionship type of family still retains the intrinsic and essential functions of the family, namely, the giving and receiving of affection, the bearing and rearing of children, and the guidance of their personality development.
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> 2. Since World War I, many services for the family have originated or been further developed as family social work,

[18] F. Stuart Chapin, *Cultural Change*, page 317. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1928.

[19] Ernest W. Burgess, "The Effect of War on the American Family." *American Journal of Sociology*, November 1942, Vol. 48, No. 3, pages 353–360.

> maternal and child health, . . . education for family life, and marriage and family counselling. . . . These agencies are orienting their activities to assist in the transition from the institutional to the companionship type of family.
>
> 3. Family instability is essentially a phenomenon of the transition from the institutional to the companionship type of family. The effect of a crisis like war is both to accelerate the transition and to introduce temporary disrupting conditions.
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> . . . The concept of the family as a companionship embodies the ideals for the preservation of which we are waging this war—of democracy as the way of life, of the equality of men and women, and of personality as the highest human value. This new type of family is dynamic, adaptable, and creative—characteristics suited for survival and growth in a society in process of rapid social change.

The family, as every other institution, is caught up in the maelstrom of social change, of depression, war, and other national or world crises. The clan- or blood-family has given way in Western civilization to the immediate family, and this has tended more and more to be limited to the parents and children. There is less sense of responsibility for grandparents, uncles, and aunts, or more distant relations. But within this unit, the basic social processes continue and the family remains a primary group.

The family is between the interplay of centripetal or concentrating social forces, and of centrifugal or dispersion forces, as one and another of its former functions are taken over, at least to a degree, by agencies outside of the home. World War II intensified trends already begun.[20]

In the family, a primary group, the growing infant becomes aware of his relationship with others and develops the we-feeling with the other members of the group through the symbolism held in common: mannerisms of speech, of dress, of superstitions and beliefs. But primary group values within the family run even

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[20] For a significant analysis of the effects of the first two years of World War II see Janet Fowler Nelson, Editor, "Women in National Defense." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* January 1942, Vol. 15, No. 5.

deeper: through the constant interdependence of its members and the bonds of love, each has status and is a person.

The same data suggest some of the problems which threaten the stability of the family and thereby jeopardize personality development: unprecedented divorce rate and maladjustment resulting from the vast number of hasty war marriages; changing relationships resulting from the lessening of economic interdependence; decreasing social isolation of the family resulting from press and radio and the greater mobility of its members; the heightening competition with other agencies in the community for recreation and welfare; and the shifting of the total cultural pattern which inevitably challenges existing social institutions.

These are problems not of the family alone, but also of education in relation to the family. The school's responsibility is threefold: to know the home background of the child, and, as far as possible, develop its own program in a way to supplement, but not to supplant, the functions of the family in leisure-time and other activities; to develop in the child a deep appreciation of the role of the family in the total pattern of social interaction; and to cooperate with the home in the directing of the social processes to provide for the wholesome development of personality.

To accept these responsibilities will entail a closer relationship between teacher and parent, between school and home, than now characterizes the typical American school at any level, whether publicly or privately controlled.

Chapter 10

ACTIVITY GROUPS OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

SECOND only in importance to the family in the development of personality are the activity groups of children and youth. Within such groups, the social processes operate without the supervision of the family, and, in the spontaneous group, without the supervision of any adult. Through the social groups, opportunity is provided for the determination of the role of each individual member and the development of leadership. Members are more consciously aware of the "we-feeling" within the group than they are in any other group association, with the possible exception of the family. Because of their vital importance in determining the behavior pattern of children and young people and in shaping their attitudes, activity groups become a significant field of study for educational sociology.

An activity group is a voluntary association of children and youth,[1] recreational in nature, and organized for a common purpose, the achievement of which entails shared responsibility and develops a degree of "we-feeling." Three types of activity groups can be distinguished: (1) temporary play groups, (2) organized groups or gangs, and (3) youth membership groups, meeting under the general supervision of youth-serving organizations. Groups do not fall strictly and permanently in one or the other categories. The play group not infrequently becomes sufficiently organized in its membership, purpose, and activities to be a gang. Youth membership groups, such as a boxing class at a settlement house, may be the nucleus of a gang. Conversely, gangs may be-

[1] The age distinction is arbitrary since many activity groups having similar characteristics exist also for adults.

come affiliated with a welfare organization, such as the Police Athletic League of New York City, and become a group conducted under the supervision of a youth-serving agency. Even more than in adult society, the activity groups of children and youth are dynamic and constantly in flux.

The Play Group

Almost as soon as the child is able to move about freely, he seeks the companionship of those outside of the immediate family. The first play group is small, often consisting of only two or three children. It is of a transitory character, formed only to carry on a specific activity of the moment, and is almost wholly limited to the immediate neighborhood area. Such groups are indiscriminate in sex, boys and girls playing freely together. Because there is no awareness of organization, leadership shifts quickly from one to another. Opposition is frequent, but short-lived. A sudden quarrel, disappearing almost as quickly as it came, is replaced by coöperation. Interest is ephemeral, although the continuance of the activity varies with the group, and interest-span tends to lengthen with age. *The activity itself is the basis for the organization of the play group.*

These early group activities are frequently of a highly imaginative character. A mere suggestion suffices to change the role of a member from a doctor, to a bold robber, to a storekeeper, and a box, from a home to a fort. A kitten may be a savage tiger or a sick baby. Gradually, due largely to the influence of parents and older children, imaginative play gives way to traditionally accepted patterns of organized games. Boys quit playing with "silly dolls" and the ball and bat or marbles take the place of the imaginative artifacts of a few years before. Girls, likewise, accept the behavior patterns approved by near-adults.

By the time the child has reached his early 'teens, the activity group begins to take on a more definite pattern. Membership is no longer wholly a matter of accidental residence; it becomes selective, usually dividing first on the basis of sex and often re-

flecting adult attitudes in regard to race, nationality, economic status, and, sometimes, even religious affiliation. The activity no longer determines the organization: *the group exists independently of a specific activity and selects the various activities in which it will engage.* At this stage, the group merges into the second type—the organized group or gang.

The importance of the play group in the life of the child cannot be overemphasized. Through it, he learns coöperation and team play and the rules of the game. Whereas his first participation may be primarily to do things he cannot do alone, the child soon learns he must also help others if he is to continue to be a participant. The little girl who always wants to be the "mother" or the boy who insists on being first at bat finds that he must give way to others. Egocentric interests develop into concern for the group activity. They adjust to the vocabulary of the group, sometimes to the embarrassment of their parents, as well as to the group's interests and attitudes. They become aware of differences between this new group association and the family, creating the first experience of intergroup opposition. They also compete for status and, through opposition within the group, discover their role, always seeking to improve it. Through coöperation, they develop qualities of leadership and "followship"; and through social control learn group values.

The Organized Group or Gang

This type of activity group is largely a 'teen-age organization, although occasionally younger children may be members or may even have organized independently into such a group. Some groups continue into adulthood, but those of adults conform to the patterns of fraternal organizations or are organized to carry on antisocial behavior. Greater diversity of interest in the later 'teen-age years, greater mobility, and marriage are factors that tend to break up the gang.

Thrasher, whose study of 1,313 gangs in the city of Chicago is the most comprehensive in this field, defines and describes a gang

in the following statement quoted at length from the Dictionary of Sociology:[2] "A gang is a primary group which develops spontaneously in face-to-face association and achieves some degree of solidarity as a result of conflict or antagonism in its social environment. It may originate as a play group, from which it is to be distinguished because of its solidarity due to conflict. It may act as a mob, but it differs from a mob in that it has a tradition and a higher degree of morale. The mob is dispersed and does not re-form; the group that behaves like a mob and re-forms again under the same leadership is a gang. A gang may be made up of people of any age grouping beginning at seven or eight and continuing through adolescence and adulthood. While most gangs are composed of boys or young men, some gangs include girls and in rare instances gangs may be composed entirely of girls. The gang is an interstitial group forming at those periods of life when other types of group have least influence and forming in those areas where more stable types of social organizations are absent. Thus ganging is primarily a phenomenon of adolescence, although gangs may exist throughout adult life under special conditions. . . . The natural history of the gang includes an amorphous stage when such groups are very unstable, and constantly forming and re-forming. The gang may next enter a stage of high integration which is characterized by strong solidarity and definite leadership. And in a third stage it may become conventionalized and form an athletic or social club, a change which usually precedes its decay and disintegration. . . . In the face of opposition, the gang remains to fight, as long as the odds are not too great, for its morale is less than that of a disciplined conflict group and its methods of conflict follow no rules but its own."

In popular usage, the term "gang" refers only to groups of "bad boys" and their activities are assumed to be always anti-social. As used in educational sociology, *a gang refers to any type of group organized spontaneously and which is a primary group,*

[2] Henry P. Fairchild, *op. cit.*, page 127.

that is, meets face to face, has patterns of behavior in common, and possesses an awareness of in-group and out-group interaction.

Not all adolescents belong to such a group. Some find satisfaction in solitary activities or in those with the family or other non-conflict groups formed by youth-serving organizations. Studies by Swift, Puffer, Furfey, Thrasher, and others have been almost all only of boys. That girls tend to organize almost as frequently as boys is shown in a study of 965 girls in an urban high school and in a secondary school in a small village.[3] Of the entire number, 748 or 77.5 per cent said they were a member of "an unsponsored club or group not including regular school clubs." The percentage in the city high school was slightly higher than that in the village school. Eddy asked 334 girls in their sophomore year in college to recall and report the unsponsored clubs to which they belonged while in secondary school. Of this group, 214 or 64 per cent said they had belonged to one or more such clubs. Only 53, or less than 16 per cent, belonged to groups containing members of both sexes. The average number of clubs to which each girl reported she belonged was 1.9 if she attended a city high school; 1.3, if in a village; and a little higher, 1.5, if a rural secondary school. Warner and Lunt[4] report that of the 100 associations in Yankee City which were classified as sub-adult (under twenty years of age), 25 were of both sexes, 33 had male members only, and 42 were for girls only.

Thrasher[5] uses a more strict interpretation of the term "gang" and finds only five or six girl gangs in his entire study, and only a few that admitted girls to membership. He states that two factors contribute to this fact: "the social patterns for the behavior of girls, powerfully backed by the great weight of tradition and

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[3] John M. Eddy, "Unsupervised Club Life Among Girls Attending Secondary Schools." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December 1929, Vol. 2, No. 4, pages 210–220.

[4] W. L. Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, page 338. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.

[5] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, revised edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936.

custom, are contrary to the gang and its activities; and girls are more closely supervised and guarded." He believes that girl's organization into cliques or sets "must be regarded as an entirely different type of collective behavior."

This difference is, however, a matter of degree and not of kind. All of the processes of social interaction are present. From this point of view, the problem of gang life, even though the groups may be referred to as cliques or clubs, is as important in relation to girls as to boys.

For the most part, the age range in a gang is limited, although ability to participate effectively in the gang's activities is the criterion of membership more than the age factor. A younger member may be taken in if he serves the purposes of the group as in the case of Jack, a member of the Tiger Gang. The group engaged in petty thievery, and a favorite stunt was to upset a fruit peddler's light cart. While the peddler was picking up his wares, the fleetest gang members would grab such fruit as they wanted. Jack was the swiftest runner in the neighborhood, and hence was able to get what the group wanted with impunity.

Thrasher, in the study referred to, gives the following table of age distribution in gangs:

Table IX*

Number and Per Cent of 1,313 Gangs by Age Groups

Type of Gang	Range of Ages (years)	Number of Cases	Per cent of Total
Childhood	6–12	18	1.48
Early adolescent	11–17	455	37.51
Later adolescent	16–25	305	25.15
Adult	21–50	38	3.13
Mixed	Wider range	154	12.70
Athletic or social clubs	Late adolescent or adult**	243	20.03

* Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang*, page 74. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, revised, 1937.

** Athletic and social clubs upon which more exact age figures are available are included under above types.

The activities of gangs represent the whole range of adolescent interest. Some gangs place considerable emphasis upon initiation, others have little in the way of ritual. They may do little more than have inconsequential conversation or "smut sessions"; they may engage in socially desirable activities, such as hikes or trips to the zoo; they may make predatory forays to find excitement in fighting, petty thieving, and gambling the "winnings." The following illustrations represent two types:[6] "The Pearlette Club is made up of girls varying in age from thirteen to sixteen. Membership is limited, but there is no apparent initiation. They have no regular meeting place, but always pal around together at school and on the street. They often stand for an hour or more on the corner, talking, laughing, and occasionally scuffling with boys older than themselves. Three of the group were good students until they joined the club, but the boys and movies have supplanted interest in school work.

"Several of the parents report that they cannot understand their daughters. One distraught mother said, 'Sue used to help around the home, but now if I ask her to do anything she says none of the other girls work and she doesn't see why she has to if they don't.' Another reported that her fourteen-year-old 'won't talk about the club and closes up like a clam whenever I ask her about it.' "

"The Apollo Athletic Club is a group of fifteen boys varying in age from fourteen to seventeen. Most of the boys have grown up together but the membership is limited to those voted in by the unanimous consent of the group. The leader gained his position by demonstrating his fistic abilities. Their initiation night is a 'closed meeting' and the boys do not talk much about it. A basement room below a store is their clubhouse and the boys contribute small sums toward its maintenance. Most of the time of the 'meetings' is spent in discussing plans for their weekly dances, which are usually held in the clubroom, using an old radio for the music. Occasionally the boys go with their girl

[6] Reprinted from author's *Sociology of Childhood*, page 166.

companions as a group to a cheap dance a few blocks away."

Both of these groups developed spontaneously and without a fixed purpose. Even though their activities varied, they supplied, for these adolescents, a need which was not met by their communities. The first was only in the beginning stages of its development; the second had passed through these initial stages, and by a process of natural and, in some degree, unplanned evolution had become a definitely organized group.

Thrasher identifies five types of gangs: (1) diffuse, (2) solidified, (3) conventionalized, (4) criminal, and (5) the secret society. The first is represented by the Pearlette Club and many groups do not go beyond this stage. They have no definite internal organization and no deep sense of "we-feeling." The Apollo Club illustrates the second type in which there was definite leadership, a selected membership, and a sense of solidarity sufficient to develop an attitude of conflict with out-groups. Many gangs are on the borderline between these two types and the same gang may vary in type. It may follow the "natural history" of the gang, described as: at first diffuse, then solidified, and later, owing to some members or the leader moving out of the neighborhood or to any one of many other factors, including the development of other interests as the members grow older, become again of a diffuse type, and later disband. The club may, on the other hand, remain solidified, but become either a criminal type or a secret society. The conventionalized type may develop from either the first or second, or it may begin as such. Gangs may organize within a settlement house or church and be a hobby group, or pool and billiard club, or hiking or dancing group. In New York City, such gangs are often affiliated with the Police Athletic League; in Chicago, the dominant form of club is athletic.

A conventionalized type that developed rapidly in New York City during the depression was the "cellar club." Gangs, often in the better neighborhoods, rented the basement rooms of one of a group of houses which were all built on the same plan: attached to one another; one room plus a hallway wide and usually

two rooms long, with the basement floor halfway below street level. The narrow windows were painted black; if the apartment had two small rooms, part or all of the middle partition was knocked out; a few dim lights, often red or blue, were installed; and old pieces of furniture, seldom more than a sofa or two, and a few chairs, but always either a radio or a piano or both were moved in—and the clubroom was ready for occupancy. Reading material, if any, was of a questionable character. The chief activities were smut-fests, card playing, dancing, and "petting." Each member had a key and could come and go as he chose, hence many clubs were used as a place to "take a girl." On some blocks, there might be as may as a half-dozen cellar clubs, yet one could walk along the street and not see one of them. Only members or friends of members knew where the clubs were.

Those who sought to "wipe out the cellar clubs" failed to recognize that they were meeting a real need—a need which society had not met. Jobs were hard to find and wages low. Adolescents and young men in their early twenties could not afford to go to poolrooms or take their girl companions to public dance halls. Small weekly dues paid the rent and gave members a place to dance and to spend their too-much spare time. Privacy in a metropolitan community, even in prosperous times, is almost impossible to find. Fortunately, a different solution was found to meet the problem created by the cellar club. When public money was available for recreation through federal funds, the clubs were organized into regional, borough, and city-wide associations. Through tactful leadership, minimum standards of lighting were established and regulations agreed upon. Those that met the requirements were approved and became members of the association. When the cellar club could exist in the open and have respectability, thus eliminating the element of conflict with society, many elected to do so. With increased employment in the late thirties, most of the clubs disbanded, and the years of World War II virtually closed out an interesting epic in the history of a congested population area.

The fourth type—the criminal gang—is often the result of the

failure of society to provide a way to incorporate the group into some conventionalized form. Its members are usually older and racketeering becomes a business with them.

The last type may be a single gang that has developed a ritual, password, grip, and all the procedures of a secret society, or it may be affiliated with other groups already members of such a society.

Another characteristic of the gang is its "interstitial" character, the term being used in the ecological sense: the area in transition that is the breeding place of the gang and especially of those of a predatory type. The zone favored by this type gang frequently lies between the business district and the better residential area—usually given over to low-priced rooming houses, pool halls, and cheap saloons. The area may be one of population change from one nationality or racial group to another, or from residents of higher to those of lower income.

But the gang is interstitial in another sense—it is a phenomenon primarily of the period in the life of the person characterized by conflicts between the controls of the family and those established by adult society through the assumption of economic responsibility and marriage. It is the time when the progress of physical development brings the stirring of new interests and drives; when childhood environment and activities no longer satisfy and the eyes of youth are lifted beyond the horizon of the home or the city block; when the casual and temporary group associations of childhood are replaced by primary groups with strong in-group *versus* out-group values.

Society has sought in many ways to deal with the gang. Parents have remonstrated with their children and sought to punish them for participating in gang activities. Police have broken into their meeting places and chased them from street corners, but suppression has intensified the out-group conflict and strengthened in-group loyalty and solidarity.

Some have proposed breaking up the gang by compelling some of the leaders to attend school in another neighborhood or, in the case of petty criminal gangs, to send them to an industrial or reform school. The first is of little value since the boy's home remains in the neighborhood; the second may temporarily disrupt

the gang but it does not solve the problem. It may make the leader an even greater "hero" in their eyes.

The gang develops to meet a need in the life of the adolescent. It fills a gap which society or the community has not filled effectively. Some of the inadequacies which produce ganging are: maladjustments in family life; population density; language, and other difficulties arising from cultural isolations of homes and neighborhoods of foreign-born; low economic status; and lack of playgrounds and other social and recreational facilities.

Some of these contributing factors reach far beyond the province of educational sociology and involve problems of housing, employment, and wages. Others, such as the family and foreign culture groups, do have a definite relationship to education and are discussed in other chapters. The one contributing factor which is of vital importance in the study of group activities is the responsibility of the community and of society to provide wholesome outlets for the adolescent's striving for excitement, for greater self-expression, for companionship with those of his own age and sex, and for new experience. *Redirection and substitution offer the only means for effectively utilizing the gang in the wholesome development of the person and the integration of society.*

Youth Membership Groups

The settlement house, stimulated by the effective work of such institutions as Hull House in Chicago and Greenwich House and Henry Street Settlement in New York City, was one of the first institutions to recognize the need of providing a place and activities for children and young people. Instead of seeking to break up the gang, the settlement houses provided it with a meeting room, gave its members a scheduled time in the gymnasium, and organized inter-gang athletic and other games.[7]

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[7] For graphic descriptions of three settlement houses, see: Jane Addams, *Forty Years at Hull House,* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935; Mary K. Simkhovitch, *Neighborhood, My Story of Greenwich House,* New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1937; and Lillian Wald, *Windows on Henry Street,* Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1934.

The product of the endless rows of crowded tenements and the city streets swarming with children, the settlement house sought to provide a focal point for a new kind of neighborhood service agency for all age groups. Developed in the 1880's, it has adapted its services to the succession of immigrant groups that migrated into the community, and now to those that are second- and third-generation foreign-born. With wide variation in individual settlements, all have sought to provide an outlet for activity groups of children, youth, and adults.

Another type of youth-serving organization is the Boys' Club Federation of America. Like the settlement house, it provided an alternative to youth for the congested city streets with their impersonal associations, corner gangs, poolrooms, and other hang-outs. Although the first Boys' Club was founded in Hartford, Connecticut in 1860, the Boys' Club of Salem, Massachusetts is the oldest in continuous existence, having been organized in 1869 as the Salem Fraternity. Other clubs were established in New Haven, 1871; and in New York City, 1876. In 1906, the separate organizations affiliated into the Boys' Club Federation. By 1940, there were 348 member organizations in 194 cities in 37 states and in Canada. These institutions included 231 Boys' Clubs, 106 settlement or community houses, and 11 units of tax-supported public recreation systems. They served a total of 295,732 boys.[8]

The Boy Scouts of America, organized in 1910, is still another approach to the problem of ganging. In June 1940, the Boy Scouts had a membership of over one million youths: 884,934 Scouts and Senior Scouts, twelve to twenty-one years of age, and 178,041 Cub Scouts, aged nine to eleven. The boys are organized into Scout Troops or Cub Packs, of which there were 46,733 in 1940. The Girl Scouts, organized two years after the Boy Scouts, had a total non-adult membership of 512,981 in June 1940, distributed among its four types of organization: Senior Girl Scouts, aged fifteen to eighteen, 44,154; Girl Scouts, ten to fourteen, 388,945;

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[8] Statistical data are from M. M. Chambers, *Youth-Serving Organizations*, second edition. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

Brownie Scouts, seven to ten, 79,757; and 125 Lone Girl Scouts. The Camp Fire Girls is a similar organization that has established local groups in thousands of communities.

These three kinds of youth-serving groups have been given to illustrate three approaches to the problem of activity groups. Settlements are institutions aimed primarily to provide physical facilities and a service center for the entire neighborhood, without limitations as to age or sex. A paid, adult staff supervises and directs the activities as needed, but each group is given as much autonomy and self-direction as possible. This is the general pattern of such youth-serving organizations as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, their counterpart among other religious groups, the social service programs of individual churches, and, more recently, of some schools.

The boys' club differs from the settlement house in that, although it is also institutional, it limits its service to a specific age group, and, in this instance, has a sex limitation also. Instead of providing services on a total neighborhood basis, it serves only its selected population. It seeks to provide the facilities for "natural groups" to carry on their own activities under their own leadership, substituting the meeting rooms and organized competitive sports and other activities for the "hang-out" and the nefarious activities of the street gang. A number of national organizations have programs for youth which are similar in purpose and organization, such as the Order of De Molay, to name only one. Such organizations, however, tend to give more direction to the activities than is truly characteristic of this type of service agency.

The Boy and Girl Scouts are a third type of youth-membership organization. Here the program is determined, at least in its purpose and required activities, by adults. Although some groups may join as a unit, membership is on an individual basis. Seldom is the Troop a gang, and in every group, adult leadership is requisite to the organization of a Troop. The program may be carried on and a group organized under the auspices of churches, schools, settlements, or any other responsible institution or agency.

Similar national activity groups are the Junior Red Cross, Future Farmers of America, and 4-H Clubs. Some adult national organizations have provided for junior members and would be classified as this type. Many local institutions conduct programs for youthful members or prospective members.

These types were described as "secondary groups." Although many have some of the characteristics of a primary group, notably face-to-face relationships and a common program, involving opposition with other groups, developing a strong "we-feeling" in them is difficult. In fact, the development of a sense of primary group values is the most serious and challenging problem presented to all such organizations. To the degree they succeed in developing the awareness of primacy do they achieve their purpose.

Society and local community have taken cognizance of the disintegration of the neighborhood and the breakdown of the normal primary groups, and secondary groups have been developed to take their place. In one sense, secondary groups are themselves a further disintegrating force in that they compete with the home. Nevertheless they are essential in a society in which change is inevitable, and can neither be stopped nor retarded even if we chose. The extent of their growth is shown in Table X.

Chambers lists 81 national organizations that have youth-membership and 239 youth-serving organizations. The latter group are not within our discussion here although such youth-serving organizations of education, labor, veteran, and child-study associations do have a potent influence on activity groups. Half of the entire group of 81 youth-membership organizations have been organized since 1920, the decade of the twenties, with its accentuated youth problems, giving rise to more youth-membership groups than during the entire period to 1900. If a comparable study were made on the community level, the same trends would be evident.

Within the last two decades, a movement new in modern social life has gotten under way—the Community Council. Americans favor the idea of organization, first on the local level and then

Table X*

YEAR OF ORGANIZATION AND MEMBERSHIP OF EIGHTEEN YOUTH-MEMBERSHIP ORGANIZATIONS

Organization	Year Organized	Total Membership 1935–36	Total Membership 1939–40	Per Cent Change
American Humane Education Society.	1889	6,000,000	7,005,000	+ 16.7
American Junior Red Cross	1917	8,351,000	8,588,398	+ 2.8
American Youth Congress	1924	1,600,000[a]	4,697,915[a]	+193.6
Baptist Young People's Union	1891	325,000	325,000	None
Boy Scouts of America	1910	1,000,000	1,429,622	+ 43.0
Boys' Clubs of America .	1906	263,013	295,732	+ 12.4
Camp Fire Girls	1912	232,058	278,451	+ 19.9
Catholic Student's Mission Crusade, U.S.A.	1918	500,000	700,000	+ 40.0
Epworth League . .	1889	612,119	538,522	— 11.9
4-H Clubs . .	1907	1,060,000	1,528,945	+ 44.3
Future Farmers of America .	1928	117,000	230,000	+ 96.6
Girl Scouts of America	1912	400,000	636,941	+ 59.2
International Society of Christian Endeavor	1881	4,000,000[b]	4,000,000[b]	None
National Jewish Welfare Board	1917	350,000[a]	400,000[a]	+ 14.3
Nation Student Federation of America	1925	225,000[c]	200,000[c]	— 11.1
Sodality of Our Lady	1583	500,000	806,800	+ 61.4
Young Men's Christian Associations	1851	1,061,876	1,316,573	+ 24.1
Young Women's Christian Associations . .	1858	407,000	548,000	+ 35.1

* Adapted from M. M. Chambers, *Youth-Serving Organizations*, page 11. Washington, D. C., American Council on Education, 1941.

[a] Underlying membership of coöperating or constituent bodies.

[b] Includes membership in foreign countries.

[c] All undergraduates in student bodies of colleges and universities in federation.

uniting or affiliating on a national basis. The program of one organization was unrelated to that of another, even on the community level, and in many instances programs were openly competitive and in opposition. The new trend is toward community

organization under the direction of some form of over-all council that will discover community needs and coördinate the activities of all worthy organizations into an interrelated and comprehensive program.

Changing Attitudes Toward Activity Groups

Group activities and play have not always been recognized as important in the development of personality. Among primitive peoples there was little effort to direct such activities. Children carried on the same kind of imaginative play that characterizes the play of the modern child, the characters and the artifacts being that of their elders. Children played the parts of the chief or medicine man or mother, much as the child today is a cop, a doctor, a nurse, or a mother. They had miniature canoes and bows and arrows and painted dolls. They fished and hunted, made mud houses and performed ceremonials imitating those of their elders. Older children had organized games that differ little from some of our own, such as marbles and tag and hide and seek. Some have said that baseball developed from an Indian game, and there is positive evidence to show that lacrosse was taken over directly from one of the Indian ball games.

There is one difference between group-play activities of the primitive and of the modern child—that of the former was much more directly a preparation for adult life than it is today for the latter. The reason is not in the fundamentally imitative and imaginative character of play but rather in the fact that the activities of the adult were few in number and involved little in the way of artifacts. The activities of the modern adult are so varied in character and in many instances involve so much in the way of machines and equipment that it is impossible for the child to imitate them. Children consequently select the adult occupations that have the element of adventure such as cops-and-robbers, or that can be duplicated, as in playing house.

The attitude toward the play of children has undergone change throughout the ages. Whereas the Catholic Church had taught that man had been condemned to a life of toil as penance for

original sin, the Protestant Revolution ennobled work and taught that leisure was an incitement to sin. Calvin, even more than other leaders of his time, had only contempt for leisure and believed "It is certain that idleness and indolence are accursed of God." This attitude was carried over into the American colonies, and children were given little opportunity for play.

It was not until the nineteenth century that concerted efforts were made to relate play to the development of personality and to the welfare of society. So-called "theories of play" have been propounded many times since the days of Herbert Spencer, to whom play is the result of surplus nervous energy and its form determined by imitation of adult activities. Thus, higher organisms, and especially in a society which insists upon a period of prolonged dependency, will manifest play behavior for a longer period of time than those which have a shorter dependency span. The theory that play is relaxation and brings recovery from fatigue was advanced by Moritz Lazarus. Karl Gross believed that play was nature's way of preparing the individual for adult life, a period during which instincts must be adapted to the activities essential to the well-being of the adult. Hence children played at adult activities—keeping house, running a store, and tending a sick doll.

One of the writers whose work had a profound influence upon education is G. Stanley Hall. His two-volume work on *Adolescence,* published in 1904, contained many case histories. An earnest advocate of the theory of cultural recapitulation, he believed that just as the human organism recapitulates the biological evolution of the species, so each individual in his social life recapitulates the cultural evolution of the race. Hall therefore regarded play "as the motor habits and spirit of the past of the race, persisting to the present, as rudimentary functions sometimes of and always akin to rudimentary organs. . . . Thus, we rehearse the activities of our ancestors, back we know not how far." Hide and seek is reminiscent of the time when man had to slip stealthily through the trees and tall grass for concealment; other games are based on later periods of culture on up through the stages of

cultural evolution. Hall's theory was further expanded by George T. W. Patrick, who worked out a complete parallel between play and the chief types of life, habits, and occupations during the Stone Age. More recent theories are those of McDougall who sees in play the expression of the instinct of rivalry; Shand who believes it the expression of joy; and Freud, Jung, and Adler who believe play is the expression of the "unconscious" of both the individual and the race.

The work of these and other writers did much to point up the need for more factual data on childhood growth and development, but their statements can hardly be called "theories." Each writer selected only one characteristic of play and ignored others, and sought to describe all in the light of the one characteristic. Various types of active play do provide the release of surplus energy; other kinds are an imitation of almost universal adult activities, such as "keeping house" and do have value in preparation for adult life. But no one theory fits all types of play nor can a single theory explain the fact of variation.

More recently, largely within the last quarter of a century, sociologists have turned attention away from the purely individual emphasis to the value of play as a medium of social interaction. Play develops from the desire of the child to achieve ends which he cannot achieve alone, his desire for group association, and the consequent wider self-expression. Its form among peoples of any time and place is determined by the folkways and mores of the group, either in fact or in the fiction of story books, movies, and radio skits. The artifacts of play are those of the adult world as effectively demonstrated by the fact that during World War II wooden-wheeled wagons were shaped like jeeps, toy trains were mounted with cannon, and even tinkling pull-toys were replaced by miniature tanks. Toy guns and helmets, soldiers, sailors, and marines were on every counter.

One of the earliest studies of the child's social groups was that of Puffer,[9] who accepted the recapitulation theory of Hall: "Obviously the instinctive activities of the boy's gang are the necessary

[9] J. Adams Puffer, *The Boy and His Gang*, page 76. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912.

duties of the savage man. The civilized boy hunts, fishes, fights, builds huts in the woods, stands loyally by his fellows, and treats all outsiders with suspicion or cruelty, and in general lives the life and thinks the thought of the savage man. He is, for the moment, a savage; and he instinctively 'plays Indians' as the real savage lives them."

Furfey,[10] Thrasher, and others totally discard such a theory. Thrasher[11] states: "The energies and impulses of boys are much the same the world over; they are simply functions of the organism in the period of growth. They are certainly not instincts; for they are far more inchoate than such predetermined and definite patterns of behavior. . . . If the boy is healthy, his energies are keenly active and his wishes are often imperative; they must get some sort of expression. Yet the direction they take depends upon the environment. The boy is plastic; his energies and impulses may be directed in a multiude of different ways. . . . The group's activities, in general, tend to follow the patterns which have prestige in its social *milieu* and which at the same time appeal to its love for adventure or to other wishes of its members. Thus, life in the gang is a product of interaction between the fundamental nature of the group and its members on the one hand and the environment on the other. Neither factor can be neglected in explaining it."

Sociologists are interested in play as a preparation for adult life, not, however, because of a possible carry-over of a specific skill. They see in play, and especially in its group aspects, the socialization of the child, sensing the meaning of a "we-feeling," finding his role within the group, and learning the significance of adjustment, opposition, and coöperation.

Social Processes and the Gang

Under few circumstances, not even in the family, do the social processes operate as freely and as untrammeled by convention as

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[10] Paul H. Furfey, *The Gang Age: A Study of the Pre-adolescent Boy and His Recreational Needs.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

[11] Frederic M. Thrasher, *op. cit.*, page 246.

in the activity groups of children and young people. From the first hair-pulling of two children, who want the same swing at the same time, to the complex organization of the adolescent gang, the social processes, as one writer has phrased it, "can be seen in the raw."

The two most obvious processes are social adjustment and opposition. In a group that, as a unit, has followed the traditional life history—a play group evolving through conflict into a gang—the social interaction of its members is comparatively mutual, and each member has had a part in the development of the group's purpose and activities, adjusting himself as these activities changed with the years. For the person who is initiated into an already existing group, interaction is not reciprocal, and affiliation implies that the new member adjusts to the group pattern. Thrasher [12] has described this process as follows: "Every boy in the gang acquires a personality (in the sociological sense) and a name—is a person; that is, he plays a part and gets a place with reference to the other members of the group. In the developed gang, he fits into his niche like a block in a puzzle box; he is formed by the discipline the gang imposes upon him. He cannot be studied intelligently or understood apart from this social role.

"Each gang as a whole, and other types of social groups as well, may be conceived of as possessing an action pattern. Every person in the group performs his characteristic function with reference to others, or to put it another way, fills the individual niche that previous experience in the gang has determined for him. Lacking the group, personality in the sense here used would not exist. The action pattern of a group tends to become fixed and automatic in the habits of its members; it may persist long after the formal organization of the group has changed."

Adjustments of the individual to the requirements of gang life do not occur without conflict and competition. Opposition in relation to activity groups is of three types: the struggle of the person for status, intergroup opposition, and opposition with

[12] *Ibid.*, page 329.

society. Just as the gang may be viewed as a struggle of the group for recognition, so it provides the *milieu* for the struggle of each person for status in the one group that means more to him than any other. His struggle is real and on the outcome may depend not only his role in the group but his whole standard of self-appraisal and his judgment of himself—a "secret control" that may color his other associations at the time and influence his later life. The methods of achieveing status may be subtle or direct. The member may adopt personal peculiarities such as the lad who made "funny faces;" he may have an experience not shared by others, such as being arrested or having "served time"; he may develop prowess in the gang's activities—batting, pitching, stealing, or any other skill; he may give favors regardless of how he procures the means to do so, as is illustrated by the girl who stole money from her mother's purse to "treat the gang"; or he may acquire status by the rule of the jungle—strength and agility as the leader of the Apollo Athletic Club. But by whatever means status is acquired and whatever its nature, status is never static. He must continue to prove his prowess, or his place is taken by an ever-watchful competitor.

The second area of opposition—that between groups—differs little from any other intergroup struggle, except, perhaps, that it is dictated by fewer rules than other conflict situations. Frequently, it is deliberately incited by one group or the other, either to demonstrate dominance or just for excitement, but the end is always the same—greater internal solidarity as a result of external opposition.

The third area of opposition—between the group and society or the community—is more often an accumulation of attitudes rather than deliberate. In its later stages it may be planned. The family objects to the vocabulary picked up from the group; the gang steals watermelons or engages in other mischievous activities. The attitude of opposition is at first more the product of the adult than of the youthful group. To the excitement of the act itself is added the thrill of outwitting or even defying the folkways and mores of society. The out-group conflict often

merely crystallizes the antagonistic attitudes and behavior of the group, and makes opposition all the more desirable for the individual member.

Some writers believe that the uncontrolled interaction of the play group and gang offers an ideal setting for the development of such virtues as helpfulness, generosity, honesty, and fair play. Although the group's activities indicate that most of them call for coöperative action, the old saying, "There is honor among thieves" is often literally true only in the relation of the thieves among themselves.

Thrasher [18] states: "As preparation for life in a larger world, it is doubtful if the gang does enough. The gang virtues which have been so exalted as ideal patterns for humanity at large, hold only for members of the in-group and the rest of the world may quite normally be looked upon as lawful prey. The sense of fair play which tends to govern the relationships of the boys to each other does not extend to outsiders."

The activity group exercises significant influence in determining the behavior of its members, but such influence varies with the degree of "we-feeling." It depends also upon the age of the group and the environment in which it functions. Morality or moral values are based upon the welfare of the group rather than upon that of the individual. Loyalty to the group is invariably demanded and the "squealer" of any age becomes an outcast. Either by informal discussion, a formal meeting, or sometimes by a definite trial ritual, the member who violates the regulations or code of the group—usually embodied only in their mutually agreed upon attitudes—is judged and, if convicted, is punished. Penalties may entail doing things for other members of the group, a fine, physical punishment, suspension, or expulsion. The group, depending upon the status of its organization, has definite mechanisms of social control, such as ridicule, name calling, applause, as well as the more subtle changes in voice inflection, facial expression, or shrugging of the shoulders. The

[18] *Ibid.*, page 305.

importance of social control is effectively summarized by Dr. Thrasher: [14]

"The individual member of the gang is almost wholly controlled by the force of group opinion. The way everybody in the gang does or thinks is usually sufficient justification or dissuasion for the gang boy. In such cases he is really feeling the pressure of public opinion in that part of his social world which is most vital to him and in which he wishes to maintain status. This sort of sanction will make almost any kind of conduct right or wrong within the group. It will also make a boy one person under group influence and quite another when apart from it. The gang, as an intimate primary group, develops an excellent basis for control through rapport. Life together over a more or less extended period results in a common social heritage shared by every member of the group."

Relation of Activity Groups to Other Agencies

The common heritage is not shared equally by all members of the group. Each organization is subject to the same internal conflicts as are those of adult groups and frequently lead to the disorganization or disbandment of the group. A study of the reasons given for dropping out of their gang by former members shows that the most important factor was dissatisfaction with decisions and procedures of either the leader or of the group. Second in importance was the development of new interests. (See Table XI, page 242.)

Activity groups are subject to the same centripetal and centrifugal forces as the family but with one fundamental difference. The decline in the primary groups of the family and the community tends to increase the need for, and, in many instances, to multiply the number and strengthen the solidarity of, spontaneous primary groups. ***This gap in the services of planned agencies of society must be shortened rather than lengthened.*** The growth of youth-

[14] *ibid.*, page 291.

Table XI

REASONS GIVEN FOR LOSS OF INTEREST IN GANG

Reasons	Per Cent
Personal dissatisfaction (felt they weren't getting a fair deal; resented decisions of leader or other members)	26.8
Interested in girls and other activities	21.9
Could not pay dues	17.1
Work interfered	14.6
Moved from neighborhood	9.8
Suspended by own members	5.0
School work took up too much time	2.4
Sickness	2.4
Total	100.0

serving organizations is one effort on the part of society to lessen this gap. Recognition of the spontaneity of adolescent youth and the giving of definite direction to the social processes are effective means also for lessening the gap. But the fact that each such agency, including the school, seeks to carry on its program with little or no relationship to other organizations, and often with little concern for the other interests of children and youth, has lessened its value. By failing to see the child as a person, such agencies have created the desire, on his part, of finding, in groups of his own choice—or of his own making—the primary group values which give him status and shape his personality.

Not all activity groups are organized on a conflict basis, nor are they in conflict with social values. They vary from the spontaneous organization of children in play, to organized groups developed to promote the social, recreational, or religious interests of its members and of others. When the groups adopt antisocial attitudes and are in conflict with social welfare, problems of control arise. Law and punishment may minimize overt acts but may also only intensify the sense of opposition to society. Sublimation rather than repression points the way to a solution—redirecting the activities of the gang into those which are socially

desirable yet are still meaningful to the group. This has been the approach of the social settlements, Boys' Clubs, the Police Athletic League, and of many welfare agencies. Such sublimation entails the coöperation of all the agencies in the community.

The school, more than any other youth-serving agency, has assumed that it existed in cultural isolation; that the endless stream of children and youth who entered its doors somehow came into a different atmosphere in which the home and the street had no part; that the learning process and the educative process were different from each other—in fact, had little in common.

The one element in common is the child—varying in ability, in interests, in attitudes, and code of values; the child, whose personality has been and is being shaped by his primary group associations, whether they are found in the family, in the activity group of a youth-serving agency, a meeting in a vacant lot, or on a village street corner. If the school is to be an effective force in the development of personality, it must know the social backgrounds of its students; understand the processes that continually function in the social interaction of the child and his total cultural environment; and integrate its work with the total pattern of the community and the nation.

Chapter 11

THE SCHOOL: ITS RELATION TO CULTURE

CULTURE accumulates. From the most primitive society, which is almost, but never wholly, free of social controls, to the modern world with its complex social structure and cultural heritage, so rich and so varied that no one person can now comprehend it, each generation has passed on to each succeeding generation all, or some portion, of the values it has nurtured. Ways of behaving under prescribed circumstances—the folkways and mores; basic social patterns regarding property, sex, and religion, which have crystallized into law and become formalized by institutions; and the we-feeling—with its corresponding they-feeling—based upon myths or facts of origin and the sense of rightness of its own social organization, all these social values must be preserved if the group or society is to survive. The preservation of the cultural heritage is the primary function of education carried on through the informal agencies of primitive society; it still is and must remain a major function of the modern school. *These two facts —the accumulation of culture and the necessity for its transmission as an agency of social control—form the framework in which the educational sociologist must view the educative process in general and the school in particular.* But within this framework, he must also point out the ways through which the school may direct the social processes and provide for a creative role in personality development.

The Origin of the School

Education takes place in all human societies; the school, of comparatively recent origin, arose only because other agencies

failed adequately to pass on to the succeeding generation the cultural heritage of the group—clan, tribe, race, or nation.

That education has existed universally is attested to by anthropologists in their descriptions of primitive societies. Sumner and Keller [1] aptly describe the status of primitive man: "No myth was ever farther from scientific truth than that which represents mankind as starting in a state of nature in which there were peace, love, truth, justice, gratuitous abundance, liberty, and equality." Scarcity, rather than abundance, characterized his environment and struggle, rather than sloth, his manner of existence. Under such conditions, social organization was inevitable, although varying in both degree and character. It required mutual adjustments, limitation of individual freedom, and the imposition of responsibility for the welfare of the group.

In primitive society, restrictions and taboos are passed on informally through the usual associations of the primary group. Cultural heritage is simple, consisting primarily of methods for procuring the basic necessities of food, shelter, and protection. The close relationship between behavior and security makes nature an effective teacher. The family and the clan provide the necessary instruction, and the child learns through trial and error, observation, and imitation. Although the extent to which such enforcement of taboos and assumption of responsibilities is deliberately directed varies with the group, as shown in Mead's [2] interesting contrast of the children of Manus and those of New Guinea, children early accept the stern realities of life. Self-preservation is often itself a struggle against great odds and even small children must contribute their part in eking out an existence in a resistant environment. Herskovitz [3] describes the responsibilities of boys and girls at various ages in one primitive group.

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[1] William G. Sumner and Albert G. Keller, *op. cit.*, page 96.

[2] Margaret Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa.* New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1936; *Growing Up in New Guinea.* New York: W. Morrow & Company, 1930.

[3] Melville J. Herskovitz, *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples,* pages 109–110. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940.

By six years of age, boys have begun to assist in pegging out goats, to scare birds from newly sown fields and from crops, and to accompany the family on sowing and harvesting parties; from six to nine, to the above listed activities are added helping in house building, assisting in sowing and harvesting, and, toward the end of the period, going out with the herd boys, and assisting in caring for the poultry; from nine to twelve, full responsibility for cattle herding and caring for poultry, assisting parents in care of crops or, if the father is a craftsman, helping him and "learning by looking"; from twelve to fifteen, real farming of their own plots, leading the younger herd boys, or assisting the father in his craft. Comparable responsibilities, differentiated by sex, are assumed by girls and, at fifteen, girls have "a responsible part in all domestic duties of everyday life and of those associated with ceremonial occasions."

In primitive groups, the boy models toys after the tools and weapons of his father, and as soon as a lad is strong enough, he begins to accompany the father in quest of food or in pursuit of enemies. The girl likewise learns the household tasks of her mother. One other fact should be noted in Herskovitz's description—the specialization of the craftsman. Division of labor and responsibility could have been described in greater detail, since they include the specific functions of the tribal leader, and the role of the medicine man and others in the ceremonials. Even these knowledges and skills are acquired by observation and imitation.

The descriptions previously given of the Acomas and Navahos illustrate groups that have advanced beyond the stage of merely providing economic necessities, but include the rudiments of intellectual aspects of cultural heritage: art, mythology, songs and sagas of heroes, and involve taboos and ceremonials. The Acomas, like all the Pueblo Indians, have advanced still further in tribal organization and allocation of function to members of the tribe, but the need for the school it not felt. The day-to-day association within the primary group, the repetition of the songs and the ceremonials, and the swift punishment for the violation of taboos,

transmit the cultural heritage without change or modification. In the ceremonial dance and other tribal rituals, tiny feet begin to pattern their steps after the longer ones of their elders; in the propitiation of the gods, the children learn from the grown-ups.

One of the earliest kinds of formal education is the initiation ceremony. In groups in which the cultural heritage has accumulated to the point that it can no longer be left wholly to trial and error, a special period for instruction is set aside, individuals are assigned specific roles and instruction is to a varying degree formalized. Through this short, but tense and highly realistic, period of "schooling," the elders transmit to the adolescent the cultural heritage of the tribe, thus bridging the gap which would otherwise have been left by the inadequacies of wholly informal educational agencies.

Only with the development of language characters, as in China, and of the alphabet and the number system in other early culture groups, did cultural heritage accumulate beyond the point at which it could no longer be entrusted even to the initiatory ceremony. Then it was that the school was established—in China, Egypt, Babylonia, India, Greece, and Rome. Even then formal schooling was confined chiefly to those areas of highest culture accumulation—written language, religion, philosophy, and mathematics—and given only to the children of priestly and noble families. The great mass of humanity still continued to acquire the lore of the past and the mores of their current culture through the informal channels of their primary groups. Extension of the school to include "all the children of all the people" is a recent development, actually of the last hundred years, and still limited to nations that include only a small proportion of the total population of the world. There are still more than a million native-born adults in the United States who have never attended a school.

In primitive groups and among early civilizations, Church and State were not separate. In some primitive groups, the chief and the medicine man were one and the same person. As the functions of government and of religion became more complex—again by accumulation—the functions of chief and priest were divided,

one to rule in matters primarily of property, the other, in the propitiation of the gods. Both functions were in terms of the folkways and mores of the group and involved ceremonials in increasing amount and complexity. The first step was the allocation of the responsibility for such ceremonials to a "priest class"; the second was the instruction of the young in the lore of the past and in the taboos and behavior patterns of the present. Hence, the first teachers were clerics, by whatever name they were called—medicine man, witch doctor, or priest.

The Navahos and Acomas illustrate the transition from informal to formal schooling within our own time. Without written langauge, the natives had no school; their mores and ceremonials were passed on by action and word of mouth in close association within the family, and, among the latter, within the tribe. When these Indians came into contact with Western civilization and took on, more or less unwillingly, the white man's culture, then schools were established—not, however, by their own initiative. Etymologists have attempted, with indifferent success, to develop a written language for several of the tribes, but that which does not evolve from within the group is not readily accepted as a part of its culture.

This concept of the origin of the school as developing to meet the need for the transmission of the cultural heritage—a need created because of culture accumulation and the consequent inadequacy of existing agencies—is fundamental in the appraisal of the function and activities of the modern school. As stated by Woody:[4] "Preliterate peoples knew nothing of the education of mental discipline and effort, the conning of lessons and tasks unassociated directly with life. Till men had languages, literatures, philosophy, and sciences, there was no occasion for disciplinary, mental effort on the part of new generations. Men lived and learned; they did not immune themselves from life. When, however, society had acquired these instruments, syste-

[4] Thomas Woody, "Historical Sketch of Activism." *Thirty-third Yearbook*, National Society for the Study of Education, Part II, page 9. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1934.

matic training was instituted so that the new generation might learn quickly and well what society itself had learned slowly and with difficulty."

The Growth of the School

Education in any country and at all periods reflects the values of the ruling class, whether of Church or of State. Scholarship in the abstract is condoned only in a society in which there is leisure.

Oriental education, especially in China, developed in the early dawn of recorded history. In his *Book of Historical Documents,* Confucius reproduced more than 100 books, the oldest dating back to the twenty-third century B.C. Schools had existed for centuries before Western civilization developed and a national system of examinations had been used as a basis for selecting those who were to hold public offices. It is interesting to note that those who failed to pass these examinations became teachers. The subject matter was the classics including, after 500 B.C., those of Confucius. The method was rote learning and the examinations required exact reproduction of long passages from the ancients. Oriental education illustrates a basic characteristic of the school through many centuries: the masses continue to receive their education through informal agencies; the few who, by caste or economic status, are of the privileged class are those through whom the higher levels of culture are transmitted. There thus arises a dualism between the folkways and mores pertaining to the everyday business of living and the formal aspects of culture as embodied in written records and documents. It is the latter that becomes the subject matter of the school since the informal agencies are inadequate to transmit it.

In the city-states of Greece, only the sons of citizens were educated, although in Athens the schools were later opened also to foreigners. The ratio of Athenian citizens to slaves is estimated at 40,000 to 150,000 at the time of Socrates. Spartan education was exclusively for the state, was carried on in barracks, and was disciplinary in character. Education in early Athens

followed somewhat the general pattern of Spartan training in the *palaestra* and the *gymnasia,* and the youth was under the constant supervision of his "pedagogue"—a "boy-leader," actually a household slave. At eighteen, the boy's father presented him to the authorities as a candidate for citizenship. If found morally and physically fit and the son of a citizen, he was accepted, and was given the Ephebic Oath. The wording of this oath is indicative of the unity of Church and State, and their dominance over the individual: "I will never disgrace these sacred arms, nor desert my companions in the ranks. I will fight for temples and public property, both alone and with many. I will transmit my fatherland, not only not less, but greater and better, than it was transmitted to me. I will obey the magistrates who will at any time be in power. I will observe both the existing laws and those which the people may unanimously hereafter make, and, if any person seek to annul the laws or to set them at naught, I will do my best to prevent him, and will defend them both alone and with many. I will honor the religion of my fathers. And I call to witness our gods."

After two years of military training and the successful passing of a more stringent examination than the first, the youth became a citizen, accepting full responsibility in the State.

Later Athenian education illustrates the transition from education for the State to that which includes individual values. Citizenship was opened to include commercial classes and was no longer restricted to lineal descendants of citizens. Wealth provided leisure, and a new type of education developed. The schools of the Sophists presumably gave training for the new types of government service, emphasizing rhetoric, grammar, and the effective use of the Greek language. Later the schools lost much of even this practical emphasis and Plato represents a Sophist teacher as saying, "If the youth comes to me, he will learn that which he comes to learn." Emphasis upon the requirements of the individual was effectively summarized in the oft-quoted Socratic phrase, "Know thyself." As mathematics, science, and philosophy expanded, universities and libraries at

Athens, Alexandria, Rhodes, and other cultural centers were established.

Roman education closely followed that of Greece. At first harsh and disciplinary, and primarily for the State, the assimilation of Greek culture brought a change in curricula and methods of schools. Seldom, if ever, has one people taken over the educational system of another as completely and as intact as Rome did that of Greece, including its philosophy, religion, literature, and practical knowledge. Cicero, Quintilian, and other Romans emphasized the importance of training for public service through schools for orators, but this practical function became less important as the subject matter was formalized into what later was termed the "Seven Liberal Arts"—the "Trivium": grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; and the "Quadrivium": arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. Unlike that in Greece, education in Rome was never considered a function of the State; it remained largely on a private basis, and those who could afford to do so, hired tutors or sent their children to private schools. However, only a few could afford to pay for formal education: the great mass of people were educated by informal agencies.

Rome's contribution to education was not in the types of schools established, but rather through the perfection of the alphabet and the development of oral and written language, and through the establishment of laws, which still form the basis of jurisprudence in the Western World. The extension of Roman power and influence throughout the then-known world gave a common body of folkways, mores, and institutions which have left their imprint upon all Western civilization.

For more than a thousand years after the decline of the Roman Empire, virtually all education was in the hands of the Church. Much of the learning of Greece and Rome had been lost, making little need for schools except for the clergy, and even for them the instruction was formal and limited. Medieval knights provided castle-schools in which the elements of reading and writing were taught, but their purpose was primarily to instill the proper code of chivalry. Clerics in monastic cloisters patiently copied and

recopied manuscripts, often beautifully "illuminated" with artistically drawn letters, and thereby preserved the sacred literature.

But, over the centuries, Christianity stimulated anew the development of schools in that all who accepted Christ had to know the rudiments of the new faith. At first, ritual and the sermons were adequate, as religion made its appeal to the emotions rather than to the intellect; but when Christianity was accepted also by the ruling classes, catechetical schools were established in which the question and answer method of teaching was used—hence the modern use of the term "catechism." As the Church increased in power, cathedral or espiscopal schools were also established in the ever-more-imposing structures that were erected in cities and hamlets. Monastic Orders provided instruction for those who were to enter the order (*oblati*) and, later, enrolled some (*externi*) who did not contemplate entering the order. A number of convents provided schools for girls, including both *oblati* and *externi*. But the low state to which schools had declined by the time of Charlemagne is indicated by his proclamation on education in which he gently reproves the abbots for their illiteracy—"what pious devotion dictated faithfully to the mind, the tongue, uneducated on account of the neglect of study, was not able to express without error." Later, Charlemagne urged every father to send his son to school to study letters, but even in this proclamation, he was referring only to freemen of the court and the official classes—never to the peasant, serf, or craftsman.

With the revival of learning in the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, a number of great teachers drew around them an increasing number of scholars. Other teachers "set up their chairs" and, over a span of years, the university evolved—the term itself connoting its organization as an "association of masters and apprentices in study." Law, theology, medicine, and the Seven Liberal Arts were emphasized at one or another of these early universities, which later were incorporated as colleges in the parent institution. Academic ranks were those of the guild apprentice, journeyman, and master, and the rituals a modification of those of the Church. Today, at Commencement, with faculty

and graduates in their black robes with colorful hoods and tasseled hats, the processional with the torch of learning borne at its head, and the diploma still in Latin in many institutions, one would but need to blot out the stage and substitute the somber walls of the Cathedral of Notre Dame or Paris or Bologna. The rituals of the twentieth century are still those of the twelfth. To a great extent, also, the degrees and the examination system are still the same. Certainly it has taken centuries to shake off even a portion of the blind worship of the classics that gripped higher education for centuries, yet out of the university cloisters came those who were to shake the very foundations of medieval thought —Dante, Petrarch, Wycliff, Luther, Calvin, Copernicus, Galileo, Newton, and Bacon.

The manufacture of paper in Europe in the thirteenth century and the invention of the printing press in the fifteenth (bitterly opposed by the professional copyists) created a new demand for formal education. Municipalities began to establish schools, one of the most important of which in its influence upon education was the *gymnasium* at Strasbourg established in 1536 under the direction of Johann Sturm. Through his writing and teaching, he fashioned the pattern of classical education for secondary schools not only in Germany, but in most of the Western countries for three centuries. In a century or more, the new humanistic studies had become formalized in content and method of instruction, and disciplinary rather than functional in purpose. One successful master boasted that in his fifty-one years as a teacher he had given: 911,527 strokes with a stick; 124,000 lashes with a whip; 136,715 slaps with the hand; and 1,115,800 boxes on the ear with the hand, the prayer book, or the Catechism! Education had become a "pedantic excursion into intellectual slavery, in which the beauties of the classical literatures and culture were lost sight of amidst the punitive mazes of classical syntax."

The Reformation brought a new emphasis on the right of the individual to independent personal judgment, thereby creating a need for education equally open to rich or poor, boys or girls;

but this need was not for another 200 years met except in sporadic efforts. The Church, whether Catholic or Protestant, still remained the chief agency in conducting such schools as were established. Among the former, teaching orders, such as the Jesuits, were founded; among the latter, charity societies were organized and schools established. One of the early organizations of this character was the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—America being one of the "foreign parts." Private elementary schools were also developed, one of the most common in England being the Dame School, largely for children of poor peasants. The poet, George Crabbe,[5] has given a vivid description of this school which includes the following excerpt:

> To every class we have a school assign'd,
> Rules for all ranks and food for every mind;
> Yet one there is that small regard to rule
> Or study pays, and still is deem'd a school;
> That where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits,
> And awes some thirty infants as she knits;
> Children of humble, busy wives who pay
> Some trifling price for freedom through the day.

The English Poor Law, passed in 1601, compelled parishes to levy taxes to provide for the care of the poor, and made it compulsory for the children of the poor, both boys and girls, to be apprenticed to learn a useful trade. The overseer of the poor was authorized to supply, where necessary, the opportunities and the materials for training of poor children.

The nationalism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought a further need—the inculcation of "statism" and training in citizenship. Frederick the Great established a free public school system for Prussia in 1794; France had made several efforts to do so, and succeeded in 1882. In England, the dual system of free and fee schools continued until 1918, when a State school system was established. The virtual abolishment of the fee schools did not take place, however, until the Act of 1945. The

[5] George Crabbe, "The Schools of the Burrough," reprinted in Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, Vol. 4, pages 582–590.

complete subjugation of education in the interests of the State was achieved under Nazism, and, to a somewhat lesser degree, under Fascism and Communism.

During the period of the growth of nationalism, men like Comenius, John Locke, Froebel, and others, revolted against the formal classical education of their time. Rousseau and Voltaire led the same revolt in the larger fields of learning. Scientists were challenging old concepts, and pushing back the horizons of human knowledge. The Industrial Revolution had shattered the familiar social structure; on the one hand, creating a new leisure class, and, on the other hand, replacing the apprentice, journeyman, and master in some trades with the worker repeating the same task, day in and day out, at machine tempo.

Schools and Colleges in the United States

Colonial education in America differed little from that of the country from which the settlers came—Puritan in New England, Catholic in Maryland, Quaker, Lutheran, and others in Pennsylvania. The Church provided the schools and determined the curricula. The earliest colleges, such as Harvard and William and Mary, were "to train up learned men for the clergy." The dominance of the Church is shown in the contents of the *New England Primer,* the most used of all elementary textbooks for more than a hundred years and reprinted as late as 1830. It begins with the alphabet:

> In *A*dam's fall we sinned, all
> Thy ways to mend, God's *B*ook attend

and so on through the alphabet, ending with:

> Youth forward slips, death soonest nips;
> Zaccheus he did climb the tree his Lord to see.

The following quotation from the *New England Primer* indicates the contents, which are illustrated by livid woodcuts:

> I in the burying ground may see
> Graves shorter there than I;

From death's arrest no age is free,
Young children, too, may die.
My God, may such an awful sight
Awakening be to me
So that by early grace I might
For death prepare'd be!

The earliest legislation regarding schools were the so-called Satan Acts (to keep children busy and so out of the clutches of the Devil) passed by the Colonial Legislature of Massachusetts in 1642 and 1647. Based on the English Poor Law of 1601, the law of 1642 required only that all children be taught "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country." There were no provisions for the establishment of schools, this being left, as in England, to the family and the Church. Only five years later the second act remedied this defect and made schools mandatory: "Every town having 50 householders should at once appoint a teacher of reading and writing, and provide for his wages in such manner as the town might determine"; and "Every town having 100 householders must provide a grammar school to fit youths for the university." Penalties for failure to provide such schools were designated.

Such provisions went far beyond the English law since they placed the State over the family or the Church in providing education. The second Massachusetts Act began a struggle in education that has continued to the present time, a struggle that is one of the major issues that faces the nation in the years following World War II—the support and control of education.

During the Colonial period and until approximately the turn of the nineteenth century, elementary education was provided partly by private schools, partly by religious denominations, but largely through public agencies supported by taxation. Secondary education was almost entirely private or Church supported, although a number of cities, especially in Northern states, established so-called "Free Academies"—seldom, however, entirely free. Higher education was wholly private although subject to, and chartered by, legislative acts.

While America has retained this triple system of education, Table XII clearly indicates the shift in all levels of education toward tax-supported institutions. This change did not come without a bitter struggle. Of the many leaders in government and in education who led the fight for public education, only three can be named: Thomas Jefferson, who proposed a complete national system of education beginning in the local schools and culminating in a federal university; Henry Barnard, whose institutes initiated teacher-training and who was principal of the first public normal school (Connecticut, 1851–55); and Horace Mann, secretary of the first State Board of Education (established in 1826 in Massachusetts) and who, as late as 1830, was reported to have been driven out of a New England farmer's yard at the point of a pitchfork because he advocated "the heresy of taxing one man's property to educate another man's child." The growing recognition that education was a public responsibility was forcefully indicated in a speech by Governor DeWitt Clinton to the New York legislature in 1826: "The first duty of government, and the surest evidence of good government, is the encouragement of education. A general diffusion of knowledge is a precursor and protector of republican institutions, and in it we must confide as the conservative power that will watch over our liberties. . . . No reasonable apprehension can be entertained of the subversion of our freedom as long as the great body of the people are enlightened by education."

The recency of free public education in the United States is startlingly brought home by the struggle to eliminate "pauper schools" and the "rate bill." The former is illustrated by Pennsylvania. After more than two decades of controversy, the Free School Law passed in 1834. Even by this act, local school districts were to decide whether or not they would tax themselves to establish free schools, and it was not until 1873 that the last district in the state accepted the system. The so-called "rate bills" required each student to pay a fee varying with the school and the grade in which he was enrolled. In New York State, the matter was twice voted on by a referendum; in the second, in 1850, the

Table XII *

Enrollment by Type of School and Level, by Decades 1889–1890 to 1939–1940

Type of school, by level	1889–90	1899–1900	1909–10	1919–20	1929–30	1939–40
Total kindergarten and elementary schools	**14,181,415**	**16,224,784**	**18,457,228**	**20,864,488**	**23,588,479**	**21,044,924**
Kindergartens.						
Public	15,145	131,657	293,970	481,266	723,443	594,647
Private	16,082	93,737	52,219	29,683	54,456	57,341
Elementary.						
Public	12,504,373	14,852,202	16,604,821	18,897,661	20,555,150	18,286,906
Private	1,645,815	1,147,188	1,506,218	1,455,878	2,255,430	2,106,030
Total secondary	**357,813**	**695,903**	**1,111,393**	**2,495,676**	**4,799,867**	**7,113,282**
Public high schools	202,963	519,251	915,061	2,200,389	4,399,422	6,601,444
Private high schools	94,931	110,797	117,400	213,920	341,158	457,768
Preparatory departments of colleges	51,749	56,285	66,042	59,309	47,309	33,091
Secondary grades in training schools	8,170	9,570	12,890	22,058	11,978	20,979
Total higher education	**156,756**	**237,592**	**355,215**	**597,880**	**1,100,737**	**1,493,203**
Normal schools and teachers colleges	34,814	69,593	88,561	135,435	176,462	177,045
Colleges, universities, and professional schools	121,942	167,999	266,654	462,445	924,275	1,316,158
Private commercial and business schools (day and evening)	78,920	91,549	155,244	335,161	179,756	125,000
Total population of U S 5–21 years of age	24,687,135	28,307,780	33,012,979	35,944,123	41,956,441	40,528,880

* Adapted from *Statistical Summary of Education, 1939–40*, page 7. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, Vol. 2, Chap. 1.

vote from the rural areas (184,308) in favor of retaining the rate bill was offset by those in the metropolitan districts (209,346) who wished to abolish the "rate bill." It was not, however, until 1867 that New York abolished rates. New Jersey, the last state to throw off the practice of rates, did so in 1871.

The expansion of education is shown by the fact that in 1800 the average person had only 82 days of schooling during his lifetime; in 1850, 321 days; and by 1900, it had reached 998 days—the approximate equivalent of five school years. The more recent change in the educational level of our population is graphically shown in Figure 14 contrasting the education of men in the army during World War I with those of World War II. More men in the army of the 1940's had completed high school than had completed eighth grade in 1917–18. The average soldier of World War I had completed only the sixth grade; in World War II he had just entered his junior year of high school.

The greatest numerical growth in relation to population has taken place in the secondary school. The Latin Grammar School on the British pattern was gradually supplanted by the tuition-charging "Free Academy." By 1840 some 6,000 such schools were in operation. The free public high school was first established in Boston in 1820. The movement rapidly grew, especially after the Kalamazoo Case of 1872 when the courts upheld the right of a district to levy taxes to provide education at all levels. Today the high school has virtually replaced the academy, although a few communities still cling to the name. In 1945, there were approximately 28,000 secondary schools in the United States, of which more than 90 per cent were publicly administered. In 1890, only 3.5 per cent of 17-year-olds were high-school graduates; in 1940, 50.7 had graduated; then only 7 per cent of those 14 to 17 years of age were in secondary school; in 1939–40, 73 per cent—ten times as many.

In higher education, only 38 colleges had been established by 1820; 92 were begun in the decade 1850–59, and a total of 300 within the 40 years 1850–89. The period of rapid increase in church-controlled colleges has been followed since 1900 by a

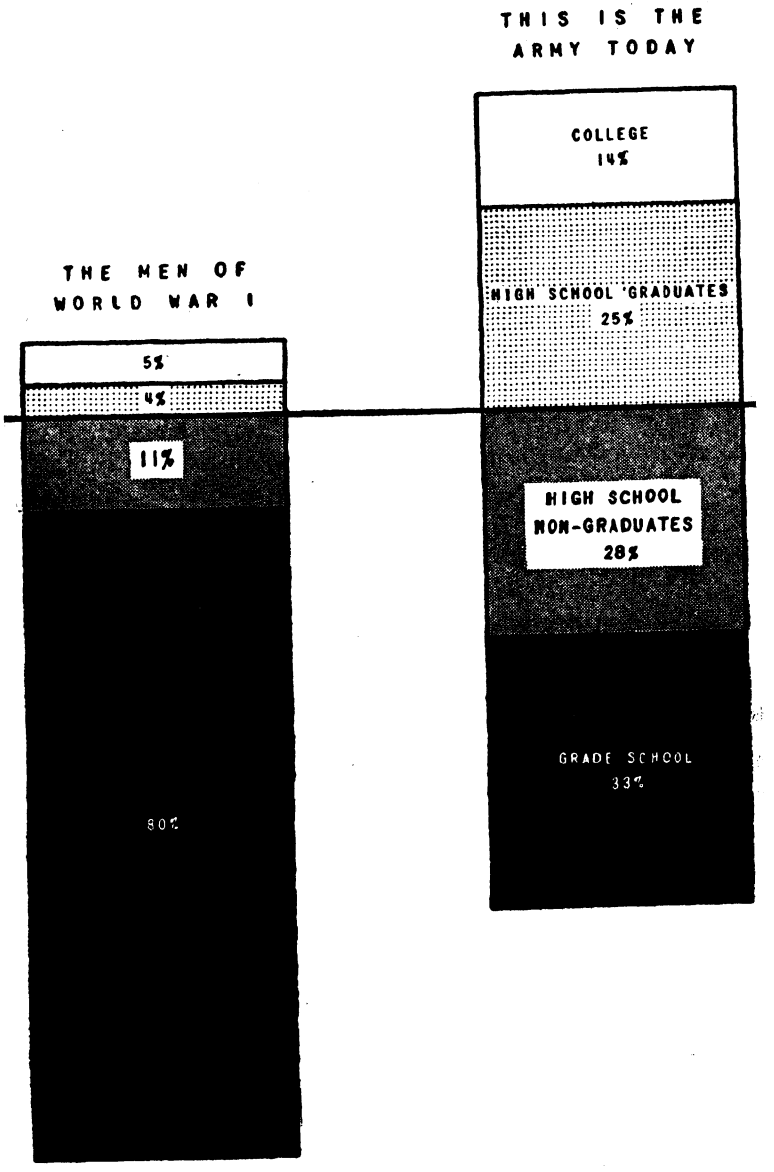


Figure 14. Comparative educational level of selectees in World Wars I and II. (Released by the Information and Educational Division, Army Service Forces.)

tendency to loosen or in many cases sever the relationship with the denomination. Publicly administered colleges and universities developed in the first quarter of the last century, but had their greatest growth after the passage of the Morrell Acts of 1862 and 1867 that gave lands to the states for the establishment of colleges, especially to give instruction in agriculture and home economics.

Publicly administered universities developed in response to the growing demand to liberate education both from its selective factor based on economic status and from denominational control. For the most part, these universities are supported by the state, although a score of cities have established municipal universities, and more than 100 have organized junior colleges. Although the number of privately administered colleges and universities exceeds that of those publicly administered, as shown in Table XIII, the latter enroll approximately 50 per cent of the students. In 1939–40, the last normal pre-war year (Table XVI, p. 269),

Table XIII *

NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY TYPE OF CONTROL, 1944–1945

Type of institution	State control	District or city control	Private control	Denominational control		Total
				Protestant	Roman Catholic	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
College or university	101	14	183	251	143	692
Professional school	[a]18	1	147	69	24	259
Teachers college	156	3	14	1	9	183
Normal school	7	1	8	3	2	21
Junior college	[b]42	165	87	101	29	424
Negro institutions						
College or university	19	2	7	37	1	66
Professional school	1	....	4	2	..	7
Teachers college	10	3	....	1	...	14
Normal school	....	....	....	...	.	....
Junior college	....	3	1	15	..	19
Total						
White institutions	324	184	439	425	207	1,579
Negro institutions	30	8	12	55	1	106
Grand total	354	192	451	480	208	1,685

[a] Includes three under federal control.

[b] Includes one in Canal Zone under federal control.

Educational Directory, 1944–45, Part III, Colleges and Universities, page 7. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education.

the number of students in publicly administered colleges and universities was 796,531 as compared with 696,672 in those privately administered.

The education of girls and women even more concretely illustrates the development of schools to meet changing needs. Throughout the Colonial period and until the middle of the last century, girls attended the elementary schools, but only a very small proportion went beyond the eighth grade. Daughters of well-to-do parents were sent to finishing schools, under either private or church control. These Female Seminaries gave instruction in literature, art, music, and conduct, but not in subjects of practical value in home-making, and curricula did not have an employment objective. As the public high school developed on a co-educational basis, the number of girls who went on into secondary schools rapidly increased, and for the past 50 years has equaled or exceeded their brothers in number.

By 1825, agitation to provide higher education for young women had begun, but of the 61 colleges established by 1834, not one, as Daniel Chandler stated, "was dedicated to the cause of female education." During the quarter century from 1850 to 1875, much of the battle for higher education of women had been won. Auburn Female Seminary was moved in 1855 and became the Elmira Female College and granted its first baccalaureate degrees in 1859. Other female seminaries became colleges, and new institutions were established: Vassar, 1861; Wells, 1870; Smith and Wellesley, 1875. State universities had almost from the first been co-educational, thus accounting for the development of women's colleges in the East but few in other sections of the country. The following statement, made as late as 1871, however, suggests the attitude still held by many people: "If females persist in attempting to endure the rigor of hard study, hospitals and asylums must need be erected alongside of colleges for women. The training provided for girls in our common schools even largely incapacitates them for the duties and the joys of their natural future and without raising either their character or their

intelligence. . . . It is a mistake full of unreason and fruitful of sorrow."

How surprised the author of this statement would be if he could return to any one of the 279 colleges for women, the 1,186 co-educational institutions, or to the high schools and vocational

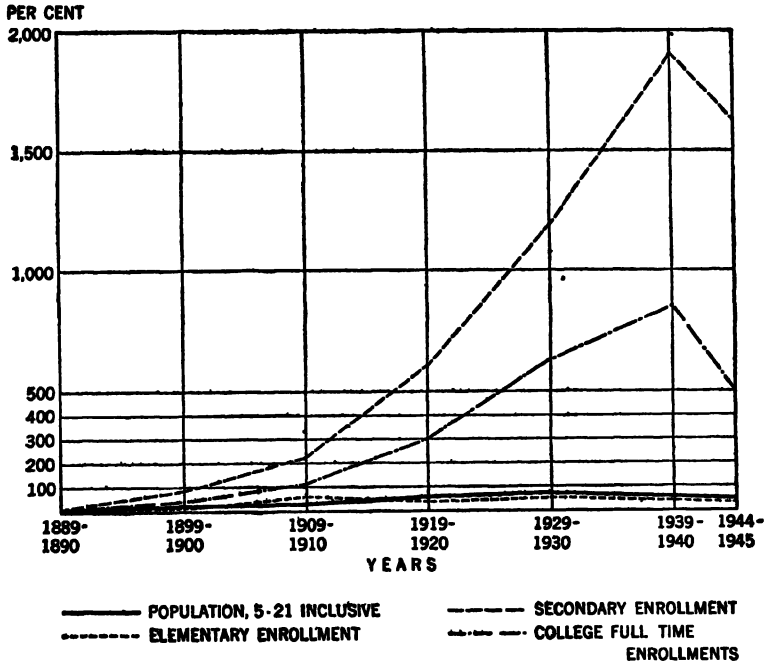


Figure 15. Per cent increase in fulltime enrollment in elementary secondary and higher education in relation to population, age 5–21 inclusive, by decades 1890 to 1940 and 1945.

schools and find women competing on an equal basis with men in courses varying from welding to Oriental literature. Or if he could have watched the procession of 650,198 girls (578,048 boys) receiving their high-school diplomas in 1939–40 and the 76,671 young women (109,829 men) being given their first college degrees, 10,223 (16,508 men) their master's degree and 429 (2,861 men) their doctorates.

The relative growth of elementary, secondary, and higher education in the United States in proportion to population (Figure 15) reveals one of the most significant developments in any nation. No nation has taken so literally its own ideal of education as expressed in the Ordinance of 1787, "Religion, morality, and education being necessary for good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." Never has a nation sought so earnestly to provide free education from the kindergarten to the graduate and professional school. Never, in spite of increasing financial assistance from states and the federal government, has any country left education as free from state and federal control or translated into a system of schools and colleges its faith in education as the means through which the State can achieve its objective of a free people in a free nation.

Education at Outbreak of World War II

Education from the beginning of the American defense program and the outbreak of World War II was unique among the nations of the world. It was a fluid system, as changing as the needs it sought to meet. The neat system of an eight-year elementary school, a four-year high school, and a four-year college course, followed by post-graduate research and professional study, had been broken into various combinations: a two-, three-, or four-year junior high school between the elementary grades and high school; a six-year grade school and a six-year high school; and a junior college including, usually, the first two years of college. But even the junior college, the most recent of American educational institutions, varies in length of time required for graduation and purpose. It has been suggested that the junior college should eliminate the traditional four-year liberal-arts college, permitting the student to go directly into the professional school. Others believe that the chief function of the nearly 600 institutions of this type which had been established by the beginning of World War II was to offer "terminal courses" for those who could not go on to a full four-year college.

Fiscal policies illustrate another field of wide variation in American education. In 1939–1940 annual expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance varied from $31.23 in Mississippi to $169.90 in New York State. Table XIV shows expenditures in the eight states that spent less than $50 per child and those that spent more than $112.50. Comparable data over a period of thirty years are shown in Figure 24 (page 396). Granting differences in standards of living, it is futile to believe that the same quality of education can be provided for less than fifty dollars that can be purchased for more than two and a half times as much!

Table XIV*

EXPENDITURE PER PUPIL IN AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE 1939–1940 BY SELECTED STATES

States Above $112.50	Expenditures	States Below $50	Expenditures
New York	169.90	Kentucky	48.90
California	150.15	Tennessee	45.61
New Jersey	148.54	North Carolina	44.39
Nevada	136.45	Georgia	43.13
District of Columbia	131.75	South Carolina	42.65
Illinois	121.09	Alabama	37.03
Massachusetts	116.66	Arkansas	34.18
Rhode Island	116.53	Mississippi	31.23
Connecticut	114.54		

* Data from *Statistical Summary of Education, 1939–40.* Washington, D. C: U. S. Office of Education, Vol. II, Chapter I, pages 23–24.

An equally important variable is the source of income for maintaining elementary and secondary education. Although there has been a definite tendency to enlarge the unit of tax support from the local community to the county, the state, and, more recently, to the nation, the amount still borne in 1939–1940 by the local taxpayers, for the nation as a whole, was 61.3 per cent; the county bore 6.7 per cent of the costs; the state, 30.3 per cent; and the federal government, only 1.7 per cent.

There was wide variation among the states, however, in this

distribution. In seven states: Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, more than 85 per cent of the cost of education was borne by the local community; conversely, in nine states: Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, New Mexico, North Carolina, Washington, and West Virginia, more than 50 per cent of the costs of education were borne by the entire state. The amount paid by the federal government, for special services, varied from less than .4 per cent in New York State to 8.5 per cent in Wyoming.

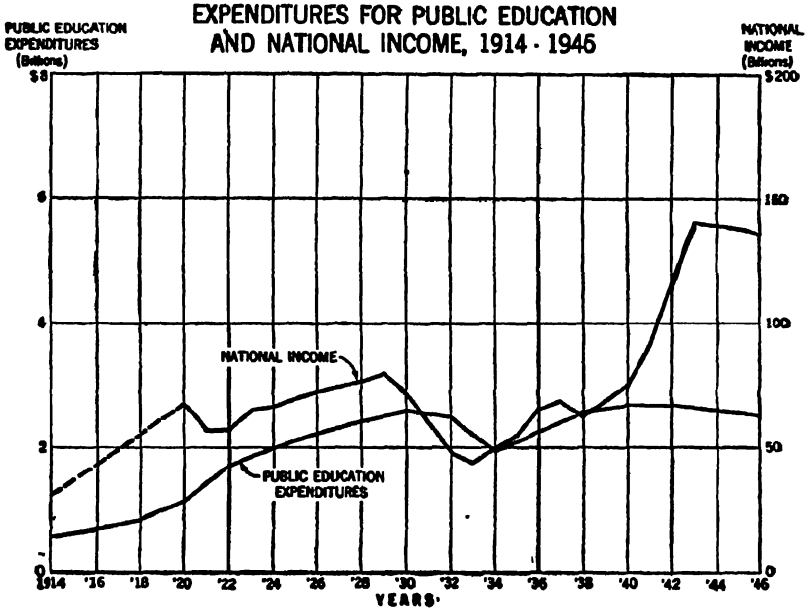


Figure 16. Expenditures for public education compared to national income, 1914–1946. (Adapted from *Trends in Education—Industry Cooperation*, No. 6, p. 3. Dotted sections estimated.)

The relationship of total national income and total expenditures for education is shown in Figure 16. The two have remained in close parallel from 1914 to 1940, with sharp divergency since the outbreak of World War II. If this total figure were presented for separate states, there would again be wide variation in the

percentage of income spent for education. It is significant, for example, that Tennessee, which spends less than any other state per child for education, spends a larger percentage of its income for education than any other state; whereas for several of the states that spend most per child, the expenditure is low among the states in percentage of income spent for education.

In the field of higher education, there has been a definite though gradual tendency to depart more and more from the policy of free college and university education even in public institutions. In the twenty years from 1919–20 to 1939–40, the percentage of total income of publicly administered institutions from student fees increased from 10 to 19, and of privately administered institutions, from 43 to 52.8. The relative importance of sources of income for privately and publicly administered colleges and universities is shown in Figure 17.

Another evidence of inequality of education, still persisting in 1939–40, is the percentage of each age group attending school in

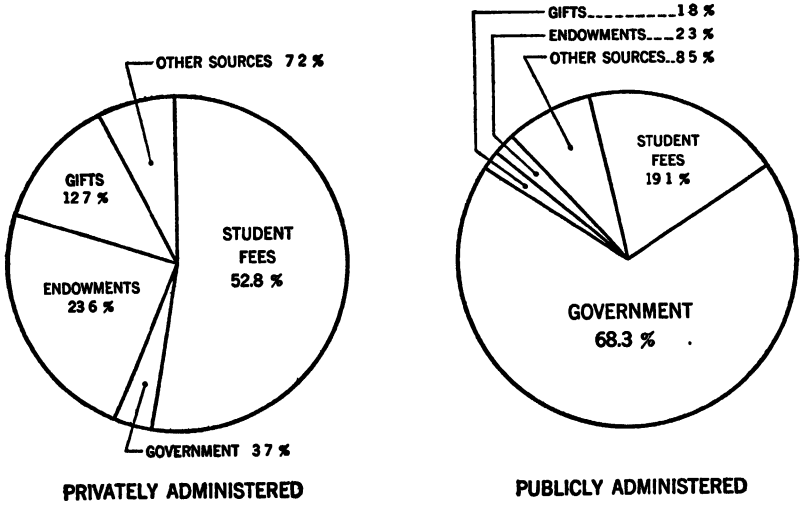


Figure 17. Sources of income for higher educational institutions, 1939–1940. (Data from *Report from the Committee on Education, House of Representatives,* "Effect of certain war activities upon Colleges and Universities." Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1945.)

urban communities of 2,500 or more population, rural non-farm communities up to 2,500 population, and rural farm population. A comparison of the data of Table XV indicates that rural children have less than one fourth the opportunity for kindergarten as urban children; a smaller percentage of all ages attend school than in cities; and, of college age, 18 to 24, only two thirds as many rural young people are in attendance as of those from urban communities.

More important than this difference in total percentages are differences in the average length of the school year and the average number of days attended. Although the number of one-teacher schools decreased 35,700 during the decade 1930–40, there were still 113,600 "little red schoolhouses" in 1939–40. More than 1,700,000 children were receiving their education in one-room schools—a heritage deeply entrenched in American education in spite of good roads, school buses, and all the advantages of the consolidated school.

Table XV *

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY AGE, SEX, AND URBAN-RURAL RESIDENCE, 1939–1940

Age	Per Cent Attending School					
	United States Total					
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Urban	Rural Non-farm	Rural Farm
Total 5–24 Years	*57.7*	*58.6*	*56.9*	*58.8*	*57.7*	*55.7*
5 years	18.0	17.5	18.4	28.7	11.0	6.8
6 years	69.1	68.2	70.1	79.7	64.5	56.5
7–9 years	94.3	94.1	94.5	96.7	94.7	90.1
10–13 years	95.5	95.3	95.6	97.4	95.8	91.8
14 years	92.5	92.2	92.8	96.0	92.9	86.1
15 years	87.6	87.3	88.0	93.4	87.3	77.4
16–17 years	68.7	68.2	69.2	75.6	67.6	56.8
18–19 years	28.9	30.8	26.9	31.7	27.5	23.9
20 years	12.5	14.4	10.6	14.5	10.7	9.2
21–24 years	5.1	6.6	3.5	6.1	3.8	3.3

* U. S. Bureau of the Census.

Table XVI *

Enrollments in Full-Time Day Schools,[a] by Level and Control, 1939–1940

Type of school, by level	All schools			Enrollment in— Publicly controlled schools			Privately controlled schools		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Grand total	**29,932,868**	**15,257,797**	**14,647,735**	**26,393,586**	**13,477,244**	**12,889,006**	**3,456,617**	**1,778,557**	**1,678,060**
Total kindergarten and elementary	**21,106,655**	**10,827,044**	**10,279,611**	**18,934,382**	**9,737,920**	**9,196,462**	**2,172,273**	**1,089,124**	**1,083,149**
Kindergartens	651,988	329,269	322,719	594,647	301,129	293,518	[b]57,341	28,140	29,201
Kindergartens in residential schools for exceptional children	5,777	c2,908	c2,869	5,032	c2,541	c2,491	745	c367	c378
Elementary schools (including elementary grades in junior high schools)	20,333,389	10,431,448	9,901,941	18,237,451	9,380,336	8,857,115	2,095,938	1,051,112	1,044,826
Elementary grades in colleges [d]	59,547	29,013	30,534	49,455	24,614	24,841	10,092	4,399	5,693
Elementary grades in residential schools for exceptional children	55,954	c34,406	c21,548	47,797	c29,300	c18,497	8,157	c5,106	c3,051
Total secondary	**7,123,009**	**3,500,507**	**3,622,502**	**6,635,337**	**3,269,318**	**3,366,019**	**487,672**	**231,189**	**256,483**
Secondary (high schools and academies)	7,059,212	3,465,415	3,593,797	6,601,444	3,250,952	3,350,492	457,768	214,463	243,305
Preparatory departments of colleges	33,091	19,015	14,076	8,996	5,225	3,771	24,095	13,790	10,305
Secondary grades in training schools	20,979	9,956	11,023	16,580	7,968	8,612	4,399	1,988	2,411
Secondary grades in residential schools for exceptional children	9,727	c6,121	c3,606	8,317	c5,173	c3,144	1,410	c948	c462
Total higher education	**1,493,203**	**892,250**	**600,953**	**796,531**	**470,006**	**326,525**	**696,672**	**422,244**	**274,428**
Normal schools and teachers colleges	177,045	68,923	108,122	168,301	66,499	101,802	8,744	2,424	6,320
Colleges, universities, and professional schools	1,316,158	823,327	492,831	628,230	403,507	224,723	687,928	419,820	268,108
Federal schools for Indians	27,336			27,336					
Private commercial and business schools [e]	100,000	36,000	64,000				100,000	36,000	64,000
Schools of nursing (not affiliated with colleges and universities)	82,665	[f]1,996	80,667						

* *Statistical Summary of Education, 1939–40.* Washington, D. C.. U. S. Office of Education, Vol. 2, Chap. 1, page 5.

[a] Regular session only.
[b] Includes 6,720 in nursery schools.
[c] Distribution by sex estimated.
[d] Includes elementary departments of colleges and training schools.
[e] Estimated
[f] Includes 979 men enrolled for short courses.

The tremendous potentiality of education as an agency of social control is indicated in Table XVI. In that year, the last before the inauguration of the American National Defense program and before events which caused World War II, began to be an influencing factor, more than 650,000 five-year-olds were in kindergarten, 21,000,000 children were in grade school, 7,100,000 adolescents were in secondary schools and almost 1,500,000 young people were enrolled in colleges and universities, with another 200,000 in special types of day schools, including commercial and business schools. These figures do not include the million or more adults studying part time: classes for the illiterates, technical and vocational training, courses for those interested in the humanities and current social problems, and courses for graduate students. Thirty million children and young people and more than a million teachers—almost one in four of the total population of the United States—are engaged full time in education. No other interest in America can claim the time, energy, and thought of so high a proportion of the population.

Yet American education has remained essentially a local school system. The large number of persons attending private and church-related schools and the fact that the community still bears so large a proportion of the cost of education and the federal government so small a share indicate how consistently America has retained the principle that the control of education must remain in the hands of the state and of the community and that even the individual has the right to select the type of education which he desires for himself and his children. This is a democratic concept which resisted the adoption of the mounting nationalism of the totalitarian countries of Europe, especially in the two decades between World Wars I and II.

Effects of War

It is impossible to do more than suggest, at this point, some of the general influences which World War II had upon education. In later chapters additional data will be given, as so cata-

clysmic a period as war inevitably affects every agency in society.

The most obvious effect upon education by World War II was reflected in the number of persons enrolled, especially in colleges and universities. As indicated in Table XVII, elementary-school enrollment decreased only slightly more than can be accounted for by the declining birth rate of the 1930's.

Table XVII

CIVILIAN ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES, 1940 AND 1942–1945

Type of School	Number Enrolled			
	1939–40	1942–43	1943–44	1944–45
Elementary	21,106,655	20,271,200	19,971,200	19,829,400
Secondary	7,123,009	6,644,800	6,240,200	6,202,700
Higher	1,493,203	1,209,150	809,828[a]	803,139[a]
Total	29,722,867	28,125,150	27,021,228	26,835,239

[a] In 1943–44 there were also 382,700 persons in the armed forces assigned to approximately 550 higher educational institutions; in 1944–45 the number had decreased to 138,800; and in 1945–46, to approximately 40,000 in not more than 100 colleges.

The number of students in secondary schools dropped sharply from 1939–40 to 1943–44 and then held relatively constant. Enrollment in colleges and universities declined less than 20 per cent during the first three years of the American Defense program and World War II owing to military reserve progams, student deferment, and induction at 21 years of age. When the induction age was lowered to 18, those in reserve programs were called to active duty, and student deferment was sharply curtailed, enrollments dropping 50 per cent in 1943–44 as compared with 1942–43. As stated in the footnote of Table XVII, this loss was partially offset, although unevenly for individual colleges, by military programs. These, in turn, were largely withdrawn during 1944–45 and 1945–46 leaving only a little more than half as many students as in 1939–40. The number of women declined only about 10

per cent while male enrollment dropped to 27 per cent of its pre-war figure.[8]

The complete disregard of civilian needs in technological, scientific, and health fields illustrates a basic change during war —the complete control of the military. American policy was in contrast to that of England, Russia, Australia, and Canada. In each of these countries, men were selected and assigned for training in colleges and universities in definite quotas established in the light of both military and civilian needs.

A second major effect of World War II was the development of new services to be rendered by schools and colleges. Children in grade school bought war savings stamps, sold war bonds, and participated in the salvage program. Adolescents in high school accepted the responsibility commensurate with their age and, in addition to selling bonds and being active in salvage drives, volunteered for Red Cross work, cared for the children of parents employed in war industries, and assisted in civilian defense. Special war training programs for adults were developed in vocational and other secondary schools, through which more than 4,500,000 men and women were given training for war jobs and for war food production. Schools and industries coöperated in such training as never before. The federal government erected new schools or additions to existing ones in communities of mushroom-population growth in war industrial areas. The number of publicly supported nursery schools increased for children of working mothers.

On the higher-education level, there was a similar expansion of services. Late in 1942, the Army and Navy organized college programs for technical and professional training of men in the armed forces. At the peak of these programs, almost 400,000 men in uniform were enrolled in colleges and universities. By December 1944, the number had decreased to 54,000 with still further decline to approximately 30,000 by November 1945. Full-

[8] *Effects of Certain War Activities upon Colleges and Universities,* Report from the Committee on Education, House of Representatives. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1945, page 17.

time, intensive courses and part-time courses in engineering, science, and management were established in response to a need for training of civilians. In December 1943, there were 160,000 in these courses, and more than a million men and women received such training prior to the discontinuance of the program in July 1945.

The war-training programs, both within the armed forces and within educational institutions, made other more subtle changes. It brought a new time-sense in education. Most colleges, other than women's colleges, went on the accelerated program of 12 months. More high schools offered summer school courses, and many school buildings remained open for evening classes until ten o'clock—a few went on the 24-hour day! The training for war service restored an old word, "discipline," to respectability. Those in training were on borrowed time; mastery of knowledge and skill became essential. Perhaps more important than any of the above effects was the emphasis upon a functional approach to education. Those responsible for the development of training programs *began with an analysis of the end product desired,* the knowledges and skills actually required to do a job effectively.

The war also brought a new responsibility to education. Some 3,500,000 young men and women had their education interrupted or delayed by war service; another million or more, by the pressure of war production. By means of three legislative acts and their amendments, the 78th Congress, in 1944, established the most inclusive and most liberal system of national scholarships ever created in any nation. The G.I. Bill (Public Law No. 346, 78th Congress) provides free tuition, textbooks, and essential supplies up to $500 per ordinary school year, and a liberal amount of maintenance per month for each honorably discharged veteran. The length of time for which he can continue training is equal to one year plus the length of time he was in the armed forces. The rehabilitation act for disabled veterans (Public Law No. 16, 78th Congress) provides for the retraining at government expense of veterans with service-connected disabilities. The Vocational Rehabilitation Act (Public Law No. 113, 78th Congress) assures

persons disabled "in war industry or otherwise" such education as is necessary to restore employability. Here is a new need—that of filling in the long gap in education of an unprecedented number of young adults. By May 30, 1946, more than 2,400,000 veterans had applied for their Certificate of Entitlement for training and education.

These are but a few of the changes brought about by war. Schools and colleges cannot again return to the "good old days."

Culture and Education

Even so brief a résumé of the development of the school as that presented above, clearly indicates the close interrelationship of education and culture. Whether among primitive groups or in modern America after World War II, the school, on the one hand, reflects the cultural values of those who maintain it; and, on the other, seeks to instill those qualities of personality which make for the progressive adaptability of culture to new situations.

The relative emphasis of these two seemingly conflicting relationships between culture and education vary with the group. In a group characterized by relative homogeneity and cultural isolation, as among primitives or the Indian groups previously described, culture is predominant and remains virtually unchanged through the centuries. In modern society, with its heterogeneity and its culture contacts, education assumes increasing importance.

The rapid and unparalleled increase in enrollment in American schools, especially the public schools, is itself a reflection of culture. Inherent in democracy is the right and responsibility of each individual to express judgment on local and national issues, both directly and through elected representatives. Such a concept entails a need for the greatest possible education for the largest possible number. As the spheres in which such judgment have multiplied and become more varied, education has increased both in the numbers it has served and in the breadth of its program.

But the interrelationship of culture and education is shown not only in the over-all picture: it is equally evident in the state

or community. To a considerable degree, the development of education reflects the degree of cultural isolation. A rural community that even yet is fairly autonomous in its social structure is content to continue the type of traditional education which the adults themselves were given; it is lax in its enforcement of compulsory attendance laws; and teachers are poorly paid. In contrast, a rural community rich in its social contacts insists that its school provide the kind and quality of education which will assist its youth to face the complex problems of the modern world.

Cultural isolation is not the only factor, other than economic, which influences the development of education. Basic attitudes play an important role, as is illustrated by the failure of many communities, especially in the deep South, to provide equal educational opportunities to Negro children. One northern community, however, shifted the zoning of its school districts with sufficient frequency to keep the Negroes registered in the older, poorly equipped schools. In contrast are the communities, even those in which a dual educational system is maintained, in which educational opportunities are the same for all children.

World War II changed many of our cultural patterns; it broke down the last vestige of isolation in many American communities and weakened isolation sentiment in others. Even if the federal government had not passed legislation providing education for all veterans, there would have been an expansion of education similar, if not greater, than that which followed World War I. This expansion is not only in numbers, but in scope and content of the subject matter and activities of the school. In an age of atomic energy, with speed of travel faster than sound, and with the spoken word communicated to all the world almost instantaneously, the demands upon the school are many times those which prevailed prior to World War II.

The school reflects the culture of the community or the nation, but it is also a major force in changing the cultural pattern. In its choice of content and relative emphasis upon selected values, the school is both limiting and directing the learning of children

and youth: in its policies and procedures it is shaping the attitudes in both the less fundamental and the basic concepts of human relations. By providing the fundamental background of knowledge and by developing resourcefulness and initiative in the individual, the school provides the basis for invention and social change.

Chapter 12

THE SCHOOL: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IN-GROUP

EDUCATION in the United States has experienced an unprecedented development, especially during the period since 1890. This growth places the school in a strategic position as an agency for social control: it is the only agency established by society devoted exclusively to this end. The school occupies more waking time of a larger proportion of children and youth than any other institution, including the average family; its teachers are more specifically trained to perform their tasks than are the great majority of parents. School administrators and teachers have a great degree of freedom to direct the operation of the processes of social interaction within the school to achieve almost limitless social goals.

Yet the data showing the growth of education by increase in school enrollment may be used also to show that the school has failed to achieve its full potentialities. Table XV, page 268, not only presents the contrast in the holding power of the school among the urban and rural population, but shows also that the percentage of children and young people in school drops rapidly from a high of 95.5 of the age group 10–13, to only 28.9 of the age group 18–19 years.

The failure of the school to hold its students is even more forcefully shown in Table XVIII. In order to exclude the effects of World War II on high school and college enrollment, all data are for the years which precede graduation in 1940. Of each thousand in the fifth grade in 1938–39, 736 entered high school in 1931–32; 378 graduated in 1935–36; 137 entered college and only 69 graduated in 1939–40. Of each thousand freshmen in high

Table XVIII *

NUMBER SURVIVING BY GRADE OR YEAR PER 1,000 PUPILS ENROLLED BY YEARS AND LEVEL AS INDICATED

Grade or Year	Number Surviving per 1,000		
	1928–29	1936–37	1936–38
Elementary			
Fifth	1,000		
Sixth	939		
Seventh	847		
Eighth	805		
High School			
Freshman	736	1,000	
Sophomore	624	845	
Junior	498	725	
Senior	432	651	
Graduates	378	581	
College			
Freshman	137		1,000
Graduates	69		508
Year of Graduation	1940	1940	1940

* Data from *Statistical Summary of Education, 1941–42*, page 31. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1944.

school in 1936–37, a little more than half graduated in 1940; and of each thousand college freshmen in 1936–37, 508 graduated in 1940. Taking the entire span of 12 years—from fifth grade to college graduation—there was in 1940 a mortality of 93.1 per cent —931 out of each 1,000 who started the fifth grade dropped out along the way. Half of both high school and college students who begin as freshmen drop out before graduation!

One of the most significant measures of education is the school grade level of our present adult population. As shown in Table XIX, the younger age-group, 20 to 24 years of age, have had almost two years more of schooling than those only ten years older in the age-group 30 to 34 years of age. But the consistent decrease in the per cent both of those who had completed the

Table XIX *

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF ADULT POPULATION IN 1940, BY AGE CLASSES

Age	Median School Year Completed	Per Cent Completed At Least		
		Grade School	High School	College
20 and over	8.8	69.8	27.2	4.4
20–24	11.2	83.0	44.4	3.3
25–29	10.3	80.2	38.1	5.9
30–34	9.5	77.1	33.0	6.3
35–39	8.8	72.0	26.9	5.5
40–44	8.6	68.9	23.7	4.7
45–49	8.5	62.5	19.9	4.1
50–54	8.4	61.5	18.5	3.8
55–59	8.3	59.9	17.1	3.4
60–64	8.3	58.7	16.4	3.3
65–69	8.2	55.1	14.2	2.9
70–74	8.1	54.6	13.1	2.6
75 and over	8.0	51.4	11.5	2.3

* Data from U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1940.

elementary school and of those who had completed high school is a challenge to American education. Data on the education of enlisted personnel in the armed forces show that of the men who had completed only the fourth grade or less 94 per cent were native born: they have been reared in American communities boasting of a free universal system of schools.

The economic factor is paramount among the many reasons why the school has failed to hold a higher proportion of children and young people for more years. Of the group in the armed forces previously referred to, more than half gave "had to go to work" or "had to help at home" as their reason for quitting school. The second reason most frequently given was "didn't like school," and the third was "no school near home." The same replies would indicate, if worded differently, that the basic factors involved were low family income, the failure on the part of the

school to challenge the interest of the children or their parents, and inadequate school facilities. Certainly if America is to achieve its goal of equality of educational opportunity, and, for all, a minimum education which some would place at the level of completion of the first two years of college, schools and colleges must make many changes in fundamental organization, in teacher training, in the curriculum, and in the relation of the school to the community which it serves.

Education as Learning

A basic characteristic of institutional procedures is that those which are introduced to meet an imperative need in one generation become formalized in the next. The school has not escaped the operation of this process. The newer methods of teaching developed in the seventeenth century were soon crystallized and developed into a formal system of memorization and repetition. This emphasis reached its extreme in the Lancastrian system, developed first in England, and brought to the United States in the early 1800's.

The Lancastrian system was based on the use of monitors. The pupils were divided into groups, usually of 10, with a selected student in charge of each group. The ideal seating arrangement was in vertical rows, each row constituting a group. The teacher taught a lesson to the monitors, then each, in turn, took his group to a "station" around the wall or in their row and taught the lesson to the others. The teacher called the group together, and the monitor checked the results of the instruction. In this manner, one teacher was able to instruct several hundred pupils.

Many schools adopted the system, and North Carolina almost enacted it into the educational law of the state. DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York State and for 21 years president of the "Free School Society of New York" declared in 1809:[1] "When I perceive that many boys in our school have been taught to read

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[1] Ellwood P. Cubberley, *History of Education*, page 664. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.

and write in two months, who did not before know the alphabet, . . . when I perceive one great assembly of a thousand children under the eye of a single teacher, marching with unexampled rapidity and with perfect discipline to the goal of knowledge, I confess that I recognize in Lancaster the benefactor of the human race. I consider his system as creating a new era in education, as a blessing sent down from heaven to redeem the poor and distressed of this world from the power and the dominion of ignorance."

There were two reasons for the popularity of the plan. One was that it provided a means of disciplinary organization of the school in sharp contrast to that of the individual instruction given by the typical schoolmaster. The other reason for the popularity of the Lancastrian system was that it was cheap, costing only $1.22 per year per child in New York City, for example. By 1840, the system had virtually disappeared, but it left two heritages: the emphasis upon rote learning and the organization of the school into classes.

For another half century the emphasis upon rote learning dominated education. Recitations were but little more than reciting the lesson in the textbook, with major emphasis upon isolated facts. Periodic examinations measured the extent of the child's retention, and the pupils who had memorized the minimum required for promotion were moved up to the next higher grade, where the process was repeated over again.

In spite of powerful influences in the development of educational theory under such leaders as Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel, abroad; and Horace Mann, Suzzallo, Parker, Dewey, and many more in the United States, too many children still repeat formal lessons and master skills unrelated either to the experience of the child or to the society in which he lives. The following excerpts from the stenographic report of a lesson in eighth grade citizenship are much too typical. It is all the more significant since the report was taken while World War II was creating new instruments of government and shifting the relationships among its major divisions.

"Yesterday we learned that there were three major divisions of government. What are they, John? . . . That's right—the executive, the legislative, and the judicial. Can you tell me again the function of each, Mary? . . . You could if you had paid attention yesterday. Sarah? . . . That's right. Our lesson yesterday was on the executive branch; today it is on the legislative.

"Harry, what is the legislative body called? . . . Good. Now, what are its two divisions? . . .

"What are the qualifications of a senator, George? . . . Is that all? You didn't study your lesson. Who can tell me? All right, Sarah. . . . Are the requirements for a representative the same as those for a senator, Jack? . . .

"Susan, are their terms of office the same? . . . Well, if they're different, what is each? . . . Then how do you know they aren't the same! Ralph? . . . Are there any kinds of legislation that must be initiated in either the House or Senate, Joe? . . . Does anybody know? Well, look it up and I'll ask that question again tomorrow.

"Clara, what is the salary of a congressman? . . . You say it is the same for both? Does the class agree? Are there any special privileges which a Congressman has, Florence? . . . It tells you on page 243 if you'd read your lesson.

"What is meant by a quorum? I didn't call on you, Ruby. Sarah, what is it? . . . If a bill passes in the House, for example, but does not pass in the Senate, does it become law? George? . . . Right. If it passes both House and Senate, is it law? . . . That's good, George. . . .

"That's all for today. For tomorrow study the section on the judiciary."

In the entire 40 minutes, there were no references to any of the far-reaching legislative proposals then before the Congress and which were being discussed in every newspaper. There was no discussion of the function of standing or special committees, in which the real responsibility for preparing legislation rests, nor mention of the role of pressure groups. The entire time was given to question and answer on facts as though they had

no bearing at all upon the lives of those who memorized them. Learning is an essential aspect of education, but to be of value, such learning must be in terms of the interrelatedness of human knowledge and in terms, too, of the lives of those who learn and the society in which they live. This does not mean that learning must be of immediate value, for it may lead also to appreciations and long-range values.

Education as Self-expression

Beginning as a revolt against the formal character of traditional education and growing out of the increasing number of studies of childhood, the pendulum of educational theory swung to the other extreme. By the 1920's, educational literature for parents and teachers contained constant reference to such terms as "self-development" and "child-centered."

Although seldom recognizing the source of the theory in the individualism of the French Revolution and, more specifically, Rousseau's *Émile,* the exponents of progressivism ignored his *Social Contract* and accepted only his dictum that "everything is good as it comes from the hand of the Creator and deteriorates in the hands of man." "The very words 'obey' and 'command' will be excluded from his vocabulary, still more those of 'duty' and 'obligation'." Thus, the best education is that which gives the child the most complete opportunity for self-expression. Supported by a current school of psychology that raised the fearful specter of inhibitions, frustrations, and complexes, parents were admonished that they should never say "no" to a child, that they must provide only natural consequences of the child's acts, and that alternative choices must be provided, rather than direct commands.

Taking its touch-stone from John Dewey's oft-quoted phrase, "I would have a child say not 'I know,' but, 'I have experienced'," the so-called "new education" far outran the social emphasis so definitely included in his *Democracy and Education*[2] and in his

[2] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

little masterpiece *School and Society*,[3] first published in 1899. By lifting such sentences as the above out of their context, Dewey was made the revolutionary apostle of freedom for the child. The phrases and thoughts seized upon by his disciples were "spontaneous interests and intentions," "life activities," "doing, not listening," "child development," "activity leading to further activity," and "Education is all one with growing; it has no end beyond itself."

The words were translated into educational practice. The intervening step was the "project method" developed by such leaders in education as Fred and Frank McMurray, Kilpatrick,[4] and others. Projects might be planned and carried out by the group, such as building an Indian village on the sand table, making and operating a store, or an excursion to the park. The project might be, and in the upper grades frequently was, an individual undertaking solely directed by the child's own interest. In one school, for example, each class engaged in one major project each semester. The first term the children were little Indians; the second, medieval knights and ladies; later they became postmen and printers; in the eighth grade the school sought in one year to teach necessary knowledge and skills lest their students show too great gaps upon entering high school.

A number of laboratory schools were established as centers of the new movement. One of the most extreme was that founded by J. L. Meriam at the University of Missouri.[5] Since school life must be only an expression of the child's own interests, the impedimenta of curricula, textbooks, and even school furniture were abolished. There was no schedule, for the clock should not interrupt a child's activity. After several years of experimentation, a schedule was established and even a curriculum was built around

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[3] John Dewey, *School and Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1899.

[4] William H. Kilpatrick, *The Project Method*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1918.

[5] J. L. Meriam, *Child Life and the Curriculum*. New York: World Book Company, 1920.

four activities: observation, play, stories, and handwork. The Francis W. Parker School in Chicago was another of the institutions that in the grades organized its program around "self-actuated activities of children." Owing to limitations imposed by college entrance requirements, the secondary school retained the conventional subject-matter pattern and provided individual projects.

The two decades, 1910 through the '20's, witnessed the establishment of many schools of the "new order" and teachers, fired by the written and spoken word of Kilpatrick and others, sought to carry out the new theory even within the framework of a traditional school system. Some, who caught only a procedure and not the basic philosophy, sought to out-Kilpatrick Kilpatrick, and one could see adolescent children gaily dancing barefooted, draped in Grecian robes, or a member of a grade school class doing the "teaching" while the trained teacher sat in the back of the room, day after day. The movement was coördinated in 1919 with the founding, by a small group of "free educationists," of the Progressive Education Association.

Perhaps the most extreme contrast between the "traditionalists" and the "progressivists" was that drawn by Rugg and Shumaker:[6] "Picture, then, children who cannot get to school early enough, and who linger about the shops, laboratories, yards, and libraries until dusk or urgent parents drag them homeward. Observe these busy and hard-working youngsters who seem to play all day, who do not seem to have lessons and recitations, yet who do not wait for teachers to make assignments.

"Here is a group of six- and seven-year-olds. They dance; they sing; they play house and build villages; they keep store and take care of pets; they model in clay and sand; they draw and paint; read and write; make up stories and dramatize them; they work in the garden; they churn, and weave, and cook. . . . A breathless group is stocking a new aquarium to be sent to the third

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[6] Harold Rugg and Ann Shumaker, *The Child Centered School*, pages 2–5. New York: World Book Company, 1928.

grade; while over in the corner white rabbits, mice, and guinea pigs—even a turtle—loll in well-attended ease.

"What a contrast between this picture of happy, purposeful living and that of the old school! . . . In that pattern, children are pigeonholed in long rows of desks, filed in stereotyped classrooms as alike as the cabinets in which the methodical principals preserve their records. Children must sit quietly, study their lessons silently, obey the teacher promptly and unquestioningly. Speech is only on permission, in well-mannered, subdued tones; and movement means marching in orderly rows, two abreast, at the signal for dismissal.

"The listening school is a place where the chief weapons of education are chalk-talk on a dismal blackboard, a few intensely dull required texts, and a teacher's tired voice in continual strident pursuit of elusive young attention. Here children are sent and the school keeps until four o'clock. That the 'kept' should explode from the doors and windows at that hour with a relief that is deafening, vanishing with an alacrity that leaves the place to its whispering silence as though the sudden brief outburst had been a mistake—that, too, is an accepted part of the traditional pattern. . . . Small wonder that the indignant protagonist of the new school rebels against this regime which, says he, 'reeks of restraint and suppression and the inarticulate child.'"

Both of the above descriptions are accurate of a few schools representing the worst of traditional education and the best of progressive education. But just as the latter was a revolt from the former, so there has been a revolt against the extreme of progressivism. Why should the child go through the slow and painful task of rediscovering through experience that which man has acquired through the centuries? In biological inheritance, each individual begins anew where his parents also began; in social inheritance, the person begins at the level of the culture into which he is born. No individual can exist in a social vacuum, and the self-expression of each is limited by the necessity of granting the same right to each other. Education is more than living and experiencing in childhood; it is also preparation for richer

living and deeper experiencing in the complex world of the adult.

As those who would make Rousseau the apostle of individualism without reading his *Social Contract* or without noting that "there is only one science for *Émile* to learn—the duties of man" or his generalization, "From the first moment of life, man ought to begin learning to deserve to live; and, as at the instant of birth we partake of the rights of citizenship, that instant ought to be the beginning of the exercise of our duty," so those who would make Dewey the advocate of complete freedom for the child should read also his *The Public and Its Problems,*[1] and reread his *Democracy and Education,* noting that "Society must have a type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder." Or, again, "An aim (in education) implies an ordered and orderly activity, one in which the order consists in the progressive completing of a process. . . . This foresight functions in three ways. In the first place, it involves careful observation of the given conditions to see what are the means available for reaching the end and the hindrances in the way. In the second place, it suggests the proper order or sequence in the use of means. It facilitates an economical selection and arrangement. In the third place, it makes choice of alternatives possible . . . (but) we intervene to bring about this result or that." They should note, finally, that Dewey himself, in reply to a critic, stated that his own use of the words "knowledge" and "intelligence" has been "confused; may, at times, have changed places," yet the educational shibboleths of those who sought to apply his educational philosophy to the classroom have been based upon his earlier distinction between these two terms.

Across the years, the difference between progressive and traditional education has gradually broken down as progressive schools have recognized that fundamental social values must be instilled

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[1] John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems.* New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

and traditional schools have reappraised their procedures and curricula in terms of the needs of the changing modern world. World War II, also, has influenced both types of schools—training for military effectiveness in the technology of modern war was both functional and disciplinary.

These changes are well summarized by Ashburn: [8] "Few adults now out of school for twenty years can grasp the revolution that has taken place in school teaching. Methods, texts, subjects are different, and the end is not yet. Progressivism is imbedded in America today. On the other hand, progressivism is itself quite different and chastened since its scudding days when theory was untrammeled by experience. The fine progressive schools have been tempered by practice and conflict, and the starry-eyed parent who still dreams of fitting a child for society by unlimited self-expression, who holds that sweetness and light are entirely adequate substitutions for hard work and thoroughness may have a difficult time finding a school dedicated to such pleasant and irresponsible theories. . . . The fact is that the good progressive schools today are remarkably conservative and the good conservative schools are remarkably progressive. They are still different, and that is a social good, but their points of difference are more marginal than central."

Development of the In-group

Personality is influenced to the degree that the person identifies himself with the group. The school and the classroom, as well as the so-called extracurricular or free-time activities provide a unique and unrealized opportunity to develop this sense of the "in-group." Much experimentation needs yet to be done if the school is to achieve its full potentialities.

The first step is the recognition of the individual differences of the children or young adults within the class, whether kindergarten or college. Teachers have always recognized that students

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[8] Frank D. Ashburn, "Our Schools Face Their Greatest Challenge." *New York Times Magazine,* September 23, 1945, page 51.

differ in ability and, for more than a quarter of a century, such differences have been subject to measurement through objective tests. Such measures of ability, wisely and conservatively used, have been invaluable in assisting teachers in adapting instruction to the ability level of the child. Tests have been detrimental when used indiscriminately and as a sole basis for the classifying and sectioning of children throughout a school. They have given, also, an attitude of determinism expressed by the child who said to a schoolmate, "You're a dumb bunny or you wouldn't be in 4B5. I'm in 4B1," or the teacher who said, "I can't do much with my class this term. I've got the 4B5's."

The individual differences with which the educational sociologist is also concerned are those which reflect the cultural background of the child. When children enter school, they already are persons—patterned on the last of family and play group. They have acquired a vocabulary that does not consist merely of so many words; each word has acquired a meaning given to it by parents, other members of the household, and playmates. Experience has given children knowledge and judgment, which are the organized habits of response acquired from observing and imitating the way other persons have treated or used other persons or things. Social control is inescapable; it saturates the child's personality.

Throughout the child's years in school, despite the effort of the school to provide a degree of experience in common, these social differences persist, abetted constantly by the home, the playground, and the street.

Even in school systems with children grouped according to their scores on an "intelligence" test, every classroom includes students from widely different worlds. Something of the extent of this variation is indicated in the earlier discussions of culture and its role in personality development. In Table XX, the cultural differences of the pupils in one class are vividly demonstrated. Even this table does not tell the whole story, for back of these facts, as will be shown later, is a whole association of social relationships, attitudes toward others, toward government and our economic

system, and toward the institutions of society, including the school itself.

The data of Table XX are not absolute measures of cultural status. Family income may be wisely or unwisely used; school grade completed by parents may not be a true indication of the educational level; books and magazines may not be read, and subject matter is more important than number of books read; the presence of musical instruments and a radio in all but seven of

Table XX

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN A NINTH GRADE CLASS

Characteristic	Extent of Variation	
	from	to
Income of family per year	$820.00	$11,600.00
Education of father	4th grade	Doctor's degree
Education of mother	5th grade	College graduate
Number of bound books in home	10	700
Number of magazines	0	11
Musical instruments	0	3
Radio in home	No (7)	Yes (28)

the homes is less important than the selection of the music or programs. But such data indicate probable opportunities for experience and, taken together, show the wide variations in background of those in a single group. If, to these data, are added the following facts, the picture of heterogeneity is all the more significant: the group represented Catholic, Jewish, and seven Protestant denominations; of the 63 parents living, 28 were born in one of 11 foreign countries, and one of six foreign languages was commonly used in 14 of the homes.

There is another aspect of cultural differences seldom recognized by the teacher: the influence of the neighborhood. Whether the child comes from a "good neighborhood" or from "across the tracks" has import and significance in the attitude of the members of the class group. The factor of length of time

in which the family has lived in the community is also a variable. With the increasing mobility of the population, many families have lived so short a time in the immediate neighborhood that there is an aloofness toward these "strangers" and their children.

Yet the school has tended to ignore these differences, even failed to recognize that they are causal factors in the relative ability of the students. Many teachers have assumed that the role of the school was to create discontinuity between the natural background of the home and community and the child's school experiences. It is as though the child could check the "out-of-school person," or the "me" as James called it, at the door and be a different person—a "school me" inside the classroom.

The school must recognize these differences and build upon them. This does not imply acceptance of the extreme individualism of child-centered activities, for the school must also achieve the common objectives which society requires of a well-adjusted adult. Recognition of cultural differences does imply the necessity of utilizing these differences in group participation and in assisting each child to have status within the group. To achieve these ends will require tact and resourcefulness on the part of every teacher. It entails flexibility in the procedures of classroom instruction, and requires a thorough knowledge of the community, a deep sense of human values. No "five formal steps" nor rule-of-thumb method will suffice.

The second step in creating a we-group of the class and the school is *to provide for the participation of each child in a shared responsibility*. It is not necessary to revolutionize school procedure or curricula to accomplish this end. No "new school" is necessary, nor need the "shared responsibility" be a physical activity. A stimulating group discussion or maintaining standards of group achievement may be as much a group responsibility as putting on a play or going on a field trip.

The most obvious illustration of participation is that of taking part in class discussion, yet, on the whole, teachers are not alert to this elemental necessity. A simple device to check on pupil participation is a seating chart of the classroom and a code, such

as that shown in Figure 18. In this average classroom, 9 of the 32 children did not respond at all; 7 only once; and 8, twice. Three others took part three times each, but the majority of the class period was taken up with the teacher and five children. The most unfortunate fact was that pupils asked few questions and offered few independent statements. If a similar

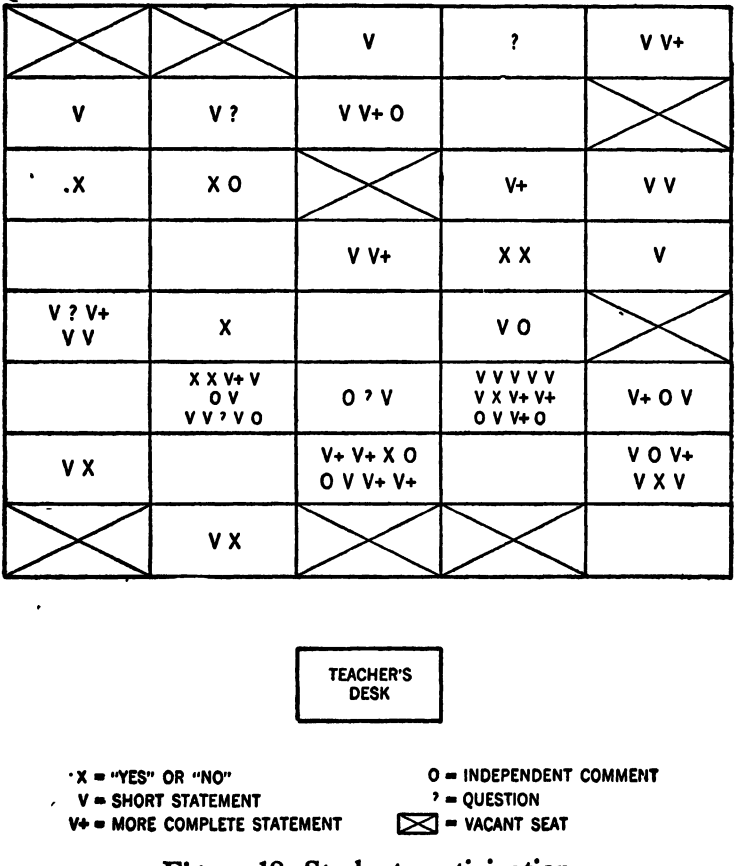


Figure 18. Student participation.

check had been made in another class, it is probable that, with some shift of the role of the teacher, each child would have shown approximately the same extent of participation.

To some degree, variation in classroom response is the reflection of the child's personality, but to a large extent it is the result of the failure of teachers to provide for wider participation. Gradually, the child accepts a role, whether passive or aggressive, and senses his oneness—or lack of it—with the group. The sensitive child may tend increasingly to withdraw from the group, and the foundation be laid for serious maladjustment problems later. The overaggressive child should be curbed and the more reticent, encouraged; both can be done by an awareness of the situation and an abundance of tact.

The words "shared responsibility" instead of the more frequent phrase "common experience" were deliberately used. Too often teachers have assumed that an activity need have no end beyond itself; that experience is of value in and for its own sake, but this is not the case. Dewey [9] has emphasized this phase of education in the following quotation: "To have the same idea about things which others have, to be like-minded with them, and thus to be really members of a social group, is therefore to attach the same meanings to things and to acts which others attach. Otherwise there is no common understanding, and no community life. But in a shared activity, each person refers what he is doing to what the other is doing and *vice versa*. . . . There is an understanding set up between the different contributors; and this common understanding controls the actions of each."

The third step in developing the we-group feeling involves many types of procedures: provision for the operation of the social processes, especially opposition and coöperation. The classroom provides abundant opportunity to direct the functioning of all three types of social interaction described earlier: one with one; one with group and group with one; and group with group.

Chief in the interaction process is the teacher-pupil relationship. All too often this is one of opposition in its undesirable aspects, rather than of a wholesome character or of coöperation. Fre-

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[9] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pages 36–37. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

quently, a minor conflict is developed into one of major consequence. Rare is the teacher that knows when to be "blind" and "deaf" yet be able to keep children from taking advantage of a situation. With skillful handling, the trivial but often irritating conflicts can be utilized in creating an atmosphere of group responsibility. Group unity is based upon the little things as well as the big, whether the group is a family, a play group, a class, or adult society.

The school likewise provides many opportunities for desirable opposition both among persons and between groups, yet with recognition of the varying ability of each individual member of the group. Among such opportunities are: extracurricular activities, sports and games, neatness of work, quality of prepared assignments, orderliness of rooms and desks, promptness or tardiness, and many more.

Group solidarity and the child's identification with the group may be broken down by undesirable opposition. The wide differences between members of the group may be exaggerated in the classroom by cliques, often based on differences of country of origin, economic status, or religion. The teacher may inadvertently or deliberately be excessive in praise of certain students and in criticism of others. Such statements as "Why can't you get your work done as well as John? He always has his lesson," may seem inconsequential, even complimentary, yet it may lead to John's loss of status with the group.

Through the recognition of personality differences and their cultural origins, participation of each child in shared responsibilities, and provision for operation of the social processes, the classroom and the school may develop group solidarity and each child sense his belonging to the group. Through such group relationships, the child finds the status for which he yearns.

The importance of status has been emphasized earlier in the discussion of the development of personality. This emphasis is shown in its relation to the child in a report of the American Youth

Commission.[10] "Most vital, especially until the age of eighteen or nineteen is reached, is the deep-seated desire to find a satisfying place among other youth. This problem of adjustment for the adolescent is no less important and gripping for him than are the problems of war, finance, politics, and religion to the adult. Upon the solution of no other problem perhaps does the wholesome personality of the individual so much depend. He wishes to be accepted by his fellows. He craves their friendship, respect, and admiration. He desires congenial companions at work and at play. He wishes to appear well in their eyes—as to dress, person, speech, interests and skills. He desires to possess what he thinks are normal relations of those of the other sex. He wants, above all, to excel in those characteristics and activities which are normally high on the scale of his fellows. Excessive doubts and failures in these respects arouse despair, resentment, and horror, and leave in their trail the germs of an anti-social character and mental 'ill health.' "

A field of sociological research, termed "sociometry," has been developed in an effort to determine the degree of attraction or repulsion of each individual member of the group for other members. Through questionnaires, interviews, and observation it is possible to view this struggle for status and to analyze the factors that influence it. Miss Jennings has presented a brief summary of this research approach, from which the following is quoted:[11] "When we analyze, in relation to their behavior and verbalized motivations, the expressed feelings of positive choice and rejection of individuals toward one another, the structure representing this alignment of the members in respect to one another is revealed to reflect basic needs which find fulfillment through specific other individuals. Those who are chosen . . . apparently earn the choice status of most wanted group participants because

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[10] Harl R. Douglass, *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America,* page 32. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1937.

[11] Helen Hall Jennings, "Leadership—A Dynamic Redefinition," *Journal of Educational Sociology,* March, 1944, Vol. 17, No. 7, pages 430–433.

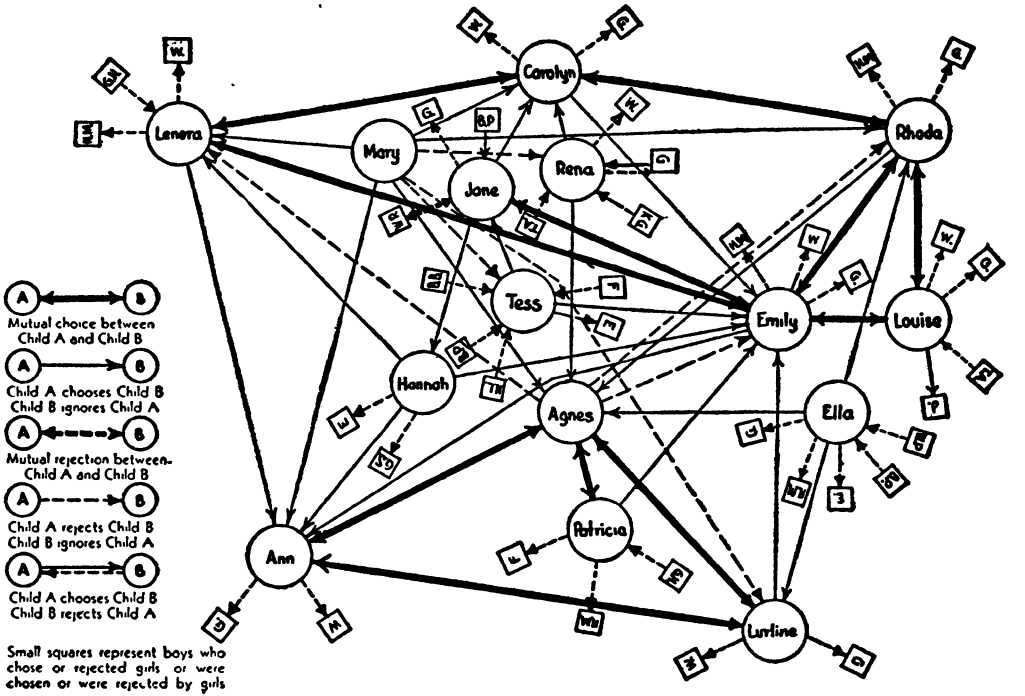


Figure 19. Friendship Sociogram—Grade Four—September.

(Staff, Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel, Commission on Teacher Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children,* p. 297. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1945. Reprinted with permission.)

they act in behalf of others with a sensitivity of response which does not characterize the average individual. Analysis of their behaviors shows they are individuals who see beyond the circumference of their own personal needs into the wide range of needs of their fellows. By their conduct they go further than the majority in relating themselves to others and in translating the needs of others into effective outlets. . . . Individuals who are isolated (unchosen) show behavior which implies a marked lack of orientation on their part to the elements of the total group situation; often they not only fail to contribute constructively to the group, but hinder the activities undertaken by other members."

Individual status and the we-group feeling are two aspects of individual-group interaction. They may, at times, be in opposition, but in a schoolroom in which group participation in the achieving of desirable goals permeates the social relationships, the two are supplementary. The whole problem of leadership is involved in this interaction. As Miss Jennings concludes: "The 'why' of leadership appears not to reside in any personality trait, not even in a constellation of related traits, but in the *interpersonal* contribution of which the individual becomes capable in a *specific* setting eliciting such contribution from him. . . . Leadership thus appears as a manner of interacting with others, a social process of interaction involving behavior by and toward the individual 'lifted' to a leader role by other individuals."

The study on coöperation by the Commissioner on Teacher Education sought to make teachers increasingly aware of the social relationship of children in the classroom and the importance of these relationships in understanding the children. One method was to have each child list the names of the three children whom they would choose as their best friends and those whom they would not choose as friends. Several months later, they were asked to do the same. At another time, they were also asked to write the names of the two classmates with whom they liked most to work, and if there were members of the class with whom they did not like to work, to list them, also, but not more than two. The friendship sociograms are reproduced in Figures 19 and 20.

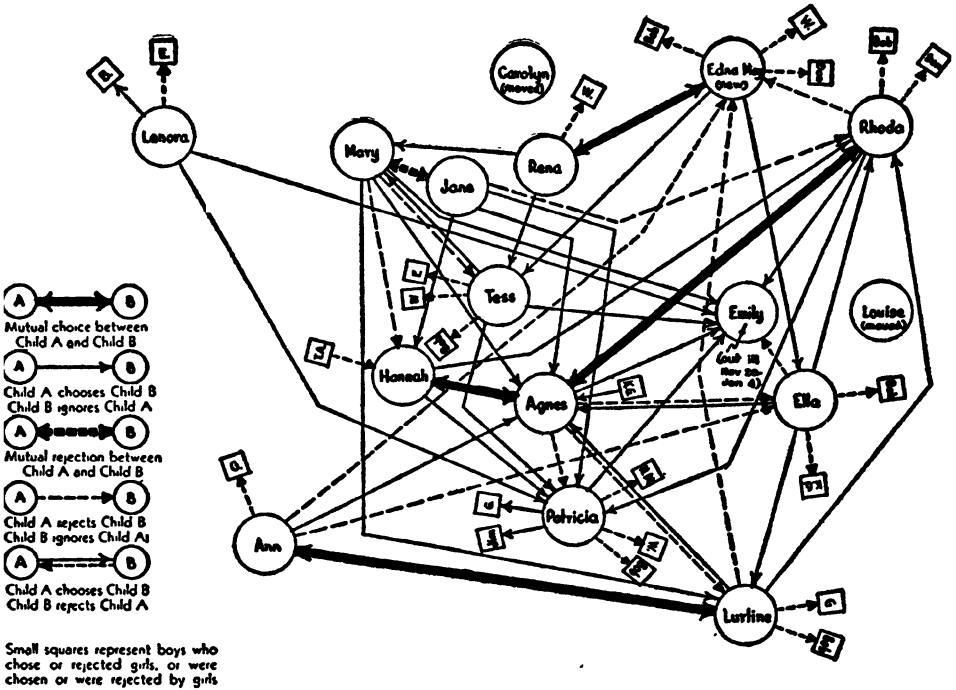


Figure 20. Friendship Sociogram—Grade Four—December.
(Staff, Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel, Commission on Teacher Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*, p. 317. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1945. Reprinted with permission.)

The author's analysis of these two sociogams are quoted at some length as they illustrate not only a technique of portraying social relationships but also their importance in understanding the behavior of the children.[13]

"The sociogram showed that in September there were apparently two groups among the 15 girls in the class. The larger one included six individuals: Emily, Jane, Leonora, Carolyn, Rhoda, and Louise. These girls were all tied by mutual choices into a subgroup which the teacher called ingroup A. The other small clique called ingroup B included Agnes, Lurline, Patricia, and Ann. Each of these subgroups had one particularly influential or central person who was chosen by every other girl in the clique. In ingroup A, this person was Emily; in ingroup B, it was Agnes. . . . There were five girls who had no mutual friends according to this friendship test. These were Mary, Rena, Hannah, Tess, and Ella. . . . The day-to-day life at school of these little fringers must have been quite a different experience from that of the members of the well-knit ingroups A and B.

"Both of the friendship cliques that were so clearly marked in September, Figure 17, had disappeared in December (Figure 18). The cause for the breakup of ingroup A is not far to seek. . . . At the time of the December sociogram, both Carolyn and Louise had moved away and Emily was in the hospital. Simple physical separation had broken up the ingroup. The disintegration of ingroup B cannot be explained so easily for all of its members had been in school regularly. Comparison of the two sets of friendship choices made by members of this clique indicates that its breakup was an active social process and that Agnes, its key figure, was responsible for it. For Agnes altered every one of her choices and rejections. . . . Her ruthless rejection or ignoring of former friends who were still attached to her, does raise a serious question about her adjustment as a person. . . .

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[13] Staff, Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel, Commission on Teacher Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*, pages 298 and 318–319. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1945.

"One would expect the breakup of the two friendship cliques in this class to result in a considerable increase in individual social insecurity and in tensions between classmates. For the time being nobody could be quite sure who her friends were. A second result would likely be a reshuffling of the friendship pattern, the emergence of one or more new cliques, and the restructuring of relationships more or less throughout the group."

Only when these evidences of social interaction are recognized as a typical social pattern can they be guided into a larger pattern of relationships for the group as a whole. The staff of the study from which the above is quoted, summarized the role of the social processes in classroom organization as follows:[18]

"The social cosmos of the school is the children's own world. This working out of social roles, these processes of affiliation, identification, group action, and interaction are among the primary means of social development for all children. The social learnings that result from successful group affiliation may include skills in dealing with people, insights into the nature of social process, and sensitiveness to the motives and feelings of others. Such learnings mature children. They produce an evolution of the society that is formed by each new generation entering school from a society of elementary school peers into a society of adolescent peers, and finally into the next generation of adults."

The Role of the Teacher

The teacher is the most important person in determining the extent to which the in-group feeling is developed. It is she who determines whether the classroom is but an assemblage of individuals who obey orders and complete assigned tasks, or whether it is a group earnestly and happily working together for the good of the group and its members. Through her awareness of student roles and manipulation of the classroom procedures, the teacher can create a competitive attitude dominated by a few stu-

[18] Staff, Division on Child Development and Teacher Personnel, Commission on Teacher Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*, page 279. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1945.

dents with the rest accepting a passive role, or she can create a lively situation in which all share and participate.

Within the last century, serious consideration has been given to the role of the teacher and to the training she receives. In early New England, teachers needed only to "write and figger," and teacher selection was based more on his willingness to accept his low status than upon understanding of children or ability to teach. There is at least one case on record in which the teacher was chosen because his room, in which he could "keep school," was larger than that of his rival for the job!

The first private training school for teachers in the United States was opened in 1823. Four years later, the New York legislature appropriated a small sum of money to aid the academies "to promote the education of teachers." In 1839, the first state normal school opened in the town hall at Lexington, Massachusetts, with one teacher and three students. By 1860, 11 state and 6 private normal schools had been established in 8 states. The movement grew rapidly after 1870, and by 1900, more than 200 had been established. This number has remained fairly constant since that date; in 1945 there were 187 publicly administered teachers colleges and normal schools, and 40 privately administered. Beginning also with approximately the turn of the century and during the two decades between World Wars I and II, the normal schools lengthened their curricula to four years of study, and thus became teachers colleges. There also developed separate departments or schools of education in many colleges and universities. The liberal arts college has continually supplied a large percentage of the teachers, especially in the secondary schools; in 1940, approximately half of its graduates planned to enter the teaching profession.

This dual system of teacher training has direct bearing upon teaching and the atmosphere of the classroom. The Harvard Report[14] to which reference has been previously made, points

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[14] *General Education in a Free Society.* Report of the Harvard Committee, page 23. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945.

out the mutual derogatory attitude of college faculty and students and those in public-school teaching and in teachers colleges. This attitude stems largely from the more or less deliberate choice of the college, around the turn of the present century, to retain its traditional dedication to "higher" studies and to surrender the training of teachers to new and, in terms of knowledge and tradition, far less well-equipped institutions and themselves increasingly lose touch with the schools. The consequences have been grave, not only because of the misunderstanding already noted but because of the loss of any continuing interchange whereby each group might inform and influence the other.

With the development of teacher training, standards and requirements for entrance to the teaching profession were, at first gradually, and in the 1920's and 1930's rapidly, raised. As late as 1921, 30 states certificated teachers without any requirement whatever as to their own educational experience, while 14 states required only a high school diploma, and 4 others required less than a year of training beyond high school. By 1940, there were only 8 states that still had no minimum educational requirement for teaching, and but 4 others required only high school graduation. Eight states required one year above high school, 10 required two years, 9 required three, and the 9 remaining required college graduation. The above data refer only to the minimum required by the state for the lowest grade of certificate. For teaching in secondary schools, requirements have been higher than for the elementary grades and, in 1940, 5 states and several cities required at least one year of professional work beyond the A.B. degree. Many states, however, still give certificates for teaching at a given level without regard to whether or not the teacher has taken any courses in a specific subject-matter field. Thus a teacher of physics may never have had a course in this field and, at least the first year, will be little more than one jump ahead of the class!

World War II brought a serious recession in standards of certification for teachers. The flow of young people into the profession declined sharply, and many teachers entered the armed

services and war industries. Requirements were suspended for the period of the war, and temporary certificates were granted. This policy, which was the only alternative to closing many schools—and even so, a million children were without teachers—has created a twofold problem: it will be difficult to supplant many of these presumably temporary teachers, and there is need for making up a gap of three to five years in the effective education of many of our nation's children.

Important as is the development of training facilities for the education of the 285,000 students normally preparing for teaching, the new emphasis in such training is even more important. Here the shift from educational psychology and child development exclusively to the addition of educational sociology and a social emphasis has been most evident.

If the schools are to fulfill the expectations of the society which maintains them, teachers must increasingly translate basic principles into effective action: must analyze the culture of the community and relate educational activities to its cultural pattern; must know and evaluate the cultural heritage of students; must record and guide behavior in social interaction.

The first of these three essentials, which will be discussed in a later chapter, implies the utilization of new techniques of community analysis, simple enough to be feasible within the time allotted for teaching various subjects and commensurate with other requirements set for the teacher, yet comprehensive enough to provide adequate data for the adaptation of school and class activities.

The second essential—analysis of the cultural heritage of children—implies a personal knowledge of each student. Too often teachers have been satisfied with knowing only Jack's I.Q., and his record with the previous teacher or in other subjects. These may, under certain circumstances, be important to know, but may be misleading and injurious, in that such information predetermines the teacher's attitude toward the child, in advance of the latter's performance. "Jack's record is poor so he will probably continue as a weak student" is a natural but unwholesome reflec-

tion of the average teacher's knowledge of students. The facts that are of very much more importance are: what is his home life like; where does he spend his out-of-school time and with whom; what racial, religious, and economic factors influence his behavior? These are but a few of the questions for which answers must be sought. Each, in turn, breaks down into many specific questions. The home is the first in-group of the child; it is through the family that original nature first begins to be human nature; interaction with other members of the family group is what determines, to a large extent, the child's status. Consequently, the teacher must know the family, not only in terms of the number of brothers and sisters and the objective factors—neatness, relative income and educational level of parents—but also the more personal relationships: what is the attitude of the parents toward each other and toward the child? If there are brothers or sisters, it is important to know the attitude toward the child also in relation to the other members of the family. But even this is not enough, for the student's attitude toward property, the rights of others, government, and ethical values is the reflection, often in exact detail, of that of the home.

To gain this type of information will require tact and good judgment, but such information cannot be gotten in detail for every child, nor is it necessary. An observant teacher will know for the guidance of which child such information will be helpful. To those who would say that this is not the concern of the teacher, the growing record of the satisfactory adjustment of children and young people by teachers who know how to procure and wisely use such information is an effective answer. Frequently, too, the teacher may be of genuine assistance in modifying the home situation, for the interaction of school and home may be made reciprocal through the medium of the child.

In his study of "The Relation of Social Factors to Teaching Ability," [15] Wilbur Brookover found no significant relationship

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[15] *The Journal of Experimental Education,* June 1945, Vol. 13, No. 4, pages 191–205.

between the students' learning of history and the degree of the teacher's close personal relations with the student, although both students and employers considered as better teachers those who maintained such close relations. Such data are interesting and but further emphasize the educational sociologist's contention that the measurement of subject-matter learning is but one aspect of teaching ability. If changes in pupil behavior had been used instead of the learning of history, the findings of the study would have been even more significant.

The third essential in the role of the teacher—to record and guide behavior in social interaction—requires a new emphasis in teacher observation and recording of the behavior of students. It entails a new point of view on the part of school administrators and school boards. Of course it is necessary to report progress in mastery of the subject-matter field; but even in schools in which other types of behavior are recorded, the teacher's report is in terms of the child's behavior in relation to her own standards. Such reports are usually confined to generalizations: "lazy," "unattentive," "well behaved," "does not adjust well to school routine," "quarrelsome." School systems that require character ratings too often are content to report abstract qualities: such as honesty, diligence, coöperation or initiative. Such ratings have the merit of calling attention to behavior as contrasted with subject-matter mastery, but fail to emphasize the causes which produce such behavior. It is not enough to know that Betty rates five in honesty but only two in helpfulness. It is necessary to go back of the rating and discover why Betty does not coöperate.

The major emphasis in the explanation of behavior has been primarily psychological. The results of temperament tests, interest analyses, and subjective evaluations of emotional characteristics have been assumed to be sufficient explanations. The school psychologist and the psychoanalyst give only partial answers. The educational sociologist urges that the causes be pushed farther back to the cultural conditioning of social interaction, not only within the classroom but in the total social *milieu* of the child.

This sociological approach to teaching is not easy. The pulls and tensions of the day and the necessity of covering essential subject matter makes teaching a demanding task, whether in the kindergarten, the elementary or secondary school, or the college. But the procurement of such information is the very warp and woof of the pattern of the person's behavior. Fully known, sympathetically understood, and wisely used, it will do much to relieve tensions and stimulate achievement through the identification of each person with the common aspirations of the in-group. Only by meeting this challenge can the teacher fulfill her high calling—that of leading out the child into the larger responsibilities of the adult.

The Larger In-group

There are some who have said that the school must be a replica of adult society. This is neither possible nor wise. The processes of adult relationships are inherent in those of the child, but the institutional patterns must remain those of the level of the child's development. To organize a school on the basis of a city government or to do any of the other tricks advocated by their too ardent apostles is to confuse processes with institutions. The importance of the processes of social interaction is forcefully presented in the coöperative study of the Commission on Teacher Education to which reference has previously been made:[16] "Learning to participate in this child society of the school and to adjust effectively to its processes poses for every child some of his most highly motivated and significant developmental tasks. Learning the lore of their peer group is just as important for children as learning the history of our society. . . . The attitudes, values, and ethical code of the group of children with which a child identifies himself seem to have increasing weight with him as he progresses through school. . . . The sanctions that are enforced by his peers and the prestige or recognition accorded him for certain actions are striking in their power to mold a child's behavior.

[16] *op. cit.*, pages 278–279.

"Interaction within and between groups and the differential status and prestige accorded to various roles confront every child daily with avenues to satisfaction or to disappointment. . . . A child's estimation of his own personal worth, his evaluation of his competence, and his sense of personal inferiority or superiority are shaped, often to a critical extent, by the status accorded or refused him by his peers."

It is through these processes of social interaction within the child's own society that the basis is laid for effective participation in the larger groups of the school, the community, the nation, and the world. Meiklejohn[17] has described this larger view as follows: "Learning is not merely the acquiring of mastery over intellectual subject matter. It is, first of all, initiation into many social groups and, ultimately, into one social group. The teacher leads his pupil into active membership in a fraternity to which he himself belongs. The motive force of that fraternity is found in a common devotion to a common, coöperative enterprise. Just as, in the home, each child learns, or should learn, to play his part in the family circle, so, in our schools and colleges, every citizen of the world should become 'at home' in the human 'state.' He should acquire a sense of what humanity is trying to do, and a will to join in doing it.

"The calling of the teacher, as so defined, is one of infinite difficulty. But it is also infinitely significant. He is commissioned to form and fashion both human society as a whole and the individuals of whom that society consists."

The twofold responsibility of the school is clearly pointed out in the above quotation: to understand and give direction to the social interaction of children and youth, and to know what society expects of the school if it is to fulfill its function as an agency of social control. Through the carefully planned development of the in-group these two functions can be simultaneously achieved. Through the in-group they become, not antagonistic, but complementary!

[17] Alexander Meiklejohn, *Education Between Two Worlds,* page 277. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942.

Chapter 13

THE SCHOOL: THE CURRICULUM

To THE educational sociologist, the curriculum is more than the textbook, more than subject matter, more even than a course of study. It is the total situation or group of situations available to the teacher and school administrator through which to make behavior changes in the endless stream of children and youth that pass through the doors of the school. This definition implies, first, that *situations are directed to achieve predetermined goals* and second, that *the curriculum includes: (1) subject matter, (2) method, (3) school and classroom organization, and (4) measurement.* Payne[1] points out: "Applying this conception of the curriculum to a particular school (for it has no meaning aside from its special application), the curriculum of any school consists of all the situations that the school may select and consciously organize for the purpose of developing the personality of its pupils, for making behavior changes in them. This conception of the curriculum includes whatever means those responsible for the school may decide upon as valuable in producing the educational results desired."

The conception of the school as an agency of social control implies that the curriculum cannot be limited to the child's immediate interests, but must be organized in terms of social values; it must not be exclusively concerned with immediate behavior changes of individuals but must look also to the long-range behavior changes of society. This concept lifts the eyes of curriculum makers from the child to see also the adult, and from

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[1] E. George Payne, *Readings in Educational Sociology,* Vol. II, page 434. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934.

the immediate situation, to envision the future of man's world. Again quoting Payne, "It should look to the development of an intelligent understanding of the whole social process, including the civilization and culture of which we are a part." This emphasis upon directed situations through which desirable behavior changes are produced eliminates the present dichotomy between general and specialized (vocational and professional) education and between the individual and society.

Determination of Goals

If education is an agency of social control, and it has no other purpose of being, and if the curriculum is the basic instrument of the educative process, then the first concern of the educational sociologist is to determine the goals which society seeks to achieve through the school. We need not at this point be concerned with the heated controversy that flared up in the 1920's over whether such goals of education should be determined by the philosopher, the educator, or the educational sociologist. All have contributed; what is important is that the viewpoint of educational sociology has permeated the thinking of leaders in these and other related fields and has brought an increasing degree of unanimity in the emphasis upon social, rather than exclusively individual, values. There is, however, need for more research in the determination of objectives to supplement the traditional philosophical approach.

There have been many statements of aims, from Socrates and Plato, through Locke and Spencer, to the moderns and progressivists. The statement of aims by each of the above reflects the values of the individual which, in turn, are the product of the cultural values of the individual's we-group. Thus, Plato would have his "guardian of the state to be philosophical, high-spirited, swift-footed, and strong." Locke's emphasis upon "the disciplined and well-ordered mind" reflects the stirrings of the scientific developments of the late seventeenth century. Puritan religion dominated the statement of educational objectives in terms of faith and duty.

With the development of democracy and its struggling, but

never wholly successful, efforts to provide education for "all the children of all the people," the aims of education were correspondingly broadened. Spencer declared that the end of education was "complete living" conceived in adult values; this entailed preparation for self-preservation, earning a living, parenthood, citizenship, and the occupations of leisure. His statements were widely quoted as they challenged much of traditional education and had a profound influence upon the schools both in the United States and in England. By the British Education Law passed at the close of World War II, the objectives of education "to secure for children a happier childhood and a better start in life" were made the goal for all.

Only two of the many recent statements of the aims of education can be given. The first is that made during World War I by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association: [2] "Education in the United States should be guided by a clear conception of the meaning of democracy. It is the ideal of democracy that the individual and society may find fulfillment each in the other. Democracy sanctions neither the exploitation of the individual by society, nor the disregard of the interests of society by the individual. More explicitly, the purpose of democracy is so to organize society that each member may develop his personality primarily through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow members and of society as a whole.

"This ideal demands that human activities be placed upon a high level of efficiency; that to this efficiency be added an appreciation of the significance of these activities and loyalty to the best ideals involved; and that the individual choose that vocation and those forms of social service in which his personality may develop and become most effective. For the achievement of these ends democracy must place chief reliance upon education.

"Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and

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[2] *The Cardinal Objectives of Education,* Bulletin 35, pages 9–11. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1918.

without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends.

"In order to determine the main objectives that should guide education in a democracy it is necessary to analyze the activities of the individual. Normally he is a member of a family, of a vocational group, and of various civic groups, and by virtue of these relationships he is called upon to engage in activities that enrich the family life, to render important vocational services to his fellows, and to promote the common welfare. It follows, therefore, that *worthy home membership, vocation,* and *citizenship,* demand attention as three of the leading objectives.

"Aside from the immediate discharge of these specific duties, every individual should have a margin of time for the cultivation of personal and social interests. This leisure, if worthily used, will recreate his powers and enlarge and enrich life, thereby making him better able to meet his responsibilities. The unworthy use of leisure impairs health, disrupts home life, lessens vocational efficiency, and destroys civic-mindedness. The tendency in industrial life, aided by legislation, is to decrease the working hours of large groups of people. While shortened hours tend to lessen the harmful reactions that arise from prolonged strain, they increase, if possible, the importance of preparation for leisure. In view of these considerations, *education for the worthy use of leisure* is of increasing importance as an objective.

"To discharge the duties of life and to benefit from leisure, one must have good *health.* The health of the individual is essential also to the vitality of the race and to the defense of the Nation. Health education is, therefore, fundamental.

"There are various processes, such as reading, writing, arithmetical computations, and oral and written expression, that are needed as tools in the affairs of life. Consequently, *command of these fundamental processes,* while not an end in itself, is nevertheless an indispensable objective.

"And, finally, the realization of the objectives already named is

dependent upon *ethical character,* that is, upon conduct founded upon right principles, clearly perceived and loyally adhered to. Good citizenship, vocational excellence, and the worthy use of leisure go hand in hand with ethical character; they are at once the fruits of sterling character and the channels through which such character is developed and made manifest. On the one hand, character is meaningless apart from the will to discharge the duties of life, and, on the other hand, there is no guarantee that these duties will be rightly discharged unless principles are substituted for impulses, however well-intentioned such impulses may be. Consequently ethical character is at once involved in all the other objectives and at the same time requires specific consideration in any program of national education.

"This commission, therefore regards the following as the main objectives of education: 1. Health. 2. Command of fundamental processes. 3. Worthy home-membership. 4. Vocation. 5. Citizenship. 6. Worthy use of leisure. 7. Ethical character."

The second statement was made during World War II by the Educational Policies Commission.[3] "Schools should be dedicated to the proposition that every youth in the United States—regardless of sex, economic status, geographic location, or race—should experience a broad and balanced education which will: (1) equip him to enter an occupation suited to his abilities and offering reasonable opportunity for personal growth and social usefulness; (2) prepare him to assume the full responsibilities of American citizenship; (3) give him a fair chance to exercise his right to the pursuit of happiness; (4) stimulate intellectual curiosity, engender satisfaction in intellectual achievement, and cultivate the ability to think rationally; and (5) help him to develop an appreciation of the ethical values which should undergird all life in a democratic society. It is the duty of a democratic society to provide opportunities for such education through its schools. It is the obligation of every youth, as a citizen, to make full use of these

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[3] *Education for All American Youth,* page 21. Washington, D. C.: Educational Policies Commission, 1944.

opportunities. It is the responsibility of parents to give encouragement and support to both youth and schools."

While both of the above quotations refer primarily to secondary education, they are sufficiently inclusive to be a potential statement of the aims of education at all levels. Developments during the quarter of a century that elapsed between the meeting of these two commissions are reflected in their description of educational goals. The first, although described in a setting of societal values, is almost wholly in terms of the individual; the second is couched almost entirely in social values—social usefulness, citizenship, pursuit of happiness, intellectual curiosity, and ethical values. This shift of emphasis is of deep interest to the educational sociologist, as it indicates a growing recognition that the school must be an integral part of the total cultural pattern of society and increasingly direct the social processes involved in person-group interaction. The issue is not the objectives stated, but the means through which they were formulated, because objectives should be as much the result of research as measurement of the extent to which objectives are achieved.

One of the earliest attempts to formulate the aims of education through research was that of Bobbitt.[4] Through the coöperation of teachers, he procured a list of objectives and specific abilities and characteristics which they believed should be classified under each objective. From these lists, he attempted then to discover the subject matter essential for the realization of those objectives, abilities, and characteristics most frequently included by the teachers. This method has value in calling attention of teachers to the specific ends to be achieved, but it is but the tabulation of opinion rather than the analysis of factual data. Opinions cannot be a sound basis for curriculum building! A second criticism, as Payne[5] points out: "strikes at the very basis of the proposed plan of outlining subject matter and activities. That is, the so-

[4] Franklin Bobbitt, *Curriculum Making in Los Angeles.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. See also *The Curriculum of the Modern School:* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1941.

[5] E. George Payne, an unpublished manuscript.

ciologist is not interested in abilities and characteristics as such. He wishes, rather, to know the relation of these to the social processes, and insists that social behavior is the objective to be sought through the social processes."

Another type of research to determine the goals of education is that developed by W. W. Charters as "job" or "activity analysis." This technique begins not with the subject matter, but with the end product to be achieved. Since the goals thus arrived at are the basis for the determination of specific subject matter, further discussion of this approach will be postponed until later in this chapter.

The third method for determining the goals of education, and one which has already had its influence upon the curriculum, is that of analyzing the total cultural pattern and the social processes involved in its transmission. This sociological approach entails studies of patterns of behavior of different age groups, of communities and regions, and of society in the large. It is as important in determining goals to know anti-social behavior patterns as those socially approved. Several of these studies have been described in earlier chapters.

Subject Matter

"Subject matter" and "curriculum" are frequently assumed to have the same meaning, and the terms are used interchangeably. This confusion of terminology has made meanings of "textbook" and "school" synonymous in the mind of the child and the general public. Subject matter includes all that is embraced within the courses of study—texts, the school library, visual and auditory aids, field trips, and all the other instruments through which a specific field of the cultural heritage is transmitted to students. Subject matter is but one aspect of the total curriculum.

The sociologist's concern with subject matter is twofold: first, that it be selected to accomplish the social purpose of education; and, second, that it be so organized and related to method and classroom procedures that it may be an effective instrument in social control.

The possibility exists that the subject matter taught in the schools will be confined exclusively to the materials of formal instruction and that the schools will be isolated from the subject matter of life experience. This has been a constant danger, and especially so amid the swift succession of the epoch-making events described earlier in our discussion. The school, rooted deep in the past, may be the chief agent in creating cultural lag, or it may, with courage and foresight, be the instrument of society to lead the world into the as-yet-unknown vistas of tomorrow.

To some degree, changes in the school have been a natural concomitant of increase in knowledge; it has resulted partly from the efforts of the school to take over functions not adequately continued through other agencies of society. Changes in the school have also been due to pressure groups seeking to incorporate into the schools and colleges their own special interests. The extent to which change has been in the nature of additions is shown for the elementary school in Table XXI. Similar contrasts could be drawn for secondary and higher education, but space will not permit. In one university, for example, a student would need more than the normal life span of three score years and ten to take all of the courses. In the Liberal Arts college alone it would require 22 years of full-time study to take all of the subjects offered. There have, of course, been changes other than additions, but reorganization of subject matter has been achieved only against the resistance of vested interests in a subject-matter field and of those who seek to keep the school isolated from the current of social change.

The danger of social lag in education was never greater than now. The gap between the activities of adults and those of children has constantly widened. Knowledge, for generations beyond the ken of one human mind, has pushed back its borders even further into a world of atomic energy. Technical developments, always moving more rapidly than changes in our social institutions and ways of behaving, have been tremendously accelerated by World War II—not only in the methods of production but also in available consumers' goods—radar, high

Table XXI

CHANGES IN THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
1800, 1850, 1900, 1945

1800	*1850*	*1900*	*1945*
Reading	Reading	Reading	Reading
Spelling	Declamation	Literature	Literature
Writing	Spelling	Spelling	Spelling
Catechism and Bible	Writing	Penmanship system	Printing and script writing
Arithmetic	Manners and Conduct	Conduct	Citizenship
	Mental Arithmetic and ciphering	Arithmetic	Arithmetic
			Oral presentations
	Grammar	Oral language	Correct usage
	Geography	Grammar	Geography
	U. S. History	Geography	History Local National Backgrounds
	Object lessons	U. S. History	
		Constitution	Constitution
		Object lessons	General science
		Elementary science	Art
		Drawing	Music
		Music	Hygiene
		Physical exercises	Physical education
		Manual training	Vocational education
			Home making
			Foreign language
			Trips and excursions
			Extracurricular activities

frequency modulation, television, and many more. Few corresponding changes have been made in social-behavior patterns.

World War II, while creating an acute shortage in scientific personnel, brought also an unprecedented emphasis upon the physical and biological sciences at the expense of the social sciences and the humanities. Subject matter of the elementary schools was changed only in emphasis. This change is forcefully described in the following statement of the Educational Policies Commission[6] of the objectives of the elementary school in wartime:

1. Lay a sound foundation of skills and habits of accuracy in reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic.
2. Maintain the greatest possible amount of security, courage, and self-confidence. Avoid undue excitement, pathological hatreds and fears, and hysteria. Keep discussion of the war in bounds. Keep informed regarding the home and family problems of each child so that the child whose mother works in a war industry or the child who has relatives in posts of danger may always be treated with understanding.
3. Promote good health. Teach the proper choice of food to secure good nutrition in wartime diets. Stress the prevention, isolation, and proper treatment of contagious diseases. Coöperate in all community efforts to improve housing, sanitation, and recreation, and to provide for necessary child-care centers.
4. Provide many opportunities for community service, both of a wartime and peacetime nature. Participate in the salvage, Red Cross, war savings, victory garden, and other federal programs. Guide these experiences so that maximum learning in terms of a participating democratic citizenship will result. The habits, attitudes, and information that elementary-school children acquire by engaging in war service activities are more important than the income from the sale of stamps or the collection of salvage.
5. Expand and improve the teaching of cultural and physical geography. The end in view is to develop an accurate

[6] *What the Schools Should Teach in Wartime.* Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1943.

knowledge of the earth as the home of man, of the principal resources of soil and culture in the various regions of the globe, and of the interdependence and relationships of people and nations. Show the key position held by the people of the United States and stress their share of the responsibility for world order, justice, and security.

6. Emphasize the ideals of freedom and equality for which we are fighting. Teach the history of these ideals in this country and elsewhere. Develop the clearest possible understanding of these ideals and the deepest possible loyalty to them.
7. Enrich the artistic, literary, and musical experiences of the children and the community, partly in order to provide a release for wartime emotions and partly as a tool for self-realization in childhood and adult life.

The above items cannot be arranged in any order of relative importance; all are essential.

Subject matter of the secondary school has been challenged for three decades by the rapidly growing school population, and, during World War II, by the demands for effective training for war service. But change has been uneven. Too many high schools have clung to the traditional subject matter, looked backward rather than forward to determine the course of study, resisted even new devices of instruction, attempted to force the new generation of youth through the old pattern of required subjects. There have, of course, been many leaders in the field who have resisted this social lag and sought to keep secondary education abreast of the tempo of the times.

The increase in school population at the secondary level, previously shown (Figure 15), was more than an increase in numbers: it changed the entire character of those who were to seek, through the high-school courses, a richer preparation for living. Although no plan for the selection of students, such as that devised by Jefferson, was ever put into operation, the economic status of the family was a highly important selective factor and failures weeded out those who could not master the traditional subjects of the secondary-school curriculum. The purpose

of a high-school education was to prepare for college. Those who attended were a relatively homogeneous group.

Such a description is not applicable to the high-school population of the present. The economic factor still prevents some adolescents from attending high school, and opportunity for secondary education is not evenly distributed as between urban and rural, and Negro and white population. But America has moved steadily toward the goal of the minimum of a high-school education for all youth. As stated in the Harvard Report:[7] "Democracy is not only opportunity for the able. It is equally betterment for the average, both the immediate betterment which can be gained in a single generation and the slower ground swell of betterment which works through generations. Hence the task of the high school is not only to speed the bright boy to the top. It is at least as much (as far as numbers are concerned, far more) so to widen the horizons of ordinary students that they and, still more, their children will encounter fewer of the obstacles to that achievement."

The ways in which the secondary schools sought to meet the new demands and more adequately to serve the ever increasing heterogeneity of its pupils were many and varied, and can be little more than enumerated. The basic method was the system of unit courses, which provided a varying degree of election of areas of study. These courses soon were grouped into programs with differentiated requirements for graduation. Such terms as "classical," "technical," "vocational," and "general" were used to designate them, the "general" usually being the one in which were placed students who did not give promise of success in any of the other three. In a few communities, for the most part only in the larger cities, this differentiation has been carried to the extent of establishing separate schools somewhat along the line of several European systems. Such separate schools are illustrated by the Chicago Trade School, the

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[7] Report of the Harvard Committee, *General Education in a Free Society*, page 11. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945.

Music and Arts High School in New York City, and the proposed establishment of "area vocational schools" in selected consolidated districts.

Another method of meeting the wide range of pupil needs was the segregation of students into ability groups, and differentiating courses on the basis of such relative ability. The terms "vertical enrichment" and "horizontal enrichment" became a battle-ground in education during the 1930's. By "vertical enrichment" was meant a system whereby the more able students were permitted to complete the traditional four years of school in three, or less; the average continued to take four years; and those of least ability might require six years. In schools organized to achieve "horizontal enrichment," four years were required of all children, but variations were made in assignments—the brighter being given more extensive assignments, those of low ability being required to complete only the minimum. Too often, under such a system, the more able students only did more of the same thing and, for the less able, it might better have been called "horizontal impoverishment."

Three basic criticisms can be leveled at both the course-unit system and that based on ability grouping. Both are divisive influences. Students think of themselves as different from those in another course or group. At a time when the complexities of modern living provide unfortunate divisive forces in the adult population, the school should be a unifying force rather than one which abets social stratification. The second criticism is that the interests of adolescents are constantly changing, and ability to succeed in school is as much a matter of motivation as of the mythical I.Q. Yet both methods of organization of subject matter entail the sealing off of the student from access to areas and activities other than those prescribed for him or which he has selected. The third and, from the point of view of the sociologist, the most serious criticism, is that both methods are developed only with reference to the individual; neither give serious recognition to the needs of society nor are developed with reference to social values.

Critics have urged that the subject matter of the secondary school be reorganized along patterns more nearly adapted to the society which it sought to serve. The American Youth Commission [8] summarizes its position as follows: "The school, then, should be thought of as a social institution established, supported, and maintained by society for its own purpose. While benefiting all individuals who attend it, its primary responsibility is to the interests of society. . . . Courses of study should be developed and so organized that they will provide all students with a balanced program for the principal objectives of education—citizenship, home-leadership, leisure, vocation, health, and continued effective study. All programs should therefore include instruction in social studies, biological and natural sciences, literature, physical and mental health education, and esthetic studies and arts."

A Special Committee [9] of the American Youth Commission carried still further this emphasis upon common elements of subject matter to meet societal needs. The Committee recommended the development of four new types of basic subject matter for the high school: the continuance of *reading* with stimulation of wide use of libraries. The Committee states that "No other contribution to general education can be of importance equal to that which could be gained by making pupils competent readers." The second subject matter field is *work experience*—"a much-to-be-desired phase of education for all classes of people. . . . It should not be thought of as applying merely to a few marginal cases but should be accepted as a principle of the widest possible application." A third area, *social studies,* while now included in secondary schools, should be extended and reorganized. "As the range of social contacts has widened and the social order has become complex, community life has become more

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[8] Harl R. Douglass, *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America,* pages 7 and 92. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1937.

[9] *What the High Schools Ought to Teach.* Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940.

difficult of comprehension through mere observation or through discussions around the dinner table. The obligation of finding some way of preparing young people for citizenship, for intelligent social attitudes, and for effective participation in community life, has become a public obligation which must be met if social chaos is to be avoided." Finally, the Committee would include instruction concerning *personal problems:* health, family life, and social adjustment. These additions, together with changes in the traditional fields to relate them to these basic subjects, would form the subject matter of the secondary school.

While the clouds of World War II were gathering over America, the basic issue of secondary education was the relative importance of general education—that which should be the common heritage of all pupils—and of special education—that which is elective and provides for differentiated subject matter. Much of the argument was based only upon *a priori* principles, but an increasing body of data, based upon sociological research, was giving new emphasis to subject matter selected to make the school a more effective agent in social control.

World War II gave tremendous impetus to the reorganization of the subject matter of the high school, but the war years present a confused picture. Pre-induction courses were developed and the Victory Corps organized. Students selected one of three areas of service: military—air, land or sea; production; or community service, and both subject matter and activities were directed toward training in the selected area. A series of booklets *Service in the Armed Forces, Community War Services* and *Production War Services* were widely distributed. Two others: a *Guidance Manual* and *Physical Fitness Through Health Education for the Victory Corps,* described specific procedures that should be developed or expanded. There was a new emphasis upon functional objectives. Extremely interesting was the fact that, during this same period, the armed forces stated that the responsibility of the secondary school was to provide more effective education in the fundamental fields of mathematics, science, social studies, English, and health and physical education. Specialized train-

ing both in indoctrination and in technical skills was given by the Army and Navy. This emphasis on the part of the armed forces resulted in the gradual dropping off of some of the specific war courses and related activities, but the high schools had been awakened to the need of relating the subject matter of the school to the needs of the community, the nation, and the world.

Changes in the subject matter of the college have largely paralleled those in the secondary school, preceding or following changes in the secondary school from time to time. The basic pattern, since the introduction of the elective system about the middle of the last century, has been the same—unit courses grouped into organized programs with a varying number of free electives. The issue is, as in the high school, the extent to which there should be common elements as contrasted with specialized training. In the September 30, 1945, issue of the *New York Times Magazine,* Irwin Edman, in an article, "To Teach Men to Know How to Be Free" voices the criticism of many. "The elective system did not seem to insure a unified awareness of the past nor a sense of one's responsibility in the world; in other words, an intelligent comprehension of the present. One could get a degree without having had anything entitled to be called education. . . . The colleges are very widely now committing themselves to the proposition that there is a common world that we must all understand, a common human nature we all share, a common history which we all inherit."

During the two decades before World War II, with the rapid increase in college enrollment (see Figure 15), the same conflict arose not only between general and specialized education, but also over ways to meet the needs of a more heterogeneous population. As the professional schools increased their entrance requirements, especially in medicine and dentistry and to a lesser extent in law, these schools reached down and dictated the specialization in the pre-professional level. New professional schools were established in journalism, business administration, and other fields, each with its own required cluster of subjects. Of the rapidly developing junior colleges, many offered terminal courses

that required the selection of the field of specialization in the freshman year. Even the liberal arts course was divided into specified majors and minors from which it became virtually impossible to change without loss of credit even after one year.

Concurrent with increasing specialization was the growing demand for a more prolonged period of general education. The goal of education shifted on up two more years, with the completion of the sophomore year of college or its equivalent being considered the minimum of universal education. The rapid increase in knowledge, and the extension of educational opportunity, argued strongly for a general college to include the first two years, with specialization delayed until completion of the general course. Again, as in the high school, there was little research developed to resolve the issue, and the educational battle was on when World War II came.

It would require volumes adequately to describe the effect of World War II upon the colleges.[10] Less than a month after the Pearl Harbor attack, 1,200 college and university presidents met in Baltimore and offered their services to the government. In the effort to render maximum service and the failure to formulate a definite plan for the effective utilization of institutions of higher education, mistakes were made—not in intent but in zealousness to serve. Special courses were introduced with too little knowledge of the extent to which they would prove of value either to those entering the armed forces or for women and 4-F's entering industry and government. The withdrawal of faculty members for both military and civilian service and the pressure of the time factor made the problem of adjustment of courses to war needs all the more difficult. By 1943, the Army

[10] For data on enrollment and the financial situation resulting from World War II, see *Effect of Certain War Activities upon Colleges and Universities.* Report from the Committee on Education, House of Representatives. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1945. The acute shortage in scientific fields is described by Francis J. Brown and M. H. Trytten, "The National Stake in the Imperative Resumption of Training for the Scientific Professions," *Bulletin, Higher Education and National Defense,* May 28, 1945, No. 84.

and Navy had made an analysis of the technical personnel required and, at that time, established college training programs. Courses of study were prescribed in detail, which aimed at meeting specific needs of the military. At the peak of the program in October, 1943, there were 340,000 men in uniform on the college campus, and a total of almost a million had periods varying from a few months to three calendar years. Intensive and part-time courses were developed to meet training and retraining needs for war production, and almost 1,500,000 men and women had such training during the war years. The program of studies was accelerated by providing twelve months of instruction in all but a few women's colleges, but the extent of change of content and organization varied with the institutions. From the point of view of subject matter, the basic effect of the war was twofold: it shattered age-old traditions of higher education, and it reemphasized a functional approach.

This functional basis of determining subject matter is not new. The job-analysis method of subject-matter determination begins with an analysis of the end product desired—what knowledge, what specific skills are necessary in the successful performance of a specific job. It was the job-analysis technique that was used in determining the content of specialist courses in the armed forces. The required knowledge and skills can be determined with considerable precision for tasks primarily involving manual skills; determination of required knowledge and skills is increasingly difficult the greater the complexity of the work, and becomes of value only in indicating major areas of study in preparing for positions involving judgment, especially of human values.

Although the methods of determining the end product were largely empirical, the starting point was not dissimilar from job analysis in drawing up *A Design for General Education.*[11] Early in 1943, a need had developed for a plan of general education for the armed forces. A committee representing a wide range of interests in education was named, and, with the assistance of

[11] Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1945.

a large number of consultants, such a *Design* was developed. The committee's statement is quoted at some length:[12] ". . . For the purposes of this report, general education refers to those phases of non-specialized and non-vocational education that should be the common possession, the common denominator, so to speak, of educated persons as individuals and as citizens in a free society. The committee had no intention of making a sharp distinction between general education and liberal education. The differences between a program of general education and one of liberal education are mainly those of degree rather than of kind. The purposes of general education should be contributory to those of a true liberal education; general education may be looked upon as an integral aspect of a full, liberal educational experience.

"The committee's second step was to agree upon the broad areas that should be included in general education. These fundamental elements were expressed, not as fields of knowledge, but as the way in which educated men might properly be expected to behave. The outcomes, in other words, were defined in terms of performance. General education, for example, should lead the student to improve and maintain his own health and take his share of responsibility for protecting the health of others; to do his part as an active and intelligent citizen in dealing with the interrelated social, economic, and political problems of American life, and in solving the problems of post-war international reconstruction; to choose a vocation that will make optimum use of his talents and enable him to make an appropriate contribution to the needs of society."

A total of ten "objectives" of general education were identified. Each, in turn, was still further analyzed to determine the specific end products desired in terms of (1) knowledge and understanding, (2) skills and abilities, and (3) attitudes and appreciations. The following quotation from the committee's report pertaining to the third objective is given in full as illustrative.[13]

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[12] *ibid.*, pages 7 and 8.
[13] *ibid.*, pages 34–36.

III. To attain a sound emotional and social adjustment through the enjoyment of a wide range of social relationships and the experience of working coöperatively with others

In order to accomplish this purpose, the student should acquire the following:

A. Knowledge and understanding
   1. Of the dynamics of human motivation
   2. Of the nature and operation of behavior patterns as means of satisfying motives
   3. Of the frequent disparity between openly expressed opinions and inner beliefs
   4. Of the nature and causes of mental conflict
   5. Of the criteria of normal and neurotic adjustment
   6. Of the influence of the social environment, including cultural variability, moral relativity, and social change, upon personality development
   7. Of the hierarchies of authority in relation to civil and military leadership and their influence on personal adjustment

B. Skills and abilities
   1. Skill in regulating the impact of his own personal desires on the feelings and ambitions of others, illustrated by face-saving devices, conciliation, techniques of participation, persuasion, etc.
   2. The ability to identify his own status in relation to various social levels and groups in his community.
   3. The ability to plan for the establishment and maintenance of a well-balanced emotional life in family and other important social relationships
   4. The ability to manage aggressive tendencies, and to redirect them in conformity with cultural norms or expectations
   5. Skill in identifying motives and in discriminating between mechanisms of behavior with reference to individuals and groups
   6. Skill in planning, directing, and participating in group activities
   7. Skill in anticipating, predicting, and interpreting other people's behavior

C. Attitudes and appreciations
   1. Respect for the integrity of others. Sensitiveness to

the wants, needs, and frustrations of other persons, interest in enabling other persons to attain satisfaction of basic common needs

2. Flexibility of attitude structure to permit transferring from one social group to another, or from one community to another
3. Enjoyment of participation in varied types of human relationships and in group undertakings
4. Sense of responsibility for participating in desirable community activities
5. Loyalty to the various groups in which one holds membership, without narrow and derogatory attitudes toward other desirable groups

Appreciation and valuation of cultural patterns exhibited by individuals from other groups—religious, social, political, economic, national, etc.

Another method for the reorganization of subject matter is that employed by the Committee on the Study of Teaching Materials on Inter-American subjects [14] in its study of American textbooks. The results will be summarized in a later chapter; the method has definite bearing upon the subject matter of the schools. Having established factual data concerning the history, geography, and culture of Latin America, the research staff made a careful appraisal of all references to Latin-American countries in American textbooks to determine the extent to which such statements were inaccurate or misleading. A similar study has been made of what is said in our textbooks about Canada, and in Canadian texts, concerning the United States. Although a piecemeal type of research, it illustrates the importance of subject matter in the development of social attitudes.

A third approach, more applicable in the social science fields than in others, is that of analyzing cultural change and seeking to adapt the subject matter of the school to such changes. Only one illustration can be given, that of housing. The field breaks down into three areas of emphasis: production, planning and

[14] *Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials.* Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1945.

design, and consumer education. The number and variety of new mechanical servants for the modern home cannot be predicted. New cookers, air cooling, dust-proof ventilation, automatic controls, and many more are already available, and will come more within the reach of those of average income. It is an interesting fact that architectural planning has been concentrated primarily upon highways, bridges, and public buildings, and comparatively little attention has been given to the universal need of man—a home. Economic factors are important, but the lack of adaptation to new developments has partly been due also to the failure of the school to consider housing a problem for inclusion in the course of study. Yet many of our social problems stem from inadequate and ill-planned or unplanned housing.

Two significant exceptions to the above statements must be made on the national level: the housing projects, including the Tennessee Valley Authority, which were constructed during the depression of the 1930's; and the housing program now developing under the National Housing Administration.[15]

Other emerging fields of equal importance in the lives of young people are: social security, health and medical insurance, labor relations, national defense, and world organization.

From even this brief discussion, certain sociological principles can be established regarding subject matter. It is apparent, first, that *change can come only gradually,* as it must reflect the basic cultural values of the society it serves yet at the same time be an effective agent in the transmission of the highest values. Second, *the subject matter of the school must be functional in its relation to adult living and, concurrently, be adapted to the level of development of the child.* An interesting illustration of the failure of the school to be realistic is the fact that textbooks on government still give little, and often no, space to an analysis of the role of political parties and pressure groups in the selection of public officials and the determination of governmental policies. With

[15] See testimony presented before the Senate Committee on Banking and Finance, on S1592. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1946.

the exception of a few "Labor Colleges," little attention has been given until now to labor organizations and labor-management relations. Several institutions of higher education have recently established courses in this field, and at least one institution has set up a special college within the university and has named representatives of Labor to the Board of Trustees. Secondary schools still avoid this and many other issues. A third principle is that *subject matter should change continually toward the more effective realization of socially determined objectives.* Research has only begun, but it has already pointed the way to the carrying out of this principle. Change will be resisted. Teachers have not yet grasped the full significance of sociology as applied to their own subject fields.

Even experts prefer the more familiar scissors- and paste-pot method of making subject-matter changes than the infinitely more difficult method of working from objectives, determined by research. School administrators are trained in techniques and procedures, but too seldom in fundamental social processes. Progress has been made, but much too slowly to keep the subject matter of the school abreast with the shifting culture of American life.

Methods

Although for purposes of analysis, subject matter and method are discussed separately, they cannot be separated in actual practice. The assumption that they can be thus divided is one of the reasons for the wide gulf that still persists between education as a professional field of study and the academic fields, and between teachers colleges and liberal arts institutions. Assertions are still made, "If you know your subject you can teach it to others" and, in opposition, "Teaching is both an art and a science; skill in teaching can be acquired only through professional study." While both statements are true to a degree, neither expresses the whole truth. The unifying factor between these two extreme positions is the emphasis upon the resultant changes in behavior

in students. There can be then no line of cleavage between content and method.

In no other field of education has there been such almost revolutionary changes as in both the procedures and the materials of instruction. Contrast the lock-step method of the Lancastrian schools with the active participation of students in the modern classroom, or the forbidding texts of 1900 with the beautifully illustrated books now used!

World War II brought new developments in methods and accelerated others. The pressure of time made speed of acquisition essential, and the consequences of ignorance or lack of facility in operating an instrument of death provided the necessary motivation. Visual and auditory aids were developed far beyond those that the limited funds for civilian education had previously made possible. Models that simulated actual combat were developed through moving screens, the electric impulse, and numerous other devices. To cite an illustration—training in the use of the automatic bomb sight—the student enters a turret containing the bomb sight, controlling and releasing buttons exactly as in a combat plane. The lights go off; a fan simulates the roar of the propeller; below the gunner, by motion picture, the shifting landscape is projected with the rolls and drops as though the student were actually seated in a speeding plane. The object of the mission, a ship or plane or building, comes into view; the gunner pulls the trigger, and a spot on the screen marks the exact place the bomb would have landed under the controlled speed, altitude, and atmospheric conditions of the "flight." The "moving" landscape stops, and the bomber studies the accuracy of his "shot." When one steps out again onto the lighted platform it is hard to believe that all the sound and motion had been simulated.

Another illustration is the teaching of a foreign language. For years there has been a controversy in academic circles between the grammarians and the linguists—the former asserting that it is necessary to understand the grammatical construction of a lan-

guage; the linguists believing that mastery of a language is attained through the use of the language, grammar being acquired later in terms of use. Sound records were prepared, using each method and, by experimentation, the linguistic method proved the most effective for the minimum needs of the military. Tens of thousands of copies of records in some thirty foreign languages were made available to troops en route to, or stationed in, foreign theaters of operation.

In evaluating the techniques of the military, there are two extreme positions. The first is illustrated by a commercial advertisement which stated, in effect, that the armed forces had brought a new era in the methods of teaching; that "language, for example, can be mastered in 12 hours. Why then should schools take two to four years?" The other is that differences in motivation make military methods of no value when carried over to civilian education. Fortunately, an answer is now being found to the issue presented by these extreme statements. The American Council on Education is conducting extensive research to determine the extent to which techniques developed by the armed forces can be utilized for the improvement of civilian education. But again, the answer is to be found, first in the kind of behavior patterns which are sought and second, the extent to which the method facilitates the acquisition of such behavior.

Some of the principles, upon the basis of which the educational sociologist judges the effectiveness of teaching method and technique, have been stated by Payne [16] as follows: *"The method of teaching is effective only in so far as the skills and knowledges acquired in the classroom are actually made use of by the individual in his adjustment to social situations.* In the case of reading, a rapid rate and adequate comprehension of the matter read is necessary, for example, but these skills may be put to unsocial uses. They are valuable skills when the possessor at the same time has developed the ability to select worthwhile material for reading and in so far as he has learned to evaluate critically what is read.

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[16] E. George Payne, unpublished manuscript.

For instance, a person may read the newspaper rapidly and comprehendingly without critical evaluation, and be harmed in the process. Moreover, a person may acquire the ability to read rapidly and understandingly and devote his time exclusively to the reading of cheap novels, and not to the reading of material that bears upon his vocation, his citizenship, his health, his relation to the groups in which he lives. The mere speed and understanding of his reading therefore may tend to unfit him for effective living. The important point is that the emphasis in method should be upon the selection and critical evaluation of materials read and not merely upon reading skill. Similar illustrations could be drawn from other fields.

"The method of teaching must place primary emphasis upon social behavior outside of the schoolroom. This principle applies to all the subjects taught in school. The main criticism of the sociologist upon the method of teaching is that it has concerned itself primarily with the learning of the material found in textbooks but has not sought at each step to provide for the use of the material in life situations. The most practical subjects, such as arithmetic and history, may be taught in such a way as to develop problem-solving ability or a body of interesting knowledge without in the least affecting one's conduct in life outside of school.

"The method of teaching must seek to utilize the social forces operative in the social life in order to develop capacity for social adjustment."

Social Measurement of Education

The importance of measurement and examinations cannot be overemphasized. Not only do they provide a check on the extent of learning that has taken place, but they also, to a large degree, *determine both the subject matter and methods of instruction.* State Board examinations determine the content of professsional schools; college entrance examinations dictate the courses of study of the academic high school; the type of tests used by the classroom teacher determine the nature of the material children

learn—whether detailed facts, general principles, or data upon which to show relationships and make judgments. Measurement is, then, a vital part of the curriculum.

For the most part, measurements of education have been of the amount and character of learning. The development of standardized tests have tended to crystallize the educative process with its major emphasis upon mastery of subject matter.

The contrast between this traditional emphasis of measurement and that of the educational sociologist is so forcefully stated by Payne, in the unpublished material previously referred to, that it is quoted at some length:

"The usual principle underlying teaching or method implies three steps: (1) The discovery of the child's knowledge and interests; (2) the teaching of the child on the basis of his knowledge and interests; (3) the measurement of the results or his attainment of knowledge. The principle and its application in practice have notably advanced education along a number of lines. It has led us to ascertain the state of the child's knowledge before beginning the educational process. It has enormously improved the technique of procedure in the educational process itself, and finally it has resulted in very effective instruments of measurement of the results of education as sought. The achievement along this line represents the most notable progress in the history of education. It represents a definite attempt to make education scientific.

"There are, however, from the sociologist's point of view certain weaknesses about this procedure. The sociologist questions the assumption that the acquisition of knowledge is education, although an essential part of the process. He conceives education as a process of making behavior changes in the individual and in the community, and does not accept the conventional practice as adequate to that end. He regards it as a weak attempt to satisfy certain school objectives which may or may not have social value. Viewed another way, the sociologist looks upon education as a process of developing social controls or controls in the individual over his behavior in his relationships to the various groups in the social life. He, therefore, regards subject matter as a means

to an end, and for that reason will not admit that the three steps in the educational process as they are outlined above are adequate or even significant.

"The sociologist, therefore, would state the principle and make its application in another way. He would state the principle somewhat as follows: By adequate survey, measurement, and study, both of the child and the community in which the child lives, find out the character and personality of the child, his social patterns, and his life interests, begin to make changes in his behavior in line with his social needs, by building upon or modifying his social patterns, his social heritages, his personality and character, and at the end of an instructional period test the child and the community or groups of which he is a part to discover what changes in character, personality, social patterns, and group behavior have taken place.

"This principle likewise involves three steps: (1) the discovery of the personality traits, behavior patterns, social heritages of the child and the group; (2) the instruction of the child on the basis of these characteristics and interests; (3) and the measurement of the changes in the behavior of the child and the groups of which he is a part.

"The crux of the matter hinges upon the sorts of changes sought through the educational process and the emphasis in the measurement of the results of the educational endeavor. Obviously, we are concerned with functional knowledge and skills, but for them to be functional is not sufficient. What functions do the knowledges and skills serve? The fundamental criterion in determining their value is that they serve the individual in his social relations outside of the schoolroom. Their use in the schoolroom is important only when viewed from the larger social outlook. In other words we are interested in the child as a member of a family, a play group, as a citizen, and as an individual that is now functioning in outside-of-school activities ninety per cent of his total time. What the child does in the schoolroom concerns us little except as it relates to his outside activities and changes them. Obviously then the only measurement that is ultimately profitable

is the measurement of outside-of-school practices. To be specific, the measurement of the results of education going on in the schoolroom must find application in the behavior changes of the individual as a social unit."

Although much must yet be done, some illustrations can be given of the application of the principles enunciated by Payne. In the field of safety education, controlled experiments have been conducted, and the results of such instruction measured in terms of the decrease in accident rate. Careful studies, unfortunately limited to a specific practice, the use of a specific commodity, or to a given group, have been made of the extent of changes in home and community diet, measured by consumption, as a result of health instruction in and through the school. Several cities have made extensive studies, by districts, of juvenile delinquency in the effort to determine ways in which the school has changed or may assist in changing antisocial behavior patterns.

Two comprehensive studies have recently been completed, which have shifted the emphasis from mere acquisition of subject matter to changes in behavior. One was an eight-year study conducted under the general auspices of the Progressive Education Association;[17] the other was a nine-year investigation, *The Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards.*

The first was an effort to determine the extent to which the prescribed subjects for college entrance were necessary to assure success in college. Conversely, it was an experiment in permitting a readjustment of the entire curriculum to meet individual interests and social needs. When results were measured in terms of success in college, students from the 30 experimental schools did as well as those who had followed the traditional curriculum. Measured in terms of social behavior, they had acquired habits and attitudes that indicated a more satisfactory preparation for, and adjustment to, life than that provided through the usual subjects and methods.

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[17] Wilford M. Aiken, *The Story of the Eight Year Study,* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942.

The second investigation, aimed to provide criteria for the evaluation of secondary schools, included more than 200 high schools. The most fundamental guiding principle of the entire study was that "a school can be studied satisfactorily and judged fairly only in terms of its own philosophy of education, its individually expressed purposes and objectives, the nature of the pupils with whom it has to deal, the needs of the community which it serves, and the nature of the American democracy of which it is a part." Elaborate statistical devices were used as the basis of rating the school on a thermometer scale for each area measured. Reports and judgments by students, teachers, parents, alumni, and visiting committees were utilized. Former students were asked to answer such searching questions as: "To what extent, in your judgment, did your high school education help you in securing or holding your present position? To what extent was your total school experience—scholastic, social, athletic, personal—satisfactory to you?" Table XXII presents the rating

Table XXII *

Composite Rating of 25 Secondary Schools

Field	Very Much	Some	Very Little	None	No Reply
Athletics and sports	9	13	1	2	
Music	8	7	8	2	
Theaters and movies	3	14	7	1	
Use of libraries	15	7	2	1	
Reading books and magazines outside of libraries	13	11	1		
Interest in good health	13	8	3	1	
Religious activities	2	9	10	2	2
Citizenship activities	12	10	2	1	
Social activities	9	12	3	1	
Interest in further formal education	13	9	1	2	
Total	97	100	38	13	2

* Adapted from *Evaluation of Secondary Schools*, page 461. Washington, D. C.: Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 1939.

of 25 secondary schools on the alumni's answers to the question: "To what extent do you feel that your school course and life developed interest in and appreciation of the following fields and participation in them after you left school?"

From Table XXII, one might anticipate the low rating given to resulting changes in religious activities, but the scattered effect on music appreciation and the little influence on theaters and movies should be of deep concern to educators at all levels.

Only one other citation from the study can be made. The following statement[18] while applied in the *Evaluation* only to the pupil activity program of the high school, might well be adapted as fundamental principles for the social measurement of all education:

1. The school exists as the agency of society for inducting the youth into such activities of adult citizenship, broadly conceived, as may be required by that society, supplementing the shortcomings of other agencies in his education, to the end that he shall pass from the protected environment of the school to the self-directed, coöperative participation of adulthood.
2. The secondary school no longer ministers mainly or chiefly to a selected group who are preparing for entrance to higher institutions. Into its charge, social forces have given the major share of directing the education of all adolescents, not alone in the essential knowledges, but *in the controls of conduct* that shall guarantee to society citizens prepared and willing to play their part in furthering the well-being of all through the duly constituted channels of popular government.
3. The period of adolescence, with which the secondary school has to deal, is significant in the marked social impulses that then mature. If the school will seize upon these natural forces to direct them into wholesome and intelligent expression, the outcomes can be of lasting benefit both to the individual and to society.
4. Social behavior must be learned in a social environment,

[18] *Evaluation of Secondary Schools*, page 41. Washington, D. C.: Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 1939.

> motivated by natural impulses, sustained by appropriate social satisfactions, and *judged by concomitant social products.*

This sociological emphasis, supplementing, but not supplanting, the measurement of subject matter learned and skills acquired, will make education a controlling force in society and will, in turn, be the basis of evaluating and reconstructing the curriculum of schools and colleges from the kindergarten to the graduate school.

The task of the school administrator and the teacher will not be easy if these sociological principles are to be translated into effective modification of the entire curriculum—subject matter, methods, school and classroom organization, and measurement. It will entail selection, from the great mass of culture, of those experiences that can be meaningful to the child at his level, that will eliminate or minimize unworthy features from the child's natural environment, and will assure to every person the opportunity to come into living contact with the world of things, of ideas, and of his fellowman.

Chapter 14

THE SCHOOL: ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE COMMUNITY

Sociologists have long recognized the existence of differences in cultural patterns based upon the nature of the community. Emphasis on the relations of the organism to its environment has developed into the field of specialization in sociology which is called "ecology." In 1925, Park[1] and his associates brought together a number of earlier papers which had expressed this growing interest in the community pattern. The following is illustrative of their emphasis: "The city is something more than the congeries of individual men and of social conveniences—streets, buildings, electric lights, tramways, and telephones, etc; something more, also, than a mere constellation of institutions and administrative devices—courts, hospitals, schools, police, and civil functionaries of various sorts. The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition. The city is not, in other words, merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it; it is a product of nature, and particularly of human nature."

Thrasher[2] showed the importance of this approach in the whole field of education: "Comparison of communities reveals great differences among them in institutions and in general spirit and morale. . . . Towns and cities are sometimes characterized

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[1] Robert E. Park, *et al., The City,* page 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925.

[2] Frederic M. Thrasher, "Social Backgrounds and Education." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* October 1927, Vol. I, No. 2, pages 70–71.

as progressive or conservative, fast or slow, thriving or dead, 'boom' or dying, Eastern or Western, 'lid on' or 'wide open,' young or old, public spirited or selfish, corrupt or clean, settled or in transition, and so on. . . . The general principle involved in a community approach is that, in order adequately to comprehend the meaning and functions of a social institution, it is essential to make a scientific study of the social setting or context within which such an institution has developed and with which it must have intimate social linkages."

Within the past decade many studies of small communities as well as of cities have been made. West's [3] study of a midwest community of 250 families is an excellent analysis of village life. He points out, for example, that Plainvillers sense, and frequently express, the feeling that they live in comparative isolation, that their community is "behind the times" and that their culture is uniform and dull. The radio has made them especially self-conscious concerning dialect forms, phrases, and phonetics. Sanderson and Polson [4] studied several rural communities and conclude that "If we are to have a workable democracy, its foundations must rest upon the ability of communities to organize effectively and plan for the common welfare."

One of the difficult problems in attempting to study local communities and especially to compare one with another is the lack of objective criteria. Thorndike [5] used 37 criteria as a basis for comparison: five dealing with health, eight with educational opportunities, two with recreation, eight with economic and social factors, five with physical comforts, three with reading habits, and six with evidences of good living conditions. For each, he used an objective and measurable criteria, such as rate of infant mortality, number of radios per 100 of the population, and the

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[3] Reprinted from West, *Plainville, U.S.A.* By permission of Columbia University Press. New York, 1945.

[4] Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organization.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1939.

[5] Edward L. Thorndike, *Your City* and *144 Smaller Cities.* New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939 and 1942, respectively.

percentage of sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds who are in school. For each criteria he found wide variation among the communities studied as shown in Figures 11 and 12 (pages 186 and 187). The median city had roughly thirteen radios per 100 population; one city had only one for each 100 persons; twenty, only three; seven cities had nineteen; and six cities, or 1.9 per cent of the total, had twenty-one radios. Even more significant are the variations in infant mortality: in two cities 140 infants out of each thousand born alive died during the first year; in two cities, only 28 died —five times the chance of living!

After summarizing the data on each of the 37 criteria, the author concludes: "Your grandchildren, perhaps your children, can live in a community where typhoid, diphtheria, and tuberculosis are practically unknown, where any new plagues are conquered as fast as they arise, where every child can get all of the education he needs, where every man is fit to practice a profession or skilled trade, where idiots and congenital criminals are as rare as giants and dwarfs, where there are no slums, where the incomes of citizens are large enough and are used wisely enough so that the community can, if need be, rest through a depression every ten years as comfortably as it now rests through a Sunday every seven days, where every family has better creature comforts than any king had two hundred years ago, where art and science and letters are honored. Such a life is no Utopia of fancy. We have seen that some American cities are well along on the road to it. We have only to learn from them, apply the facts of science, make capable and decent people, and enable them to produce goods and services enough to return them adequate incomes. This may seem a formidable 'only' but the way is sure and it need not be slow."

The growing interdependence of communities upon the total national welfare and of the nation upon the world makes it difficult to solve economic and social problems wholly on the community level. But as the first point of interaction of the person beyond the family, and usually the area of the most primary interaction, the community is of supreme importance in the

whole field of human values. As Morgan[6] states: "Should people of serious purpose realize the extent to which the local community is the seed bed of civilization, the source of basic character and culture, as well as the medium for their preservation and transmission, then, within their communities, they might be sowing the seeds and cultivating the growth of a better future."

The modern community stands in sharp contrast to that of even a half century ago. Centrifugal and centripetal forces have operated in opposite directions without plan or design. Whereas such a statement is true in general, change has been uneven. Some communities, due to the homogeneity of their population or some dominant integrating force, have resisted the ebb and flow of the forces that, in other communities, have redrawn both their physical features and their social organization. The immediate effect of war has been still further to enhance these differences. All have given their sons and daughters to the military services and to war production; all have been subject to the essential war controls of government; but the internal structure of the community has for many been relatively unchanged. In sharp contrast has been the mushroom growth of other communities. Such a change in one community is graphically described by Miss Dunn.[7] In December, 1940, Childersburg was a community of 500; in 1942, it was a boom town of 19,000 employees in the Government ordnance plant, their families, and the thousands who had moved in to provide commercial services of all kinds. Quiet homes became rooming houses; trailer camps sprang up. In 1939–40, 13 teachers gave instruction to 470 pupils; in 1942–43, 24 teachers were instructing classes ranging in size from 78 to 96 with an unprecedented turnover of both pupils and teachers. All developments were of a temporary nature through fear of what subsequently did occur—closing of the powder factory.

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[6] Arthur E. Morgan, *The Small Community,* page 11. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1942.

[7] Loula Friend Dunn, "The Powder-mill Town." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* April 1942, Vol. 15, No. 8, pages 460–472.

The extent of social disorganization in such communities involves every aspect of life and all age groups. As Fred K. Hoehler states in his article, "Efforts at Community Organization" in the same issue of the *Journal:* "A way of life which seemed stable, if limited, in the pre-boom days is suddenly disrupted by a thousand factors of social change, some subtle, some blatant. Higher wages in war industries draw workers from the low-paid employment of field and kitchen, and labor is suddenly scarce rather than plentiful. Youngsters are tempted prematurely from the schoolroom. Girls and young women are subjected to a new kind and degree of temptation, both in terms of economic pressure and in terms of the flattery of disproportionate attention from the lonely males of Army camps and the defense industry. New and dubious forms of recreation suddenly appear, and vice and lawlessness baffle the limited experience of existing law enforcement machinery. Newcomers are unaccustomed to the habits of the community and are hard to assimilate; conflicts and antagonisms between the old settlers and the new population inevitably develop. All the social institutions of the community —churches, social agencies, clubs, and public agencies for the maintenance of law and order, safety, health, welfare and morale —are swamped by problems so far beyond the scope of their normal sphere of activity as to leave them bewildered and frantic."

Neither Childersburg nor any of the other war-boom towns can return to pre-war status. Centrifugal forces have so disrupted social organization that such communities cannot look to the past for their social patterns or organization. To a lesser degree, every community faced a problem of readjustment, more serious in the postwar years than, for many, during World War II. The shift in population resulting from reconversion was as great, although not as rapid, as that resulting from the war. Men and women returning from the armed forces and from war employment have had a different experience from those who had remained within the community. New responsibilities were thus thrown upon all of the agencies within the community and especially upon the school.

Changing Community Organization

In every community there is some focus of social organization. For centuries, this focus was provided by the medieval castle or the church, or both. With the development of the industrial system and public education, the school increasingly became the coördinating agency within the community. This shift was still further fostered by the development of denominational divisions in religion and the resulting conflicts—a single community of 3,000 population sometimes having as many as nine churches. Although some steps have recently been taken to lessen the competition among churches, religion is still a divisive rather than an integrating force in many communities.

If the relationship of the school and the community is adequately to be understood, two fundamental facts must be borne in mind: that the school developed, especially in America, to supply services not otherwise provided for within the community; and that it was established through local initiative and was, in a real sense, the community's school. Although teachers were poorly paid, they were public servants. As population increased, new school districts were frequently formed, each a self-governing unit; Pittsburgh, for example, had 51 separate school boards each being virtually autonomous regarding education. So, too, the rural population created its "Independent School District" usually with a three-man board. In spite of a strong move during the last quarter century to establish consolidated schools in rural areas, there are still approximately 125,000 one-room schools in the United States. The Little Red Schoolhouse has become the symbol of American education! The average number of pupils is 17, the older students frequently coming only during the winter term. Teachers' salaries are low, the average in 1939–40 being less than $550 per year; approximately half of the rural teachers have had no more than a high school education, and nine out of ten are women. A typical day's schedule may include as many as 26 to 32 classes, since every subject is taught from primary reading, to the first-grader, to eighth-grade civics. The

writer will never forget his futile efforts to teach the then newly-required subject of home economics with no equipment except a few pans and a round-topped heating stove having a ventilating jacket around it.

Yet with all of its handicaps and shortcomings, the rural school best represents the social integration of school and community. Teachers know, not only their pupils, but much of the life of pupils' families. The immediate neighborhood provides much of the subject matter of the school. The wide range of the age of the children gives a natural setting for the operation of the social processes. In many communities the school is the center, also, of the social life of the neighborhood, although the automobile has decreased this function. The school itself is a we-group in which each individual is a person; it is also an integral part of community life.

The Little Red Schoolhouse has been described in some detail to illustrate the interaction of school and community. It poses the question, also, as to means through which these values can be procured and maintained during the development of the consolidated school, and the ever-larger buildings and administrative units that now characterize our city school systems.

The contrast between the rural and the urban school also illustrates the basic premise that the function of the school is only to meet community needs not otherwise provided for by the community. This contrast is summarized in the Report of the Harvard Committee,[8] from which the following is quoted: "The disadvantage of the country school as compared with the city school is therefore less great than it might appear at first sight. For the latter's ever-widening scope—which now extends to health, athletics, extracurricular activities of all kinds, counseling, placement, and even in some cases to staying open all day and all year as a meeting ground and place of ordinary doings—is in part simply a compensation for the restrictions of

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[8] *General Education in a Free Society,* pages 17–19. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945.

city life. The country school, on the other hand, having to supply no such compensations, has less call to be so elaborate."

These two problems: finding ways to restore the school to the neighborhood and community, yet without losing sight of the larger needs of educating for a society with high mobility; and determining the role of an individual school in the light of other services of the total community including the state and nation, form the basis for the balance of the discussion of this chapter.

Principles of School-Community Relationships

Social interaction is not a one-way process. The choice is not between how the school can serve the community or how the community can control the school. Just as between persons, social interaction is a two-way process; therefore the interrelationship of the school and the community involves a study of the influence of one upon the other. As in personal relations, social interaction varies with the persons and groups, so that no fixed and generalized pattern can be drawn about the latter; yet the process can be understood and directed.

If, then, social interaction is to be mutual, the most basic characteristic of the school and the community must be flexibility. The school should be willing to take on and to drop off functions and services in the light of changing needs and developments within the community, and resist becoming a static institution. Vested interests should have no part in determining its activities. All too often the reverse is true. The village high school frequently continues to teach only the academic subjects, with the possible addition of a commercial course for girls and a shop course for boys. Frequently these courses are added as a berth for students of less ability rather than having been carefully planned in the light of the probable adult needs of the child. At the other extreme are schools which, having established a wide range of activities, continue to perpetuate them even though the need for the school to retain such responsibility no longer

exists. As the American Youth Commission stated:[9] "Education must adjust itself not only to the purposes and ideals but to the non-static conditions of American society as well. The school is not only a social institution but is supplementary to other social institutions in nature and function. . . . When other agencies and institutions begin to make greater contributions to society, the schools should be aware of the change and should adapt themselves to it thereby avoiding wasteful duplication. Services not fully rendered by schools should be provided by other agencies, and vice versa. What the one lacks, the other should furnish, following the needs of the times. It is fair to say that teachers and administrators have not kept themselves informed as to the growth or decline of the educational services of other institutions. An unfortunate provincialism has existed in which educators and teacher-training institutions should become conscious."

The first principle of school-community relationship which the educational sociologist advocates is: *the school should be sufficiently flexible to continually readapt its program in the light of the changing services of other community agencies.*

The role of the school will not be the same in an urban neighborhood, a great city, a residential community, and in a small town; not even among all schools in any one of these types of communities. In an urban community, the school probably must provide many services not otherwise available to children in congested areas.

The school must make up for the inability of some parents to teach children to assume the responsibilities of family living. The school must compete with commercial recreation, from the corner drugstore to the neighborhood café with its liquor and juke box, in providing facilities for the spontaneous expression of free-time interests. Guidance and counseling and a wide range of courses in vocational fields, combined with actual work experience, are necessary, since the students' natural environment gives little or no help in the wise selection of a career.

[9] Harl R. Douglass, *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*, pages 9–11. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1937.

Even within the same city, the program of the school, if based upon needs growing out of the community, will be different in different neighborhoods. Only two illustrations are given, juvenile delinquency and health, but the areas of differentiation are many.

Juvenile delinquency in cities is almost invariably concentrated in specific areas or zones, and other areas have little or no juvenile delinquency. As indicated by Thrasher in his study of gangs, the social disintegration of a neighborhood is conducive to the development of predatory gang life and results in high delinquency rates. Juvenile crime is a group activity; lone-wolf offenders constitute only about one in five of the total. By the use of spot maps, Thrasher, Shaw, Maller, and others have shown that delinquency is highest in the near-central urban neighborhoods, and decreases in the decentralized areas. Not only is the number of delinquencies greater, but as shown by Maller, in Figure 21, the rate is also higher in the interstitial zone. The zone of highest delinquency in proportion to youth population was found to be areas of declining population, physical deterioration, great mobility, and family dependency; in communities characterized by well-ordered family and community life, the delinquency rate is low. The responsibility of the school in a neighborhood of high delinquency rates is very different than that in a low delinquency area. In the former, the school must compete with the more alluring criminal tradition and provide activities that are sufficiently stimulating to have at least a fair chance of holding the interest of the child and guiding his behavior into wholesome channels. In the well-ordered community, there will be little need of supplementary community services. Adaptation to meet these differences cannot be accomplished merely by adding a few extracurricular activities: adaptation must affect the curriculum, teacher-pupil relationships, school organization, and the whole spirit of the school.

That this can be done in the heart of a great city is illustrated by the Benjamin Franklin High School in New York City. The

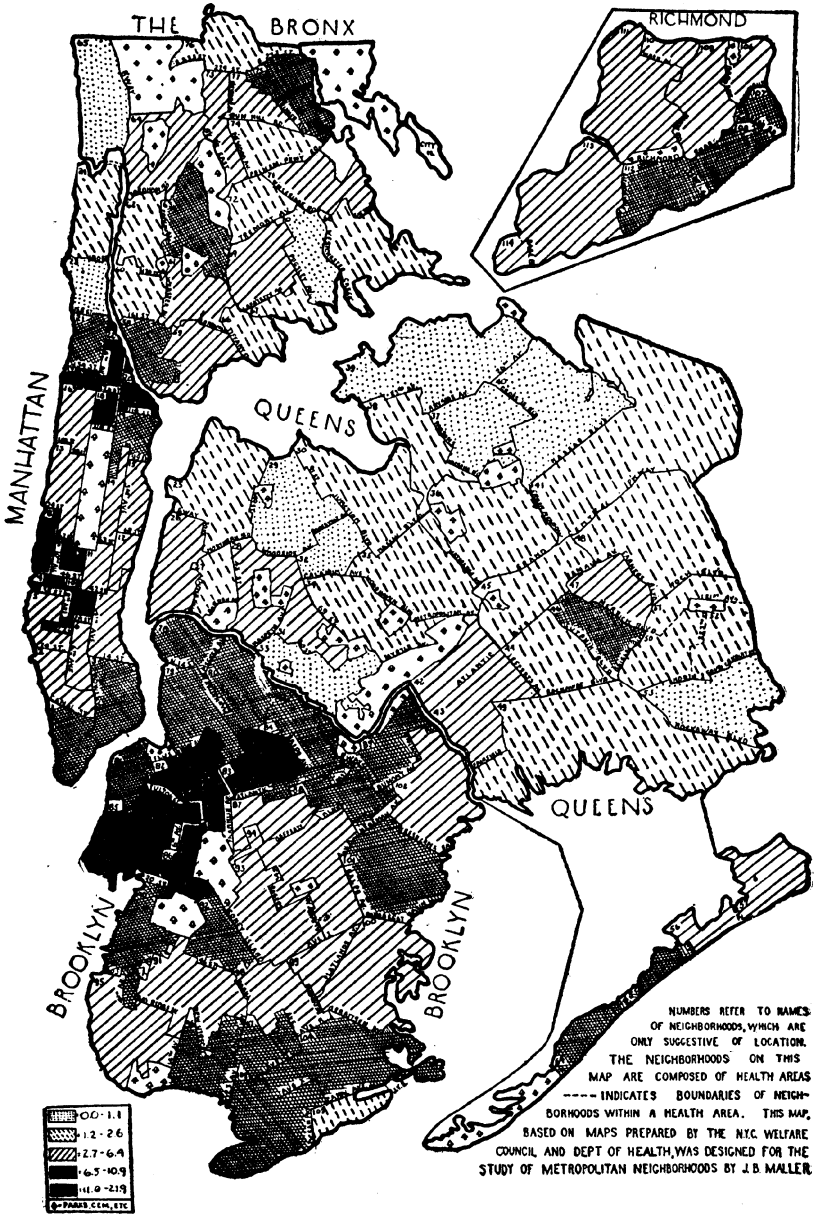


Figure 21. Rate-map of juvenile delinquency per 1000 children of court age, by neighborhoods in New York City. (From an unpublished report by Dr. J. B. Maller.)

problem in its relation to delinquency is described as follows:[10] "The problem of juvenile delinquency is one that baffles all the forces of organized society. The police, the home, the church, and the school seem helpless in meeting the situation. The causes of delinquency are many and varied but one fact seems constantly evident, viz.: that the highest rate of delinquency is characteristic of immigrant communities. This fact obtrudes into every consideration of this problem. It is true, however, that the delinquent is usually the American-born child of foreign-born parents, not the immigrant himself. Delinquency, then, is fundamentally a *second generation* problem. This intensifies the responsibility of the school, the one organization most definitely charged with the duty of molding youth into a better type of citizen. In juvenile delinquency and crime, the economic problem is an extremely important factor but it is not, by far, *the* most important factor. The most important cause is to be found in the weakening of social controls in these communities—controls that were operative in the homelands and in the communities from which the foreign born came. That fact has definitely increased juvenile delinquency and it has drawn into the criminal class more and more of the youth of the country."

In the effort to face these problems, a Community Advisory Council was organized to include representatives of social agencies, civic and religious groups, business and professional organizations, foreign language societies and the foreign language press, and playground and health agencies. The curriculum included language instruction in the "native tongue." Forums and recreation, social and educational activities were organized for children and adults both day and evening. Teachers became acutely conscious of the need of creating an atmosphere of understanding and establishing a program of service to counteract the social disintegration of the community.

Conversely, in an area of low delinquency comprised of middle-

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[10] Leonard Covello, "A High School and Its Immigrant Community." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* February 1936, Vol. 9, No. 6, page 334.

class suburban homes, an extensive program of school activities was rightly criticized by the parent who said, "I wish the school would let me have my children. Both of them are in the school orchestra which rehearses after regular school hours; John is interested in school athletics and is the president of a school club. Mary is in dramatics and a hiking group. Even Saturdays are taken by the school including some social function or school activity practically every week end. I know it is all done in their interest but we miss them; we would like to do many things together as a family that there just isn't time for."

The second illustration of how the school program varies with types of communities is in the field of health education. Contrary to popular conception, the incidence of sickness and physical impairments is greater among children in rural than in urban communities. Within the same city, malnutrition and physical disabilities will vary widely, reflecting the health folkways and mores of the community in terms of food habits, rest, and cleanliness. Data from Selective Service showed a wide range in the percentage of rejections from military service as a result of physical and mental disabilities among the areas served by the local Selective Service Boards. In an article in the October, 1945 issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Dan Dodson, Executive Director of the Mayor's Committee on Unity, summarizes the significant differences in health status of Negroes and whites in New York City. For the white population, the infant mortality in 1942 was 27 per thousand live births; for the Negro population, it was 50 per thousand. Death from tuberculosis was 53.3 per 100,000 population per year in New York City as a whole; in Central Harlem, the rate was 234.3 per 100,000 population. Yet in spite of such data many school systems establish a uniform curriculum and program for health education!

The second principle of school-community relationships is that *the role and function of the school should be determined in the light of the needs of the specific community backgrounds of the child.*

The school must serve many in addition to its childhood population. Over the years, there has developed a conception of the school as reserved exclusively for those of a specific age group and that, with graduation, the school's responsibility for the individual ceases. It has been a slow and difficult task to break down these misconceptions. The secondary school's responsibilities for its graduates are well stated in the report to which reference has been previously made:[11] "One may ask, what does the secondary school do for its graduates? A certain number of these graduates, it is true, are given a certificate which admits them to some of the institutions of higher education. Other graduates have diplomas that help them over one of the hurdles set up by some industries through their requirement that all employees must be secondary school graduates. By and large, however, the school bids its graduates an emphatic farewell. The graduate of a secondary school is rare who ever comes back to secure advice or help of any kind. . . . Interviews with hundreds of secondary school graduates who have told their stories to investigators during recent years show that these graduates, and the public in general, do not expect schools to do anything about young people beyond the date when they are honorably dismissed. If there are no recognized obligations of the schools for graduates, it is even more true that pupils who drop out without graduation are promptly and completely forgotten.

"It has been pointed out in a number of recent discussions of the secondary schools that they ought to take the same interest in their products that a conscientious industrial establishment takes in its output. The schools ought to be prepared to describe in perfectly explicit terms what a young person is capable of doing, and ought to stand by him with advice and assistance until he finds a place in the adult world. If this statement is accepted as defining the relation of the schools to their products, the schools become at once factors in the social order of a type

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[11] *What the High Schools Ought to Teach,* page 32. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940.

far more important and influential than they are now, when, for the most part, they merely turn out graduates and abandon them to the hard chances of modern life."

The third principle which educational sociology establishes as fundamental in school-community interaction is that *the school should develop a program of activities and services to extend, refine, and integrate human experience for all age groups and at all levels.*

To achieve the ends implied in each of the above principles requires definite organization. Although an individual teacher or an enthusiastic school principal may do much to relate the school to the community, an effective program requires organized participation by many agencies in the community. The character and composition of the organization will not be the same in any two communities, but some type of community council is necessary.

Payne has well summarized this point of view in an editorial:[12] "With the growing complexity and disorganization characteristic of modern life there is developing a new conception of education and its function in current society. The purpose of education as at present conceived by the sociologist is to effect changes in the behavior of individuals and of groups in the community. The accomplishment of this task in turn depends upon the control of the situation affecting the behavior of those involved during the total life process. This conception of education implies that a whole situation whatever it might be affects behavior and that all agencies performing a social service of any kind are involved in one way or another in the educational policies and are related to the whole task. Social agencies are concerned primarily with the problems of social welfare; the government is concerned with the administration of civic functions; and the schools are concerned with formal education; but the activities of each impinge upon the other and none can do an effective job without not only

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[12] E. George Payne, *Journal of Educational Sociology,* October 1937, Vol. 11, No. 2, pages 65–66.

understanding the point of view and activities of the other, but coöperating in a common task. In spite of this reality each of the educational and social agencies has in the past, for the most part, worked independently. At many points there has been overlapping of efforts. No solution of the problem of education which involves welfare is possible, therefore, without mutual understanding and effort. There are, moreover, vested interests resulting from the history of the development of schools, community agencies, and government. Each has grown out of the past and out of conditions not comparable to those we face today. Each has served its function in a simpler society, but today we face such problems as youthful delinquency, crime, poverty, and education in the larger sense, which require a new technique and a new approach. Whether the coördination of the various agencies and the common assumption of the task will prove effective is a matter for future historians to determine. It is, however, the deep conviction of the educational sociologist that the only immediate possibility of successful achievement depends upon future developments along the lines of community coordination."

In the small village, with its local school, a few churches, a main street of one or at most a half-dozen blocks in length, tree-shaded homes stretching leisurely along the main highway or sprawled out over a few village squares, and in which the newcomer is regarded as a foreigner, the organization of a council may be informal. The growing village that has laid out "new developments" on which are scattered homes, and which, through its consolidated school, is serving the larger community around it will require more definite organization. The city may outgrow the effective operation of a single organization, and local Neighborhood Councils, coördinated through a Central Council, may be necessary. But regardless of size or type, some means should be established to view the community as a whole, to appraise the role of the school in its interaction with other agencies, and to plan such coördinated services as to be assured that the basic needs of all are adequately met.

In only rare instances, if ever, should such a council be an operating organization. Its function is twofold: to assemble and interpret factual data regarding the community and to assist in stimulating and guiding the activities and services of existing organizations to assure an integrated and coördinated program.

The part to be played by the school in such an organization will depend partly upon the leadership within the school system itself, and partly upon the relative services of other agencies. In some, a member of the school staff may take the initiative and, after talking with others in the community, may call a small group of representative citizens together. In another community, the initiative may be taken by some public-spirited citizen who is not directly connected with the school. In the organization of a council and in carrying forward its functions, the school may in some communities play a leading role; in others, the school may be only one of the coöperating institutions. But whether in the role of leadership or as a coöperating agency, the school—elementary or secondary, vocational or college or university—has a major function to serve: it is the focal point of interaction.

The fourth principle in school-community interaction can then be stated as follows: *effective service within the community for all its citizens can be achieved only through organization in which the school should play a vital, but not necessarily the leading, role.*

World War II tremendously stimulated another development which has vitally affected school-community relationships—the place of the federal government in community life and organization. The isolation of the local community from the far-reaching arm of the federal government has passed for many communities. Some now seek only to return to the "good old days" of local autonomy; others, having drunk deep of the largess of the federal treasury in personnel, services, and facilities, look to Washington for continuation and even further expansion of government programs.

The last principle of school-community interaction which is of deep concern to the educational sociologist can be stated only tentatively, and must be subject to recasting in the light of un-

predictable economic and military needs of the nation. The principle is: *primary responsibility for meeting the needs of its citizens rests with the local community and its own agencies; the role of the federal government should be only that of subsidizing such agencies or stimulating the development of new local agencies when necessary to assure the welfare of the nation's children and adults.*

Community Surveys

The first step in seeking to translate the above basic principles into an effective program of action is some form of community survey. The techniques of sociological research and the cultural pattern of communities were described in earlier chapters. Frequent reference was made to several comprehensive surveys, as those of Middletown; Plainville, U.S.A.; Southern Town; and Yankee City. Such studies have made significant contributions to our understanding of the complex character of social relationships in even small communities, and the careful reading of at least one of these studies will do much to make the teacher aware of the importance of the total community pattern in its interaction with the school.

Few individual communities can conduct such extensive surveys, but it is possible to assemble pertinent facts that can be of inestimable value in the integration of the school into the life of the community. Through observation, controlled interviews, the assembling of data readily available, and in some instances, a carefully worded and simple questionnaire, most of the essential facts can be procured. These include:

1. Population trends and mobility
2. Composition of population in terms of racial and nationality characteristics
3. The economic status of the community and its effect upon the standard of living
4. Type and adequacy of housing and physical facilities for study
5. Ways through which the families earn their living

6. The number, character, and adequacy of service agencies of all types, including the following:
   - Schools
   - Churches
   - Playgrounds
   - Libraries—rental and public
   - Settlement houses and similar social service agencies
   - Motion picture theaters
   - Pool halls, bowling alleys, and other places of commercialized recreation
   - Cafés and night clubs, including road-side places
   - Dance halls
   - Drugstores that are gathering places of youth
7. The organization and functions of local government and the extent to which state and national government serves the local community
8. The frequency, in relation to population, of infant mortality, sickness, juvenile delinquency, and accidents
9. Ways in which leisure time is used
10. The social organization of the community, including formal and informal business, professional, labor, political, fraternal, social, and non-school educational groups of both children and adults
11. Social attitudes as shown by folkways and customs
12. The natural resources of the community and their relation to human and social resources

Not all of the information suggested in the above outline can be procured in each community, nor is it all necessary. The type of information required for effective planning will vary, as will also the methods of procuring it. Some data can be gotten directly from records locally available in the files of govenmental and other agencies, some will need only careful and planned observation, while other information can be procured only by questionnaire or interview. One of the effective ways of portraying such data is by the use of the social base map, such as that shown in Figure 22, of an area in New York City. Through the use of shading and a code, it is possible to show: types of buildings, including homes; location of schools, churches, playgrounds, pool rooms, movie houses, and so on; density and na-

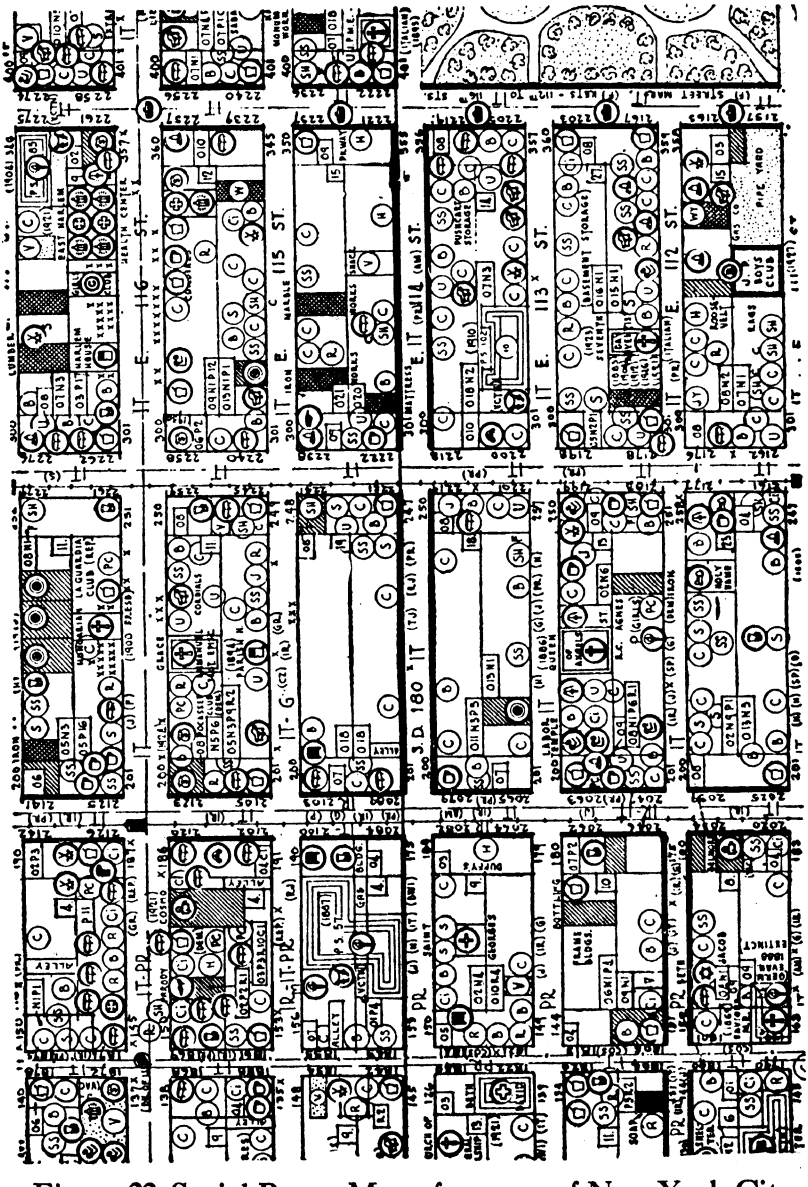


Figure 22. Social Base—Map of an area of New York City. (Reproduced by permission of Fredrick M. Thrasher, Department of Educational Sociology, New York University.)

tionality of population; transportation systems; or other factors of importance in understanding the community. Similar information might be shown by using a series of maps indicating only one or two factors on each map. Such pictorial presentation can be made on maps procured in the office of some local government or real estate agency, or, when not available, can be sketched. Except for densely populated urban areas, the code may be a simple one, easily used and interpreted.

Utilization of Community Data

The next step after collecting and organizing the data from a community survey, whether informally done or through a more comprehensive community or school project, is the interpretation of such information and its translation into an effective community program.

In some communities, the survey may reveal the necessity of the school conducting an extensive program of late afternoon, evening, and even week-end activities for both children and adults. In other communities, a program of after-school activities may not be necessary, and the school's concern is primarily in building appreciation and a sense of values to assist the child in making a wise choice among the available activities and services.

The extent of home-school relationships that are desirable will be shown by such a continuing study of the community. Folsom[18] has emphasized this interrelationship as follows: "Events in education and in the community have brought leaders in these two fields into a more conscious awareness of their relation to each other. In particular, education has come into closer relations with life in the home and family, with the result that a new movement—education for family living—is underway. This includes not only education in the schools to give an understanding of one's present or future family relationships but also those educational experiences in the home itself, or under the

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[18] Joseph K. Folsom, *Youth, Family, and Education*, page 14. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

sponsorship of some agency, that contribute to the same end."

The curriculum of the school will be markedly affected by the results of a study of the community. For example, an understanding of natural resources, local and regional, is necessary for adequate economic and social adjustment. This emphasis upon resource data is described by Ivey:[14] "By using the community as a laboratory for resource study, a major step is taken in placing resource study on a concrete level of understanding, and a second objective—tying academic study to the community, state, and regional social economy—is realized. Community problems and community needs automatically become the data for analysis. Social resources available to meet community needs are identified.

"The remaining step toward tying the academic with the practical in resource education should be that of preparing students to know their communities more intimately and to know the actual utilization of community resources. This would involve two types of activity: (1) coördinating resource study with a system of vocational guidance, and (2) coördinating planned work experience in the community with resource study and vocational guidance.

"In incorporating these activities into an extension of resource education, the school would greatly increase its effectiveness by utilizing community institutions to the utmost. A high level of community-school educational integration should be a logical outcome."

The University of Kentucky, through its Bureau of School Service, has conducted a number of specific studies of the interaction of school and community. One is a study of the extent to which economic and other community factors influence college attendance. As shown in Table XXIII, 49 per cent—practically half—of the high school graduates who, as judged by a composite of six weighted measures, were in the upper one fourth in ability

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[14] John E. Ivey, Jr., *Channeling Research Into Education*, page 21. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1944.

did not attend college. Conversely, the study also shows that 14 per cent of those in the lowest quartile did attend college. The two factors to which such low relationship between ability and college attendance is attributed are economic status and inadequate guidance.

Table XXIII *

COLLEGE ATTENDANCE BY THE UPPER QUARTILE OF 1,754 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES WHEN CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO SEX

Group	Boys		Girls		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
College	104	60.1	120	44.9	224	51.0
Non-college	69	39.9	147	55.1	216	49.0
Total	173	100.0	267	100.0	440	100.0

* H. L. Davis, "The Utilization of Potential College Ability." *Bulletin of the Bureau of School Service,* September 1942. Vol. 15, No. 1, page 37.

The other Kentucky study is of the dietary habits of children. On the basis of data on existing practices, a special program of instruction was developed, and coöperation of other agencies procured. Results are judged on the basis of: (1) the changes which actually occur in the dietary practices of the community and in the health of the people, (2) the time it requires to produce such changes, and (3) the permanence of the change.

Olsen [15] has described the techniques and procedures of school-community interaction by what he terms the "ten bridges" between the school and the community. These are: (1) documentary materials, (2) audio-visual aids, (3) resource visitors, (4) interviews, (5) field trips, (6) surveys, (7) extended field studies, (8) school camping, (9) service projects, and (10) work experiences. Similar concrete data, suggestions, and actual programs in relation to the college and its community are summarized by Gordon W. Blackwell in his little book, *Toward Community Understanding.*

[15] Edward G. Olsen, *School and Community,* Part III. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945.

All too frequently, the elementary school and the college feel that they can well remain aloof from the community. Elementary teachers often live outside of the neighborhood of their school; college students, as shown in the recent study in Figure 23 for New York State, are highly mobile, not only within the

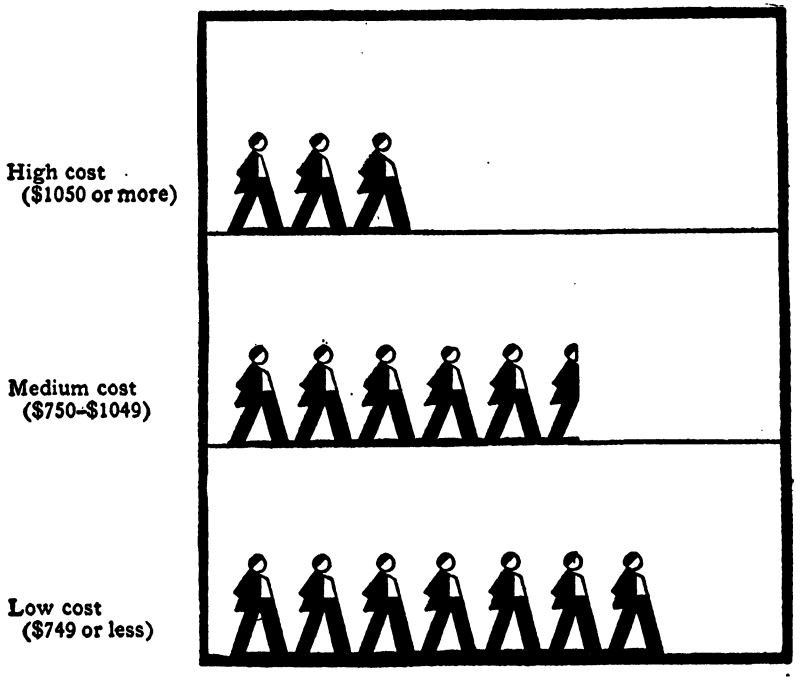


Figure 23. Migration of college students from New York to other states, at different cost levels. (Source: *Scholarships to Meet the Needs of New York Youth for Higher Education,* p. 23. Albany: State Department of Education, 1945.)

state but among states. Yet school-community interaction is inevitable at all levels, and unless adequately recognized and appreciated, the function of the school will revert to traditionalism or go off at tangents. The chief factor in retaining realism in education is knowledge of the community. Such knowledge is as important for the elementary and college teacher as for those

in the secondary school. This is well stated in the following quotation:[16] "The school exists primarily for the benefit of the boys and girls of the community which it serves. The type of pupils, their vocations and interests, their tendencies and prejudices, their abilities, their racial characteristics, their hopes and prospects regarding the future, their customs and habits, the similarities and differences of groups within any community, are different from those of other communities. The school should know the distinctive characteristics and needs of the people and groups of people of the school community, particularly those of the children. But every school community inevitably is interrelated with other communities and is a part of larger communities, particularly the state and nation. The school should therefore adapt its general philosophy and specific purposes to its own community and to the larger communities of which it is a part."

It is impossible even to list the many facets of school-community relationships, for they are constantly becoming more numerous and more vital. World War II speedily broke down many artificial barriers. School buildings were more extensively used for more hours of the day; school children of all ages and the faculty participated in more community activities. The gains of war should be retained and extended lest the former gulfs be reëstablished. Only one field, that of guidance and counseling, has been selected as illustrative of the application of this sociological approach to school-community relationships.

School-Community Relationships in Counseling

Few types of activities require such close relationship between the school and the community as that of guidance. Few likewise provide such a unique opportunity for the free play of the social processes and the development of primary group values. Yet, largely because of its tremendous potentialities, guidance and counseling are fraught with grave difficulties.

Although for purposes of emphasis, guidance is discussed

[16] *Evaluation of Secondary Schools,* page 43. Washington, D. C.: Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 1939.

separately from the rest of the school-community program and services, it is integrally related to them. School subjects, the activities of the school, and the social and economic life of the community are just as significant in the guidance of children and youth as are those activities usually classified as guidance: interviews, instruction, and relating ability and interests to jobs and activities. So, too, the best formal guidance program will fail if it is assumed that a special employee of the school or agency of the community can do the whole job. Unfortunately, this concept of relegating all guidance responsibility to the specialized individual or agency tends to accompany the development of such a service, and increases as the specialized agencies become more effective. The exact reverse should be true, for unless the work of the counselor carries over through the classroom teacher and community agencies, it will, at best, be restricted in the extent and character of its service.

Another artificial division is frequently made between social and personal guidance, and vocational counseling. The two are interrelated, and success in one is largely dependent upon success in the other. There is too great a tendency to separate counseling for job placement, and counseling in relation to personal, social, and educational problems. For the veteran, especially, there is too often a sharp distinction between them, as evidenced by the fact that the federal government is spending hundreds of millions of dollars through the U. S. Employment Service in counseling for jobs, yet little provision is made by this agency for counseling in training for jobs. Educational counseling of veterans is provided through agencies, usually on a college or university campus, established by the Veterans Administration; personal counseling is done by local Selective Service Boards and a number of public and private agencies. A few of the larger communities have established a well-coördinated veterans' guidance program, but in all too many programs there is overlapping, duplication, and, for the veteran, confusion rather than real help.

Although the value of the guidance program will vary with

the needs of the community, guidance is an essential area of school-community relationship in all communities. Its importance in urban communities has long been recognized; that it is equally important in the rural community is pointed out by Works and Lesser:[17] "According to a recent sample survey of the U. S. Office of Education, only a small number of rural high schools are doing organized work in guidance. Beyond any question, the difficulties rural schools face in providing special guidance service are very great. Nearly half of all rural high schools enroll less than a hundred pupils. Most rural schools are too poor to employ a special guidance counselor. Fortunately, it is possible to do excellent work without a special counselor or with one counselor serving a number of schools. Rural high schools, furthermore, have certain advantages in furnishing guidance. Their small size permits teachers to become well acquainted with the individual students. The relative simplicity of the rural social structure makes it easier to secure the background data so essential for understanding the boys and girls they teach. . . . The need for guidance is at least as great in the country as in the city, and the responsibility of the school for furnishing it is undeniable."

To the educational sociologist, guidance takes on a new importance. It is not to be delayed until high school or college, but should begin as soon as the child enters school. While special counselors and a guidance department may be helpful to both teachers and students, the role of such an individual or department should be primarily to assist teachers rather than to interview students. The specialist in guidance, whether coöperatively employed by several rural schools or in a central office in a city system, should perform the following functions:

1. Assemble data pertaining to the community through a continuing community survey as described earlier in this chapter.

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[17] George A. Works and Simon O. Lesser, *Rural America Today*, pages 93–94. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

2. Procure and keep current data on trends in employment both local and national through close coöperation with other community agencies, visitation of small and large industrial plants and establishments, and with the U. S. Employment Service. Even the guidance counselor has too seldom heard the whir of machines that will be the daily accompaniment of the work of many of the students, or knows anything about the attitudes of labor and management toward each other. Few know the real problems of running a retail store, or the human relation problems in the rapidly expanding service occupations.
3. Prepare necessary forms and assist teachers in procuring and interpreting community and family background data for each school child.
4. Assist the teacher in procuring data on the individual ability and interests of the child.
5. Hold frequent individual and group conferences with teachers, which many school and college administrators would do well to attend. There will be some data about the community that all teachers and administrators should know; other data will be important to teachers of a given grade level or of primary interest to vocational teachers; still other data, relating to a specific child or a group situation that has arisen in a classroom, will be of concern only to an individual teacher. *The chief role of the guidance specialist is to be a teacher of teachers.*

This point of view entails a marked change in the usual function of the guidance specialist. Such a person or department is not one concerned primarily with problem cases, as is often true now. There may be instances when referral to the guidance specialist is desirable, but to the degree that guidance concerns itself with such cases to that degree will it be less effective in its continuing constructive role. The guidance bureau is not primarily for testing, though in some schools this is what it has become. The multiplicity of intelligence, aptitude, attitude, and personal inventory tests has intrigued the specialist, has become his technical jargon, and has given him a distinctive vocabulary. Such tests are of value in understanding individual students and in providing a basis for helping the student see the wisdom of

the counselor's decision, but few, if any, tests should be given indiscriminately to every child. The alert classroom teacher, if helped by the guidance specialist in knowing what to look for and how to procure the information, can frequently procure the desirable data informally and data thus procured will be more complete than any test results can provide.

Making "testing" and "guidance" synonomous is especially undesirable in relation to veterans of World War II. Although opportunities were not equally available to all in service, the armed forces made an earnest effort to provide opportunity for group discussion of personal, social, and vocational problems. A series of nearly fifty discussion pamphlets was prepared and widely distributed; motion pictures were developed and shown to assist service personnel in postwar adjustment. During the demobilization period, a brief interview concerning postwar plans was held with each dischargee.

The armed forces sought also to provide educational agencies and employers with personal data regarding each individual. A special form (Form 47 USAFI) was prepared through the cooperation of the United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI) and civilian educational agencies. This form, which provides data on the individual's previous civilian education and his complete military record while in service, was sent directly to the school or college for evaluation for credit. The Institute, through the use of special tests developed by USAFI (available both to military personnel while in service and to the institutions for use with veterans) and through the use of a *Guide to the Evaluation of Educational Experience in the Armed Forces,* prepared by the American Council on Education, could thus determine what college credit should be given. The data made it possible to advise service personnel regarding courses which might be taken while still in the armed forces. Both the Army and the Navy prepared and are using extensive discharge forms (Army 100 and Navy Navpers 553). Data are included regarding the military record of the individual, including specialist school

records, and descriptions of specialist ratings held while in the armed forces, with their equivalents in civilian employment. To assist military personnel in selecting institutions for training and education, the armed forces and the American Council on Education coöperated in the preparation and distribution of a *Guide to Colleges, Universities, and Professional Schools in the United States.* Copies of college and university catalogues were also made available, especially to men in hospitals, through the Information and Education Division of the Army and the Educational Services Section of the Navy. No comparable national directory of secondary and private and public trade and vocational schools could be made available due to the numbers involved—some 28,000 high schools, 8,500 public vocational schools, and perhaps 100,000 private schools of all types; but many states prepared directories of the institutions within the state. In the light of all that was attempted and done by the armed forces, the civilian guidance services should be supplementary, and should avoid duplication.

The danger of confusing "testing" with "guidance" lies in the counseling provided through the Veterans Administration and other civilian agencies in their lack of a coördinated program. It lies also in the overemphasis of testing procedures for those who plan to continue their education under the two federal acts—Public Law 16, Seventy-eighth Congress, for the vocational rehabilitation of those with ten per cent or more service-connected disability, and Public Law 346, the so-called "G. I. Bill of Rights," providing up to four years of education for all veterans discharged under conditions other than dishonorable. Those under Public Law 16 are required to go to a counseling center; for those under Public Law 346, this requirement is optional. The Veterans Administration has provided such centers either through their own offices or on college and university campuses. The institutions are paid a fixed amount per veteran, a battery of tests is given, and interviews are held. Such line-production methods may be of some assistance, but counseling must be based,

not only upon more comprehensive data than any tests can provide, but also upon the establishment of a rapport not possible in a few hours.

The following excerpt of a statement, "How to Move a College Off Its Hill," prepared by Morse A. Cartwright for the Committee on Postwar Guidance of Veterans and Civilians of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools so effectively states the problem that it is quoted at some length:[18]

"'I don't believe it. You academic people, sitting in your colleges and universities, talk largely about your desire to ease this process of postwar adjustment, but you don't do anything about it. You just stay safely on your hill and you don't even know what is going on in your own college community, much less in the cities, towns, and villages that surround you. You don't even make adequate provisions for the men and women coming back to your colleges. And the public school people, located right where the people live, aren't much better. I'm discouraged at the outlook.'

"It was Sam Haskell, business man and civic leader of Riverton, who spoke. An alumnus of Riverton College, he voiced his complaint to the president and dean of his alma mater. The problem of re-absorbing into the life of the nation—social, economic, and cultural—some eleven million service men and women plus perhaps twice that number of displaced war industry workers had caught his imagination. And he was worried about it not only as a good American but as one to whom the people of Riverton turned for help in their emergencies.

"Already veterans were coming back to Riverton and nobody seemed to be doing much about it. Perhaps it wasn't necessary, for jobs were plentiful and adjustment so far had been easy. Of course, there was that chap from the Marines who had never quite settled down after his discharge—too much Guadalcanal for an old fellow of 34, they said at the lumber yard that employed him.

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[18] *Higher Education and National Defense.* Bulletin No. 86, July 7, 1945. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education.

And those wild youngsters at the factory weren't doing particularly good work and the police records gave clear indication of the disturbing part they played in the community. And then, too, these formed only the first trickle of veterans and war-workers, as Haskell well knew. Jobs—local jobs, at least—were bound to be much less plentiful later on. And then, what? Social relief and its attendant ills would soon be necessary. If the War Department did cancel its Riverton contracts and if only half of those employed were dumped on the labor market, Riverton would be in trouble.

"No federal or even state agency could solve such problems in numbers; surely it wouldn't be safe to count on the War and Navy Departments, on the United States Employment Service, on the Veterans Administration for more than supplemental help. The numbers would be too great, for one thing, and besides these Riverton boys deserved to be handled by people who knew them and not by some cold and impersonal agency. His own experience as a personnel manager in industry drove home these points to Sam Haskell as he watched the president and dean. . . .

" 'This larger problem is capable of solution only at the community level—in the places to which the members of this army of the displaced and dislocated will go when this holocaust is over. And that's where you, Sam, and citizens like you must assume the burden, and assume it willingly and joyfully, and with a profound sense of gratitude to those upon whom this war has called for sacrifice. We in the universities and colleges can help you, but you community people must both pay the piper and call the tune. All that is asked of you is that you try to solve the problem honestly, and well, for this veteran group deserves nothing less than the best that can be given them.

" 'And I'd add one word of caution. In anything you undertake, avoid those overly-sentimental persons who are so zealous in their desire 'to do something for the boys' that they do not take time to inform themselves as to the best way of being of service. I should beware, too, of that other group, quite as dangerous, the charlatans and money-changers who, without either training or

knowledge, would counsel and advise veterans for a handsome profit to themselves.'

"'But what move do I make, Dean Adams, to start Riverton community on the road to solving this problem?' asked Haskell.

"Then the Dean outlined to him simply the task of forming, first an informal committee and then a more formal community organization, representative of all important interests—school and educational groups and institutions, social and group work organizations, selective service boards, veterans organizations, churches, labor unions, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, the important industries and business groups of the town, the libraries, professional groups and particularly the doctors, interested citizens, etc. The list was long and impressive.

"'Will you head this group when I bring it together, Mr. President?' Haskel asked.

"'I will join you and, say, Superintendent of Schools James, as the sponsors of the first meeting. After that they can organize themselves,' was the reply. 'But the college will continue to carry its full share of responsibility.'

"'How would I outline the objectives of such a meeting, Dean? I'll have to be pretty clear as to what I'm up to, or they'll suspect some ulterior motive.' Haskell had hold of the idea, and already his mind was at work upon the strategy of the local situation.

"'The objective ought frankly to be stated,' replied Dean Adams, 'as the formation of an Adult Adjustment Center, to be established primarily for the benefit of war veterans of both sexes, in uniform and in mufti, who need advice or assistance in any sort of personal problem growing out of this war. It may well grow into a permanent part of Riverton's system of community service available to all who may come, but first things come first and the war-dislocated, military or civilian, have first call. It should be devised to coöperate with and not to duplicate existing services. It will be bound to serve in part as a referral agency both to and from available official agencies and private agencies and organizations as well. It ought to offer both personal and vocational counseling, psychological testing, economic

and vocational advice and information, assistance in human relationships—the whole gamut of difficulties in which a human being—and especially a veteran—may need help.'"

The emphasis which educational sociology gives to guidance and counseling is thus threefold: (1) the need of continual re-appraisal of the total community and the social backgrounds of the child and adult; (2) the need of breaking down the artificial divisions among personal, social, educational, and vocational guidance, and between the school and the community; and (3) the importance of guidance and counseling as a major factor of primary-group interaction between the teacher and student, in the development of a we-feeling among the members of the school group, and an opportunity for directing the operation of the social processes within the group.

An Appraisal

Much has already been done to translate these principles into practical educational procedures. Some of these developments are described by Mumford:[19] "From the drill school to the organic school; from the child school to the child-adult school; from a desiccated environment to a living open inquiry and co-operative discipline as a normal process of living; that is one series of steps. From the part-time school, confined to a building, to a full-time school taking stock of and taking part in the whole life of the neighborhood, the city, the region; from an education whose truths and values are in good part denied by the actual environment and the social practice of the community, to an education that is integral with the demands and possibilities of life and that shirks no needed effect to make over reality in conformity with purpose and ideal; here is another series of steps that mark the path of modern education."

Some of the above steps have already been taken, even though feebly. Research in education and in community relations has

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[19] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, page 476. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938.

charted the course. It has shown the interdependence of each upon the other and has indicated the major areas of interaction. Changing the behavior of individuals is not enough; education must seek to modify community patterns of behavior through close and constant interaction with the total culture of the community. It must see also the larger horizons of the nation and of the world, for all is but one community in an increasing number of areas of our lives. Through unpredictable developments in the physical world about us, science is discovering a new heaven and building a new earth. With the same foresight and courage shown by scientists, the school and other agencies of education must coöperatively build the human values necessary to cope with the world of tomorrow.

Chapter 15

OTHER ACTIVE AGENCIES OF INTERACTION

It has been pointed out that the school cannot determine its function in the community without reference to other agencies and services. Education has likewise been conceived as the total process through which the behavior of the individual is consciously directed. No general book in educational sociology would be complete, therefore, if attention were not given to the influences outside of the classroom that play an important role in the transmission of our cultural heritage and in directing behavior toward desirable and toward undesirable goals.

The taxi-dance hall and the juke-box café, the pool hall and the soft-drink parlor, although operated for commercial gain and with only nominal direction by society in the form of licensing and minimum restrictions, are educational agencies in the sense that they influence the behavior of their patrons. They do not, however, fall strictly within the purview of educational sociology since they are not consciously directed toward making such behavior changes.

No community can wisely afford to ignore the potential influence of such places on the lives of youth. The Chicago Recreation Survey made in 1935 reported that five times as much was spent on commercial recreation in Chicago as the total outlay for educational purposes. The amount spent in taverns and on gambling was five times the amount spent for public recreation. In terms of capital investment, the amount invested in commercial recreational enterprises about equals that invested in all of the public facilities (libraries, schools, and parks); and Chicago, in this respect, probably differs little in the relative expenditures for these two contrasting types of services. Regulation, although

necessary, is only the first step; it is more important that such amusement agencies be recognized by the total community and especially the school; that young people be given standards for evaluating commercialized recreation; and that the community provide a wholesome environment in which youth may spend their leisure time. The school or college that frowns upon dancing may only be increasing the patronage of a roadside tavern. The church that feels it has no responsibility beyond the development of spiritual values may lose even this opportunity because of youth's natural desire for self-expression in other normal interests. The community that niggardly provides recreational facilities for children and youth, and adults as well, is but adding to its own costs for juvenile delinquency and social maladjustment.

How Leisure Time Is Spent

Before turning to an analysis of the problem with which this chapter will largely deal, it will be well to summarize briefly some of the data on how children and young people spend their leisure time.

One of the most comprehensive studies of leisure-time activities was that made more than a decade ago by the President's Research Committee. Table XXIV summarizes the relative expenditures for different types of recreation. Several significant facts may be noted from the data presented. In terms of governmental expenditure, local communities spend more than three times the combined total of county, state, and federal government. The fact that the largest item of expenditures is for travel bears out the educational sociologist's concern regarding the mobility of the American population and the need for a re-evaluation of the whole issue of responsibility for the recreational interests of children and youth. The second largest item of expenditure is motion pictures, with radios and radio broadcasting accounting for another half billion dollar expenditure per year. The relatively small amount of $75,000,000 spent by youth service and similar organizations indicates a fundamental lack of organized recreation as contrasted with other expenditures.

Although no recent comparable study has been made of total expenditures to show trends, such data as are available indicate that our largest items of expenditure for leisure-time activities continue to be those of a passive character. If the social processes are to be consciously directed, increasing emphasis must be placed upon those types of recreation which provide for their wholesome expression under competent supervision.

Table XXIV *

ESTIMATED ANNUAL COST OF RECREATION
(In thousands of dollars)

	Amount of expenditures	
A. Governmental expenditures:		
1. Municipalities	$ 147,179	
2. Counties	8,600	
3. States	28,331	
4. Federal	9,300	
Total		$ 193,410
B. Travel and Mobility:		
1. Vacation travel in U. S.	3,975,000	
2. Vacation travel abroad	790,721	
3. Pleasure use of cars, boats, etc.	1,666,430	
Total		6,492,151
C. Commercial amusements:		
1. Moving pictures	1,500,000	
2. Other admissions	166,000	
3. Cabarets and night clubs	23,725	
4. Radios and radio broadcasting	525,000	
Total		2,214,725
D. Leisure-time associations:		
1. Social and athletic clubs	125,000	
2. Luncheon clubs	7,500	

* Adapted from *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, page 949. Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933.

Table XXIV (continued)

ESTIMATED ANNUAL COST OF RECREATION
(In thousands of dollars)

	Amount of expenditures	
3. Lodges	$ 175,000	
4. Youth service and similar organizations	75,000	
Total		$ 382,500
E. Games, sports, outdoor life, etc.:		
1. Toys, games, playground equipment	113,800	
2. Pool, billiards, bowling equipment	12,000	
3. Playing cards	20,000	
4. Sporting and athletic goods	500,000	
5. Hunting and fishing licenses	12,000	
6. College football	21,500	
7. Resort hotels	75,000	
8. Commercial and other camps	47,000	
9. Fireworks	6,771	
10. Phonographs and accessories	75,000	
Total		883,071
Total annual cost of recreation		$10,105,857

Another study, made in 1935, was that by the American Youth Commission of how young people, 16 to 24 years of age, spend their leisure time. The data are based on a sampling study of more than 13,000 youth in Maryland. Although, as pointed out in the study, the numbers included are but a fraction of the total of 20,000,000 youth of this age group, they represent a typical cross-section of rural and urban population. Table XXV gives the percentage of male and female youth who report the "three kinds of leisure-time activities in which most time was spent last year."

The third study which can be included in this brief summary is that contained in a report, *The Youth of New York City,* prepared by the Welfare Council and published by The Macmillan Company in 1940, Table XXVI. The survey was limited

Table XXV *

PRINCIPAL LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES OF YOUTH ACCORDING TO SEX

	Male Youth		Female Youth	
Rank	Activity	Percentage	Rank	Percentage
1	Individual sports	21.6	5	11.1
2	Reading	16.7	1	35.0
3	Team games	15.7	8	1.1
4	Loafing **	13.1	6	5.4
5	Dating, dancing	10.9	2	13.7
6	Movies	9.4	4	12.0
7	Hobbies	5.5	3	13.4
8	Listening to radio	1.8	7	2.2
9	Quiet games	1.5	9	0.8
10	Total other activities	3.8	10	5.3
	Total	100.0		100.0
	Number of Youth	6,872		6,635

* Adapted from Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, page 162. Washington, D. C: American Council on Education, 1938.
** Includes idling, sitting on front steps.

to the same age group as the Maryland study—young people 16 to 24 years of age—but gives the percentage of the total number who indicated that they had engaged in each specified recreational activity during the week preceding the interview.

Table XXVI *

PERCENTAGES OF YOUNG PERSONS, 18 TO 24, WHO ENGAGED IN SPECIFIC RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES, ACCORDING TO SEX

Recreational Activity Engaged in During Preceding Week	Per Cent	
	Males	Females
Athletics and out-of-door activities:		
Athletics	46.8	8.3
Other activities	73.6	63.8
Cultural activities:		
Acting (amateur)	1.0	0.9

* Adapted from *New York City's Million Young People*, pages 149–152. New York: Welfare Council, 1945.

Table XXVI (continued)

PERCENTAGES OF YOUNG PERSONS, 18 TO 24, WHO ENGAGED IN SPECIFIC RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES, ACCORDING TO SEX

Recreational Activity Engaged in During Preceding Week	Per Cent	
	Males	Females
Drawing, modeling, painting	5.4	3.6
Singing, playing (solo)	9.8	14.0
Singing, playing (group)	2.5	2.1
Writing (stories, etc.)	1.7	1.7
Concerts (attendance)	3.7	4.5
Debating, group discussion	1.4	0.8
Lectures (attendance)	3.0	2.2
Reading	98.1	97.8
Civic, political, philanthropic	1.8	0.4
Collections (stamps, etc.)	3.2	1.4
Museums (art, etc., attendance)	3.7	3.4
Nature study	0.7	0.8
Manual arts and crafts	24.4	54.9
Social recreations and pastimes:		
Automobile riding	15.9	13.6
Card games	25.2	17.9
Church social activities (not otherwise specified)	3.3	3.4
Clubs (not political or civic)	10.4	6.4
Dancing (social)	14.8	19.3
Movies (including theater)	80.2	78.1
Parties, socials	14.7	15.2
Picnics, outings	1.1	1.2
Pool	6.2	0.3
Puzzles, table games	8.0	7.5
Radio (listening)	85.7	83.5
Shopping	7.6	37.2
Trips	4.5	4.0
Visiting, entertaining	67.9	79.1
Miscellaneous:		
Letter writing	10.1	19.1
Pets (care of)	9.5	9.7
"Walking or hanging around"	21.1	6.4
"Nothing special"	44.7	38.4
Other	7.1	4.9

A comparison of these three tables reveals a number of facts of concern to the educational sociologist. The high proportion

of young people who spend their leisure in loafing (13.1 per cent of male youth and 5.4 per cent of female youth in Maryland, the totals for New York youth being 21.1 per cent and 6.4 per cent, respectively) presents a serious challenge to every community in the nation. In all three studies, the high proportion of time spent in reading, movies, listening to the radio, and other passive types of recreation raises a serious question as to the desirable balance between such activities and those that involve active participation of youth. Only by such a balance can the operation of the social processes be kept in relative dominance.

Institutional Agencies

Organizations of and for youth are many and varied. One of the most interesting of the former is the Teen-age Canteen which is a war-time successor to the Cellar Club previously described.[1] Canteens represent civilian youth's effort to provide something comparable to the USO and other clubs for service personnel, although the first one was organized in 1939. Supported by nominal dues and often assisted by community-minded adults, the Canteens met during 1942 and 1943, usually in some empty store building. Later, as building shortages made it necessary for many of them to vacate their clubrooms—sometimes just after the members had completed redecorating and furnishing—many groups retained their organization and met for different activities in members' homes. It is estimated that there are now over 3,000 such Canteens, widely scattered throughout the United States, and providing social and recreational facilities for perhaps 1,000,000 civilian youth. Activities range from juke-box dancing and a place to "hang out," to broad-scale programs including radio broadcasts, forums, art classes, shop work, club newspapers, and orchestras. Some efforts have been made to organize the Canteens into a national association, but if such organization on a national basis would curb the spontaneity and

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[1] *Youth Centers—An Appraisal and a Look Ahead.* Washington, D. C.: Federal Security Agency, 1945.

sense of responsibility which brought them into being, it would be detrimental rather than beneficial. To the educational sociologist, such self-initiated organizations are more than "an experiment in democracy": they are the earnest efforts on the part of youth to meet a need not provided adequately for them through other agencies; they are new institutions which reinstate primary group values and the interplay of the social processes.

Another very different type of organization is the Police Athletic League in the Juvenile Aide Bureau of New York City. The League, nominally under the Police Department, is incorporated as a non-profit membership organization governed by a Board of Directors. Police officers do not participate in the recreation program other than in an advisory and coördinating capacity. The personnel of the P.A.L. is under the direct supervision of a civilian staff. Adult membership is open to any person interested in furthering the work of the League; junior membership is open to any boy or girl under 18 years of age who is interested in participating in the activities conducted by the League. In order to develop wholesome competition, the city is divided into 11 regions, and city-wide activities are provided through a weekly radio broadcast and an annual all-star revue in Madison Square Garden.

The program of activities is social and recreational. Tournaments are conducted in baseball, basketball, paddle tennis, ping pong, boxing, marbles and jacks, and other games. Other activities include:

Arts and crafts	Dramatics	Story telling	Motion pictures
Aquatics	Highly organized games	Kindergarten	Music
Boxing	Newspaper	Lectures	Nature study
Club organization	Physical Education	Library	Street games
Dancing	Quiet games	Low organized games	Track and field
			Trips
			Special events

One of the vital forces in the life of the individual and the community is religion. We can here be concerned only with the community aspects of its services; it has been impossible, also, to enter into the highly controversial yet extremely significant field

of week-day religious education.[2] Old as man, yet adapting constantly to meet new situations, religion has exerted at one and the same time an integrating and a devisive force. It is integrating in that it provides a continuing emphasis upon fundamental values both of man's relation to his God and to his fellowmen; religion is divisive because it clings also to traditional values and attitudes not inherent in religion: it has created gulfs between the older generation and youth. It is divisive, too, in that, as stated by Robert Lynd,[3] membership in religious groups "means to some extent involvement in cleavages in American life, with the Catholic or Jewish child at some disadvantage as compared with the position of the Protestant child. The child is born into this world of cleavages; he had nothing to do with creating these divisive lines. But nevertheless to many, many Jewish children and to some Catholic children, this fact of raw-edged cleavage in American life, running into class and caste discrimination and disparagement, brings strain and confusion in the areas of social association."

If the church as an institution is adequately to translate its high idealism into effective programs of action, it needs join hands with those of other denominations in a total church program of genuine service to the community and the nation. Denominationalism that is a divisive force should not continue in the already complex social structure of the modern typical community. But the church needs also to go further and coöperate with other agencies of the community and gear its services into a total community plan. As far as physical facilities permit, the church may well provide for social and welfare activities, not for its membership alone, but for the community which it serves. The individual church that still seeks to be of service only to a commuting membership of a particular class or caste, and ignores the conditions in its immediate neighborhood, is losing its opportunity of

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[2] Conrad H. Moehlman, *School and Church: The American Way*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945.

[3] *New York City's Million Young People*. Proceedings of Youth Conference, New York: Welfare Council, 1945.

being a dominant influence in directing the behavior patterns of the community.

Few institutions are so resistant to the impact of social change in folkways, mores, and attitudes as is the church. The present generation of youth has been torn by war from its community; youth has been caught in the high mobility of the population, inevitable in war; it had experiences in army camps, on battlefields, and in boom towns. The older generation has not shared these experiences; their values have not been changed as have those of youth. Although fundamental values of life have remained unchanged, the peripheral values and the ways in which they are expressed cannot again be reëstablished as they were prior to World War II. A twofold adjustment is necessary: older members of church groups should not expect young people to be unchanged by impact of war experience, and youth should recognize that their elders cannot wholly forsake the fixed patterns of their lives. Mutual tolerance is not enough. Only complete understanding and the coöperative development of new programs of service can make religion an integrating force within the community, the nation, and the world.

Whereas the above statement refers primarily to the period following World War II, it is equally applicable in the long-range view. Youth of every generation, due to technological advances, have experiences only partially shared by those of the older church groups. Primary group values, made even more vital by spiritual ties, can be developed through close coöperative effort in the achievement of a common end.

In this brief analysis of other agencies of social interaction, only one other institution, the library, can be included. The tables given earlier in this chapter clearly show the amount of time spent in reading. In the New York City study, 98 per cent of the young people included in the survey reported reading as one of the activities in which they engaged during the week preceding the study. Among the Maryland youth, reading ranked first among the young women and second, among the young men.

Three types of libraries can be identified: the lending library

with its rotation of current books loaned at a per diem cost of a few cents; the libraries directly serviced by schools, churches, and other agencies, the services of which are usually limited to the membership of the organization; and public libraries, which lend books without cost to the general public and maintain also reading rooms with reference books and current magazines and newspapers.

In a recent pamphlet, *The Equal Chance—Books Help to Make It,* published by the American Library Association, it was pointed out "that there are 35,000,000 people in the United States who have no public libraries within reach." Of this number, 32,000,000 live in small villages or in the open country, and having only a few books of their own, are deprived of one of the basic means of education. Out of 3,100 counties, only 600 have county-wide library service, offering equal facilities to rural and town people. More than 600 counties—one out of five—are without a single library.

This inequality is further shown by a comparison of states. California has a per capita circulation of books through public libraries of 6.72; Mississippi, only 0.55. The number of volumes varies from New Hampshire with approximately four books per person, to Mississippi with only one book to each nine persons. In the per capita expenditure for public library service, the same variation is evident, with Massachusetts spending over a dollar and Mississippi spending only four cents. Data summarized by the United States Office of Education [4] indicate that if libraries in connection with institutions are added, these inequalities are still further increased. The annual expenditure for books by the colleges and universities of Mississippi was $45,000; for New Hampshire, $69,000; for Massachusetts, $313,000; and for California, $498,000. Such differences indicate state-wide needs, but they also effectively demonstrate an area of service not being equally provided for through community agencies.

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[4] *College and University Library Statistics, 1939–40.* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

The educational sociologist's interest in library service goes further. There is a need on the part of the library to seek continually to extend its educational function. Through story hours, lectures, discussion groups, forums, and many other ways, some of which have been developed by a number of institutions, the library can become, not merely the passive dispenser of books on request, but an active agent in the development of appreciation for, and interest in, good books by the community which it serves.

These four institutional organizations have been selected from many that might have been included because they represent major types of service. The Teen-age Canteen is an institution developed spontaneously by young people themselves; the Police Athletic League is an organization developed by adults to serve youth; the local church is a membership institution that provides a wide range of activities integrated through moral and spiritual values; the library seeks to meet the needs of the community only within a given field of service. All are agencies of social interaction and can play an important role in changing the behavior of individuals.

The extent to which young people availed themselves of the services of such agencies as those described above and in Chapter 10 are shown by the New York City Survey, summarized in Table XXVII.

Table XXVII *

PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG PERSONS, 18 TO 24, WHO USED DIFFERENT KINDS OF RECREATIONAL AGENCIES IN NEW YORK CITY

Type of Agency	Total		School Grade Completed					
			Less than 8th		8th, but less Than 12th		12th or Higher	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
None	59 3	75 4	76 1	89.6	53 6	74 4	51.1	70 5
School	11 5	5 5	4 5	0 9	12 7	5 9	10.9	5 9
Church	2.7	3 5	2 2	2 0	2 9	3 5	2 3	4 4
Public playgrounds	11 6	5 7	7 5	2 9	11 5	5 7	13 1	6 9
Settlements and community houses	4 0	2 3	2 2	0 6	3 9	2.3	4.7	2 7
YMCA, Boy Scouts, and others	2 9	1 6	1 1	0 3	2 6	1 6	4 2	2 1
Private clubs	5 2	3 2	3 1	2 0	4 8	3 2	7 0	4 1
Other kinds	2 8	2 8	3 3	1 7	6.0	2 8	6 5	3 4

* Adapted from *New York City's Million Young People*, pages 153–154. New York: Welfare Council, 1945.

The most significant fact is the high proportion of youth—59 per cent of the males and 75 per cent of the females—who reported that they had not gone to any of the established agencies within the three-months' period preceding the time of the study. It is apparent, also, that such agencies have less interest for those of low educational level, since a higher percentage of both males and females who have an eighth-grade education or less report they have not gone to such centers than those who have completed at least the twelfth grade in school. In the light of the need of a great congested city, the numbers reporting that they had used the services provided by organized agencies is appallingly low. There is also the same consistent trend in the relative use of the agencies in relation to the educational level. Such agencies tend to reach a higher percentage of those of more education than those of less education, yet the latter would, presumably, most need such services.

Community Councils

Interest in the better coördination of community agencies to meet the growing needs of both youth and adults, stemmed from several sources. One source of interest was the growing number of community surveys, such as those previously summarized. Another source of interest was the growing body of data on delinquency based on such regional surveys as those of Harvey W. Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum* and Clifford R. Shaw of Chicago areas, and J. B. Maller of areas in New York City. A third source of interest was the comprehensive survey of the work of a single agency, best illustrated by Frederick M. Thrasher's study of the Boys' Club of New York City. As Thrasher states,[5] "One conclusion of the Boys' Club Study is that no one preventive agency could prevent crime, even in the sense of heading off incipient criminal careers, and that it was necessary to develop some sort of concentration of responsibility for a community program which would coördinate and integrate the crime preventive

[5] Frederick M. Thrasher, "Some Principles Underlying Community Coordination." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* March 1945, Vol. 18, No. 7, page 391.

activities of all agencies involved in dealing with this type of problem." This same emphasis and the need of organizing on a neighborhood basis was given by Harry M. Shulman as a result of his studies in New York State, "organization should be on the basis of a work unit large enough to include the life of a social group or an economic class, and small enough to deal with the forces that are primary in character formation."

In the earlier discussions of community coördination during the 1920's, the emphasis upon juvenile delinquency and its prevention was paramount. Some of the first community councils carried the term "crime prevention" in their names. Gradually, as Thrasher[6] points out, the purpose and procedure of such councils were broadened to include coördination of services for all youth. "The community program must be aimed at meeting the needs of normal young people, varying as they do in race, nationality, descent, religion, mental level, and economic and cultural backgrounds; and, second, it must be so devised that the special needs of the so-called 'vulnerables' and 'pre-delinquents' may also be met, preferably by techniques fully integrated and not necessarily apart from constructive programs planned for the average young people."

Community councils have been established in many cities, small and large. In some communities, the school is the prime agency in the initiation and activities of community councils; in others, councils have been developed largely under the impetus of church groups; in still others, community councils were fostered by private or public welfare agencies. Only two illustrations can be given, one of a suburban community, the other of a rural area.

The Manhasset Youth Council was organized in 1943 to meet the needs of young people in a commuting community of approximately 15,000 population, 17 miles from New York City. In March 1943, a forum of two panels, one of adults, the other of young people, was held to discuss youth's needs. As a result of this and other discussions, a teen-age canteen—The Juke Box—

[6] *Ibid.*, page 388.

was opened in September, and, a month later, the Youth Council was organized. This Council is governed by an Executive Board of young people consisting of elected officers and other officers or representatives of youth organizations. An Adult Committee, composed of representatives of youth-serving agencies, serves in an advisory capacity. In addition, adult organizations have Youth Chairmen, who attend the meetings of the Adult Committee and report back to their organizations.

The purpose and basic procedures of the Council are stated in *Information Bulletin No. 4* of the Manhasset Youth Council and adapted by Thrasher [7] as follows:

> 1. The basic purpose of the Manhasset Youth Council is to promote coöperation among young people for the service of the entire community.
>
> 2. Its fundamental goal is to build morale among young people. The goal of the program is much more than to entertain youth. It is to instruct, to develop character and responsibility, to create enthusiasm for worthwhile activities, and to discourage cynicism and rowdyism. This is recreation in its true sense. A variety of techniques are used for this purpose. Examples are: to connect the local activities wherever possible with state and national organizations in order to give them support and prestige; to give the young people the credit for whatever is accomplished; to give ample publicity to youth projects and to have pictures published whenever possible in order to build up the young people and give them a lift.
>
> 3. The program of the Manhasset Youth Council is for the enjoyment and education of *all* young people residing in the Manhasset school district between the ages of 13 and 18 or 19. Hence the program is: (a) nonsectarian; (b) nonpartisan; (c) nonsectional; (d) includes youths of all racial and national groups. These ideals may be well expressed in the first two planks adopted by the young people of the Manhasseters, the Council's civic group, which are as follows: (a) to work together to make Manhasset a better place in which to live; (b) to work for a unified Manhasset.
>
> 4. The Council is noncompetitive. Its purpose is to support and strengthen the work of all youth-serving organiza-

[7] *Ibid.*, pages 397–399.

tions. For example, it hopes to help recruit more Boy and Girl Scouts and to keep them scouts longer; to support and strengthen the work of the Police Boys' Club; to assist in the further development of the Legion Drum and Bugle Corps; to get more young people into their church groups and not schedule competing events with church young peoples' functions.

5. The program of the Manhasset Youth Council is not a school program, but is basically a spare-time program to meet leisure-time needs of youth: (a) it should seek the advice and help of school officials at all times; (b) leisure-time activities developed by the Youth Council should be based on a foundation of interests and skills developed in school to promote and encourage a definite carry over from school learnings to spare-time activities.

6. One purpose of the Council program is to keep spare-time activities in the home as far as possible. In this way, it attempts to promote family life, to encourage the participation of parents and adult community leaders, and to bring children and young people and adults closer together. Thus it serves as a partial program of parent education and an effort to develop the home and the family in the wholesome control and education of the young.

7. The Council attempts to make the whole community more youth conscious through public discussions of their problems and by presenting their activities through the press, through special publications, and through such activities as those of the Talent and Speaker's Bureaus which enable young people to appear at public functions both as artists and as speakers to explain their activities.

8. The Council through its thoroughly representative Adult Committee affords a medium for mutual discussion of youth problems by adult representatives of all youth-serving groups.

9. The Council supplements existing youth programs with additional recreational and spare-time activities when such programs are desirable.

10. The Council stimulates the support among young people and adults for larger community recreational and cultural activities, such as those sponsored by the Community Recreation Committee in the Hobby Show and in Youth Week.

The second illustration of a youth community council is one in which the initiation came from outside of the community. The American Youth Commission, having assembled data on the needs of youth and on what individual communities were doing,[8] desired to conduct a number of experiments which could be studied while they were in progress. Through the coöperation of federal and state agencies, a number of rural communities in five states were selected. Every effort was made throughout the entire experiment, extending over several years, to enlist and maintain local responsibility and leadership, and to encourage coördination among existing local, state, and national agencies. Two brief quotations, one of procedure and one of the findings, indicate the comprehensive character of the community coördination developed:[9]

"An interesting example of intelligent leadership came from one locality where the school is community-centered and has had a farmers' institute and numerous activities. The superintendent of this school asked the Rural Project coördinator and the county agency executive who provided the office facilities to call. The field worker described the meeting:

" 'He drew on the blackboard a sketch of some of the community activities, including the night school, farmers' institute, the youth groups, and others, and then drew lines from these to one question block which he labeled "How unify?" This was, of course, a situation of which we had almost dreamed. Here was a school superintendent who is highly respected in the community, who is mayor of the village, who recognized the problems of this community, and who was asking for assistance in coördinating these activities so that they might meet the needs of the community. It was interesting to note that he accepted the youth group as one of the going organizations and was anxious to bring

[8] E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Guideposts for Rural Youth*. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940.

[9] Edmund deS. Brunner, *Working with Rural Youth*. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1942. pp. 36 and 101–102.

young people in on all community ventures. This conference was followed by another in our office one week later.'

"A community coördinating council with an adult education and recreation program grew out of these meetings. The program was made the more realistic because it was based on a survey of the community and its interests.

"It is quite clear from the findings that, regardless of the critical attitude youth have toward their elders, understanding adults can do much for rural youth and their organizations and that youth groups can profit from adult sponsorship, preferably on an organized basis. Such sponsorship gives the community more confidence in a youth organization. Wisely handled it can temper the impetuosity young people sometimes show without reducing the highly valuable spontaneity they possess. More important, adults can supply continuity, as no youth group does for the obvious reason that youth soon grow up. Adults are more mindful of those who will soon be young people than are the present youth themselves. They can thus safeguard the permanence of the organization of and for youth in the community. In periods of rapid migration, this is especially important. In the present situation, moreover, social forces and war demands in a sense are lowering the age at which youth begins. Adults and 14- and 15-year-olds recognize this more than those in the conventionally accepted youth age periods.

"Adults are needed, too, at times for some financial support for youth work, especially where programs are recipients of tax funds. Inevitably, also, youth must apply to adults for jobs, and sympathetic, mature people can, as this project has shown, give valuable and welcome guidance. Rural youth listen willingly to those who they feel understand their problems and desires.

"The project has likewise abundantly shown that youth, also, can do much for youth. Once they see the possibilities—more often than not a function of adult leadership—they can organize to care wholly for their own recreational and social needs and for many of their educational aspirations, especially through forums, discussions, and the like. Their very organization can also meas-

urably assist in achieving certain other educational objectives as well as economic goals. It gives adults and their agencies a medium of communication with youth not otherwise available. A rural high school might well hesitate before offering an evening course in any one or two of a wide variety of possible subjects, but if specific courses are requested by organized rural youth groups, it would hesitate not to respond in view of the definite support available.

"Beyond all this, rural youth can serve themselves through organization in ways psychological. Running their own program gives them outlets for maturing abilities not yet recognized nor fully needed by the community. Thus maturity and leadership as well as morale are developed. Through jobs well done, rural young people also receive the appreciation of their fellows, a psychical commodity too little available in the relative isolation of rural life in which acceptable behavior is taken for granted and only negative deviations are noted, to be punished."

These two descriptions show several fundamental elements in common, and equally fundamental contrasts. Among the common elements are organization of community agencies, a planned program of activities touching many interests, and the measurement of results in terms of behavior changes. Fundamental contrasts include the way in which interest in definite organization was initiated, in Manhasset from within the community, in other cases, from outside the community; the extent to which adults participated in guiding the program, little in Manhasset, much in the rural communities; and the age-groups served, only youth in the suburban community, all age groups in the Commission's projects.

Certain basic principles emerge from even this brief discussion:

1. No fixed pattern of the organization of a community council can be established; a council must reflect the local community needs and services; even national organizations must make adaptations to the status of the community.
2. Although any one agency may initiate the idea of community coördination, it will be successful only to the degree

that every agency in the community becomes an active participant in planning and in carrying forward the activities.

3. Youth should be given as deep a sense of responsibility for the work of the Council as is commensurate with their age and experience, but adults should have such authority as necessary to provide leadership and assure the success of its activities.

4. Group work methods should be used as far as practicable and, especially, in arriving at major decisions of policy or procedure.

5. The welfare of the total community should be included, since youth is not a separate group that can be considered independently of the interests of children and adults.

6. The major function of the Community Council should be that of coördinating and guiding the activities of other community organizations; only rarely, if ever, should it become an operating agency and itself conduct activities.

7. Voluntary leadership may be of invaluable assistance, but continuity of activities and services requires a permanent paid staff; a group of small adjacent communities might employ a leader in common.

8. Continuing community surveys are desirable to determine desirable changes in services or new developments.

9. The local unit served by the Council should be a true sociological community, either a neighborhood or an area.

10. The assistance of state and national agencies, both in and out of government, should be sought and utilized to the degree that such help does not lessen the sense of community responsibility.

Larger Units of Organization

Organization on the local level is imperative if the educational, social, and recreational needs of childhood and youth are to be met. But in the growing interaction of communities and their increasing dependence, in terms of economic factors, upon adjacent communities and the larger units of state and nation, the modern community cannot develop its programs and services without this larger frame of reference. Conversely, the most effective organization on the state or federal level will be almost futile without local support and assistance. The areas of inter-

relation among local, state, and federal agencies, and between governmental and nongovernmental organizations and agencies, in determining their respective roles, becomes an important problem for the educational sociologist.

Hundreds of private organizations, both state and national, have developed. Some, such as the Grange and the American Red Cross, provide a wide variety of services; others, such as the American Vocational Association in education and the National Federation of Settlements, Inc. in social work, seek to serve only a specific field. Their programs vary from that of the National Social Work Council which is primarily that of coördination and planning, to those of the YMCA, Boy Scouts, and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, which have local chapters or groups and conduct specific programs in the community. State and national associations have an important function in American life, both urban and rural. Through regular publications and special bulletins, helpful suggestions are given, and larger issues of our national life are interpreted. Through such associations, significant researches are conducted on a larger scale than can be done by any local organization, as is illustrated by the Youth Commission and Teacher Education studies of the American Council on Education; the research in school finance by the National Education Association; and the economic values of education conducted by the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Paralleling this development of private associations, government agencies have also increased in number and expanded their functions and services. State recreation and planning commissions have been established; state agencies have conducted programs and demonstrations in local communities; and an increasing proportion of responsibility for health, education, and recreation is assumed by the state.

As the state has increased in importance in its relation to the community, so, too, has the federal government. The Department of Agriculture, through its Extension Service and 4-H Clubs, has reached into thousands of rural areas; the Department of

Labor and its Children's Bureau have increased the scope of their services; the Department of Commerce, through the Civil Aeronautics Authority and other channels, has directly influenced the curriculum of schools and colleges; the Office of Education has organized some 7,000 Future Farmers of America clubs in 47 states with a membership of more than 230,000 farm boys and girls. These are but a few illustrations of the agencies of the federal government that reached out into local communities.

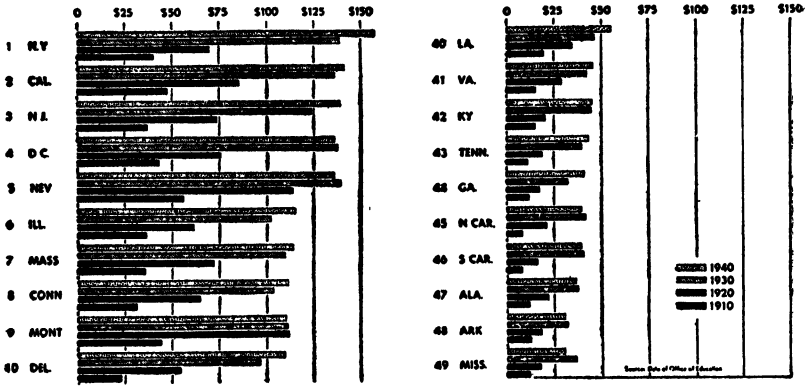


Figure 24. Current expense of public elementary and secondary schools per pupil in average daily attendance in the ten highest and ten lowest states, 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940. (Adapted from *Education, an Investment in People,* p. 13. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Chamber of Commerce, 1944.)

The depression of the 1930's brought three new federal programs into being—the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and the Works Projects Administration. The first was a work program established in 1933 for young men who chose to live in government camps. A total of more than 2,300,000 took advantage of this program during the near decade it was in operation. National Youth Administration (NYA) was established in 1935, and through the nine years of its existence part-time employment was provided for more than 1,750,000 out-of-school youth, both boys and girls, and 1,800,000 participated in a student-work program while still continuing their education.

The Works Projects Administration (WPA) gave employment to thousands of persons in the fields of the arts, the humanities, and the social sciences. Researches were conducted, bibliographies prepared, and new teaching materials developed, including English for foreign-language-speaking and low-literate groups.

Prior to and during World War II, the nation's concern for its youth was shown also by federally subsidized research. In addition to the continuing activities of such regular government agencies as the Department of Agriculture; the Children's Bureau and other divisions of the Department of Labor; and others, three special committees were appointed: the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, in 1929; the Advisory Committee on Education, appointed by President Roosevelt in 1936; and the National Commission on Children in Wartime, in 1942. The first two committees published extensive reports and recommendations; the last issued a series of pamphlets strongly advocating further extension of the services of the federal government to states and local communities.

During World War II, the fields of service of the federal government were tremendously expanded. Provisions for social security and maternal and child care were liberalized; nursery schools were established in war boom-towns for the children of working mothers; health and recreation facilities were constructed for civilians as well as those in the military; health services were made more available. These are but a few of the shifts in responsibility brought about by war. New agencies were established, such as the Office of Community War Services, the Office of Civilian Defense, and the War Manpower Commission.

In an earlier chapter, a brief summary was given of the increasing role of the federal government in education at all levels, and especially in vocational education and in specific types of higher education. The extent both of the regular appropriations under existing laws and of special war appropriations under emergency legislation is shown in Table XXVIII.

In looking to the years following World War II, many believe that the assistance provided during the war should be continued

Table XXVIII *

REGULAR AND EMERGENCY APPROPRIATIONS OF FEDERAL FUNDS FOR EDUCATION, 1943–44

Purpose	*Amount*	
Regular		
Land-grant colleges	$ 5,030,000	
Agricultural experiment stations	7,001,207	
Coöperative agricultural extension service	18,992,430	
Vocational education below college grade	21,708,122	
Vocational rehabilitation	5,131,446	
Total		$57,863,205
Emergency		
College and high school student aid	5,829,379	
Defense training in secondary schools	59,287,856	
Defense training in colleges	12,707,771	
School and preschool facilities in war-work areas	123,358,887	
School lunches	33,834,613	
Total		$235,018,506
Grand total		$292,881,711

* Data from *Federal Government Funds for Education.* Washington, D. C.. U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.

and expanded. Others grant the grave inequalities among states as shown by Table XIV (page 265) and, over a span of forty years, in Figure 24 (page 396). It will be noted that these inequalities were not so marked in 1910, but began to show up more significantly by 1920. A decade later they had become extreme and remained so through 1940.

These data are not convincing to those who fear: (1) that federal aid, especially in education, would curb the sense of responbility of the state and local government and that of the institution and (2) that federal subsidy inevitably brings federal control of education. The latter issue is sharply drawn in relation to private schools and colleges, but it is an issue based principally on judgment, since few facts are available. The Advisory

Committee in its study for the Committee on Education of the House of Representatives [10] found that approximately 70 per cent of college and university presidents favored federal assistance as a war emergency, while about half favored and half opposed such assistance as a permanent policy. In his Inglis Lecture, George F. Zook [11] effectively summarized these issues and concluded:

1. We should be very grateful for the wisdom of the founding fathers and those who came after them in establishing through the United States Constitution those educational liberties and protections for individuals against possible tyrannies and injustices, both of the states and the central government, which we count among our most precious heritages.
2. The welfare of the nation as a whole, as well as that of the states and localities, is directly dependent upon the quality of the education of its citizens. The federal government therefore should take the lead in developing a comprehensive plan of coöperation with the states for the promotion of education.
3. There are great inequalities of educational opportunity among the citizens of the several states, which because of great disparities in income and educational loads cannot, in many instances, provide adequate support of the schools out of their own respective financial resources.
4. It is appropriate and sound policy that a portion of the national income, which is created by the efforts of all the people, should be devoted to the education of its citizens. The passage of the 16th Amendment to the Constitution makes it possible for the federal government to collect taxes on income where it is and to use it for the general welfare, including education, of the people wherever they are.
5. The federal government should supplement the financial resources of the states according to their respective needs

[10] *Some Effects of the War Upon Higher Education.* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.

[11] George F. Zook, *The Role of the Federal Government in Education.* Inglis Lecture, 1945. Cambridge: Harvard University Press (to be published). See also "Implications for Higher Education of the Report on Federal-State Relations in Education." *Higher Education,* October 1, 1945, Vol. 2, No. 3, pages 1–4.

for the support of education. Except for emergency or temporary purposes, federal appropriations to the states should be made for unspecified educational purposes and without any requirements for matching.

6. The amounts of money now available to the states under special acts of the federal government should be increased by at least $500,000,000 per year for the support of education. A limited amount of this money should be available to assist needy and talented youth to attend schools and colleges of their choice. Suitable audits and other reports on the expenditure of these funds should be required and published from time to time.
7. An equal amount of money, $500,000,000, should be provided by the federal government annually for a limited number of years after the war, to assist states and localities in the construction of school and library buildings.
8. The federal government should refrain from exercising any control over education in the states and localities except that which is required to implement the provisions of the United States Constitution, including the equitable distribution of federal funds, for the support of white and Negro schools respectively in those states where separate schools are maintained for the two races.
9. The U. S. Office of Education should be reorganized and expanded to carry on more effectively the compilation of educational statistics, research studies in all phases of the educational program, the dissemination of information to the states and to the people on educational affairs, and the general promotion of education. To these duties should be added the administration of such acts as provide federal monies to the states to be expended in and through schools and colleges for educational purposes.
10. There should be set up in Washington an interdepartmental council on education, which would undertake to correlate the work of the various divisions of government in the field of education. The U. S. Commissioner of Education should be the chairman of this council.

The interrelationship of community, state, and nation in the field of education has developed without pattern or design. Almost without exception, federal funds have been appropriated for specific purposes, in response to demands of vested interest

groups. Yet education, whether procured in public or private schools and colleges, is a national asset and some proportion of the responsibility rests with the federal government to assure at least an equal chance for education for every child and adult.

The educational sociologist emphasizes that education is more than that which goes on within the school. Teachers and school administrators must join with other agencies of the community and, together, seek to give direction to the many non-school agencies of education. In most communities, this can best be done through some form of community organization. But the educational sociologist is concerned, too, with the extension of this community concept to the state and the nation, even though it is a fundamental premise of educational sociology that changes in behavior result largely from primary group associations and the larger the unit, the greater the difficulty of retaining these primary values. The educational sociologist is insistent also, that equal opportunity for wholesome development in a favorable environment be made available to all. Research is needed to resolve these issues, not on the basis of emotionalized judgment, but on the basis of fact. Here, too, new patterns must be developed which are only now beginning to take shape.

Chapter 16

PASSIVE AGENCIES OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

HERETOFORE we have been concerned with institutions and agencies which either interact with persons or which deliberately provide for social interaction among their participants. Thus, although the family or the play group and gang influence the behavior of their individual members, each, in turn, influences the behavior of the group or institution. To a lesser degree, the person influences the patterns of the school or the community, but both have an equally fundamental purpose in providing opportunity for social interaction.

This two-way process does not characterize the relation of the person and the motion picture, the radio, or the press. Although each is responsive to public opinion, the social interaction is wholly that which takes place within the person. There is no opportunity even for group interaction since the observer, the listener, or the reader is an individual. Some exceptions will later be noted in which agencies have used a motion picture, a radio program, or a book as a basis for group interaction, but the response to the material is an individual response. The term "passive" is here used in the strict sociological sense in that social interaction is but a one-way process.

Only during the past fifteen years did the educational sociologist become interested in the motion picture and the radio as instruments for influencing the behavior of people of all ages. Since then, many research studies have been conducted to determine data on the types of motion pictures, radio programs, and books and magazines which the various age groups most enjoy, and their influence upon the behavior of the individual and the community.

The Commercial Motion Picture

Three out of four of the entire population of the United States attend motion-picture theaters every week. Of this attendance, 2.8 per cent are under seven years of age, 11.8 per cent are between 8 and 13 years old, and 22.4 per cent are 14 to 20 years, inclusive. In other words, one in six are under 14 years of age and more than one in three are under 21![1] The author,[2] in a study of the attendance in four large metropolitan motion-picture houses over a period of four consecutive weeks during May and June, found an even higher percentage of child attendance. Although schools were in session at the time the study was made, 18.7 per cent of the 170,878 admissions were children under 12 years of age. Whatever may be the exact figure of the attendance of children and young people, and it will vary with different communities, the motion picture is a vital factor in their education. How important it is is further shown in Table XXIX.

Table XXIX *

FREQUENCY OF MOTION PICTURE ATTENDANCE IN SIX COMMUNITIES

Frequency	Number	Per Cent
Five or more times a week	33	0.7
Four times a week	55	1.1
Three times a week	243	5.0
Twice a week	962	19.9
Once a week	1,825	37.7
Three times a month	488	10.1
Twice a month	254	5.3
Been only a few times	516	10.6
Never been	78	1.6
Not reporting	389	8.0
Total	4,843	100.0

* Adapted from Frank K. Shuttleworth and Mark A. May, *The Social Conduct and Attitudes of Movie Fans,* page 30. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

[1] Henry J. Forman, *Our Movie Made Children,* page 18. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

[2] Francis J. Brown, *Sociology of Childhood,* page 302. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.

A total of 26.7 per cent of the children in this study attended motion pictures twice or more a week; 37.7 per cent attended once a week on the average.

The study of the youth in high school in North Carolina [3] showed almost identical percentages of motion-picture attendance among the 14,000 white students. The 9,000 Negro students attended somewhat less frequently, probably due to their lower economic status.

The importance of the "movie" has been elsewhere described by the author: [4] "Behind the glittering lights, past the decorated interiors, and in the darkened theater proper is the real reason why the throngs enter. The age-old desire of man to see the sublimated story of his experience and emotions, to have portrayed by word of mouth, by vivid action, and by color, the love and fear, joys and sorrows, he has felt but cannot express, has found a medium so convenient, so inexpensive, and so graphic that each week through the agency of the movies, it reaches the vast majority of young and old alike. From naive and simple love to intense passion, or from honesty and sincerity to crime and sophisticated indifference is merely a few steps down a dimly lighted aisle. An unlimited variety of expressions of human life are portrayed, larger than life, in a moving panorama."

That the behavior of children is influenced by the motion picture has been abundantly proved by such studies as those made under the Payne Fund, to which reference has been made above. A frequent comment of teachers and parents is that children do not remember what they see in the movie, or if they do, it is only for a short time. Holaday and Stoddard [5] found that "retention of the specific incidents of motion pictures is high. Children, even very young ones, can retain specific memories of a picture with a high degree of accuracy and completeness.

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[3] Gordon W. Lovejoy, *Paths to Maturity*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1940.

[4] *Ibid.*, page 306.

[5] Perry W. Holaday and George D. Stoddard, *Getting Ideas from the Movies*, page 78. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

The second-third grade-group retained on the average nearly 60 per cent as much as the group of superior adults. This retention of scenes from motion pictures is high over a long period of time. A third of each age group was not tested for three months after each picture, yet the average scores for these groups were 91.6 per cent, 85.3 per cent, 80.8 per cent, and 83.1 per cent as high, respectively, for the second-third grade-group, the fifth-sixth grades, the nine-tenth grade-group, and the adults as they were for equated groups at each age level the day after the picture. On many individual items, the average percentage of correct responses of a younger age group was higher than that of one or more older age groups."

The Character Education Inquiry showed definite relationships between the play activities of children and the patterns of behavior presented on the screen, as was also found by Peterson and Thurstone.[6] A single film markedly shifted children's feelings about the Chinese or about war, to cite two of the attitudes measured in the study. They found also that the effect of motion pictures is cumulative and tends to be permanent. If the child sees two or more films that portray the same type of behavior, the change in attitude toward such behavior increases and continues longer.

Since attitudes are the basis of behavior, it is not surprising that the Payne Fund studies, Paul M. Cressey and Frederick M. Thrasher, *Boys, Movies and City Streets,* and Herbert Blumer and Philip M. Hauser, *Movies, Delinquency and Crime,*[7] found not only a correlation between movie attendance and both delinquency and retardation in school, but also that, in the case histories, delinquents frankly stated that the motion picture had provided the specific behavior patterns which formed the basis of their own conduct.

The studies of the influence of the motion picture upon children

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[6] Ruth C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

[7] The Macmillan Company, 1933.

are summarized by Charters:[8] "Children are born into a world of which they know nothing. They are little individualists who have laboriously to learn how to fit into social groups. They possess impulses, instincts, wishes, desires, which drive them on to seek experience, adventure, and satisfaction. They are avidly interested in everything that seems to them to be able to provide what they want.

"Yet they know so little and are so anxious to learn. They seek information, stimulation and guidance in every direction. They are often confused, frequently maladjusted, and sometimes without confidence. In this situation, the motion picture seems to be a godsend to them. While they are being entertained they are being shown in attractive and authoritative fashion what to do. They are guided in one direction or another as they absorb rightly or wrongly this idea or that one. Sometimes the guidance is good, at other times it is bad. Sometimes it lies in a direction opposed to the teachings of the home or the school; at other times, it re-enforces them. But always the motion picture is potentially a powerfully influential director. Not the only guide which leads them, to be sure; the community, chums and playmates, the home, the school, the church, the newspaper, all are used by these omniverous seekers after the kind of experience they want. But among them, the motion picture possesses potency so substantial that society must not fail to understand and see that it is used beneficially in the guidance of children."

The above statement raises the question of what children see when attending motion-picture theaters. Research studies to answer this question have been in two fields: the motion picture preferences of children and the content of motion pictures. Only three of the many investigations can be cited.

In the Maryland youth study, to which reference was made in the previous chapter, the young people were asked to indicate the type of motion picture preferred. Their replies are summarized

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[8] W. W. Charters, *Motion Pictures and Youth,* page 41. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

in Table XXX. The high percentage of males who prefer Western, mystery, and G-Man thrillers and of females who prefer love stories is to be expected, and bears out the relationship of play and other activities of children and youth to motion-picture-made patterns of behavior. The low percentage of both sexes who preferred news and educational motion pictures is a matter of serious concern to all interested in the behavior of youth. Perhaps an indication of the direction in which lies an answer is the high percentage who preferred historical pictures. These, too, are educational, but their educational aspects are submerged in the total plot.

Such studies of preference reveal significant trends, but it is important also to analyze the content of films. For the most part, such studies have sought to determine the relative frequency of such types of pictures as comedy, mystery, and love, or the number of times different types of behavior were presented, such as illicit love affairs, hold-ups, or killings. Peters [9] approached the prob-

Table XXX *

TYPES OF MOVIE PREFERRED BY YOUTH, ACCORDING TO SEX

Type of Movie	Percentage of Youth in Each Group		
	All	Male	Female
Musical comedy	21.4	19.9	23.1
Historical	21.0	19.4	22.9
Action, western	16.2	23.3	8.2
Love story	13.5	4.8	23.3
Mystery	9.2	10.1	8.2
Gangster, G-men	5.7	9.3	1.6
Comedy of manners	5.1	4.7	5.5
News, education	4.7	5.6	3.6
Other types	3.2	2.9	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of youth	9,058	4,796	4,262

* Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, page 172. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1938.

[9] Charles C. Peters, *Motion Pictures and Standards of Morality*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

lem from the relationship of the folkways and mores of the group to what was shown in the motion picture. Accepting the social concept presented earlier in this book, especially in the citation from Sumner, that standards of conduct are the product of the mores, Peters first established such standards by procuring judgments as to whether persons representing different groups approved or disapproved specified types of behavior. The groups included young miners, factory workers, ministers, and college faculty members. The content of the films was then rated in relation to the approval index of the group. Peters concludes that "motion pictures are bucking hard against present standards in relation to aggressive love making (one of four types of conduct studied). Practice, too, seems to be taking the reins, but against a certain feeling of propriety still persisting. It is clear that the mores (in the sense of approved customs) cannot long lag behind practice; especially when the suggestions of a skillfully constructed drama tend constantly to give sanction to the deviating patterns and thus win approval for them."

The third study, of which only the summary is quoted, was that by Claude Shull of the "Suitability of Motion-Picture-Theater Programs to the Needs of the Child."[10] "Children attend the movies on the average of better than once a week. They go alone or with young companions in two out of three cases. They attend largely over the week-end, particularly on Sunday and Saturday afternoons, only about one in ten patronizing theaters during the week. Programs over the week-end, in spite of the large proportion of children in the audiences, are not selected with a view to child suitability. One picture in five on the average is appropriate for the child, while one in three is definitely objectionable for him.

"This great second school, which in the minds of many educators has a more potent influence on character building than the public-school system, is run on a haphazard basis so far as child

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[10] *Journal of Educational Sociology*, January 1940, Vol. 13, No. 5, pages 274–279.

welfare is concerned, often in competition with the school, the home, and the church."

Such findings clearly bear out the statement that *movies modify the behavior patterns of individuals and influence group standards of conduct.* In modifying behavior patterns, social interaction thus becomes a one-way process; but, as will be shown later, when both the industry and society are viewed in the large, social interaction is reciprocal.

The educational sociologist, using the factual data of these and similar studies, emphasizes other aspects of the problem. The first is the fact that motion pictures best typify an educational process which is almost exclusively on the basis of the social processes of adjustment. Behavior changes take place through the procedures of identification, imitation, and the acceptance of stereotypes. Although identification shifts with maturation from one motion-picture star to another, it is often a highly emotional attachment. Such identification results in imitation of the behavior of the momentary hero or heroine, frequently in most minute detail of dress, swagger, and love-making. Children and youth accept the exaggerated stereotypes of social usage, of a well-dressed woman or a politician, and of attitudes toward war, labor, or racial and national groups.

The social process, "opposition," does not operate in the sense that it is between the participants in the interaction process, but instead it creates opposition between the standards of conduct portrayed on the screen and those of the real world of the child's home and community. To the extent that such opposition expresses itself in attitudes and behavior contrary to the folkways and mores of the group, the motion picture is a disintegrating force in the social structure. Its potency in social control has been abundantly demonstrated during World War II by the armed forces and among the civilian population. It was effectively used in the orientation of inductees in the development of attitudes toward war, in the sale of bonds, and in enlisting public support for rationing and other necessary concomitants of war.

In the larger *milieu* of society, interaction between the motion-

picture industry and society is reciprocal. The mounting concern of parents, educators, and clergy regarding the influence of the motion picture has led to three developments: legal censorship, self-censorship, and the development of standards of selection.

Censorship by law has never been a widely accepted principle in federal legislation. Certain restrictive clauses have been included in relation to deposit with any common carrier for transportation in interstate commerce. Section 245 of the penal law, amended June 5, 1920, Sixty-sixth Congress, makes it unlawful to deposit "any obscene, lewd, or lascivious, or any filthy book, pamphlet, picture, motion picture film, paper, letter, writing, print or other matter of indecent character" under penalty of fine or imprisonment. Authority rests with the Secretary of the Treasury to censor all imported photographic films which are subject to tariff regulations. Several bills have been introduced into the Congress providing for a Federal Motion Picture Commission with censorship and regulative power over motion pictures. But the federal government has rarely exercised the authority already provided through law and has not, to date, enacted general legislation. Censorship of the motion pictures has been left to the state and the municipality, to the industry itself, and to private agencies.

Bills to provide state censorship of motion pictures have been considered by the legislatures in practically every state; however, relatively few states have passed laws requiring that all films be previewed by a Board of Censors. These include Connecticut (actually a revenue act), Florida (only films approved by the National Board of Review can be shown within the state), Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts (referendum to establish Board of Censorship defeated two to one but all programs shown on Sunday must be licensed before approval by the Commission of Public Safety), New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. In most of these states, a definite code of conduct has been established to which all films must conform.

A number of the larger cities in the states in which state censorship does not exist, or is inadequate, have created their own

censorship boards. In most instances, however, local legal control is exercised either through licensing authority or the general supervisory authority of the police.

Legal censorship raises the issue of external *versus* internal control. The states which have censorship provisions include those having the largest population, and this has been an important fact in influencing the production of films that might be barred in such states.

More important than legal censorship, although possibly stimulated by the threat of legislation, are the activities of the industry itself. Upon the invitation of President Roosevelt, a Code of Fair Competition was developed by the industry and implemented by Executive Order on November 27, 1933. Twelve years earlier, the American motion-picture producers issued a notable thirteen-point code summarizing objectionable features which should be excluded. In 1931, the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America ratified "A Code to Maintain Social and Community Values." The code was adopted by the Association of Motion Picture Producers, but intermittent waves of public criticism and research data indicate that producers have given a liberal interpretation to such statements as "The sanctity of the institution of marriage and the home shall be upheld. Pictures shall not imply that low forms of sex relationship are accepted as a common thing."

The third means of control, the development of standards of selection, is illustrated on the national level by the National Board of Review.[11] Organized more than thirty years ago, the Board has retained complete independence of the motion-picture industry. However, this board has acquired legal status in that a number of municipalities and Florida bar films not approved by it. Through the previewing of films, through publications,

[11] For a detailed summary and analysis of its organization and activities, see Wilton A. Barrett, "The National Board of Review of Motion Pictures —How It Works." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, November 1936, Vol. 10, No. 3, pages 177–188, or "The Work of the National Board of Review." *The Annals*, November 1926, Vol. 127, No. 217, pages 175–186.

through the organization of the National Motion Picture Council with Better Film Councils in many communities, and through study clubs, the National Board has been an effective agency in influencing production of better films. Other national organizations have established film review committees. Many local communities have set up voluntary organizations to preview films to be shown locally and to channel evaluation of films through community organizations. In Montclair, New Jersey, for example, previewing is by a special group of the Parent-Teachers Association and the evaluation is distributed through school children.

One of the most important developments in increasing selectivity has been the inclusion of motion-picture appreciation: (1) related to courses in such fields as history, literature, and science, (2) special courses in motion-picture production and appreciation, and (3) extracurricular activities including motion-picture clubs. In most communities, the operators of local motion-picture theaters are willing to coöperate within the limits of block-booking and other restrictions largely beyond their control.

It is thus apparent that on the larger level of group action, community, state, or national, and through legislation and organizations, there is interaction between the industry and society. Each influences the other; it is imperative that dominance in this interaction rest with society lest this educational medium determine community patterns of behavior as it now does for the individual.

Educational Films

Several years before his death, Thomas A. Edison stated that within another ten years motion pictures would supplant the classroom teacher. His prediction would have come true if he had used the phrase "supplement" instead of "supplant." No development in education has been so spectacular or stupendous —to use the industry's own favorite words—as the growth of the motion picture as an educational medium.

The line of demarcation between commercial and educational films is made on the basis of the purpose for which it is shown rather than on the nature of the film. As Thrasher [12] pointed out in 1936: "The possibilities of utilizing theater-shown or entertainment films in social-science teaching have hardly been realized by educators. Many such films have a definite social message or are valuable in explaining social problems to children. Many entertainment films include authoritative incidental materials of value. The motion picture is important to the social-science teacher in elucidating social processes which are difficult to present through the printed or spoken word. The photoplay has an added advantage of being able to evoke appropriate emotional responses which will reinforce attitudes necessary to enlightened and useful citizenship."

The same importance could be ascribed to the use of commercial films in every subject of the school and college. Through the newer development of animated cartoons, films can be effectively used even with small children.

In the early efforts to use motion pictures for educational purposes, it was erroneously assumed that the interest factor had no place. That this was still too frequently a controlling factor in their production just before the outbreak of World War II is shown by the low rating of educational films given by the young people of Maryland. Some beginnings had been made before the war in developing films that retained interest motives, but the armed forces early recognized how important was the film both in the development of attitudes and in accelerating learning. In 1943, the Navy alone spent more on motion-picture production than was spent in 1939 by the three largest motion-picture producers together. The American Council on Education is conducting a study to determine which of the techniques developed by the Armed Forces have value for postwar civilian education. But it can be stated that war developments have

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[12] Frederick M. Thrasher, "The Motion Picture: Its Nature and Scope." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* November 1936, Vol. 10, No. 3, page 139.

advanced the educational use of the motion picture by decades, and have telescoped developments that would otherwise have taken years under the meager funds begrudgingly made available to education for experimental purposes or for new devices.

The introduction of sound, the use of the 16mm film, color photography, projection in a lighted room, the mechanical devices of slow motion, reversing, and rerunning will result in rapid introduction of motion pictures into the classroom. The film-strip, a combination stereopticon and movie, has been used as an aid to teach airplane spotting even to hospitalized military personnel. Its potentialities for bringing all the world into the classroom are almost limitless.

A number of government agencies are now active in the production of motion pictures and film-strips, but the real responsibility for both production and use rests, first, with the general public to increase the funds available for education through the medium of motion pictures; second, with administrators and teachers to adapt curricula, methods, and procedures to utilize films to their maximum adaptability to the school program; and, finally, with children and youth to appreciate that this new medium of the classroom has other uses than that of carrying them in flights of fancy to an unreal world of continuous humor or intense emotions.

One other aspect of the educational use of motion pictures is of comparatively recent growth: still in the experimental stage is motion-picture production by school children or the folks in the local community. An illustration of such production is that of the Denver Public Schools in coöperation with the Committee on Motion Pictures in Education of the American Council on Education.

The senior students in the Denver high schools became interested in the possibility of making a series of films which would portray their own community. It was decided to relate the pictures to the work in the core classes that met for an extended portion of the school day, over more than a year, under the direction of the same group of instructors. The subjects selected

were: food, health, recreation, housing, jobs, and banking, each core class taking one subject. It was not proposed that the finished product be another *The Valley of Decision, The Enchanted Forest,* or a *March of Time,* but rather one in which students would do most of the planning and filming—from the selection of the subjects to be "shot" to the final splicing—one in which the finished film could be used as an integral part of the curriculum, and one that would be most effective in furthering the educational development of the participants.

The young people studied the mechanics of taking the pictures and putting the "shots" together; writing and rewriting the script and putting it together in sequence; the addition of titles and sound; and the final showing. Many conversations were held with community representatives to explain the project and enlist coöperation; community agencies and plants were visited. Through the entire project, there were frequent discussions among the students to procure collective judgment and appraisal.

In evaluating the project, the students believed that it had developed the spirit of coöperation; given an opportunity for initiative and self-expression; changed work and health habits; and created the attitude of assuming more responsibility. All said that the project had given them a basis for the evaluation of motion pictures that they had not had before. Teachers expressed the judgment that the activity of production tended to put the teacher and the pupil on a coöperative basis in which both were exploring new areas; mutual responsibility tended to make them more friendly; and the teachers came to know their pupils more intimately. The community also felt the project had real value to its citizens. As stated in the report:[18] "The people of Denver were concerned that the students understand their problems and that the information the students secured be accurate. Officials of public and private agencies went through their files to check on information and viewed 'rushes' of unfinished films

[18] Floyd E. Brooker and Eugene H. Herrington, *Students Make Motion Pictures,* page 26. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1941.

to assist the students in presenting their story correctly. People interested in government housing and in privately financed housing wished to and did present their cases to the classes studying housing in the community. The local association of bankers, impressed by the film work of the schools and desirous of having students understand better the work of the bank, invited a high school class to make a motion picture on the subject. The same story could be told of the local dairyman's association. . . . Hundreds of citizens from all walks of life went out of their way to assist and to work with the students."

This project illustrates one of the many ways in which educational films may be a means of establishing the school as a we-group, of providing for close coöperation between the school and the community, and of giving direction to the operation of all social processes. Not all schools can carry forward a project of the magnitude of that in Denver, but only few communities are too small to provide a source for some interesting shots, or too poor to provide the minimum amount needed for amateur movie production.

The educational movie, with teachers trained to use movies wisely, is one of the most effective means of developing desirable social attitudes. The Committee on Motion Pictures in Education states the aim of motion pictures in education during the aftermath of World War II as follows:[14]

"The ultimate objective of films produced and used by war agencies is, of course, that of helping to win the war. The corresponding objective of educational films for the postwar period might well be that of helping to win the peace. Just as the Army and Navy films attempt to train men and women to use the weapons of war and to understand war aims, educational films for civilian use should be designed to train boys and girls in the use of the weapons of peace and in the understanding of the conditions under which enduring peace may be secured.

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[14] *Motion Pictures for Postwar Education,* page 6. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1944.

"If education for democratic citizenship is taken as a goal, existing barriers must be removed. In attaining this goal the motion picture is destined to play an even more important role in education for peace than it has already played in war. In preparing motion-picture material for use by schools and colleges during the next ten to twenty years, it is well to begin by meeting the challenges to education that are now commonly recognized.

If these ends are to be achieved, one further development is necessary: film libraries should make educational and industrial films readily available, free of charge or at a very low cost, to every school. Teachers should know of such films and learn how to choose them wisely from catalogue titles. There should also be established a Board, not to censor films, but to evaluate them in terms of their usefulness for different age groups, and in relation to various subject-matter fields. Only as such an investment is made can the motion picture materialize its vast potentialities.

The Radio

In 1941, America celebrated two anniversaries: the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of the printing press and the twentieth anniversary of commercial broadcasting. Radio, colossus of communication, is today one of the most potent forces in our national life. Its music and entertainment, timely forums and political speeches, enter an estimated number of 20,000,000 homes—80 per cent of every rural homestead and city apartment. Radio's importance as an educational medium is forcefully stated by Neville Miller:[15] "Radio is a medium of communication; its social value—its moral value—must be measured not only by what it communicates, but by the number of those who receive its messages. Were sponsors of programs and owners of broadcasting stations content merely to deliver only utterances of the noblest import to a small number of people, radio would stultify itself. The very nature of the instrument,

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[15] "The Broadcaster Speaks." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* February 1941, Vol. 14, No. 6, pages 323, 324.

the very meaning of the word 'broadcast,' compels sponsors and owners of radio programs to seek the great audience. But beyond that, radio's popularity is a social phenomenon, a positive factor in the fight for freedom. Where radio was not 'popular,' it became part of the machinery of dictatorship; where radio is popular, it is on the side of the people. Moreover, people will fight for their entertainment, feeling that it is an instrument of freedom.

"The broadcaster knows what men live by—and tries to satisfy the basic human appetites—not to corrupt them; and, having won the confidence of all men, he offers his miraculous medium to those who are competent to elevate and inspire. The instrument is placed in their hands—not as often, not as freely, as they would wish. As they learn to use it more skillfully they will do what all broadcasters do—enlarge their audience. That is part of the democratic system. At any given moment, it may seem that the appeal to numbers always involves an appeal to the lowest. But in the long run, the level rises; and humanity is more intelligent and more humane now than it was when education was a monopoly of the rich and well-born. We may know less Latin, but we know more about the obligations and opportunities by which free men can live together."

In many respects, the discussion on the motion picture could be almost completely paralleled for the radio. Studies by Eisenberg, Lazersfeld, Gruenberg, the author, and others all indicate that thriller programs rank highest for all children and adolescent groups with little variation between the sexes; the crooner and love drama are given a high rank by teen-age girls; comedy skits take first place among young people and adults; and educational programs rank lowest among all age groups. There are some exceptions, depending on the quality of the programs, but it is estimated that the most popular entertainment programs attract as many as 40,000,000 listeners while the leading educational programs, such as the University of Chicago Roundtable, the People's Forum, and America's Town Meeting of the Air are

heard by some 10,000,000 persons. As Wheatley[16] asks, "Are radio jokes more important to the American people than discussions of issues which deeply concern them?" The Town Meeting of the Air analyzed the composition of its listening audience and found that 45 per cent were of the upper income group, 35 per cent were of the middle income group, and only 10 per cent were of the lower income group—the opposite of the ratio in the general population.

That radio programs influence behavior has also been effectively demonstrated through investigations at Ohio University, at New York University in safety education, the Oakland, California public schools, by parent groups in Philadelphia and Chicago, and many more. There is the same identification of the listener with a radio crooner, such as Frank Sinatra and his bobby-sox fans; with a dashing hero who always arrives in the nick of time, illustrated by the Lone Ranger and the organization of Lone Ranger Clubs in many communities; and with a news commentator who becomes the authority in the family discussions of events of the day.

There are two fundamental differences, from the viewpoint of the educational sociologist, between the radio and the motion picture. Radio programs make a much more deliberate effort to influence behavior than do motion-picture programs. Many attempts are made to establish primary group values, such as listener's clubs—varying from wearing a button, to club meetings for joint listening—and the encouragement of "fan contact," varying from calling in a favorite number for recording on a program, to submitting questions and answers for a quiz program, often with the inducement of a monetary reward. The radio combines also the face-to-face values of theater presentation, and the secondary values, frequently procuring a high degree of observer and listener participation. Although radio programs,

[16] Parker Wheatley, "Adult Education by Radio: Too Little? Too Late?" *Journal of Educational Sociology,* May 1941, Vol. 14, No. 9, page 547.

with the exception of public speeches, are primarily for entertainment, the fact that time for all but the "sustaining programs" of commercial stations is sold at prices that make radio one of the nation's largest business enterprises, is a frank recognition of its potentialities in influencing attitudes and behavior relating to specific companies or commodities. Although no such specific evidence is available regarding the extent to which generalized behavior is influenced and attitudes created, two facts have bearing as illustrations: one is the tremendous bidding for time by opposing parties during election campaigns, the other was the frantic rush to the open road and the swamping of long-distance telephone lines when Orson Welles's "Men from Mars" landed in northern New Jersey![17] One evening in 1939, a musical program was suddenly interrupted by a startlingly vivid account of this surprise invasion. The strange ships roared to a landing and their cargoes of supermen, amid the simulated shrieks of their victims, fanned out in rapid conquest. The following morning, after a night of frantic telephone calls from Maine to California and Washington to Florida to relatives living in the area, America awoke to the full realization of the power of radio and its own susceptibility to effective techniques of broadcasting.

A second difference between motion pictures and radio is that the latter is much more responsive to public opinion. Time for all but the sustaining programs is purchased by those who would build goodwill, and even these programs, through influencing the popularity of the station or the chain of stations, increase or decrease the "going-rate" for time. Consequently, no sponsor or broadcasting company can afford to do more than reflect audience desires. A specific illustration is the published protest of the Chairman of the Radio Committee of the Scarsdale, New York, Parent-Teachers Association, "Mothers Protest Bogeyman on the Radio." *Parents Magazine* urged other groups to write to broadcasting stations whenever they were critical of children's

[17] For a complete account, see Hadley Cantril, *The Invasion from Mars, A Study in the Psychology of Panic.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940.

programs. The *Nation* took a fatalistic view of the matter, "Poor and very poor programs will continue to blight the homes of Scarsdale and all America. For children always win. Parents must take what comfort they can in the contemplation of a revenge that is neither sweet nor swift. It is to be found in the probability that the children themselves will someday be parents." But the National Association of Broadcasters took a different view, and shortly thereafter, announced that a new series of children's classics would be presented; and one of the large broadcasting companies reported that a Director of Children's Programs had been appointed to supervise all programs planned for children.

Other illustrations could be given to show the high susceptibility of the radio to public opinion. Although for each listener interaction is a one-way process, for groups or a number of individuals, the relation of radio and its audience becomes, much more than that of the motion picture, an interacting process.

The third difference, which is also one of degree only, is the extent and nature of program control by government and by the industry itself. When radio was still in the earliest experimental stages, the Secretary of Commerce, with authority presumably drawn from federal legislation, especially the Radio Act of 1912, sought to assume responsibility for the regulation of this infant industry. Definite controls were exercised, but in 1926 a Supreme Court decision took away the authority the Secretary had assumed. The following year, in February 1927, the Federal Communications Commission was created by Act of Congress. The Act has been amended several times, and now gives the Commission complete authority to license broadcasting stations, allocate wave length, determine hours for broadcasting of individual stations, prevent monopoly, and do all that "will serve public convenience, interest or safety." Any direct censorship is limited to the clause "no person shall utter any obscene, indecent, or profane language over the radio."

Perhaps the greatest element of control is in the allocation of wave lengths to individual stations for various purposes. World

War II brought a wide expansion in the availability of wave lengths and in the fall of 1944 and summer of 1945, extended hearings were held in the effort to procure more wave lengths in a more accessible range for education programs.[18] The authority granted the Federal Communications Commission is in sharp contrast to the complete absence of any comparable federal control of motion pictures.

The contrast regarding self-censorship in motion pictures and radio is not so definite as regarding control. Following the storm of protests that broke after the release of the Scarsdale group, and on the eve of a public radio hearing in Washington, D. C., the Columbia Broadcasting System announced the adoption of a code embodying much of the same prohibitions as that adopted by the motion-picture industry. The code states that:[19] the exalting, as modern heroes, of gangsters or criminals will not be allowed; disrespect for either parental or other proper authority must not be glorified or encouraged; cruelty, greed, and selfishness must not be presented as worthy motivations; programs that arouse harmful nervous reactions in the child must not be presented; conceit, smugness, or an unwarranted sense of superiority over others less fortunate may not be presented as laudable; recklessness and abandon must not be falsely identified with a healthy spirit of adventure; unfair exploitation of others for personal gain must not be made praiseworthy; dishonesty and deceit are not to be made appealing or attractive to the child.

Similar ideals have been expressed by other broadcasting corporations, and the level of entertainment and other types of programs has consistently improved. Today, it is possible, by a turn of the dial at almost any time of day, to find programs of beautiful music, significant speeches or other educational features, or news. Commercial broadcasting is one of the most potent forces in American life in influencing public opinion and resultant behavior. What it will become as an agency of social

[18] See *Report of Allocation*, June, 1945 (Docket No. 6651), Washington, D. C.: Federal Communications Commission.

[19] Adapted from *Christian Science Monitor*, May 14, 1935.

control if television becomes as popular as the present radio is of serious concern to those who are interested in the total forces influencing behavior.

Educational broadcasting has become of rapidly rising importance. Fifteen years ago, Walter Damrosch, at a meeting of the Department of Superintendence, now the American Association of School Administrators, first demonstrated how music appreciation could be taught to school children by radio. Immediately, the same fear arose that followed Edison's remark about motion pictures, and the threat that one "master teacher" would impart a subject to all the children in the nation, or at least within a school system, became real to many teachers. But as educational broadcasting developed, it became clear that here was another agency at the command of the school to supplement, but not to supplant, the classroom teacher. Three types of development can be identified in the field of educational broadcasting: utilizing regular programs as a basis of discussion with school children; tuning-in on special broadcasts, national, regional, or local; and putting on programs by students.

The radio program as a base for discussion has developed slowly and is still not used in many classrooms. One reason is that all subject matter taught in schools does not lend itself equally to the use of current programs, but the more important reason is that many teachers, administrators, and school boards are not alert to its possibilities as a supplement to traditional classroom procedure. During the last decade, and especially during World War II, more organized effort was made to procure wider use of commercial programs in the school. Teachers' manuals have been published, some of a general character, others related to one specific series. If this closer relationship between the school and other media of education is to be further extended, teacher-training institutions and others providing in-service education should be even more effective and direct in showing how such programs can best be utilized.

The second form of the educational use of the radio is that of tuning-in on special programs, not only to those of Universities

of the Air specifically designed for this purpose, but also to commercial programs broadcast during school hours. Some of the national programs have been elaborately planned with accompanying "guides" for teachers, and have been successful in spite of difficulties of scheduling on a nation-wide basis due to time changes and to varying differences of students.

The purpose of broadcasting by educational institutions is, in part, to provide special programs for local schools within the city or the region; it is in part to provide programs for the general public. The first is illustrated by the broadcasts in specific subjects, such as mathematics, conducted by, and for, the Detroit public schools. The second has many illustrations; for example, in ten years, the staff of station WSUI at the University of Iowa increased from five full- and part-time persons to more than fifty. This expansion is similar to that of radio facilities of many other educational institutions. Harshbarger[20] has summarized this significant development as follows: "But universities are not organized to deal with adults in face-to-face situations throughout a wide geographic area. Hence, radio magically provides an effective substitute. The best teachers can reach thousands of adults on a given occasion. Or subject matter can be made intensely appealing when cast into dramatic form. Here, briefly, is a medium that enables an institution of higher learning literally to make the coverage area of its broadcasting outlet its campus.

"Cursory examination of the broadcasting schedules of a few universities quickly provides evidence that they are making an honest attempt to provide adults with worthwhile entertainment, information, and stimulation. 'The Music Shop,' 'This Week in Government,' 'Citizenship Forum,' 'Geography in the News,' 'Industries of Our State,' 'Spanish Lessons,' 'The Book Parade,' 'Vocational Guidance,' 'Farm Science Spotlight,' 'Discussion at Eight,' and 'Homemaker's Forum' are a few of the program

[20] H. Clay Harshbarger, "Education Speaks." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* May 1941, Vol. 14, No. 9, page 516.

titles which illustrate the many fields in which colleges and universities are broadcasting primarily to adults."

A significant illustration of a coöperative endeavor is the Rocky Mountain Radio Council. The Council's membership includes thirteen colleges and universities in the area, school systems, and libraries, and agricultural and civic organizations. By coöperative financing and program planning, broadcasts of high merit and covering a wide range of interests have been provided. Some are planned specifically for children of a given grade level, being amplified in many schoolrooms; others are for the entertainment and information of adults.

Progress has been made in the use of the radio as a means of education in the classroom and for adult education, but the competition between commercial and educational broadcasting has highlighted the age-old conflict between education and entertainment, and, to a lesser degree, between the school and a non-school agency with tremendous educational potentialities. In his article, "The Dial Takes the Hindmost," [21] Sherman Dryer takes a critical view: "Educators as a whole do not as yet respect radio as a medium for education; whereas the commercial broadcasters respect it at least as a medium for advertising. And it is an axiom that until one respects his medium he cannot do anything very effective or creative with it. But the point is that many educators do not know in their own minds what constitutes educational broadcasting. In an effort to wipe away the cobwebs, NBC recently ruled that only NBC classroom broadcasts were 'educational'; that non-sponsored other programs—the Round Table, Great Plays, etc.—were 'public-service' programs.

"These new labels have helped a little, but not much. 'Public-service' broadcasting means broadcasting as a service to the public. I am not convinced that *educators* broadcast because *they* want to serve the public. If this clearly were their purpose, they might have more respect for radio as a medium; but, as it is, no altruistic

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[21] *Journal of Educational Sociology*, May 1941, Vol. 14, No. 9, page 527.

motive such as public service very often impels educators to take to the air.

"In my opinion, there are two primary reasons why the microphone is a magnet to the educators. (1) It provides a publicity jimmy wherewith to pry into the homes of the public, the alumni, and the students' parents. (2) It provides a sort of woodshed from which to administer learning—'because it's for your own good, son. . . .'"

The same critical attitude, but with a constructive point of view, is indicated in the following excerpt from the same series of articles edited by Gilbert Seldes.[22] "The fault, I think, rests in part with the educators. We keep barking up the wrong tree. What we have failed to realize is that there exists today a new urgency for the wholesale dissemination of education. 'Money is like muck, not good but it be spread.' So with education. Radio disposes of our inability to spread education and offers us techniques peculiarly well suited to the kind of education that is wanted. We have been slow to appreciate the fact, slow to dispense with our own preconceptions of what education is. We, as educators, suffer from the limitations of our own experience. Our background of education is that of a formal discipline extending over years, deriving from the teacher, or rather a succession of teachers, and from study, and directed toward the realization of a culture remote from that which can as yet be realized for the masses. We are the products of a selective process, aimed at the development of skills of an intellectual order and associated with cultural notions of taste and of discrimination, the refinement and the good manners bred of the arts and of philosophy. We suffer, in fact, from a kind of intellectual inbreeding that tends to remove us both socially and in terms of experience from the hard facts and circumstances of suffering and strain of ordinary people. The fruits of such education stand unassailable in their own right. But having regard to the urgency

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[22] C. A. Siepman, "Can Radio Educate?" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, February 1941, Vol. 14, No. 6, pages 352–356.

of our time and the circumstance and background of the majority of our fellows, they are, for radio, largely irrelevant. . . .

"It is at the heart of the people and not at their heads that popular education should aim. Radio then eschews, and rightly because it cannot emulate them, the techniques and the discipline of formal education. Instead it challenges those who have had such formal education to recognize that similar ends may be achieved by different means. Radio can do two things and two alone. It can make us more aware of the world we live in, in terms of the stark facts of which we should be cognizant, of events as they occur, and of the circumstance of people as it is. Radio can also appeal to the emotions, strengthen and purge the common heritage of values and loyalties which bind us together as a people and make for hope in living. The techniques are there. The public is there. What is still missing is the will, the determination to associate with these techniques the values and the purposes which we have or should have in common. . . .

"'Can Radio Educate?' Radio can educate if the world of radio, of art, and of education get together and organize the machinery of education on a scale commensurate with the range, the power, and the resources of the medium for purposes that can command the respect and admiration of right-thinking people. . . ."

The extent of school use of educational broadcasting is indicated in Table XXXI. It is significant that 73 of the 108 teachers colleges replying to the questionnaire reported that they were now broadcasting on commercially owned stations. A total of 95 reported they would use educational programs provided by their own or other FM stations if such were available. Similar data were presented to the Federal Communications Commission at its hearings by representatives of other types of educational institutions, both privately and publicly controlled. Its use in secondary and elementary schools is illustrated in the report of the Radio Council WBEZ, Chicago Public Schools of August 5, 1944. Five major commercial radio stations, supplemented by the FM stations owned and operated by the Board of Education, carried radio

Table XXXI *

NUMBER OF 108 TEACHERS COLLEGES REPORTING EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING AND RECEPTION

	Number of Colleges			
	Yes	No	No Reply	Doubtful
Broadcasting on commercially owned stations	73	30	5	
Plan to construct or operate an FM station when available	26	45	11	26
Need educational FM broadcasting in area served by college	82	8	8	10
Equipment provided for college classroom listening	35	46	7	...
Plan to increase listening facilities when available	60	13	35	
Will use good educational programs provided by other educational FM stations	95	1	6	6

* Testimony of C. M. Huber before Federal Communications Commission, October 1944.

programs into 5,800 classrooms in Chicago schools during the months of February to June, 1944. A total of 263,561 students heard one or more broadcasts during any average week during this five-months' period.

The possibilities for the future in educational broadcasting are forcefully portrayed by William Boutwell:[28] "The day is not too distant when the United States may have more than a thousand educational FM stations; when a radio receiver is at the elbow of every teacher ready to provide the kind of radio service wanted at the time it is wanted; when teachers and administrators have learned how to use radio; when radio can take learning from the centers in which it is now located to people wherever they may live; and when radio will permit communities to understand

[28] *FM for Education,* page 11. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1944.

their community problems through hundreds of local radio forums. FM radio service can never replace any teacher but it can help all teachers and citizens toward the goal of American education, community-wide education service for community members of all ages and all walks of life."

The third type of education by radio, while not sharply differentiated from the above in end result, is different as to its purpose, namely that of school broadcasting by the students. As with the movie, when the mechanics of production involved special rooms and a vast array of equipment, few schools could undertake anything other than simulated broadcasting. Now, however, with the rapid developments during World War II which have simplified the mechanics of production, schools may rapidly expand their activities in this field. The United States Office of Education conducts an Educational Radio Script Exchange to assist schools in putting on programs. Libraries of recordings should be established or expanded, and made readily available. Planning the program, writing the script, and actual production "on the air" provide a real opportunity for coöperation among students, between teacher and pupil, and between the school and its community.

Many devices that are tangent to radio have been developed especially in the field of recording: thin, unbreakable, and inexpensive discs; a sensitized wire that can be played back as often or as long as desired, and yet almost instantaneously can be cleared of all recordings simply by demagnetization; recording machines as small as a portable radio and as easy to operate—these are but a few of the devices that will bring the world of sound and vision into the vast majority of homes and classrooms, and will link school and out-of-school into a continuing educational experience, provided only there is courage and wisdom to use these new instruments of education wisely.

Commercial and educational radio has tremendous potentialities. Through electronic power amplification, a single voice reaches almost instantaneously throughout the world. Through radio, the cultural heritage of music and of thought is brought

into the quiet of the home; the pulsating movement of day-to-day events are passed in review; the provincialism and cultural isolation of the community are broken down. The problem of control becomes of paramount importance if radio's potentialities are to be directed toward the preservation of basic human values.

The Press

America is a nation of avid readers. In 1940, approximately $950,000,000 was spent by the American people for reading material. Sixty-five per cent of this amount was spent for books. Approximately 5,000 magazines had a total circulation of 140,000,000 copies. About 1,700 newspapers were read daily by more than 40,000,000 persons. Regular libraries loaned more than 400,000,000 books, not counting books circulated by the lending libraries in almost every drugstore. There has been a close relationship between the increase in reading material and the growing numbers enrolled in school.

More important to the educational sociologist than these figures are the answers to two questions: what is the type of reading matter? and to what extent does such reading influence behavior?

The first question involves a subjective judgment, since to answer it raises also another question: by what or by whose standard is reading matter to be judged? If it is to be judged by the folkways and mores of the group, as was done by Peters for motion pictures, then the best books would include only the Bible in a predominantly religious group; "The Hundred Books" used as a core curriculum at St. Johns University or the University of Chicago; the Literary Guild or Book-of-the Month Club selections; or the most popular books as judged by sales and loan. There is no absolute standard of value, and the only legal control is that which applies also to films: materials which are obscene, indecent, or immoral shall not be distributed through the mails.

The study made by Warner and Lund of Yankee City is an illustration of the extent to which the culture of the group determines the reading—books, magazines, and newspapers—of its members. Books were classified under eleven headings which the authors interpret as follows:

Social techniques—how to live according to proper standards; the modern equivalent of oral teaching of tribal ritual.
Science and knowledge
Biographical—equivalent of culture hero stories in primitive society

Children's books and fantasy Farce and humor Adventure Mystery and detective	give readers release from the social controls around them
Man's struggle against fate Courtship and the family Class and mobility "God and Country"	portray the conflict of the individual with his society; tend to tighten rather than release social control

The authors summarize their findings by relating the types of books to the social status of each of the six classes in the social organization of the community:[24] "The reading habits of the people were highly influenced by class values; they read certain books, magazines, and newspapers in varying percentages according to their place in the class hierarchy. The members of the several classes also liked certain books of certain types and showed small interest in others. The books most read in the community were those in which the theme of courtship and the family was predominant. Detective and adventure stories were second and third in popularity. The theme of man's struggle against fate was a comparatively popular theme in the books read; such books ranked fourth in popularity. Stories which played up class and nobility were among the more preferred books and ranked fifth. All other books were below these in readers' interests. Books in which scientific subjects dominated were least popular of all. Preference of the ethnic groups and of the Yankees were very similar.

"The members of the upper-upper class evinced more than an average interest in books which were concerned with science and with bibliography and history; they were also interested more than the average in detective stories, farce and humor, and books in which the predominant interest was 'God and country'—patriot-

[24] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, page 379. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944.

ism and welfare. The lower-upper class had an above-average reading preference for books in which the dominant interest was man's struggle against fate. They were also interested in books where warfare was the predominant theme, and in books of biography and history. The upper-middle class readers had an above average interest in books on social techniques, courtship and the family, and warfare. The lower-middle class showed a strong preference for books on courtship and the family. The upper-lower class were interested in children's books and those of farce and humor, while the lower-lower had an interest above the average in children's books, adventure and detective stories, farce and humor, and man's struggle against fate."

Another study which listed in rank order the five most frequently read magazines of 2,500 children in several communities is summarized in Table XXXII.

Table XXXII *

RANKING OF MAGAZINES READ BY 2,500 BOYS AND GIRLS

	Eighth Grade		Tenth Grade		Twelfth Grade	
Magazine	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Popular Mechanics Magazine	1		5			
Boys' Life	2					
Western stories	3	5	1			
Detective magazines	4		2		2	
American Boy	5					
Movie magazines		1		1		1
American Girl		3				
True Story		4		2		2
The Saturday Evening Post			3		1	
Liberty			4		3	
The American Magazine					4	
Reader's Digest		2		3	5	
Ladies Home Journal				4		3
True Confessions				5		4
Good Housekeeping						5

* Francis J. Brown, *Sociology of Childhood*, page 344. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.

Perhaps the most important data of the table are the high rank given detective stories by the boys in all grades, and the fact that movie magazines consistently hold first place among the girls. The inclusion of the *Saturday Evening Post* and the *Reader's Digest* probably reflects their large home circulation. The school appears to have no significant influence on the magazine reading of children.

A third study is that of a more specialized field—comic strips and comic books. Although the first comic strip was not published until 1911 and the first comic magazine, until 1933, their development has been astounding. The importance and growth of comics in popularity are vividly described by Harvey Zorbaugh.[25]

"When, in the late summer, the Office of War Information, on behalf of the Children's Bureau and the Office of Education, launched its "National Go-to-School Drive," it turned to the press, the radio, motion pictures—and the comics! From the inside cover of some 150 comic magazines, of which 20,000,000 copies are sold each month, General Arnold and Administrator McNutt urged upon American youth its patriotic duty to return to school. The comics—the daily and Sunday strips, and their offspring, the comic books—have emerged as an American institution, a major medium of communication and influence.

"Statistics on the reading of comics, particularly on the reading of comic books, are staggering. . . . Comic strips—daily and Sunday—are read by well over half the nation's adults. Four out of five who buy newspapers read the comic page. . . . The daily strips are read by two thirds of all children over six. Sunday mornings forty million children pore over the colored comic supplements. The comic strips—daily and Sunday—have a public of between sixty and seventy million.

"The statistics on the reading of comic books are astounding. . . . Of children 6 to 11, 95 per cent of boys and 91 per cent of

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[25] "The Comics—There They Stand." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December 1944, Vol 18, No. 8, pages 196–206.

girls read comic books regularly. Of adolescents 12 to 17, 87 per cent of boys and 81 per cent of girls are regular readers. Regular readers among adults number 41 per cent of men and 28 per cent of women between the ages of 18 and 30, 16 per cent of men and 12 per cent of women 31 and over (with another 13 per cent of men and 10 per cent of women occasional readers). . . .

"Reactions to the amazing cultural phenomenon presented by the mushroom growth of the comics vary. The comic magazines, and the more violent adventure strips, have been bitterly assailed. Cooler heads, more objective, point out that the comics deal with age-old themes familiar in the folklore, mythology, fairy tales, puppet shows, and even the nursery rhymes of all peoples. That, like folklore, the comics are an outgrowth of the social unconscious, and the problems of the relationship of the individual to his social world find expression through them. Their hold on their readers, child and adult, reveals that their appeal is deeply rooted in our emotional nature. Like folklore and the fairy tale, they have cathartic meaning. Certain it is that the comics have emerged as a major institution of our American culture. They are here to stay. We are but beginning to feel their social impact. Their potentialities as a social force are tremendous. As with radio, it behooves us to understand the comics, evaluate them, learn to live with them, use them as a medium of communication."

It is impossible accurately to determine the extent to which the press influences behavior. That it is not the major controlling factor for the adult is indicated by the fact that in the Presidential campaign of 1936, practically every newspaper opposed Roosevelt, yet he won the election by a majority in all but two states! Conversely, many social movements have become of national significance through the consistent campaign of the press. Through control of the news, the press was a powerful agent during World War II in molding public opinion. Books and magazines—even the comics—are a vital factor in determining attitudes, sometimes doing so directly, more often through the slant given to the news or through entertainment as in books and magazines.

The influence of the press in interpreting America to the world is forcefully described in the following statement of Assistant Secretary of State, William Benton:[26] "The American people have deliberately chosen a policy of active participation in world affairs. As a people we are becoming aware of the danger inherent in that policy. We do not propose to forsake the policy, but we must realize that the danger is greater if America is misunderstood abroad. The next few years—perhaps the next few months—are crucial. The new United Nations Organization will be meeting its first tests. America will be trying to revive world trade on a sound basis. The time to build the kind of peace we want is now, and in the years just ahead.

"Yet the plain fact is that as we enter this crucial period America is neither fairly nor fully understood by the peoples of other nations.

"America is a legendary country to most of the world. It has been a land of legend through most of its history. The legend has changed from time to time. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, America was the land of freedom; in the nineteenth century, during the great waves of immigration, it was also the land of opportunity.

"The American legend today is a curious and contradictory mixture. A legend can hardly be otherwise.

"We are known to be immensely strong. Yet Axis propagandists found ready belief for the story that good living had made us so weak and spineless we would not and could not fight.

"We are acclaimed generous and openhanded with billions to spend on lend-lease and rehabilitation—a veritable Uncle Santa Claus. At the same time we are called Uncle Shylock.

"We believe in freedom of speech for all, yet sinister capitalists are said to control the means of communication.

"We stand for free enterprise but our critics abroad stress our great combines and monopolies.

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[26] "The Voice of America." *Journal of Educational Sociology,* December 1945, Vol. 19, No. 4, pages 211–217.

"The Metropolitan Opera House is the goal of all foreign opera stars but we are said to have no music except swing.

"We believe in due process of law, yet the world pictures the gangsters shooting it out on the streets of Chicago.

"Now I am not going to suggest that any role that the Government can play abroad will clarify this picture readily or quickly. Like education, of which it is a part, information is a slow laborious business that works no miracles and produces no millenium of understanding. It can, however, help to correct mistaken ideas. It can make available the facts about our actions and our policies, as they develop out of our customs, our laws, our institutions, and our politics. . . .

"Ultimately, there are only two roads to national security. One is sheer physical power, the other is mutual understanding with the other countries of the world. We now need to follow both roads. But we must hope that we shall need to invest less of our resources in military power, as we invest more of our thought and attention in the task of mutual understanding.

"In an atomic age—understanding, not bombs, is the last, best hope of earth."

As with the motion picture and the radio, the interaction with the press in terms of the individual is a one-way process, but for the larger aspects of the group, interaction is reciprocal. All three are subject to, and agencies for, social control, thus placing the motion picture, radio, and press in a unique position in the social structure. Although subject to law, they can be the means of overthrowing law. Operating within the social processes, they can influence the extent to which society itself is more closely knit, through coöperation, into a primary group or to which, through opposition, it is disintegrated into many competitive groups—either of nations or among our own people. The only effective means of control lies in the appreciation of the tremendous power wielded by these agencies; the new adaptations of them that were developed under the incentive of World War II; and in instilling a sense of values against which the individual may

appraise the limitless vistas of sound and sight now at his command.

As this is being written, a lone plane is circling a mile or more above, at times so far away it is but a speck in the clear blue sky. Yet a single voice, speaking into an amplifier in the plane, is so loud and so distinct that one cannot but stop and listen. Here is but a symbol of the new power within the grasp of the individual, yet to which he is also subject. Only as all of the agencies of social interaction are marshaled toward the common goal of human welfare, for the individual and for society, can the cultural heritage of the past be adjusted to this world of sight and sound of the present.

PART IV

OUTCOMES OF INDIVIDUAL-GROUP INTERACTION

At last, in our feeble hands is entrusted
Almost, at least, the universe of hidden might.
The mind of man has grasped the secret of the gods
Mysterious powers of darkness and of light.

Ours is now a greater challenge than man's e'er known—
The conquest of ourselves, of greed and fear and hate—
To build a world of human values most like God's,
Controlled by wisdom and by justice—not by fate.

Chapter 17

INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY HEALTH

IT MIGHT be well at this point to show the relation of our discussion presented thus far to what follows. At the outset, we reviewed the many efforts of man to understand himself, and emphasized the importance of the cultural pattern in determining personality. Then we presented an analysis of culture, both material and personal, and the processes through which the total social *milieu* and the person are in continual social interaction. Following this, was an analysis of the many agencies of interaction, including the school, which was specifically established by society to give direction to the operation of the social processes. Finally, we will appraise some of the specific outcomes of the total interaction process through four aspects of education: health, vocational proficiency, purposeful living, and social attitudes. Our study will conclude with a forward view through social planning and social control, and the role of sociology in tomorrow's school.

Even a cursory glance at the history of human civilization will indicate the importance attached to health in the individual and in the community. Taboos, religious ordinances, and civil laws have been instruments to secure the health of a society and of its members. We know, for instance, that the Egyptians designed sanitary regulations to protect the water supply and to govern the disposal of sewage. Circumcision as practiced by the Egyptians, and later by the Jews, was not only a religious ceremony, but was also conducive to personal cleanliness. The Mosaic book on Leviticus is a veritable compendium of sanitary regulations concerning food practices, treatment and isolation of the sick, and sex hygiene.

The health practices of the ancients, like those of contemporary primitive peoples, were so closely bound up with religious ceremonials that disease was regarded as an unnatural or supernatural phenomenon, a visitation of evil spirits, or an indication of ill favor with the gods. As a consequence, most health regulations were restrictive and prohibitive, tending more toward the isolation of the diseased individual than toward a positive mode of treatment.

Many of these regulations, embodied in the mores of a people, have been detrimental to health. Taboos against the bathing of an infant; the isolation of women during childbirth; ceremonial bathing in the holy river of the Moslems; protection of harmful reptiles because they are considered holy, as the cobra in India; or limitation of the food supply through taboos against killing goats or the sacred cow are but a few of the illustrations that could be given. But the mores may be more than restrictive: they may sanction or require behavior that is detrimental to health, such as self-inflicted or prescribed punishment for violation of the taboos. An extreme case of self-destruction was the Hindu custom of burning women upon the death of their husbands. When, in 1832, the English sought to forbid the custom, a petition was signed by 18,000 persons, many of them women from the highest caste, urging that the practice be permitted to continue. The advances in health care have thus been necessary on two fronts simultaneously: the discovery of new means to health and the overcoming of resistance to their application.

The Greek Hippocrates is said to have advanced the first theory of disease as a natural process requiring natural treatment. Health, then, was not dependent upon fate or the whim of the gods, but could be attained by positive measures. No history of Greek civilization has failed to remark upon the attention given to physical training and the preservation of personal health. Health, to the Greeks, was a social responsibility. The citizen was expected to care for his body in order to be able to assume the responsibilities of soldier and statesman. The school sought to carry out this conception, especially in Sparta. It is to Greece

rather than to Rome that we owe the aphorism: *mens sana in corpore sano*—a sound mind in a sound body.

Yet, for all their emphasis on physical perfection and bodily health, the Greeks were not able to prevent such pestilences as the plague of Athens in 430 B.C. Although they grasped the social significance of health, as they understood the social significance of so many other human functions, their understanding was not applied to all classes of their society. The weakness of Greek society lay in the lack of health and physical well-being among the slave classes since, like education, physical culture was restricted to citizens.

The Romans did not change significantly the regimen and physical training used by the Greeks. They did, however, make a great contribution to public health and sanitation through the construction of aqueducts and sewers, some of which are still in use, or were before World War II, in Italian cities and towns.

The period between the fall of Rome and the eighteenth century saw a reversion to the primitive conceptions and health practices which made health and disease matters of superstition instead of natural processes. Sinfulness and the state of grace were the new classifications of health and disease. Great plagues swept over Europe with little or no attempt made to control them, although by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, feeble efforts were made to control the spread of contagious disease through the use of a quarantine in seaport towns like Venice and Marseille. The public health institutions of the age were the lazarettos and the pest houses. Hospitals were places to send incurables to die. Insane asylums were a combination of zoo and prison where inmates could be viewed for a small fee. The pattern of the folkways and mores resisted a scientific approach, and many of these practices continued until the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, public-minded laymen and a few doctors began to reform the methods of health and sanitation which had prevailed since the fall of Rome. The discovery of smallpox vaccine by Jenner in 1798 introduced a

means of controlling a dread disease. Hospitals were constructed for the cure of sick people; prison and factory reforms were instituted; conditions in insane asylums were improved. Rapid advances were made in medical science; public health practices were revolutionized by Pasteur's and Koch's germ theories of disease. The impetus of the medical discoveries of the nineteenth century has carried over until today. With the harnessing of atomic energy now within reach, doctors and public health administrators will have new paths to explore.[1]

This brief sketch of the history of medical and health practices shows the gradual transition of the concept of health from its purely individual character to a social responsibility. From this new point of view, we are rediscovering and reshaping our notions about health as a *social* function. *Health, therefore, should be defined in terms of the relationship of the individual to his physical and social environment.* Dr. Sigerist, the medical historian, argues for a definition of medicine in terms of the individual's adjustment to these environmental influences. This is the meaning for him of *mens sana in corpore sano.* If health is defined as a social condition then "The goal of medicine is social and medicine actually is a social science."[2]

Again, Rene Sand in an essay on what he calls "sociological medicine" says ". . . to be preventive, medicine must regulate individual and social life; then it comes to understand that social factors command even curative methods, for the working of our organs is the mirror of living conditions. From this moment on, medicine wants to recognize the whole nature of man, as shaped by his home, his surroundings, his struggles and aspirations. Thus every part of medicine becomes social."[3]

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[1] For comprehensive historical studies of the development of medical and health care, see: James A. Tobey, *Riders of the Plagues,* New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1930; and Logan Clendening, *Behind the Doctor,* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933.

[2] Henry E. Sigerist, *Medicine and Human Welfare,* page 100. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. This book is also a valuable reference in the social history of medicine.

[3] Rene Sand, *Health and Human Progress,* page 2. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936.

Still another definition of health in social terms is offered in a joint report on health education prepared by the National Education Association and the American Medical Association. "'Health' in the human organism is that condition which permits optimal functioning of the individual enabling him to live most and to serve best in personal and social relationships."[4]

These definitions raise controversial issues. How social should medicine be? How is the working of our organs the mirror of our living conditions? At what point does the health of an individual become the concern of society? Sigerist and Sand are offering definitions of health which support proposals for a national program of health and medical care. These proposals are hotly contested today, as will be pointed out later in discussing the question of a national health program.

Despite the opposition being generated by defining health as a *social* condition, the educational sociologist must treat it as such, and we shall see how health education is an important function of the American school, as was the case in the training of Greek and Roman citizens. Such activity is based on the assumption that ***health and the means of attaining it are social processes—a result of individual-group interaction.***

Public Health Administration in the United States

From 1647 to 1708, the Massachusetts Bay Colony enacted several ordinances concerning municipal cleanliness. In 1700, the Colony also passed ship-quarantine regulations. In 1798, Baltimore established a Board of Health made up of laymen whose duty it was to "curb public nuisances." Other cities established similar boards during the early nineteenth century, but it was not until 1869 that the first State Board of Public Health was created in Massachusetts. In 1872, the American Public Health Association was organized, with Stephen Smith and Elisha Harris as president and secretary. At its first meeting, the association recommended the formation of boards of health for all

[4] Joint Committee on Health Problems of the NEA and AMA, *Health Education*. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1941. Referred to as "Joint Report of NEA and AMA."

states, and local boards, in all counties and large cities. The farsightedness of the membership of the association is vouched for by the fact that these resolutions were passed when there were but four state boards in existence.

The first school of public health was founded in 1913 under the joint sponsorship of Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. As a result of this pioneer work, schools of public health were established in Johns Hopkins, Harvard, and the University of Toronto. Yale University and the Universities of Michigan and California are among other institutions that have established courses for training in the techniques of public health.

According to Smillie [5] the objectives of public health administration are to prevent disease, prolong life, and promote physical and mental efficiency *through organized community effort.* Public health functions of a community include keeping the environment sanitary, controlling the spread of communicable disease, public health education, individual health protection and promotion, research in disease prevention, and developing a national health program.

Sanitation includes such functions as maintaining a pure water supply, disposal of waste, inspection of food supply, elimination of dust and smoke nuisances, and accident prevention. To some extent, health departments are expected to develop housing regulations or, at least, to take part in making and enforcing housing laws.

Methods of controlling communicable diseases include quarantines, statistical reporting of morbidity and vital statistics, and laboratory diagnoses of infections.

About 1900, communities began to provide facilities for promoting and protecting individual health. These facilities were set up at first by voluntary agencies, and later, by official state and local government agencies. There are some communities

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[5] Wilson G. Smillie, *Public Health Administration in the United States,* pages 3–10. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940.

which do not yet sanction an official agency's functioning in the field of individual health. Maternity and child-health clinics, tuberculosis clinics, venereal disease clinics, are all established to promote the health of persons rather than the community as a whole.

Public health agencies are expected to engage in research in the methods of controlling and preventing disease, in addition to the regular laboratory work of testing the water and food supply and making diagnoses of communicable diseases.

The development of a national health program will be discussed in greater detail in its proper context. Such an overall program would make tremendous demands upon our public health system in states and local communities.

Public Health Agencies

Public health services are in the hands of governmental agencies (national, state, and local) and voluntary private agencies. The role of governmental agencies, especially at the national level, has become increasingly prominent since the beginning of the twentieth century and was markedly stimulated during the World Wars, especially World War II.

From the national level to local units, the major governmental health agencies are: the United States Public Health Service, state boards of health, municipal boards of health, and, in rural areas, the county board of health.

The United States Public Health Service originated in the Marine Hospital Service founded in 1798. Its first function was to take care of American sailors under a primitive group insurance plan operated by the Treasury Department. In 1878, the Marine Hospital Service was given the additional function of imposing quarantine measures in seaports. By 1912, the functions of this agency were so greatly enlarged that its name was changed to the United States Public Health Service. The Social Security Act of 1939 still further extended the scope and influence of the Public Health Service, and during that year, it was transferred from the Treasury Department to the newly formed Federal

Security Agency under which all health, welfare, and education activities of the federal government are organized. The head of the Public Health Service is the Surgeon General of the United States, not to be confused with the surgeon general of the United States Army.[6]

State and local boards of health. The history of state and municipal boards of health has already been noted. Public boards of health for non-urban areas were not developed as separate units until 1911.

By 1915, there were 1,381 counties with boards of health out of a total of approximately 3,000 counties in the United States. In those counties which did not and which do not have their own health services, the State Board has a rural health service, and voluntary agencies like the Red Cross help fill in the gaps.

Private voluntary agencies. Smillie observes that voluntary agencies have been founded in many instances to give health services that public health boards were unwilling or unable to give. But he goes on further to comment on the tendency of private agencies to become vested interests and to resist any intrusion into their field of work by public health organizations.

One of the earliest voluntary agencies in the field of public health was the Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, organized in 1892 as a local agency, and in 1904, on a national basis. Previously, there had been local nursing and welfare services, but these were more concerned with welfare and social work than with public health services. The several visiting-nurse associations were originally founded as charitable agencies, but have gradually shifted to a public health function, and, in many communities, are affiliated with the school health program.

The Red Cross, in addition to disaster and war relief, has developed nursing services, particularly in rural areas. Other national health organizations include the American Social Hygiene Association (1905), the American Child Health Association

[6] For further information on the specific operations of the Public Health Service, see the *Annual Report* for 1944, published by the Government Printing Office.

(1909), the National Committee for Mental Hygiene (1909), and the American Society for the Control of Cancer (1913). There are also several foundations which have sponsored research in public health. These include the Rockefeller Foundation, the Milbank Memorial Fund, the Commonwealth Fund, the Rosenwald Fund, and the Roosevelt Infantile Paralysis Foundation, to name only a few.

Health Education

If health is accepted as a social condition, as the outcome of individual-group interaction, then there must be an educational process which leads the individual and the group to adopt and to practice the methods of maintaining individual and community health. Any community health program, therefore, presupposes the existence of an enlightened citizenry. Public health offices and medical men have frequently urged that a program of education be undertaken to procure such enlightenment.

Dr. Smillie [7] quotes one of the early advocates of public health as follows: "Elisha Hanis, at the initial meeting of the American Public Health Association in 1873 said: 'In the United States, the permanent value and success of any method or system of sanitary government will depend upon the degree in which the people are generally enlightened, concerned, and made responsible in regard to sanitary duties.' "

Dr. Sigerist [8] cites the unsuccessful attempt of German medical men during the revolution of 1848 to establish a complete public health system without procuring the support of the people for which it was designed. He is very explicit about the importance of general health education in the following quotation: "Health is not inevitable or obvious; it must be protected and cultivated, and this requires, first of all, knowledge . . . but knowledge alone is not enough. In order to become effective it must be applied and this is only possible if it is shared by all the people.

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[7] Wilson G. Smillie, *op cit.*, page 7.
[8] Henry E. Sigerist, *op. cit.*, pages 96 and 102.

Education, therefore, is all important . . . the people's health is the concern of the people themselves."

The Joint Report of the National Education Association and the American Medical Association offers a concise definition of health education by Dr. Thomas D. Wood:[9] "Health education is the sum of experiences which favorably influence habits, attitudes, and knowledge relating to individual, community, and racial health."

The "sum of experience" has been defined as total interaction of the person and the cultural pattern. The definition might be rephrased to be: *the total pattern of individual-group interactions which result in desirable habits, attitudes, and knowledge relating to individual, community, and national health.*

Health education should not be confused with hygiene. Hygiene is one of the subject-matter fields in health education, namely, the applied body of knowledge upon which good health practices are founded: hygiene is only a part of the total process which is health education. Knowledge is necessary, but unless accompanied by changes in health practices and attitudes, knowledge is of little real value.

This point of view was forcefully presented by Sand[10] as late as 1936: "The school gets rid of certain prejudices, but it does not always give an effective instruction in hygiene, and still less often a true education of our habits; but, instruction alone will free us from neither our inclinations nor our weaknesses. So we find, even in the best educated classes of society, the most unpardonable errors in hygiene, and too often a profound ignorance of the part played by sanitary science in individual and community life."

Sand's critique is a thorough condemnation of efforts at health education in general. The criticism appears justified in the light of the health superstitions that still persist and the gullibility of the American people to commercial advertising of cure-all

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[9] *Joint Report of NEA and AMA*, page 16.
[10] Rene Sand, *op. cit.*, page 224.

products and "health systems" of every description. There is another attitude which also warrants such a critical appraisal: the tacit assumption that the school must bear the full burden of health education, even that pertaining to sex and family life. Such an assumption carries with it two implications which have tended to prevent the development of a comprehensive health program: that the family and other community agencies have little or no responsibility and that the health education program ends when the individual leaves school. Health education must be continuous and other agencies than the school must share in the responsibility.

Although public health agencies are not directly responsible for health education in the schools, they do assist in preparing teachers for such a program, and have a continuing responsibility for the education of the adult public in matters relating to community health and sanitation. The following four objectives translate this general responsibility into specific terms:

1. To inform the general public of the part played by the health department in the community. The public should know who the health officials are, what they do, and the ways through which the department can be, and is, of service to them.
2. The public must be informed in simple understandable terms the nature of the more common diseases—their prevalence, the way they are transmitted, and methods of prevention or treatment.
3. The public should have some knowledge of general environmental sanitations with respect to water and food supply, and waste disposal, so that each person will be in a position to protect his health and that of his family.
4. The elements of maternal and child care should be imparted to every potential mother in the community.

There is a great difference between health education and health "propaganda." Millions of dollars are spent annually in the promotion of products that may be actually harmful unless taken in accordance with a doctor's prescription. Many slogans, always inaccurate, and sometimes preventing more effective health meas-

ures, have been promoted by well-intentioned groups. "A clean tooth never decays" and "Swat the fly" are illustrations.

Several means are available to a health department to present health information or to propose a health program to the general public. Among these are community meetings, newspapers, pamphlets, radio programs, exhibits, motion pictures, and lectures. No one means is adequate, and careful planning is necessary lest partial truths mislead.

The Red Cross and other voluntary agencies like those mentioned on pages 448–449 do educational work in health and hygiene. Some private life-insurance companies and manufacturers of medicines and food products also carry on educational projects. In the latter case, it is necessary to distinguish between education and advertising. A major responsibility of health agencies is to educate the public to make this distinction.

Health Education in Schools

The need for health education for school children is best stated statistically. The number of days lost from sickness and the incidence of illness among school children are both indications of this need. (Tables XXXIII and XXXIV)

The communicable diseases, especially the respiratory diseases, head the list. Much of health education, then, should be concerned with personal cleanliness and other measures to control the spread of disease. There are no comparable figures available on the physical defects of school children, but the statistics of Selective Service on rejections from military service are an indication of the need, not only for health education, but for a general program of medical care.

A school health education program depends upon the ability of the teacher to master and present the necessary material. Here again we run into the difficulty of finding trained personnel. One of the earlier studies was made by Rhoton of the health misconceptions of 2,379 prospective teachers in teacher-training institutions in the Middle Atlantic States.[11] As a result of his

[11] Paul Rhoton, *Health Misconceptions of Prospective Teachers.* State College, Pennsylvania, School of Education, 1932.

Table XXXIII*

DAYS LOST FROM SICKNESS IN A SCHOOL YEAR OF 180 DAYS

Age	School Days Absent from Sickness
6 and under	11.9
7	11.0
8	9.3
9	7.5
10	6.4
11	5.9
12	6.0
13	5.8
14	5.3
15	5.0
16 and over	4.6

* This table and the table following are from Selwyn D. Collins, *The Health of the School Child*, U. S. Public Health Service, Bulletin No. 200. Washington, D. C.: The Government Printing Office, 1931. The data were obtained from careful studies made on school children in Hagerstown, Maryland.

Table XXXIV

ILLNESSES CAUSING MOST ABSENCES FROM SCHOOL

Cause	School Days Lost per 1,000 Children per School Year
Colds	1,696
Grippe and influenza	630
Tonsolitis and sore throat	625
Measles	535
Mumps	434
Digestive disorders	411
Whooping Cough	327
Headache	319
Accidents, major and minor	257
Toothache and diseases of the teeth	186
Chicken pox	175
Earache and diseases of the ear	135
Eye disorders	107

study, based upon a health information test of the true-false type, he concludes that:

1. Formal education has failed to remove health misconceptions from the beliefs of the individual studied.
2. Women show less belief in misconceptions than men.
3. More traditional types of health superstitions are recognized and avoided.
4. There is evidence that commercial advertising is productive of numerous unscientific health beliefs among the better educated class of individuals represented in the study.

Arranging the subject-matter divisions of the test in order of difficulty (greatest number of wrong answers), Rhoton rated the areas in the order in which misconceptions are most prevalent. They are: (1) organic functions and disorders; (2) infections and contagions; (3) prevention and treatment of diseases; (4) oral hygiene; (5) tobacco; (6) physical education, play, recreation; (7) heat, light, and ventilation; (8) psychology and mental hygiene; (9) foods, diet, and nutrition; and (10) miscellaneous superstitions.

Although this study was made in 1929 and does not admit of broad general application, it is interesting to speculate as to the misconceptions of the present-day teacher trainee or high school graduate. The popularization of Freudian psychology, the increased use of vitamins, and the emphasis upon various means of dieting have probably given rise to as many new misconceptions as the older ones that have been corrected.

There are two areas of health practice and instruction for which the school is responsible. Although the school should provide a healthy classroom environment, the number of instances in which even this elementary requirement is not met is alarming. Classroom seating; lighting; ventilation, toilet, and washroom facilities; and recreational facilities influence effective health instruction as well as the whole school life of the child. Definite policies and adequate provision for the care of accidents and sudden illness among the student body is necessary. Periodic health examinations, coupled with a follow-up program to encourage parents of school children to give them medical and

dental care, fall within the scope of providing a healthful school environment.

The second area of health practice and instruction for which the school is also responsible is the formal health education of the potential adult citizens of the community. According to the Joint Report of the National Education Association and American Medical Association, "An educated person understands the basic facts of health and disease, he protects his own health and the health of his dependents, and he works to improve the health of the community."

Health and medical education should not be mistaken for each other. The "Physiologies" in use during the nineteenth century put too much stress on the physical side of health education, by assuming that a knowledge of body physique, of biology, and pathology would influence the child's behavior in terms of health practices. Another mistake made by the older textbooks on hygiene for school children was that they set rules for healthy living instead of providing the child with the basic principles involved. Obviously it does little or no good to tell the child to brush his teeth after every meal unless he has some notion of the relation between cleanliness and healthy teeth, and the relation also of oral hygiene to total health.

Programs of health education are adjusted to the age level of the student. Such programs range in order of complexity from instruction in personal cleanliness for kindergarteners to programs of instruction in heredity, social hygiene, and eugenics in high schools and colleges—programs which are directed to the mature student who has studied biology and the social sciences. Unfortunately, comprehensive programs, such as suggested, are in operation in only a few high schools and colleges. Generally speaking, health education gets crowded out of the senior high school and college owing to lack of time and trained personnel. Diehl and Shepard [12] found the health instruction program in most colleges and universities entirely inadequate for the needs

[12] Harold S. Diehl and Charles E. Shepard, *The Health of College Students*, pages 59–66. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1939.

of the student body at large. At the same time, they found that colleges and universities are becoming more aware of their responsibilities in the field of health instruction and that more instruction on hygiene is being offered as elective courses, displacing the older lecture series on personal and sex hygiene.

The studies of health education at the college and pre-college level uniformly point out the need for trained instructors. Rhoton's study, already cited on page 452, is indicative of the magnitude of the task. In elementary schools, health instruction is carried on by the classroom teacher; in the secondary school, the biology teacher, the physical education teacher, and the home economics teacher divide the responsibility among them. A similar division of responsibility holds in higher education. There is some demand in high schools and colleges for separate courses in health education to be given by specially trained instructors. As yet, the practice has not been widely applied.

Certainly, teacher training should include courses in hygiene, nutrition, and physical education. Preparation for professional health instructors will be correspondingly more detailed in the study of the sciences back of hygiene and physical education: chemistry, biology, and psychology, to name some of them.[13] Equally important are courses in the social sciences, since health is related to the economic status of the individual and the locality, and a health program can be effective only if it is related to the local community.

Two studies of the results of health education give some indication of what can be accomplished by the school and what cannot be done by the school.

During 1927–28, Franzen[14] made a study of 7,500 public school

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[13] The student who is interested in the type of training in health education which is given in teachers colleges should consult Earl E. Kleinschmidt, *Opportunities for the Preparation of Teachers in Health Education.* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942.

[14] Raymond Franzen, *Influence of Social and Economic Factors on the Health of the School Child.* New York: American Child Health Association, 1932.

children in 570 city schools in 35 states. For the purposes of his study, the following were considered to be socio-economic factors: (1) economic rating of the school, (2) rent appraisal of area served by school, (3) population of city, (4) cultural status of individual due to nativity stock, (5) cleanliness (measure of home care), (6) age and sex of child, (7) intelligence, and (8) grade in school.

By the use of statistical methods, Franzen came to the following conclusions:

1. Socio-economic forces have a very marked influence on nearly all of our measures of health.
2. Intelligence and nativity stock play major roles in determining differences among groups in respect to tests of health knowledge, habits, and attitudes.
3. Intellectual level, including maturity and economic status, plays a very large part in determining amount and quantity of medical care.
4. Quality of home care has a marked influence on muscular development, quality of teeth, and bone structure.

A more detailed study of the direct effect of health instruction upon school children was made in the public schools of Joliet, Illinois.[15] A group of 409 children was divided into three groups: an experimental group in contact with all phases of the health instruction program; a transferring group in contact with some of the health program; and a control group with no special classroom instruction. All three groups had regular physical examinations and conferences with specialists. The results are shown in Table XXXV.

Suitable allowances were made for the differences in socio-economic status and for the fact that special attention was given to the problem by teachers and parents. Even so, the study concludes: "The results of this investigation present striking evidence of the influence of an efficient child health program on growth

[15] Martha Crampton Hardy and Carolyn H. Hoefer, *Healthy Growth*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936.

Table XXXV *

EXTENT OF IMPROVEMENT IN CHILD HEALTH WHILE UNDER INVESTIGATION

Health Conditions	Health Instructed Group (268)	No Class Instruction (104)	Limited Instruction (37)
Good general condition	33.6%	10.6%	27.0%
Good nutrition	25.0	5.8	8.1
Firm muscles	29.5	20.2	13.5
Correction of posture	36.2	20.2	29.7
Remedial dental work . ..	30.5	13.5	27.0
Correction of foot defects	20.5	4.8	13.5
Average decrease in type of remedial defects—differences between two means	1.14	0.50	0.41

* Adapted from *Healthy Growth*, page 47.

and development during the years of middle and late childhood. An improved physical condition was a definite resultant of the program."

In this brief statement concerning health education in schools, basic principles for the development of a health program have been emphasized. These may be concisely summarized as including at least the following premises:

1. While health education is a responsibility of the school at all levels, such responsibility is shared also by the family and the community.
2. The program of the school must be related to that of other agencies and one of the school's responsibilities is that of stimulating the health program of these agencies.
3. An effective health program is possible only when adapted to the needs of the individual and the community.
4. Knowledge pertaining to health is essential, but unless paralleled by the development of health attitudes, it is of little value. Since such attitudes are influenced by the health mores of the person's environment, a sound health program should be based upon a survey of individual and community attitudes and practices regarding health.

The National Health Program

The preceding discussion of public health administration in general and the results of health education in the schools in particular, raises also the question of the health of the nation as a whole. The first illustration of the national health is, of course, mortality and morbidity statistics. Table XXXVI shows the decline in the death rate since 1900.

Table XXXVI *

DEATH RATES PER THOUSAND

Year	Total	Under 1 Year	Under 5 Years
1900	17.2	20.7	30.2
1942	10.4	8.2	9.8

* Statistical Abstract of the United States, page 74.

Since 1933, there has been no significant change in the death rate, the total remaining between 10 and 11 per thousand.

In terms of life expectancy, the following statement by Surgeon General Thomas Parran made in 1939 indicates great progress that was made up to a leveling-off point in the 1930's: "The average infant born in 1938 had an estimated life expectancy of 62 years—a gain of almost 13 years since 1900. In the older age periods, however, the expectation of life has undergone no significant change in the present century. In 1900, a man attaining the age of 50 had an average of 21 years of life remaining; the present decade has brought no material alteration in this figure." [16]

Similar gains have been made in the reduction of death from

[16] U. S. Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Hearings on S. 1620, "The National Health Act of 1939."* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939. These hearings contain much in the way of background information for study of the national health problem. They include, besides the testimony of expert witnesses, the reports of the Interdepartmental Committee to Coördinate Health and Welfare Activities and the Technical Committee on Medical Care. References to *Senate hearings* in this chapter will be to this title.

disease, particularly from diphtheria, typhoid fever, and tuberculosis. But the five principal causes of death in 1937 were heart disease, influenza and pneumonia (sulfa drugs and penicillin will help bring this rate down), cancer, kidney disease, and cerebral hemorrhage. Much progress is still to be made in combating these diseases.

Mass figures for the entire United States, such as have been given above, show what can be done, but do not indicate what needs to be done, nor where. When the facts stated in the following paragraph were made known to the late President Roosevelt, he, in turn, prepared a message to Congress asking for a national health program. In this message, the President said: "We have reason to derive great satisfaction from the increase in the average length of life in our country and from the improvement in our health and well being. Yet these improvements in averages are cold comfort to the millions of our people whose security in health and survival is as limited as was that of the Nation as a whole 50 years ago.

"The average level of health or the average cost of sickness has little meaning for those who now must meet personal catastrophes. To know that a stream is four feet deep on the average is of little help to those who drown in the places where it is ten feet deep. . . ." [17]

What were some of the facts and conditions which led to the proposals for a national health program of medical care in the United States?

The depression of 1929 and the ensuing poverty of large numbers of people gave impetus for the beginning of the studies of national health. The Committee on the Cost of Medical Care, in its 1932 report, first pointed out the need for adequate medical care, especially in non-metropolitan areas. In 1935, the National Health Survey conducted by the United States Public Health Service showed that more than 23,000,000 people had some kind

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[17] Message of the President of the United States to Congress, January 23, 1939. *Senate Hearings*, page 18.

of chronic disease or physical impairment. In the working age group (15–64) more than 3,000,000 people were suffering from physical handicaps. Nor were low-income groups the only sufferers. The Life Extension Institute found that 59 per cent of a random sampling of 300,000 insurance-policyholders were so physically impaired as to need the services of a physician.[18] Reports of the Interdepartmental Committee to Coördinate Health and Welfare Activities, published in 1939, stated that the costs of medical services were three billion dollars a year, that sickness among workers caused a loss of one billion dollars a year in unearned wages, and that the total loss of wages because of sickness—added to the costs of health and medical services, including the loss of potential future earning power because of premature death—brought the Nation's bill for sickness and postponable death to ten billion dollars per year!

The staggering weight of disability, sickness, and health care are not evenly distributed among the population. They vary on two bases: family or personal income and type of community.

The health problem in certain types of communities is forcefully indicated in Figure 25 (page 462), which shows the continuous drift of physicians to the larger communities. Whereas the number of individuals per practicing physician has remained relatively constant in cities of 50,000 population and over, the number in rural areas has increased from 907 persons to one doctor in 1906 to 1,602, in 1931. Data presented in the Interim Report, *Wartime Health and Education,* previously referred to, indicates that this trend is continuing. In 1944, Massachusetts had three times as many active physicians in proportion to population as did South Carolina. Rural or low-income counties with more than 5,000 population may be without a single physician, while other counties in the same state may have one active physician for each 1,000 people. The shortage of physicians in rural communities is not due to less need for medical care. Studies made by the Farm

[18] *Wartime Health and Education.* Interim report to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, page 5. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.

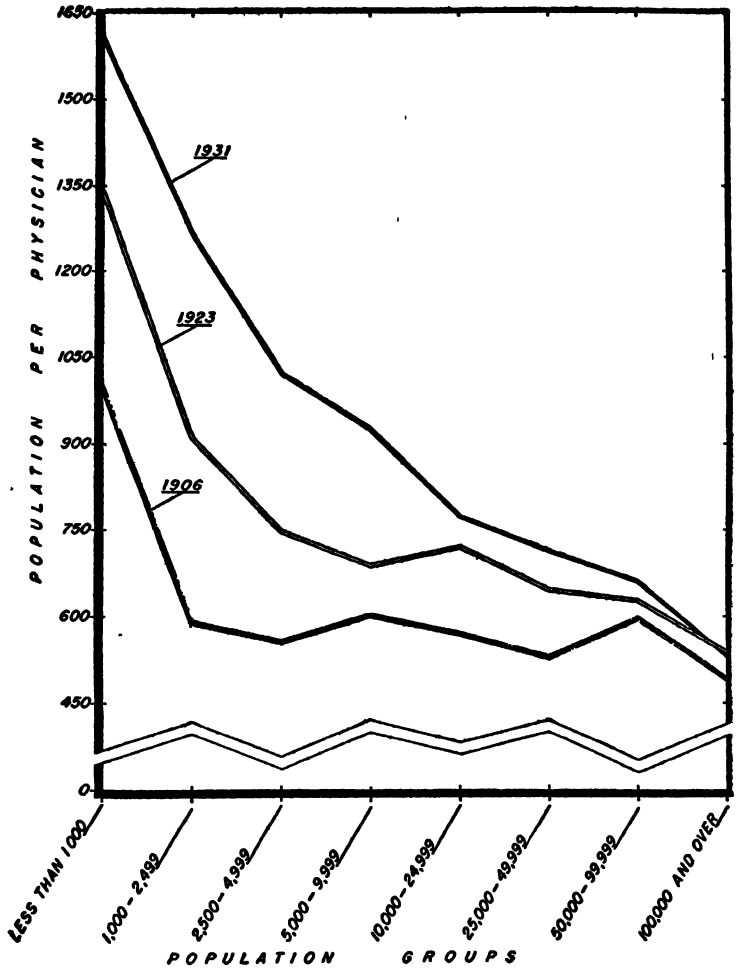


Figure 25. Population per physician for specified size of communities. (Source: Bureau of Medical Economics, AMA, *Factual Data on Medical Economics, Revised 1940,* p. 16. Reproduced with permission.)

Security Administration suggest that the burden of illness in rural areas is the same as, or greater than, in urban centers. It is an unfortunate commentary that the accident of locale of birth is a vital factor in determining the health care of the individual.

The second factor, economic status, is an even more important determinant of availability of adequate care of physical health. Again citing data contained in the Interim Report, Table XXXVII shows the variation based on comparative income. Although

Table XXXVII *

INCOME AND MEDICAL CARE EXPENDITURES OF 33½ MILLION FAMILIES AND OF 41 MILLION SPENDING UNITS,[a] 1942

Aggregate Money Income During 1942	Approximate Number of Families in each Income Group	Approximate Number of Spending Units[b] in each Income Group	Percentage of Total Families	Percentage of Total Spending Units	Average Amount Spent for Medical care[c] Families	Average Amount Spent for Medical care[c] Spending Units	Proportion of Total Income Spent for Medical Care Families	Proportion of Total Income Spent for Medical Care Spending Units
							Percent	*Percent*
Less than $1,000.	6,900,000	10,100,000	21	24	$42	$35	6 8	6 1
$1,000–$2,000 ...	9,800,000	12,600,000	29	31	68	62	4 5	4 3
$2,000–$3,000 ...	6,800,000	7,900,000	20	19	96	94	3 9	3 9
$3,000–$5,000 ...	6,700,000	7,300,000	20	18	143	141	3 7	3 7
More than $5,000	3,200,000	3,300,000	10	8	241	241	2 4	2 6
Total	33,400,000	41,200,000	100	100	100	90	3 6	3 5

* *Wartime Health and Education.* Interim report to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, page 18. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.

[a] Based on data from "Civilian Spending and Saving 1941 and 1942," Division of Research, Consumer Income and Demand Branch, Office of Price Administration, March 1, 1943.

[b] The term "spending unit" includes individual consumers as well as families.

[c] Includes medical, surgical, hospital, dental, and nursing service.

families with an income of less than $1,000 a year spend almost three times as large a percentage of their income for medical care as families with an income of $5,000 or more, actual expenditure is but $42 as compared with $241 a year in high-income families. Yet one in five of the total population had a family income in 1942 of less than $1,000. In 1939, prior to the artificial situation created by World War II, approximately two fifths of American families were in this group. In relation to economic status, also, the accident of birth determines extent of health care!

The implications of the relationship between economic status and medical services is shown graphically in Figure 26. It is assumed in this report that the 30 per cent of the population with annual incomes in 1942 (only 7.3 per cent in 1939) above

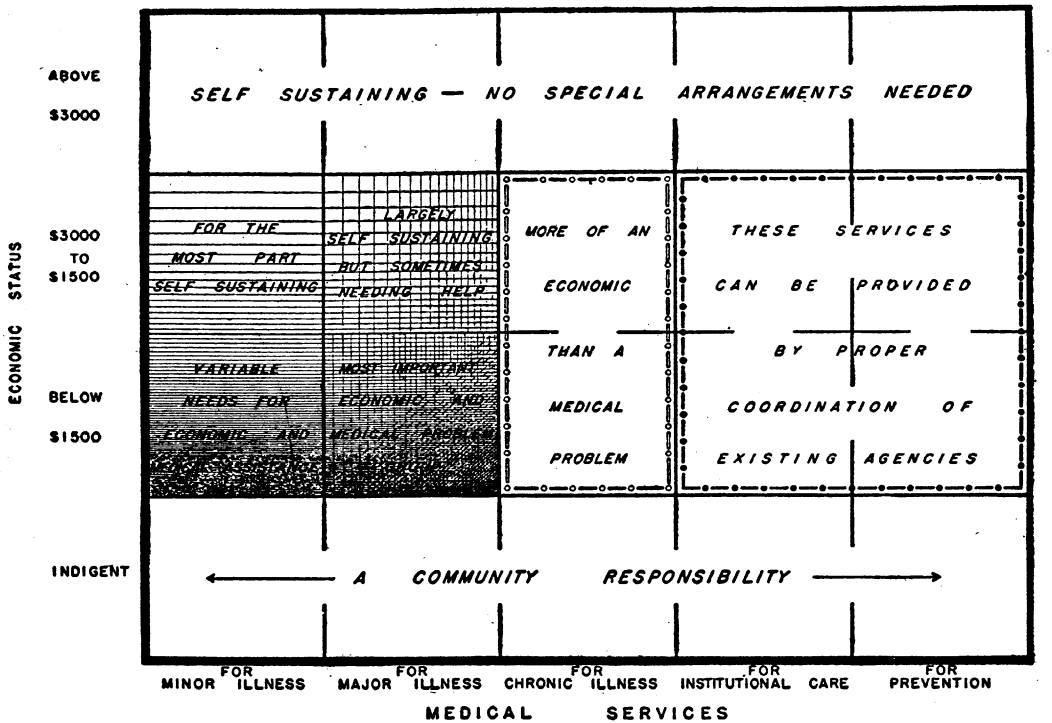


Figure 26. Medical services and economic status. (Source: Bureau of Medical Economics, AMA, *Factual Data on Medical Economics, Revised 1940,* p. 90. Reproduced with permission.)

$3,000 should be self-sustaining; that those classified as indigent are a community responsibility; whereas the middle group varies in the extent to which it can be self-sustaining.

As the data on rejectees of World War I stimulated public concern regarding health, so the data of World War II is a challenge for still further developments. Figure 27 presents the overall picture. There were 22,000,000 of military age, of whom 14,000,000 were examined to December 31, 1944, and of these only

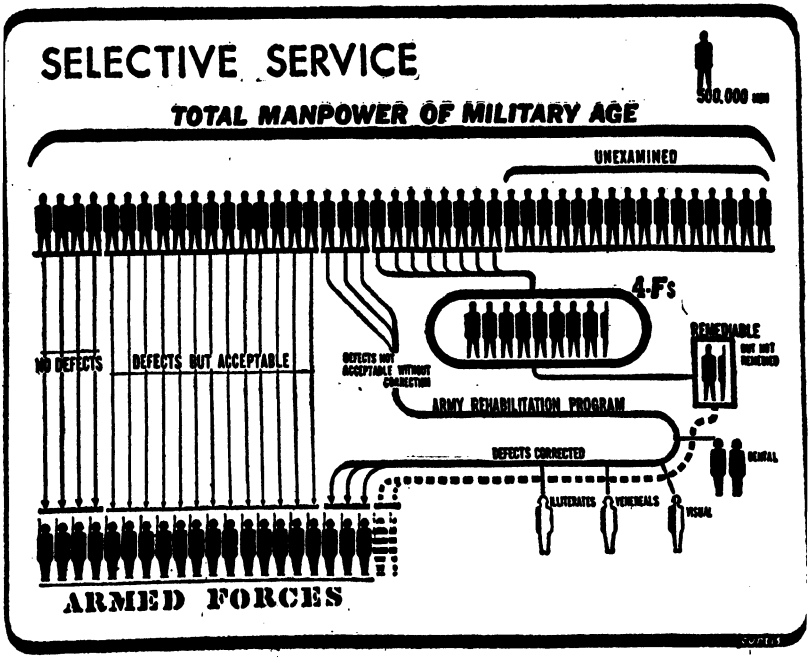


Figure 27. Selective service classification of manpower, World War II. (Source: *Wartime Health and Education,* p. 2. Interim report to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.)

2,000,000 or one in seven had no physical defects. Of the other 12,000,000, a little more than half had physical defects that were not serious enough to prevent induction: 2,500,000 had defects that were remedied prior to induction, two thirds of which were

dental; and 4,154,100 were classified 4-F. Approximately one third of the last group had remedial defects *that were not remedied.*

Figure 28 presents a more detailed analysis of 4-F men. More than 1,500,000 were rejected because of mental disability. Of the 2,426,500 with physical defects, such as to prevent their induction into the armed forces, the three most important factors were: physical and skeletal, syphilis, and heart disorders.

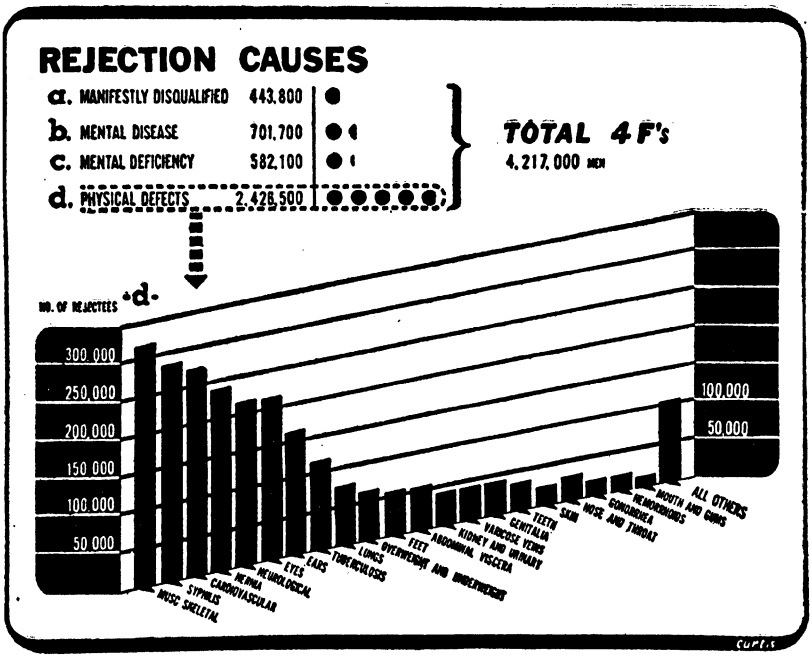


Figure 28. Causes for rejections for disability, World War II. (Source: *Wartime Health and Education,* p. 3. Interim report to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.)

The meaning of these data is effectively stated in the Interim Report:

"It would be wrong to conclude from the Selective Service rejection figures that we are a nation of weaklings. Our enemies

labored under that delusion, and they are learning their error the hard way. On the other hand, it is evident that we have no reason to be smug or complacent about the state of our people's health. We must ask, 'What do these figures mean?' and then, 'What must we do about it?'

"It is clear that the figures do not reflect discredit on the men themselves. The great majority of them are the victims, not the villains, of the situation. Nor do the figures mean that the rejectees are unfit for participation in the war effort; in most cases they are serving honorably in war production or in some other necessary civilian activity.

"The large number of rejections does mean that the manpower problems of the Army and Navy have been much more serious than they would have been had the Nation's health been better. The unavailability of the rejected men means that it was necessary to call into military service hundreds of thousands of other men better fitted for essential civilian tasks and more deeply committed to responsibilities in the society we fight to preserve—men with families, trained mechanics, skilled technicians, and teachers in scientific and technical schools."

The recommendations of this Subcommittee on Wartime Health and Education have such far-reaching implications that they are quoted in full:

> 1. Recommends that Federal grants-in-aid to States be authorized now to assist in post-war construction of hospitals, medical centers, and health centers, in accordance with integrated State plans approved by the United States Public Health Service.
>
> 2. Recommends that Federal loans and grants be made available to assist in post-war provision of urban sewerage and water facilities, rural sanitation and water facilities, and milk pasteurization plants, in communities or areas where such facilities are lacking or inadequate.
>
> 3. Urges State and local governments to establish full-time local public health departments in all communities as soon as the needed personnel become available. With this aim in view, consideration should be given to rearrangement and consolidation of local health jurisdictions and to amalgama-

tion of existing full- and part-time local health departments with overlapping functions. The Federal Government should increase the amount of its grants to State health departments to the end that complete geographic coverage by full-time local health departments may be achieved and that State and local public health programs may be expanded in accordance with needs.

4. Recommends that the Army consider the feasibility and advisability of expanding its program for induction and rehabilitation of men rejected because of physical and mental defects; and that an emergency program of rehabilitation of 4-F's be undertaken immediately under the terms of the Barden-LaFollette Act.

5. Recommends that the medical records of the Selective Service System be preserved and that funds be appropriated for further processing and study of these records.

6. Reports the acute shortage of personnel with training in pyschology and psychiatry and the need for immediate steps to increase the output of such personnel with a view to providing child-guidance and mental hygiene clinics on a far wider scale.

7. Recommends that Federal scholarships or loans be made available to assist qualified students desiring medical or dental education; urges that increased enrollment of women in medical and dental schools, and premedical and predental courses, be encouraged in every way possible.

8. Recommends that Federal funds be made available to States for medical care of all recipients of public assistance and that allotment formulas governing distribution of Federal funds to State public assistance programs be made more flexible in order to give more aid to States where needs are greatest.

The recommendations made above should be put into effect as soon as possible. We should begin planning now for the reconversion period. Further delay will postpone orderly solution of our health problems and deprive us of an effective means of aiding industry to maintain full production and employment after the war.

A comprehensive health- and medical-facilities program, planned now and undertaken as soon as materials and labor become available, would soon pay big dividends in improved national health and physical fitness. We have seen what neglect of opportunities for better health has cost us during

> this war. We should resolve now that never again, either in war or in peace, will the Nation be similarly handicapped.

The above recommendations rest upon a twofold premise: that the federal government has a distinct stake in the nation's health and should render financial assistance; and that responsibility for the development of health services and programs rests with the state and local agencies. The one significant exception is the recommendation for scholarships to medical and dental students.

Recent and Potential Developments

At the time the above-quoted report was written, definite precedent had been established for most of its recommendations. For years, the federal government had assisted the states in their care of the aged; the infirm, including the deaf and blind; and the indigent. In 1935, the Social Security Act was passed—the first attempt to provide medical care for any group on a large scale. The act provided for the appropriation of federal funds to the states for maternity and child care. Two other acts were passed just before America's entrance into World War II that further extended federal assistance. One was Public Law 113, Seventy-eighth Congress, which made federal funds available to state rehabilitation agencies for medical correction of defects hindering employment. The other, Public Law 410, Seventy-eighth Congress, extended the authority of the United States Public Health Service, including: (1) the development of research in "the impairments of man," and (2) establishing scholarships and fellowships in the field of health.

Further development of the government's responsibility for health is fraught with controversy. At one extreme are those who would have the government enact legislation providing compulsory national health insurance. At the other, are those equally sincere persons who would leave the whole problem to the individual, and to voluntary organizations. Between the two, are many who believe that the federal government should

expand its present aid program in other special fields, such as is included in a proposed bill to assist schools in providing dental care to children. Like the issue of federal aid to education, the shibboleths of "states' rights," "socialist," and "rugged individualism" are bandied about by opponents as though phrases were answers to national issues.

Group health and medical care have developed in the United States largely on a voluntary basis. Provision for such care involves regular payments by individuals or organizations through which the risk of sickness or temporary disability is spread over the group of contributors. In some plans, payments are made both by the employer and the employee. The Blue Cross and Group Health Hospitalization, Inc., are illustrations. Group hospitalization has had still wider acceptance through such organizations as United Hospitals, Inc.[19]

The extension of even such voluntary systems has been protested by those who would brand it "socialized medicine"; the issue becomes acute when it is proposed, as in pending legislation, to provide for compulsory health insurance. In November, 1945, President Truman urged immediate action on this legislation by Congress.

The modern pattern of the role of government was set by David Lloyd George in his proposal, in 1911, of the English National Health Insurance. His plan was adopted in 1913 for the United Kingdom, and will probably be superseded by the more inclusive National Health Service Plan which was under consideration in 1946. France adopted a national plan in 1930 and Denmark, in 1933.

Briefly outlined, the present British law insures all manual laborers and those with incomes of less than £240, approximately $2,000, but does not insure their dependents. Workers receive cash benefits from an approved voluntary agency, to which they and the government contribute. Medical care is given by

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[19] For detailed analysis of various plans, see James P. Warbasse, *Cooperative Medicine.* New York: The Cooperative League, 1936.

a personal physician, who belongs to a panel maintained by the local medical council. Panels are open to all qualified practitioners and the insured person selects his own physician from among its membership without state interference into their relationship. The physician is paid on a per capita basis, according to the number of calls. Specialist care and hospitalization are not now covered. The proposed National Health Service would extend medical insurance to cover every person in the United Kingdom and provide for an elaborate system of hospitals and regional health centers.[20]

The plans for national health insurance proposed for the United States take a different direction from the British proposals. The original bill drafted in 1939 by Senator Wagner extended the maternity and child-care benefits of the Social Security Act and proposed a program of federal aid to the states for hospital construction, temporary disability insurance, and medical care for very low income groups in each state. Compulsory health insurance had not entered the picture. In 1943, a national health insurance plan was proposed under which employed persons and self-employed persons would be required to contribute toward health insurance. Medical care would be provided along the same lines as the British plan of 1913. Individuals would deal with their own physicians, who would be paid as the local medical society elected on a per capita basis or by the patient who, in turn, would be reimbursed by the federal government. Establishment of a network of hospitals and local health centers has also been proposed.[21]

[20] See D. Stark Murray, *Health for All.* London: Victor Gallanoz, Ltd., 1942; Douglass W. and Jean W. Orr, *Health Insurance with Medical Care.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938; and British Ministry of Health, *A National Health Service.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944.

[21] Besides the *Senate Hearings* and *Wartime Health and Education* referred to, the student may also wish to consult John A. Kingsbury, *Health in Handcuffs.* New York: Modern Age Books, 1939; and the *Congressional Record* for the Seventy-ninth Congress, 1st session, with reference to Senator Robert A. Wagner's bill (S. 1059) and speeches on national health insurance.

The extent to which government, national, state, or local, will accept responsibility for health and medical care will depend upon the degree of change in the mores. Health has been considered, until very recently, a personal matter. The extension of health regulations regarding water supply and sewage, for example, began the change in this attitude. Provision for special types of assistance, notably maternity and child care, was a further step in removing the stigma of charity usually attached to federal care of health. Hospitalization and other health services to veterans now blanket in some 16,000,000 persons, and pending legislation would include their dependents, the two together comprising almost one third of the population! Whether or not the final steps will be taken is problematical, as the mores run deep and change but slowly. Although such mores are shaken by war, they may, as is often true after a crisis has passed, reassert themselves and swing the pendulum back.

The responsibility for an adequate health program, both through health education in the school and through other agencies, rests primarily with the community. As Dr. Thomas Parran stated in the October 1945 issue of *The American City,* in an article entitled "The Local Community and the National Health": "Understanding the nation's health problems begins with understanding those of one's own community and state. Solving those problems also begins with action in city, county, and state. Only through widespread acceptance of local responsibility can we hope to realize that high level of health which is the right of every American citizen."

Throughout this chapter, health has been discussed in terms of person-group interaction. Advances in medical care, changes in emphases in the school health program, and the role of private agencies and government can be understood only in the light of basic patterns of behavior embedded in the folkways and mores. The school and all other agencies whose responsibility it is to improve the health of the individual and the nation can succeed only if they are agents also in changing the cultural patterns of the individual's own group, the community, and the nation.

Chapter 18

VOCATIONAL PROFICIENCY

THE second of the major areas of social interaction is that pertaining to making a living. Like health, it, too, is an area which must be lifted above its usual concern for the proficiency of the individual and be developed in terms of its social context. Although an occasional hermit may be able to live from the fruits of his own labor, the pattern of life has now become so complex that each individual is dependent upon the labor of others. These "others" may be those who stand on either side of the factory worker on the production line; those who give or receive personal services—transportation, communication, merchandizing, or servicing; or individuals hundreds or thousands of miles away —miners delving black heat from the earth or Malayans tapping rubber trees in the South Pacific. Knowledge and skill are mastered by the individual, but the nature of such knowledge or the type of skill is determined by the economic pattern of the community. Immediate values may be predominantly individual, but longer-range values are social.

The educational sociologist views vocational education from the standpoint of long-range social values. Although attention will be given to the means through which specific skills are developed, the social factors in such training and the influence of the cultural pattern will be emphasized.

World War II demonstrated, on a scale never before conceived, how great was our dependence upon the technical skills of some 65,000,000 of our population. From the beginning of the American defense program in 1938, through the years of World War II, and in the following reconversion period, the greatest training effort of all time had been accomplished. Nearly a billion dollars in federal funds were spent in training workers for the thousands

of occupations essential in war production. Through this aid, which greatly extended the use of training facilities built up through the preceding three decades, 16,000,000 men and women received initial training or retraining for participation in war industries. Other moneys were appropriated to reimburse contractors for the training of workers in the plant, or to outside public and private agencies who had been doing a similar training job. The armed forces spent vast sums under their own appropriations for training military and naval personnel, and, in addition, profited greatly through the assistance of the civilian training agencies.

However, by far the greatest training costs were generally not recognized as such. These were the costs incurred as a result of thousands of untrained or partly trained people learning their jobs the hard way, by the "trial and error" or "pick-up" methods. These costs occurred at all levels of operation due to failure to understand that the great bulk of training is acquired "on the job," through a carefully planned learning experience. The costs were accumulated through spoiled work, machine and tool damage and depreciation, waste of materials and parts, accidents fatal and otherwise, turnover, absenteeism, and strained labor relations due to job dissatisfaction and low job morale. Industry came to realize the situation more and more as the war progressed, and, whereas at first training was of a "break-in" nature as a part of the recruitment of new workers, it later was increasingly used as a tool of management for correcting production troubles at the source. In some fields of production, there now is an awareness of the responsibility for training. Most industries still look at training from the very practical and narrow standpoint of the cost sheet, and its relation to production. Even the admission that there may be such a relationship is a great advance in contrast with the traditional attitude.

Development of Training for Vocational Proficiency

Man has had to learn, first, how to survive as an individual, then to function as a contributing member of a social group in

which social interaction provides a greater degree of security and a higher standard of living. As man advanced, specialization in tasks and duties gradually came into being and made possible a more efficient contribution by the individual to society. The primitive skills, the primitive arts and sciences, such as have been described, were learned largely by observation and participation, and usually with such strong motivations on the part of the learner as want and fear. Under such conditions, organized training was unnecessary and, for the most part, was of the "trial and error" type.

As the cultural pattern became more complex, organized education developed also. In the growth of our society, the liberal arts and sciences were the first above the elementary subjects to be taught formally. Thus "the older subjects have a distinct advantage over the newer subjects, such as those included in the vocational program." [1] The former have been well organized and reasonably well taught for centuries. When they lost their functional value, they were continued for their value as disciplines for the mind and on the assumption that if good thinking were developed the ability would transfer to any subject, not necessarily related to the content studied. For many centuries, education was considered to be for the classes, not the masses: education was not concerned in teaching men how to make a living.

The professions, other than soldier and priest, gradually emerged, and were accepted by society. The lawyer and the doctor were recognized, and the technical content of their callings, first learned in the service of an experienced elder, was, beginning with the twelfth century, increasingly mastered in universities. From these two fields, by breakdown and by increasing specialization in other fields, came much of the applied sciences of architecture and engineering, and now, more recently, professional schools of nursing, social work, business administration, teaching, and many more. For the most part, the curricula of

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[1] The Advisory Committee on Education, *Vocational Education,* page 122. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938.

professional schools have been related exclusively to the specialized field, although very recently there has been some emphasis upon general education and the social responsibilities of the profession.

The trades, requiring a relatively larger proportion of manipulative skill in comparison with the professions, were learned through association with those who already possessed such skills. Gradually, there evolved a definite system of apprenticeship—apprentice, journeyman, and master. In fact, these three levels of achievement were reflected in the degrees established in the early universities whose students were organized into guilds. During the Middle Ages, the master craftsman was an important personage, and his trade associations or guilds were a powerful economic force. The master craftsman exercised almost complete control over his apprentices, who often worked long years for a mere pittance. No one considered that the craftsman needed any great amount of formal education. No universities opened their doors to him, even though he built the structures in which the various colleges were housed, and furnished them the materials for living, and later, for teaching.

The rapid adaptation of the steam engine, from an apparatus for dewatering mines to a device to drive manufacturing machines, and the parallel development of machine tools and the techniques for designing and building complex production equipment, produced many changes in the earlier trades. New fields were created where skilled craftsmanship was needed, but of a very different character than before. Many old trades disappeared entirely. A single factory worker operated equipment which produced accurately and rapidly the quantity of goods formerly made by many hand artisans. Machine-made cloth replaced that of the hand loom and automatic cutters and sewing machines produced factory-made clothes. Hand workers were still needed, but increasingly their tasks became more specialized and subdivided until hand work was little more than a single operation in the total production of the commodity. Simultaneously, a new class of skilled mechanics appeared in new trades

that had to do with toolmaking, machine building, and repairing. These men had the skills and technical knowledge to use both hand- and power-driven tools, and their precision-made products offered a living to countless others of both less and more specialized skills. These new groups of "masters," referred to usually as mechanics, technicians, or inspectors, continued to learn their skills "on the job," and most of them, through a modified form of apprenticeship.

Early in the nineteenth century, it was realized that artisans who built and maintained production equipment needed to understand the technical principles on which machine design was based, to understand processes, and to be able to grasp new techniques quickly. Technical magazines enjoyed a certain vogue; technical books were produced; and the Mechanics' Institute idea spread slowly. For the most part, at first, these Institutes provided a variety of instruction, including lectures on scientific subjects, but gradually began to teach drawing, mathematics, and applied science. However, the institutes were few in number, and, although influencing the progress of those communities in which they were established, had little effect on the great mass of those they were designed to aid.

The need for technical instruction was further recognized when, in 1862, the federal government first provided funds for the establishment of land-grant colleges to provide instruction in "agriculture and the mechanic arts." This mandate was translated to mean instruction at the collegiate level in the engineering and scientific field, although the colleges of agriculture also provided means for experimentation and training in agriculture.[2]

The growth of professional training was greatly stimulated by these federal-aided state institutions. Through the continuance and gradual increase in federal grants, professional instruction in engineering, the physical sciences, and agriculture was broadened in scope and made more available through institutions with low instructional fees and through extension services. This

[2] Advisory Committee on Education, *ibid.*, page 15.

growth had a stimulating effect on the appropriation of state funds for medicine, dentistry, law, and the liberal arts and sciences. Teachers colleges and colleges of education were developed from the earlier teachers' institutes, or normal schools, and more attention began to be paid to improved teaching content and method.

Outside of a relatively few "manual training" schools for the adolescent, not much attention was yet given to the man who worked with his hands. Although elementary and secondary education increased, it had little or no relation to the economic world, and aimed primarily to meet college entrance requirements. No general appreciation was given to the fact that the technical content connected with many trades was rapidly increasing with every technological advance. Training for jobs, with or without apprenticeship, was much as it had always been, a matter of learning on the job by observation and imitation, by trial and error, without regard either to correct pedagogical methods of presentation or to organization of instructional content. To offset deficiencies in the school system, learning took place in a practical environment, with the discipline of industry and the incentive of the pay check. More help became available through trade papers. In the early nineties, correspondence instruction spread, affording a valuable aid to the ambitious. A few evening classes were available in some large cities, where public-spirited and far-seeing industrialists had recognized the need for helping the adult to improve his economic status by broadening his trade or occupational knowledge.

Apprenticeship in certain of the skilled trades often had its content defined in the trade union agreement which outlined the field of the craftsman. With the development of mass production techniques and tooling for interchangeable manufacturing, and with the concomitant increase in skilled but narrowly specialized workers, there was a tendency on the part of many companies to do away with apprenticeship. Such action was also a step toward weakening the craft unions. Due to large-scale immigration of high-grade European mechanics and a sufficient supply of itinerant skilled workers to man the tool rooms and to

maintain, erect, and overhaul equipment, apprenticeship dropped to a low level.

Partly from this situation and partly owing to the greater realization of the part the skilled worker must play in our economy, the early 1900's brought increasing pressure from many sources to extend federal money to the sub-college level and to develop a comprehensive program of vocational education. In 1906, interested individuals and groups established the National Society for the Promotion of Industrialized Education which, in 1911, issued a statement advocating federal assistance for vocational education. The great increase in production in support of the Allies in World War I in 1914 highlighted a shortage of skilled workers; by the time America entered World War I in 1917 the crisis had become acute. In 1914, Congress authorized the appointment of the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education, and in 1917 passed the National Vocational Act (still referred to as the Smith-Hughes Act). This legislation established the Federal Board for Vocational Education to supervise and allocate federal funds to the states (to be matched by equal state appropriations) for the salaries of teachers of trade, industrial, agricultural, and homemaking subjects. The states and the local communities were responsible for furnishing the school plant and all other operating expenses.

Management and labor joined forces with leading vocational educators to develop this program, which provided for the training of vocational teachers, and for the promotion of vocational training; the responsibility for the organization and immediate direction of programs was left to the state and local educational authorities. Specific plans were required to be submitted by each state, through a specifically appointed State board of Vocational Education, and such plans had to be approved by the Federal Board before allocation of funds were made to the state. The plan must include: the kinds of vocational education planned for the state, the type of schools and their equipment, the specific curricula and instruction methods, and the qualifications of teachers. In 1935, the George-Deen Act supplemented the orig-

inal Smith-Hughes Act with greatly expanded appropriations and provisions for training in the distributive occupations; it also restricted certain undesirable practices that had crept into the subsidizing of vocational programs in plants. Other legislation has followed this same general pattern.

During the past three decades, the stimulus given vocational training by federal aid, more than matched by state and local expenditures, has created the vast training plant mentioned earlier —a plant valued at over two and a quarter billion dollars, with competent administration and supervision, and adequately staffed with experienced instructors, many with recent experience in the occupations which they teach.

Generally speaking, federal funds have not been available for training for commercial, clerical, or business occupations; self employment, except agriculture and the distributive occupations; occupational guidance; or all public service occupations. However, many local vocational programs have been established for all or most of these pursuits, entirely independent of federal aid, and there is now a strong move to extend federal assistance to some of these fields. In the business field alone, education in bookkeeping, typing and stenography has been offered in high-school curricula for many years, paralleling the manual-training and earlier manual-arts programs that preceded vocationl education as it is known today. Private schools or "business colleges" were early established in this narrow field and have enjoyed a wide vogue, to the extent they have presented immediately functioning material by means of good job methods adapted from business. However, although the scope is increasing rapidly only limited coverage is yet given to all of the occupations in the vast field of commerce.[3]

The development of education for vocational proficiency through the years highlights two significant factors: the attitude

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[3] Prosser and Allen, *Vocational Education in a Democracy,* pages 409–410. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925.

of separatism between education for general needs and training for specific skills; and the interrelationship of federal, state, and local government, and of private agencies. Although some earnest efforts had been made prior to 1940 to break down the attitude of separatism, it still persisted when the defense program got under way. The lack of a coördinated program of training, resulting from the many public and private agencies, that were active in this field was early apparent. A definite pattern of relationship had been established, however, between the federal government and state and local agencies on which it was possible quickly to expand to meet the needs of war.

Programs of the War Period

Early in the development of the defense program, which got under way in 1937 with the first billion-dollar appropriation for the armed forces, it was found that America faced an alarming shortage in all types of skilled workers—manual, supervisory, technical, and professional. It was imperative that these "bottlenecks" of trained manpower be opened immediately. Three possible ways of doing so were: transfer of trained personnel from non-essential to related essential activities; stepping up the basic training; subdividing complex repetitive operations ordinarily performed by one person so that several persons could be quickly trained, each to perform but a part of the original task.

All three methods were used. Workers transferred from non-essential to essential activities, but the differences in jobs often made retraining necessary. The full-time and on-the-job training programs were speeded up. But the federal-aided war-training activities carried on by public vocational schools and the National Youth Administration were directed almost entirely toward the third: training in unit-skilled, or very narrowly specialized, occupations of the conventional mass production or "factory" type. This training played an important role in aiding the recruitment and placement of a great body of people of both sexes. Many were without previous experience; others had had

experience in skills not related to the new need. Even the handicapped were trained to take their place in the vast network of war industry.

Some difficulties were encountered in the early days of war-production training, the chief of which was narrowing down the broader objectives of trade-preparatory instruction to fit within the limits of specific job instruction. There was some difficulty, also, in getting management to accept other than the usual and conventional types of labor to which it was accustomed. Despite all difficulty, acceptance of the program spread quickly as production requirements increased. The parallel, and often quite similar, pre-employment courses served well to place youthful workers, whose placement had been a problem to school and employment office authorities, into war industries. Youth became predominant in certain industries, and the unbalanced labor audit thus built up gave management many a headache later, when selective service demands increased.

As the pool of unemployed created by the depression dwindled, other groups were referred to pre-employment training by the employment offices of the War Manpower Commission. Housewives; girls just entering the labor market; various minority groups; and the handicapped were recruited and given sufficient training to discover abilities and to condition them to specific occupational entry jobs. At the same time, it was recognized that industry was not always able to give the further training needed on the job, owing to its own acute shortage of supervisory and training skills. Supplementary courses were expanded rapidly. As the peak of war production approached, the competition of jobs requiring no preparatory training became so acute that it was necessary for the schools to secure the coöperation of war industry in a wide-spread program to pay trainees in critical shortage occupations; unpaid trainees practically disappeared from pre-employment training.

As the labor market got still tighter, overtime increased to the point where much available and important supplementary instruction was curtailed due to lack of leisure and to fatigue on

the part of the workers. This situation was aggravated by the adverse conditions in housing, transportation, marketing, and other community services, in addition to the increased proportion of adolescents and older people entering jobs in the war plants. Some took jobs on a temporary basis, and had neither vision nor ambition to profit by opportunities for self-improvement.

With the increasing difficulty in getting an adequate "outside" training job done after war production and Selective Service demands had reached a peak, other training methods and techniques were extended. Many industries had operated noteworthy training programs over the years, as illustrated by that of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock. Industry-wide training was developed in several major fields of production. The Maritime Commission, to cite but one agency, used industry-wide training to supplement the training previously offered by vocational schools. For example, through the vocational school program, twelve thousand specialized ship welders were trained for the Portland, Oregon area where there had been possibly three hundred people with welding skills before the war-training programs got under way. Other companies used their own programs to supplement and extend those of the vocational schools, and wide use was made of the newly developed Engineering, Science, and Management War Training (ESMWT) programs to alleviate shortages of technicians and draftsmen, and to improve supervision and production control.

The vocational schools rapidly and effectively expanded their pre-employment training through the Federal Vocational Training for War-Production Workers (VTWPW). New entrants into war industry were then sent by the local employment office of the War Manpower Commission to a plant, regardless of the location of the establishment. The plant itself often put the trainee in a vestibule school or plant center for another brief period of training, after which the trainee was assigned to a job. Later, the trainee might be "pulled off the line" and returned to the school or training center for further instruction, and then "returned to the line" on a higher grade job.

For occupations requiring little or no training, "orientation" or "induction" programs were established. Such courses were developed to reduce turnover and absenteeism, to overcome the "green" worker's distaste for an unfamiliar job, and to help the individual understand the importance of the product in the total war effort. Periods of training ranged from a half day to a week. Safety was stressed, and incalculable benefit secured from that emphasis alone, as the accident rate had reached alarming proportions in many war industries.

Owing to the alarming decrease in the food supply, a comparable program was developed to increase food production. Through the War Food Production Training (WFPT) programs some 2,500,000 youth and adults were given training in farm machinery care and operation, and in agriculture adapted to the region.

In many plants, shop or "job" instructors, masters of the occupation which they taught, whose sole duty was instruction, supplemented the meager training efforts of an already overworked foreman. In some cases, increasingly so in smaller and scattered industries, these instructors were paid through federal funds. Like most of the other training schemes, the pattern was not new;[4] the significant factors were the tremendous expansion of the programs and the increase in federal funds. The railroads had used job instructor training for years in the running trades, the duties of the traveling fireman and the traveling engineer being principally of an instructional nature. Many other industrial organizations had used the job instructor in times of urgency. The instructor has become more effective by receiving suitable training, often through brief teacher-training programs of the vocational schools, sometimes by a Job Instruction Training course offered through the Training Within Industry (TWI) program of the federal government. Itinerant instructors, usually on the federal payroll, visited scattered and isolated

[4] Prosser and Allen, *ibid.*, pages 386, 393.

industries, such as mines, logging camps, sawmills, and canneries, and helped immeasurably to restore lowered production.

One of the most arresting developments in war training was in the field of the supervisory occupations. For years, attention had been paid the foreman by personnel people, by professional educators, and by production management groups. The 1920's were prolific of foreman-training schemes, ranging from elaborate courses, for which he or his employer often paid large sums, to planned and carefully led conferences in which he was induced to analyze his problems and plan remedies. Most of these schemes failed, although certain properly conducted conferences under dynamic and constructive leadership did thrive to the extent that their sound recommendations were put to use by management. Plant policy meetings were successful to a similar extent. The tendency, too, under mass production regimes, had been to restrict the functions of the foreman, many of his former duties being taken over by the personnel department of the production control office. His powers had been further curtailed by union agreements. As L. A. Appley had pointed out, he seldom lost his job for not understanding how to execute his work, but more often for not knowing how to get along with people.

Then came the vast wartime plant expansion, and new foremen and supervisors were created by the hundred thousand. Many had only the faintest conception of the work they were to supervise, and less of handling workers. Some of the old training materials and methods were revived to alleviate this situation, but the most wide-spread contribution under federal funds was made by the Training Within Industry Service. Through this program, slightly misleading in title, as it was confined entirely to training the foremen, an excellent brief method for the foreman to use in breaking in workers on new jobs was adapted and developed. This procedure, called "Job Instruction," emphasized the foreman's *complete* responsibility for training the worker—a slightly fallacious emphasis when many

green workers are involved, and the foreman has other responsibilities for materials, routing, maintenance, production, and the like. Nevertheless, shifting to the foreman the responsibility of training new workers had the effect of focusing his attention on a very important problem. The instruction course offered the pronouncement that "if the learner hasn't learned, the teacher hasn't taught," not recognizing capabilities or "mind set," but again focusing the attention of an amateur teacher upon going "all out" in doing his job. Three other courses—"Job Methods," "Job Relations," and an advanced course, "Program Development"—were widely used. Through an intensive promotional campaign, this program spread rapidly.

An old and well-organized field of industrial training has been that of formal apprenticeship for the skilled trades. Under the leadership of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, and the various State Boards of Apprenticeship in many states, with the aid of the Apprentice-Training Service (ATS) of the Department of Labor, established in 1937 by Congressional action, opportunities for apprenticeship were rapidly expanded. It was increasingly recognized during World War II that the skilled craftsman who has learned his trade by apprenticeship plays an important role in our economy by building and servicing the equipment which makes possible our high standard of living. His is the paramount part in the construction field. From the ranks of the craftsmen are recruited a great number of the supervisors and technicians who play a dominant role in our vast industrial organization. In making necessary adaptations to the war period, apprentice training was accelerated and expanded; it rendered invaluable assistance to the total war-training program.

Although the opportunities in occupations which are adapted to apprentice training are small numerically in comparison with other openings, apprenticeship offers an attractive path to economic security at good wages, and with opportunity for future advancement. Most programs are in the neighborhood of four years in length, the apprentice, upon indenture, being paid a fair percentage of the journeyman wage. During his term of ap-

prenticeship, he is afforded an opportunity to master the wide range of skills and experiences afforded in his chosen work. He is also given related training in the public vocational school in the technical content of his occupation, and his wages are increased at regular intervals until graduation to journeyman status.

In addition to these five training programs which were coordinated through the Bureau of Training War Manpower Commission—ESMWT, VTWPW, WFPT, TWI, and ATS, a number of other government agencies established training programs for those who were to be employed by them.

Through the expansion and acceleration of the regular programs of vocational and technical schools and the development of the war-training programs, education met the unprecedented challenge of war production. It has been possible to give only a brief sketch of the vast programs developed under the stimulus of war. With the cessation of hostilities, the war programs were discontinued but education had caught a new time sense and an increased appreciation of our dependence upon the workman trained at all levels.

Basic Problems

As America faced the long years of reconversion in the aftermath of war, a number of fundamental problems had to be faced if economic welfare was to be assured. These were not exclusively postwar problems for their roots were laid in the years before 1938. The war years but more clearly outlined the problems and brought them into sharper focus.

The first of these postwar problems was the lack of any consistent pattern in the types of training for vocational proficiency below the professional level. Educational programs varied from the "practical courses" in industrial arts offered as a part of the curriculum of the academic high school, to pre-employment or on-the-job training in a factory. Between these two were: technical and vocational courses in both junior and senior high schools; separate vocational schools, both publicly and privately supported, offering courses from a few weeks to four or more

years in length; part-time and continuation school training (required in many states for those who leave school prior to the minimum age of compulsory school attendance); apprentice training; and many other deviations from these more general types.

Many have sought to draw a line of distinction between industrial arts education and vocational education. At the extremes, such a distinction may be valid in that the first seeks to provide opportunities to all children for development and growth through creative, recreative, and exploratory activities; and the second seeks only to provide specific training leading to a vocational objective. But these differences tend to disappear as each field has reached out to include more areas and to serve a larger proportion of the population. An interesting illustration is the educational programs offered for handicapped children. Here a new field of "special education" has cut across the lines that other specialists in industrial arts or vocational education have sought to maintain.

The one type of training around which there has raged the most heated controversy is the full-time vocational school incorporated as a part of the public school system. There are many problems of standards, fees, and degree of supervision by reliable educational authorities pertaining to the proprietary—private, operated-for-profit—schools, but the vocational school has been an accepted part of the nation's total educational program as a heritage of our system of private enterprise.

Profiting from the mistakes of the manual training high school, the full-time day vocational school developed to give preparation for the trades, business, or industry. This type of school is intended to meet the needs for occupational entry of those adolescents who must go to work and not to college. Its program is primarily vocational, with an admixture of general-education subjects designed to meet the needs of "the whole man." Curricula impose a parallel acquirement of manipulative skills and related technical knowledge. In so far as the working conditions and processes of the industrial objective are reproduced and construc-

tive thinking stimulated, the student is equipped with a fair to large amount of the things needed to make a secure and successful start in apprenticeship for a skilled trade, or in a better than average occupational entry level in a semi-skilled or skilled occupation. The range of occupations for which entry training can be given is sharply limited to those having content that can be presented in a school environment. Factors such as size, cost, danger, scarcity, demand, tradition—all bear on the types of curricula offered. The scope of such a school is increased by the use of coöperative programs in which students secure manipulative content of their intended occupation in a coöperating industry on a regular assigned schedule, and receive the related technical and general education content in the school on a similar schedule. Such programs usually provide for two students for each industrial job, one to be in the school at the same time the other is on the job, interchanging by schedule.

The exact number of full-time vocational schools in the United States cannot be estimated. The American Vocational Association asserts that there are some 2,500 agricultural schools and approximately 6,500 trade and industrial schools, publicly controlled. Two consistent tendencies make such numbers only indicative: one is the extension of the academic high school on both the junior and senior high school level to give vocational courses; the other is the equally pronounced tendency, resisted by only a very few single-trade schools, for the vocational schools to add "related courses" and gradually evolve into a general, and often traditional, high school. The number of private full-time and part-time schools is roughly estimated at 100,000. But regardless of the number, the development and probable expansion of this type of training and education raises the fundamental problem of the lack of any consistent pattern.

The second basic issue in the vocational school is the extent and nature of federal aid to be given for the development of vocational education. The general aspects of this problem were discussed earlier; its specific relationship to vocational education can be summarized briefly. In 1940, exclusive of the then developing

war-training programs, there were approximately 1,200,000 students enrolled in vocational schools, divided as follows: A little more than one in five in agricultural training; a little less than one in five in home economics; and the remaining three out of five in trade and industrial education. The war years brought the precipitous rise in federal expenditures indicated earlier in this discussion. Any further increase in continuing federal appropriation involves three problems: should such assistance be for specific fields of training or be of a general nature to be used at the discretion of state and local authorities; if the former, and this is the trend of all legislation providing federal aid to education, what new fields should be subsidized and what relative distribution should be made among already subsidized fields; and what is the relative responsibility of federal, state, and local units of government in the support and control of such schools? To be specific, leaders in vocational education strongly opposed the work-training program of the National Youth Administration on the grounds that the federal government was establishing a parallel training program and creating a dual system of education. Yet these same leaders advocate the establishment of "area schools," federally subsidized and operated in local communities under the jurisdiction of State Boards of Vocational Education. Here, too, is a dual system. The proposal again highlights the issue of the relative extent to which the development of a sound and extensive program for economic welfare should be borne by the federal government, the state, and the local community.

A third problem of the vocational school is the length of time and the amount of training required effectively to participate in our complex economic life. The war demonstrated that many of the tasks for which it was assumed long years of education were required, as in engineering, for example, could be broken down into a series of tasks for which very much less training was required. Even in the field of medicine, the armed forces trained thousands of men in only a few months to perform elementary and routine tasks which it had previously been assumed were the province only of those who had completed a full medical

course. On the other hand, the war brought also tremendous advances in technical and scientific knowledge, requiring even more comprehensive and more intensive education.

It has long been recognized that there is a field of endeavor intermediate between the pursuits for which vocational training ordinarily has been offered at the secondary school level, and those occupations of a professional nature which are considered the special province of engineering and scientific institutions. Many skilled trades and skilled or semi-skilled occupations in industry, business, and agriculture nowadays require a considerable and rapidly increasing amount of technical knowledge, coupled with abilities to analyze, plan, and design. Many occupations involve the direction and supervision of others. Few of these requirements call for a four-year course in a degree-granting institution. They are important to a great proportion of our people, such as foremen, supervisors, department managers, draftsmen, enugineering aides, superintendents, sales managers and representatives, specialists, technicians, inspectors, and others, for whom little training outside of that picked up on the job has been available.

Engineers and scientists perform necessary research and plan and design projects requiring an involved and abstract mathematical approach. For large organizations and on intricate projects, much of the detail on such projects becomes specialized. The draftsman, instrument man, tool designer, tester, operator, computer, checker, inspector, or other specialist, each possessing certain skills and techniques plus a large body of technical information, perform detail assignments planned and directed by the engineer or the scientist. The vast electrical industry, including the rapidly growing field of electronics, has many occupations of this intermediate nature. Petroleum refining, steel production, rubber, industrial chemistry, automotive and aircraft production, machine building, the construction industry, transportation, all offer many opportunities to the person who has developed his mental as well as his manual assets.

The principle of transfer of skills is fundamental in our ma-

chine-age culture with its mass production and interchangeable manufacturing. No individual can be taught all the necessary knowledge and skills. The tool engineer, the tool and die maker, and the jig and gage maker design and make dies and jigs that will enable people of less skill and ability to turn out in vast amounts duplicate parts with high accuracy. Quick and accurate inspection is provided for in a similar manner to control the quality of the finished product by discovering immediately throughout the process any need for materials correction, machine adjustment, or job training.

In the past, and especially during the rapid technological advance of the last two decades, training for these technical sub-professional jobs was obtained primarily by "trial and error" and experiment on the job itself. Aid has been available from trade literature, textbooks, and manufacturers' instructions. Organized instruction has been available for the employed adult through evening extension courses of the vocational schools, correspondence courses, short programs or institutes fostered by industry or engineering institutions, and extension courses in industry itself. For youth preparing to go to work, trade preparatory and industrial schools have offered advanced instruction of a technical nature over and above minimum occupational entry requirements; technical high schools and junior colleges have arranged some terminal courses of this nature; and a few technical institutes have been in operation over the years. The field has been a highly profitable one for "private-for-profit" institutions, some of which have made pioneer and noteworthy contributions. Others are little more than exploitation and racketeering institutions, their success being due to the terrific economic urge to secure this type of instruction.

With the advent of World War II, jobs were broken down into units of lesser skill and the training period, even for pre-employment training, was reduced to months or even weeks. Several of the large companies subsidized the education of women "engineering cadettes" in special courses given by the engineering schools. With the withdrawal of federal aid, many institu-

tions are keeping much of the training in operation in order to meet the demands of industry, the displaced war worker, and the discharged member of the armed forces. It is not to be assumed that such specialized training is the full equivalent of a degree course or apprentice training, but the methods of administration, the teaching techniques, and the relations with industry and labor developed through this program form an invaluable pattern that should influence greatly the curricula as well as the role of our engineering and scientific institutions in this great sub-professional field.

Considerable impetus has been given recently to consideration of the formation of an increased number of technical institutes covering a wide range of fields. Some complications have arisen through rivalry between educational administrators, who, while railing against educational dualism, impel it by opposing progress that involves departure from the conventional pattern. Junior colleges are also establishing adequate terminal courses, some of which are in this field. The inclusion of correspondence instruction in the G. I. Bill has many implications, such as setting up and enforcing adequate standards. This problem of standards applies as well to "private-for-profit" schools offering preemployment and extension programs of a technical nature, and impels the attention of our citizenry to insure adequate evaluation through the setting up of competent and functioning boards of control, as well as functioning advisory committees composed of carefully selected representatives of management, labor, veteran, and employment service agencies.

Adequate counseling is of the utmost importance in this field, for both veteran and displaced war worker, to insure building on previous experience and training, as well as redirection in line with discovered aptitudes. In the counseling field, also, we find rackets developing under the guise of private personal advisement services of many kinds. Such services especially need to be under supervision, as the people who can benefit the most from the vocational-technical type of training are those who have discovered through their war experience, both in the military and

in war production, the fields for which they are adapted. These people, discharged from the war plants or the armed forces, will thus be especially susceptible to such rackets, in the face of their great urge to secure stable employment and economic security in a new and attractive field.

A fourth, and the last of the problems of the vocational school that can be included in this discussion, is the degree to which vocational education in school or college can or should seek to provide for training in the specific skills and attitudes required for effective economic proficiency.

No skilled trade can be learned in its entirety in a school environment. Much resentment on the part of labor, and disappointment in the product of the school by management, has been engendered by claims that the schools were training highly skilled mechanics. No matter how great the endeavor by the school to duplicate the industrial environment by, as far as possible, providing the same jobs with the same machines and methods, there is still the lack of occupational discipline that is imposed by working conditions under the incentive of the pay check. On the other hand, both management and labor have strenuously opposed, in certain trades, any productive work on the part of students, thus compelling the unproductive use of materials and an artificiality in the training. Learning how to get along with people, how to become one of the team, how to meet economic problems that have to do with self-support, and the attendant opportunities for developing practical attitudes that foster self-reliance and high morale, is not accomplished in a school.[5] Cooperative programs for mature students have closed this gap to the degree that the work experience is geared closely to the objective, and motivation is increased.

Looking Forward

The years immediately following World War II brought a marked increase in emphasis upon vocational education. Vet-

[5] Prosser and Allen, *ibid.*, page 392.

erans' legislation, the interruption of the education of an entire school generation of youth, and the transition from a war economy to peace production made unprecedented demands upon all agencies for training and education. The natural desire of business and industry to assist the returned servicemen in securing economic stability, and to recruit a fine type of employee for their organizations provided many opportunities of this nature under the law.

Adequate and careful counseling is necessary, and assistance is needed by plants, industries, and business organizations in setting up proper in-plant opportunities efficiently to teach a desirable occupation. The public vocational schools, and the technical institutes, have an important part to play in offering related training for these occupations. Much material on job and occupational content already is available as a basis for training-program delineation.[6] In the rapid expansion that has occurred, it is urgent that standards that will insure fair labor practices and adequate instructional and experience opportunities, as well as guard against the exploitation of the veteran or the ex-war worker, be established nation-wide.

Apprentices are offered, under sound apprenticeship plans, "part-time school" training in which a half day a week may be devoted to related trade subject matter.[7] For better results, a coordinating instructor may spend time on the shop floor with the apprentice. Continuation schools for employed youth, today operating by law in such states as New York and Wisconsin, will offer increasing opportunity to those whose education has been arrested by early job entry. As stated, all or any of these types can be combined administratively to meet the needs of the community, to serve the youth who is preparing for industry, the adult who needs to improve skills or occupational knowledge, the adult who wishes to learn a new occupation or change jobs, the worker who

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[6] See current publications of the Department of Labor.

[7] Apprentice-Training Service, *Apprentice Training for Returning Service Men*. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.

needs help in the slack season, the housewife and the farmer. Many of the devices of the school can be made itinerant, and shop classes or conferences may be operated in environments far from the school itself.

In the developments of the years ahead there is a need as never before for a strong, effective state Department of Education in each state. Through Pubic Laws 16 and 346, the federal government is providing 15,000,000 one thousand dollar a year scholarships for a maximum of four years each. Not all will take advantage of this unprecedented opportunity, but unless state educational agencies exercise a strong hand, many who seek education will not receive the quality of education to which they are entitled. A study conducted in the fall of 1945 indicated that only thirteen states had provided personnel to inspect and supervise industries and schools providing training and education under the federal legislation for veterans. Only two had established a unified State Board representative of all levels and types of education.

A second need is for the establishment of advisory committees broadly representative of education, labor, and management. Illustrations of such advisory committees on the national level were those established by the Bureau of Training, War Manpower Commission, and by the Apprentice-Training Service. Similar committees should be named on the state level and in the local community reflecting the basic educational and economic interests, whether industrial or agricultural.

In planning for future developments leading to economic welfare, the curriculum is of vital importance to the educational sociologist. It was stated that one of the first experimental approaches to the curriculum was through the job-analysis technique. This method is especially applicable to the fields of training for economic welfare.

Sound vocational training is based on job analysis—an appraisal of the end product of the training and the knowledge, skills, and attitudes characteristic of those who show effective operation on the job. It entails the close coöperation and the sharing of expe-

riences among competent representatives of education, labor, and management. It is necessary to determine the relative role of the school and the industry in providing effective training lest the school seek to take over that which can be done better on the job, or vice versa. That such coöperative relationships can be developed is indicated by the increasing expression of interest in education by both management and labor.[8]

The continued reorganization of curricula requires progressive thinking leading to a relaxation of conventional procedures better to meet the needs of the trainee. Awaiting development are short unit courses based on logical segments of that part of the job analysis which is selected as most efficiently taught in formal training programs. Use of such short units of instruction facilitates the entry or departure of students at any time, especially on the adult level, thus better meeting economic situations as they develop. A planned sequence of such short unit courses can be arranged in such a way as to route the student through try-out courses and the necessary job and technical experiences. Certain courses may be of the terminal type for job entry; others may be in sequence leading to higher skills. Advantage can be taken, and provision made, for the utilization of the background and experience of the individual in planning sequences of units.

Many methods and techniques in addition to the ones discussed have been developed in the field of vocational education, previous to and during World War II. These have to do with the discovery and organization of functioning content, with administration, and with the use of real experiences for learning. Visual aids, including charts, drawings, models, parts, and subassemblies, "cut-aways," and the like, have been expanded in scope by the use of silent and sound-accompanied slide films. Color and animation have intensified the value of the presentation of teaching

[8] As illustrative, see: *Trends in Education—Industry Cooperation,* monthly magazine published by the National Industrial Information of the National Association of Manufacturers; *Classroom Clipper,* published monthly by Pan American World Airways; and the recent publications of the large labor unions.

materials, and various methods of providing high availability have been developed. In the textbook field, federal and state funds have produced large numbers of instructional texts and

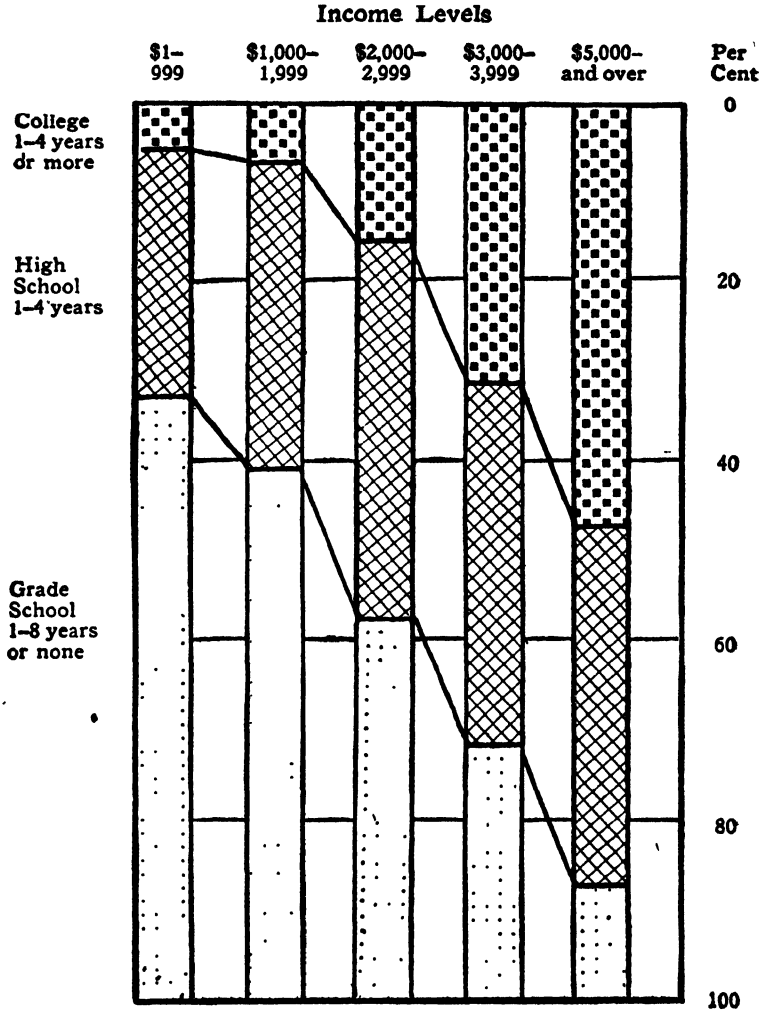


Figure 29. Per cent at each educational level by income levels. (Source: *Education, an Investment in People*, p. 23. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Chamber of Commerce, 1944.)

lesson sheets on specific occupations. Private enterprise has made a noteworthy contribution, also. These methods, devices, and instructional materials are being used to an increasingly greater extent at all levels of educational endeavor. More and more, a "clearing house function" should be identified as being responsible for making constructive ideas and methods in education available and adaptable. Much teaching in general education and at the college level could well make use of the new and better methods that have been developed during World War II.

In the next decade, the very complexity of modern life and the increasing interdependence of people upon one another will entail a constantly expanding education. Economic welfare cannot be conceived only in the narrow sense too often associated with vocational education: that is, "tooling up" to prepare to earn a living in a specific occupation. The importance of a more inclusive conception of economic welfare is shown in Figure 29. Although it is true that other factors than amount of schooling determine income and that both are partially the product of the common factors, ability and incentive, it is significant that in the lowest income group, 65 per cent had had only an eighth grade education, while in the highest income group, 12 per cent had completed only the elementary school.

This same relationship between education and vocational proficiency is shown in relation to type of occupation in Table XXXVIII. Again, the sharpest contrast is shown by comparing the 59.4 per cent in the professional and technical group who had had four or more years above high school with the 61.8 per cent in unskilled occupations who had completed less than the sixth grade.

Increasingly it is being realized that while as much acedemic background as possible should be had before starting one's vocational program,[9] certain academic and abstract material should go hand in hand with that specifically vocational. Especially is this imperative with the return in the postwar era to a higher

[9] Prosser and Allen, *ibid.*, page 94.

Table XXXVIII *

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF OUT-OF-SCHOOL EMPLOYED YOUTH ACCORDING TO THE SCHOOL GRADES THEY HAD COMPLETED

	Percentage of Youth in Each Occupation Group						
Grade Completed	Prof. or Tech.	Office or Sales	Mana-gerial	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Domes-tic	Un-skilled
Less than 6th	—	1.3	2.2	1.8	14.6	17.8	61.8
6th ..	—	6.5	1.9	4.8	27.8	15.8	43.2
7th	0.4	6.2	5.4	5.2	28.9	16.9	37.0
8th	2.0	12.4	2.8	6.0	40.2	15.8	20.8
9th .	2.2	23.1	4.6	4.2	41.5	9.2	15.2
10th or 11th	1.6	28.3	3.4	7.3	34.0	15.1	10.3
11th graduate	1.6	48.6	7.7	2.0	17.7	10.0	12.4
12th graduate	5.7	47.2	4.2	3.5	25.8	9.3	4.3
1 year beyond **	5.6	68.2	4.5	2.5	11.6	5.1	2.5
2 or 3 years **	45.0	35.2	3.8	3.8	7.0	3.1	2.1
4 or more years **	59.4	23.1	10.6	2.2	2.9	1.1	0.7

* Howard M. Bell, *Youth Tell Their Story*, page 93. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1938.
** Beyond high school graduation.

general chronological age for the completing of one's formal education.

All sound education and training are one. A great superintendent of schools and a leading English educator both have recently pointed out this fact. Superintendent Stoddard of the Philadelphia Public Schools, who is, among other things, chairman of the Educational Policies Commission, says:[10] "In its broadest sense all education has vocational implications. Some phases of the educational program are concentrated more directly on vocational objectives than are other phases. It is nothing short of academic shadow-boxing to argue for or against vocational education as such. What is commonly regarded as general edu-

[10] Alexander J. Stoddard, "The Vocational Emphasis in Education." *Convention Book*, page 6. Illinois Vocational Association, 1945.

cation, or education designed to acquaint the individual with the accumulated culture of the race or to enrich human existence through equipping man with the heritage of wisdom developed through the ages, also has very real significance in equipping persons for certain types of vocations.

"The early college courses in America were designed primarily to prepare preachers for churches, a vocation of high order. The medieval universities were concerned largely with vocational education in medicine, law, and theology. It would be practically impossible to separate or even distinguish the non-vocational elements of the curriculum of a modern college or university or even of an academic or comprehensive secondary school. The arts and sciences have become woven into modern life in the practical applications of industry and business for the enrichment of living for the masses of the people and are no longer the hoarded possessions of the few who live in the cloisters.

"There is not one kind of education that prepares a person *to make a living* and another kind that prepares *for living*. That is, there is not an education that fits one exclusively for the market-place and another that fits for the life of the gentleman. The specifics involved may differ somewhat but the distinctions are rapidly disappearing between the practical every-day affairs of the commercial establishment, the industrial plant, the banking house, where men earn their livings, and art, music, drama, and other avenues through which men pursue happiness and the so-called inner satisfactions of life.

"The real question is not whether there should or should not be vocational education. It is rather the extent to which the facts, knowledge, and skills involved in certain processes of service should be taught in school or college or left to apprenticeship or direct experience on the job. The question is further complicated by the fact that attitudes, appreciations, and ideals are also involved with the service processes, resulting properly in a mixing of the civic, cultural, and social with the practical aspects of the service."

Sir Fred Clarke, M.A., Chairman of the Central Advisory

Council for Education (England), points out, in an address to the Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes,[11] that it is a serious error to differentiate between cultural and vocational education by considering vocational education a lower form, or something apart, and that the separation for practical operating needs has led to the faulty generalization that they are separate entities in spite of the fact that the same person enjoys and benefits from both. Clarke states: "I have long felt that the disposition to distinguish sharply between the cultural and the vocational as though they were two quite distinct *kinds* of education is not only a symptom of something wrong with our society but a possible cause of even more serious trouble in the future. While I grow more and more apprehensive of the practical consequences of overstressing and misapplying the distinction, I become also more and more doubtful of its validity. Somehow, I feel that, both for the individual who receives it, and for the society in which and through which it is given, good education is one thing, not many things; with diversity of gifts and attainments, it is true, but held together in that unity of spirit which characterizes the well-developed individual and the healthy society alike. . . .

". . . To be content with assuming that the cultural is what they do in grammar schools and the vocational what they do in technical schools may well be to invite frustration and possible disaster. Yet much that passes for expert thinking seems to go no deeper than that. It is even suggested at times that if the technical curriculum is not sufficiently cultural the remedy is to stick on it a few patches of so-called cultural material taken over from the grammar school. But culture does not reside in any particular subject and in any case I must insist that it is the same individual who is being educated right through and the same society to which his education has to be relevant. In short, education is one thing, not many, and we must not talk as though

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[11] Sir Fred Clarke, "Culture and Vocation in the Postwar World." Address before the 106th Annual Meeting, Union of Lancashire and Cheshire Institutes, Warrington, October 5, 1945.

life were in alteration between being a fitter or machine-minder or clerk and being a man. . . .

"The truth is that there has never been a healthy society where the sustaining vocations were not integral to the culture, providing it not only with the means of life but also with its characteristic outlook on life, the forms of art, the structure of its institutions, much of the material of its song and literature, and even the moulds of its thinking."

The immediately preceding discussion emphasizes the need for a great public system of vocational education that is well integrated with general education. This has been succinctly pointed out by the Advisory Committee on Education in the following quotation:[12] "In earlier times preparation for a vocation was largely a private affair, carried on in the home or by an apprenticeship system. In the past half century, under the increasingly complex organization of industrial society, the responsibility for much of the vocational preparation has been transferred to the school system. It should be emphasized that this is a task which the schools themselves did not originally seek. Pressures from outside the school system have been largely responsible for the introduction of programs looking toward the preparation of young people for vocational efficiency. Enough experience has now accumulated to demonstrate the feasibility and the efficiency of providing in the schools some of the training required for a large number of vocations.

"The maintenance of an adequate school system under public control and with public support is unquestionably a necessary function of government in a democracy. The same line of reasoning that has been followed in developing the system of general education under public control and support seems to point toward the desirability of affording opportunities for vocational education under public auspices. The fact that general and vocational education should not and cannot be separated in an effective

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[12] Advisory Committee on Education, *Vocational Education*, page 176–177. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1938.

program for the individual child inevitably means that the agency responsible for conducting the one must also conduct the other phase of the educational service. Vocational education, like all other forms of education, is an individual matter in so far as the learning process is concerned, but society as a whole has a most important stake in the enterprise. Society cannot leave to the chance interests of individuals or corporations the provision of this training that is so vital to the general welfare.

"The public school is organized as a democratic, classless institution, serving the entire population; in a democracy it seems entirely appropriate to assign responsibility for vocational education to such an institution. A considerable measure of public control over the program of vocational education seems socially desirable. Even though industrialists were willing to provide the training necessary for workers in their own plants, the profit motive would make it extremely probable that the form of training and the number to be trained would be determined in many cases by the immediate needs of the industry rather than by the ultimate welfare of the workers. In a democracy the government is the agency which is looked to for the development of services in which there may be a conflict of public and private interests."

Despite great progress, such an objective of education cannot be obtained nationally until the extremists in each camp accept the philosophy that there are no lines of demarcation between general and vocational education. Both must be given adequate recognition and support, based on objective surveys and a system of reporting through which needs may be determined both locally and for the nation. Steady growth and constant adaptation must be made to meet the changes due to technological advance and our expanding horizon of knowledge. Vocational education should not be depreciated by being used as a dumping ground for those not receptive to, or unable to cope with, the content of general education presented in the traditional way. Too often, through inept administrative attitudes and faulty counseling, and without the diagnostic and remedial measures which research has made available, the order of referral and assignment of students is from

that of highest standing—the academic course—through the scientific, technical and vocational; to that of presumably the lowest standing—the general shop course. Vocational education must not be used to foster the selfish ends of any person, group, or corporation, but should be planned for the benefit of the individual, the community, and the country. Recognition must be given to the importance of developing the whole man, with flexible and generous administrative provision to provide parallel or alternate opportunities of education and training to meet individual needs and urges. Liberal and constructive leadership and understanding is needed to secure acceptance of responsibility and coöperation by educators, industry, labor, interested agencies and organizations, and by the general public. By thoughtfully determining the areas of agreement, it will be possible to reduce the areas of disagreement, and attain an overall program that will furnish each citizen the opportunities he needs. Such a program would be freed from the present stigmas that certain components now bear, such as the fact that while only a little more than 20 per cent of our youth entered college in 1940, most of the high school curriculum is still directed toward college preparation.

A comprehensive program of vocational education integrated with general education should supplement and extend the regular vocational and adult education programs, which in themselves are too restricted and too rigid to meet bulk short-term training needs of reconversion following World War II. Training of the long-range type, promoted by federal funds administered under the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen Acts, although making important contributions to plant skilled administrative and teaching personnel and methods, did not meet war-training requirements, and thus created the need for the "quickie" war-training vocational programs. The failure, at the same time, to maintain sufficient long-range training for skills and technical achievement, coupled with a shortsighted and opportunistic policy in the administration of Selective Service, has caused severe gaps in our inventory of abilities by age groups in the skilled trades and the professions.

In reconversion, we again have the need for training a large number of people for new skills. A great part of these people will require short-term training of a broader and more comprehensive form than the unit skill war programs afforded; it will be necessary to include more basic principles, in addition to a wider range of specific skills and knowledge, for the purpose of promoting resourcefulness and adaptability as well as facilitating job entry. At the same time, many will wish to enter occupations requiring much longer training as a preparation, and will also wish to remedy certain background deficiencies in general and in cultural subjects. Many will wish to build onto and extend previous knowledge and experience.

Little provision now is made for such combinations, owing to the present inadequacies of regular education to meet the needs of unemployed workers. These are the same inadequacies that led to the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the National Youth Administration, and the Works Projects Administration training programs during the depression, all of which made important contributions, despite the criticisms to which they were subjected. Such inadequacies paved the way for the continuance of their programs in wartime until labor-pool shrinkages, concomitant with increases in efficiency and scope of vocational and industry-training operations, led to the liquidation of such government agencies. General and vocational education should be brought together with placement agencies to work out an extremely flexible and mobile program. Such a program involves adequate counseling, a reasonable coverage of short- and long-range training needs, and the provision of suitable academic content available for those who desire, or can be advised, to profit by accepting it.

A Specific Program

There are, as far as needs for employment are concerned, three groups of persons for whom vocational training is essential: the youth for whom the continuing programs discussed above must be extended and made more available; discharged members of

the armed forces; and those released from war industries. The second group numbers those who are in the process of resuming their old jobs, or transferring to others, often of similar character. Veterans should have opportunity to secure supplementary or extension training of a character that will refresh old skills, meet technological change, make up for gaps in the general education audit, and provide for upgrading. The third group is composed of those who must transfer to other jobs. Much of the program will need to serve former workers in war industries, and to do this, the operating content of the program should be determined locally with overall guidance in the shape of adequate up-to-date labor-market information of a national character. Any worker would be eligible for training upon referral by the United States Employment Service based on a determination made jointly by the USES through its occupational counseling facilities and the local educational authorities. Cognizance is given by the USES to the fact that many occupations in industry do not have sufficient content to require pre-employment training, but are learned through assistance from the foreman and fellow workers. Equal cognizance should be given to needs for education and training beyond the elementary level to increase occupational mobility, to facilitate adjustment to the job, to furnish a sound basis for increased self-pride and high morale, and to build intelligent citizenship.

Although responsibility for the operation of such a program should rest with the individual states, federal funds should be appropriated to meet, on a matched basis, a fair proportion of the costs of administration, operation, and counseling. Federal stimulus is needed for the program for the same reasons it was needed in the war-training program: first, because it is a part of the war obligation of the federal government; and, second, because the impact of nationwide unemployment is too sudden, too great, and too widespread in consequences for all states to bear equally. Administration of federal funds should be through the United States Office of Education on the basis of approved state plans, with the governors of the states directly responsible

for local allocation, as is now done with the Smith-Hughes and George-Deen Acts. Regard should be given to the unemployment compensation load in apportioning funds, rather than to any population ratios now used. Conduct of instruction, as now, would rest in the hands of the local education authorities who, in conjunction with advisory committees and the USES, would determine courses to meet the needs of the unemployed and the veteran. Advisory committees with representatives from management, labor, education, and the employment services should be constituted at each level of operation.

Occupational counseling coöperatively administered by the USES, the Veterans Administration, and the schools is an essential part of such a program. A wide variety of general and vocational courses, including correspondence instruction, should be available to select from to meet the needs of the locality. The various Army and Navy courses, with their wealth of instructional material, will prove of value. Some of the courses should be organized on the basis of short units, planned for entry at any time, and with suitable teaching aids to promote individual instruction. By holding to good administrative procedures in requiring reasonable achievement, good effort, discipline, and attendance, a high standard may be maintained, in itself a good morale builder. Limitations on length of training might be geared with job opportunities, and special attention given to the handicapped, as provided under Public Law 113.

Veterans' needs for adult vocational education should be met throughout the next decade. Programs to accomplish this purpose should be prepared with a view of facilitating the veterans' building on individual foundations of wartime experiences and technical training. Many will thus be able to profit from their war experiences, as was too seldom the case after World War I. What is true of the veteran is equally true of the war worker. In many cases, there is as little relation between the war workers' occupation and the pursuits of peace that are available to him, as with the veteran's training and his postwar work. Concommitantly, lacks in general education fundamentals that are im-

peding future progress must be remedied. Jet propulsion and atomic power are ushering in a new age for which we are ill prepared.[18]

A broad program involving such new, revived, or remedial measures as have been discussed will add greatly to the economic security of our individual citizens and the nation.

By implication, rather than by direct statement, the interrelation of culture and training for vocational proficiency has been indicated. During the period of the skilled craftsman, the "master workman" was held in high esteem and his training was organized under the apprenticeship system. The Industrial Revolution lessened the importance of training in many fields, as machine operation reduced vocational proficiency to a single skill. Meanwhile the development of classical education on the one hand, and professional education, on the other, widened the gap between the program of the school above the elementary level and training for vocational efficiency—a gap not yet wholly closed.

In the four decades before World War II and especially during the depression of the 1930's, four fundamental although gradual changes in our cultural pattern directly affected the status of vocational education: (1) the increasing complexity of machine production requiring higher skills for many than that of repetitive operation, (2) the development of service occupations many of which are, in a sense, a reinstatement of the master craftsman, (3) the growth of agriculture, entailing knowledge far beyond that of planting and harvesting, and (4) the increase in leisure time.

World War II added two extremely important influences: it dramatically demonstrated the dependence of the nation and of the world upon manipulative and technical skill; and it provided existing educational agencies with adequate funds to expand to meet war's needs—an expansion that would otherwise have taken decades.

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[18] Editorial, "High School Physics has been Neglected." *Saturday Evening Post,* November 10, 1945, Vol. 218, No. 19, page 132.

The problem faced not only by vocational education, but by all education as well, is that of evaluating changes and consolidating gains. This will be done only to the degree that the school, at all levels, increasingly recognizes that education is a continuous process, and that its program and services must be related to those of other agencies and to the total cultural pattern. Conceived in sociological terms, the artificial divisions between general and vocational education have no place except for administrative purposes.

Chapter 19

PURPOSEFUL LIVING

A FUNDAMENTAL tenet of democracy is that its social structure shall provide for each individual the fullest opportunity for purposeful living—goals based upon a sense of relative values and continuous progress toward their achievement. The means through which this end is to be achieved is education. For every problem requiring basic adjustment—economic, political, or social—the answer always resolves itself into the statement, "The only hope is education. The problem cannot be solved in our generation, but it can be in the next if we but teach the children in our schools a better way of life."

From the viewpoint of educational sociology, such an assumption is at most a half-truth. The school can and is doing much to bring about social change, but three factors lessen the effectiveness of the school. First, the individual is born into a world of culture with its established folkways, mores, institutions, attitudes, and sense of values. Through the process of social adjustment, the individual accepts this cultural pattern as his own; through the development of the we-feeling, the group pattern is extended beyond the years of early childhood. Second, social organization is resistant to change, as is illustrated by the campaign of management to release business from governmental controls and reestablish a "free economy." Third, the school itself is controlled by the adult population—boards of education; local, state, and national officers; teachers; and, in intangible but effective ways, by the general public.

If the basic problems of the nation and of the world are to be solved, if a secure peace and a sound economy are to be established, if poverty and prejudice are to be eradicated, if more than

lip-service is to be given to the realization of man's potentialities for translating his creative genius into the realization of purposeful living, then education must extend beyond the limited age group of childhood: adult education is imperative.

Early Developments in Adult Education

Adult education is not new: it is as old as civilization itself. Primitive peoples continued to learn the skills of war and of the hunt; the students of Plato and Aristotle were grown men; the Roman Forum was the seat of learning for old as well as young; the church taught novitiates of all ages; the guild schools trained boys and men in the arts of the trades. Only when the artificial agency of society—the school—became crystallized and its subject matter formalized, was education conceived as beginning at the age of six and ending at adolescence. The assumption that the period of learning must be limited became increasingly ingrained in our educational philosophy, not to be broken down until well after the facts of the educational status of our people was revealed by the draft of manpower in World War I.

As early as 1890, an article in *Lippincott's Magazine* protested against limiting the opportunity of formal education to children: "Think of it! Twenty-eight hundred millions of capital invested in education and none of it available to any one after the limits of youth are past. Much of it wasted in untimely efforts to force the minds of children against the unyielding resistances of immaturity. None of it, or anything else, applied to keeping up the intellectual momentum of later years."

Even a century earlier, some sporadic efforts had been made to develop education outside the formal agency of the school. The General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen was organized in New York City in 1790, and in 1820 opened a library of 4,000 volumes. At the dedication of the library, one Thomas Mercein expressed the educational hopes of its founders:[1] "The general

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[1] J. K. Hart, *Adult Education*, page 171. New York: T. Y. Crowell Company, 1927.

diffusion of light, both intellectual and moral, until its beams fall on every class of society, and cheer the retreat and asylum of the humble and obscure, shall prove an object of ardent devotion to the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian. As population increases and spreads, from the ocean to the mountains, and from the Great Lakes to the wilds of the Mississippi, let the march of education, literature, and science keep pace with the augmentation, adding new acquisitions to the great mass of general information."

A second movement which started in this country about the same time as the Mechanics Institute was the Lyceum. Its high purpose was stated in an "Address to the People of the State of South Carolina" dated 1834:[2] "We may remark of Socrates, and of all the schools of ancient philosophy, that . . . they produced no sensible effects on the great body of the people. . . . The reason was that the schemes of ancient philosophy did not comprehend the general instruction of the people, embracing both sexes, and all ages and conditions. . . . It is truly a republican institution."

From these early beginnings, both the Institute and, even more, the Lyceum came to play an important part in the enlightenment of the people. Largely within the last quarter century, a third type of adult education program developed, the Chautauqua movement, its name taken from the little lake in New York State on the banks of which the first "Chautauqua" was held. Both the Lyceum and the Chautauqua took to the road, and definite itineraries were arranged for various types of entertainment—from magicians to grand opera companies. The Lyceum was a winter program, usually one or two evenings a week; the Chautauqua was held during the summer, usually for a consecutive week of day and evening "performances." Local citizens committees selected the programs and made all the arrangements. Although national agencies arranged for booking the speakers and other entertainers, the initiative rested almost entirely with

[2] *Ibid.*, page 172.

the local community. Hundreds of thousands of individuals, who would not otherwise have had the opportunity to do so, heard lectures on the latest developments of science, watched and reveled in the performance of artists in many fields, and laughed with humorists poking fun at national personages. The automobile and the motion picture were the two most important influences in ringing down the curtain on these performances; the former made it possible for people to go to the larger centers where such entertainments were given; the latter brought their film counterpart into the community.

One other movement which developed early and has remained an important aspect of adult education is workers' education. Almost from the very first, labor unions have carried on an educational program for their members, including various types of services, from pamphlets on current issues to organized instruction. Two illustrations indicate the breadth of labor education, both quoted from the September 25, 1945, issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology:* "Realizing how important it is for everyone to have satisfying and constructive opportunities for self-expression, and understanding how especially important such opportunities are for workers who must spend their days at monotonous machine jobs, the Dressmakers Union Local No. 22 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in New York City has provided a highly successful art-school project for its members. The classes are open to all members without regard to previous training or recognized talent. The materials and instruction are provided by the union. Classes are held after working hours. They are attended by men and women, Negro and white, young and old. Two of the outstanding prize-winning pictures at the last exhibit were painted by women who were already middle aged when they began to paint and who had spent all their adult years at a routine factory job. The sense of pride and pleasure in this medium of self-expression is inspiring. Here is an undertaking in the adult-education field which has for its purpose the enrichment of the individual's life and the enhancement of his personal growth and development."

The second illustration, while somewhat more limited to union interests, reached beyond these into other economic and social issues: "In the old days of unionism trial and error provided leadership; the present leadership of the American labor movement learned the hard way. Yet as unionism has spread it has been recognized that more formal educational processes also have a role. Therefore it has become important to watch for opportunities to develop the educational program. Specific training benefits the union directly; but the program must be broad enough to maintain interest in education when new responsibilities have become accustomed ones and the original educational impulse is gone.

"New Bedford, Massachusetts, is one of New England's oldest and largest cotton-mill centers. It has always had some unionism of varying degrees of effectiveness, but there has been much dissatisfaction among the workers in the mills. In the spring of 1943, the National Labor Relations Board held a city-wide election in which the workers in ten mills chose the Textile Workers Union of America, C.I.O., as their collective bargaining representative. Thus, when a new union became active in an old situation, many of the elements of "new unionism" were evident. Entirely new leadership came to the fore, and the democratic structure of the new union brought a much larger group into participation in union affairs. The signing of a contract provided an opportunity to bring together those responsible for its administration, the shop stewards and grievance committeemen.

"In organizing classes several factors had to be kept in mind. The workers would be working eight hours a day at tough jobs. They were not accustomed to going to school, many had never been to school, few had gone past the eighth grade. Some of the most active union members had language difficulties. With these facts in mind classes were organized three nights a week for a two-week period. They were held in meeting halls in sections where the workers lived. Morning and evening sessions limited to an hour and a half were held for different shifts.

"The discussion method was used. The leader presented mate-

rial closely related to the workers' experiences, and those experiences were interpreted as well as discussed. Primary emphasis was placed on the job of the stewards in handling grievances; yet this work was related to the whole union, and the union to the entire social picture. The idealistic elements of union activity were emphasized, not merely the material rewards."

The frequent emphasis, in the discussion of education, upon the fact that it arose originally to meet a definite need, is well illustrated by adult education. The origin of adult education in the demands of labor organizations and the general public have been reflected in its development over the past quarter century. But it is extremely interesting to note that the origin of the movement lies outside the formal agency of the school, and that its incorporation into the program of popular education has come only after it had developed considerable significance outside the precincts of the school and college.

Recent Trends

Reluctance of sociologists and educators to sense the challenge of adult education may have several explanations. Lindeman [8] has suggested the following reasons to explain the reluctance of sociologists: "The chief reasons which account for the fact that our American sociologists have remained outside or on the fringes of the adult-education movement are, presumably, the following: (a) they know that education, and especially adult education, is involved with purposes and consequently with values and as scientists they feel that these questions lie outside their sphere, (b) they are themselves enmeshed in the academic system, most of whose administrators still hold their noses at the mention of adult education, and finally (c) they have not appreciated the opportunities which adult education offers for sociological research, experimentation, and demonstration. As my appeal revolves about the last of these explanations, I shall add only a passing remark respecting the first two.

[8] Eduard C. Lindeman, "The Sociology of Adult Education." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1945, Vol. 19, No. 1, pages 4–5.

"The great fallacy of American sociology of recent times is the result of a logical confusion: Sociologists, animated by a fierce need to be classified as scientists, committed the error of confusing exactness with truth. They lost their perspective for the concrete and immediately exciting moments of experience. They became so frightened over the risk of making judgments and postulating values that they buried themselves in the dry data of those aspects of experience which may be readily counted because they "lie still" while the counting is going on. This is the fundamental error, but the other has been equally disastrous: Sociologists, in order to justify their places in the academic hierarchies, have piled up a mass of literature which looks technical, sounds technical, and smells technical but which cannot be put to technical uses. It is read by other sociologists or by prospective sociologists who learn their sociology through assigned readings. If the nonacademic citizen interested in sociological problems wants something lively to read, we are obliged to send him back to Cooley or Sumner or Giddings or Ward. Early American sociology made a contribution to writers but now the writers instruct the sociologists, and the public as well."

The explanation, as far as educators is concerned, is more difficult, but at least the following factors influenced the delay in incorporating adult education into the educational system: (1) the inertia of institutions to change; the school had served only children and adolescents, therefore it continued to serve only these age groups, (2) neither teachers nor administrators were equipped to meet the needs of adults. They had studied psychology, educational methods and procedures, and even content, but all in terms of childhood and youth: instructional materials in vocabulary and illustrations were for children, not for adults, and (3) the failure of educators to accept the emphasis of educational sociology to the effect that, if education is to be operative, it must be related to the whole social milieu, and must be continuous.

The first inclusion of adult education into the public schools was through the Americanization program. Night schools were

opened to provide teaching of the English language to the foreign-born. These early beginnings were frequently not too encouraging. Teachers took on the evening assignment in addition to their day classes, often at only a small fraction per hour of even their meager regular salary. There was little supervision, and the general tendency was to keep the cost as low as possible. But in spite of all handicaps, adult education developed because it was demanded by those who sought to continue their education beyond the age limitations of the traditional school program. It developed also, partly at least, because of the changing concept of education emphasized by educational sociology. This emphasis is stated by Zorbaugh as follows:[4] "The measure of adult maturity is the success with which the individual adjusts himself to the demands of family life and the vocational world. Until within our own generation, schooling has helped the individual little if at all in making either of these adjustments. Consequently numberless men and women have found themselves adrift in life—restless and dissatisfied, bewildered, or resentful. Adult education has arisen to meet this adult need of reorientation to life."

Although adult education had continued gradually to expand and had reached from the metropolitan areas into many of the smaller communities, and a number of states had established adult education divisions, the upsurge came as a result of the depression of the 1930's. The federal program, at first limited to made-work for the unskilled, was expanded through the much maligned Works Progress Administration (WPA) to include white collar workers. Teachers, artists, aspiring authors, actors, and many more were not only given an opportunity to carry on their own interests, but many were given responsibility for conducting significant community enterprises. Community surveys were made to determine the adequacy of existing leisure-time activities; classes were conducted in the arts and the humanities;

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[4] Harvey W. Zorbaugh, "Editorial." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, April 1932, Vol. 5, No. 8, page 461.

hobby interests were developed through organized classes; and laboratories and shops were opened to adults. Parents who had never seen the inside of the school which their children were attending came to take classes in cooking, sewing, child psychology, and current problems. Not all of the activities of WPA were boondoggling, as its critics have implied.

One of the most significant developments of this period was the closer relationship that developed between the school and the community. Not only were schools opened to the adult population, but in many communities, school teachers and administrators assisted in the program, and classes were held also in libraries, union halls, settlement houses—any place where light, heat, and physical facilities could be provided.

As the program continued, a few educators began to dream of a permanent adult education program, supported coöperatively by federal, state, and local funds. But by the later years of the decade, the relief aspect was increasingly dominant, and individuals feared to collect their WPA checks as increasing numbers were dropped from the roles. In a few communities, the school sought to continue some parts of the program, but with the total withdrawal of federal funds in 1939, WPA became a memory. But it left a definite influence, as do all social experiments of such magnitude. WPA demonstrated what the educational psychologists had previously learned experimentally, that adults can learn as well as children; it proved what the educational sociologists had been saying for more than a decade: that, given the opportunity, adults are eager to find ways better to use their leisure time; that they have a multitude of interests; and that the school can be a coördinating influence in extending education to adults.

Many other types of adult education developed independently of the school, in fact preceded, and to some degree set the pattern, for later incorporation into the school program. Commercial correspondence schools had expanded until the fees for their courses was approximately $7,000,000 annually. Some eighty colleges and universities, a few public school systems, and several state departments also established a wide range of correspondence

courses. Settlement houses and other welfare and recreational agencies, public and private, made available extensive educational programs for adults.

One of the most important adult programs is that of parent education. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers, to cite but one example, has local chapters in many towns and cities throughout the United States. Courses are conducted in subjects of special interest to parents and teachers. Although lectures are given on a wide variety of topics, chief interest is in the development of a better understanding of children and youth. In many communities, the local Parent-Teachers Association has provided an effective link between the school and the home.

The number of other groups that conduct adult educational programs is too numerous to list except by general category: commercial agencies, from schools of the dance to training in auto mechanics; non-profit schools giving everything from basic English to philosophy and law through evening classes; churches, fraternal organizations—in fact there is hardly an institution but what has recognized that which the school is still hesitant to accept—that a program of social action must include the adult population if education is to have any significant influence in shaping the behavior patterns of this generation.

World War II shifted much of the emphasis of adult education to training for activities that would directly contribute to the war effort. Through the emergency programs, described in some detail in the preceding chapter, nearly 10,000,000 men and women received organized instruction aimed to increase war production. Many thousands more took courses for nurses' aid, civilian defense, and for participation in other civilian war services.

The armed forces conducted the most extensive educational and training program for adults ever developed in the history of any nation. In addition to the basic military training given to almost 15,000,000 men and an indoctrination course to nearly 500,000 women, more than half of all of the men were given specialist training, varying in length from a few weeks to more than a year. Approximately 500,000 were assigned to one of the several col-

lege training programs; the others were trained in the specialist schools operated directly by the War and Navy Departments. Perhaps more important from the point of view of adult education was the program of off-duty education provided through the Information and Education Division of the Army and the Educational Services Section of the Navy. To July 1, 1946, a little over 1,000,000 men and women, some of the former while in combat zones, registered for correspondence courses through the United States Armed Forces Institute. Millions of copies of self-teaching texts in many fields, thousands of language records for instruction in the verbal use of more than twenty-five foreign tongues, news maps, and millions of books followed our forces throughout the world.

Implications for Adult Education

Although some aspects of the adult education program before World War II were continued during the war, even the full reinstatement of that program will be inadequate to meet the unprecedented postwar needs. The social disintegration, which inevitably follows war's cataclysmic upheaval, makes a comprehensive program of adult education essential to the welfare of the community and the nation, and to the peace of the world. But there is another and more urgent reason now: never before has the gap in education in so large a proportion of our population been so complete or over so long a period of time. This gap exists not only for those who entered the armed forces, but also for those other millions of youth who left high schools and colleges to take their part in war production. And for all, there is a gap in the concern for social and economic problems, crowded out by the immediate and pressing news and demands of war. Never has America faced so tremendous a problem in social adjustment as the challenge of the next decade.

As a result of the so-called GI bill (Public Law 346) and other federal legislation, some 4,000,000 veterans will return to some type of education. Of this number, perhaps half will go to colleges and universities. But what a responsibility the other

2,000,000 throws upon adult education! The typical, and frequently meagerly supported, evening school will not meet their needs. Courageous planning and bold execution are imperative lest the educational benefits provided by law be but a futile gesture.

There are other types of adjustment of the veteran to which adult education can make a distinct contribution. Some in the armed forces have had positions of responsibility, perhaps also incomes, out of all proportion to that which was theirs before entering the Army or Navy. For many of these, there will be little opportunity to return to a position comparable to that which they held in the armed forces. The chevron, the bar, or the braid will not be recognized on the farm or in the shop. Only the day-to-day demonstrated ability to get on with people will assure respect for the individual or confidence in his judgment. Conversely, there will be those who have had only routine military tasks, who will have been divorced from their normal interests, and who will have lost the sense of initiative and of personal responsibility. For these, there will be likewise a period of adjustment. Time is required to learn again the feeling of individual responsibility and of normal human relationship. Some will find it difficult to pick up again the tangled threads of their lives dropped as they left the shop or rolled down the desk lid for the last time before leaving for the reception center. Awareness of this necessary adjustment and recognition that it is a natural concomitant of any separation from normal life will ease the tensions and speed up the process.

Readjustment is more than an individual problem even though it is personal. Many, as a result of the experience gained in the armed forces, have been momentarily freed from the attitudes, customs, and standards of behavior within their own communities. They have associated, side-by-side, with men of different economic status, religion, and, to a lesser degree, of race. They have had privileges—USO Clubs, free tickets, blind dates, and many more —while in uniform, that will not continue to be theirs when they return to civvies. Civilians in many home towns did not, during

war, have experiences which changed community behavior patterns to any considerable extent. Inevitably, former customs, attitudes, and prejudices, rooted deep in the behavior pattern of the community, still persist. To the degree that the veteran's attitude has changed, does he have difficulty in fitting again into the pattern of community life.

Adult education has an even greater problem—that of challenging an ever larger proportion of the adult population to think through the vital issues now gripping the nation and the world. Although it must continue its individual function—the enrichment of personality through the stimulation of cultural interests and the improvement of vocational efficiency—adult education must also be an agency for social action: to lessen the social lag that was widened by war, and to develop a sense of social values.

To achieve these ends, adult education will need to lose much of its institutional pattern. Too often, education has been thought of only as formal classrooms, lectures, and tests; yet no learning situation offers a better opportunity to develop primary group relationships than that of the give and take of adult minds thinking through a social issue together, under the leadership of one trained to deal with mature persons.

A successful adult education program involves a number of specific steps, one of which is conducting a periodic social survey of the community to determine needs and available educational services. A project to determine needs is illustrated by the recent New York Youth survey to which reference has been made previously; one to determine educational services is illustrated by the Washington Social Survey, Adult Education Section, from which the following excerpts are quoted.[5]

> I. General information: name of organization, address of headquarters and centers where activities are conducted, name of officer responsible for program, sex and races served, general fees, hours of activities, purpose of pro-

[5] Reproduced by permission of the Social Survey of Metropolitan Area of Washington, D. C.

gram, and extent of community participation in its planning.

II. Types of activities and special facilities offered:
  1. Formal and informal adult group activities.
  2. Educational radio programs for adults.
  3–5. Museum, art gallery, and library activities and facilities.
  6. Other educational and/or cultural activities for adults.

III. Staff:
  1. Administration: number of paid staff, number of hours spent, and so on.
  2. Teachers, lecturers, and others.
  3. How do you select your teachers or leaders?
  4. Do you require special preparation in adult education techniques of your paid staff members? Other educational requirements?
  5. Do you make any provision for in-service training of your paid staff?
  6. Do you use volunteer leaders or teachers? If so, how are they trained?

IV. Facilities for educational counseling and guidance.

V. Publicity and promotion.

VI. Coöperation with other agencies and organizations.

VII. Training facilities for adult educational teachers and leaders.

VIII. Physical facilities.

IX. Financial support.

X. Conclusion:
  1. Does your organization have any plans for the expansion of its adult education program in the near future?
  2. Please indicate those areas in adult education which in your estimation are either unserved or inadequately served.

All too frequently such a survey as that suggested above is made only once, and the agencies quickly settle back into their traditional patterns. Surveys should be conducted periodically, and provision should be made through some type of community coordinating council to assist organizations in utilizing the findings in more effective and more inclusive service to the entire com-

munity. This implies a second change, namely, the closer coordination of all of the adult organizations and agencies in the community; but such coördination should go beyond the community level. State and federal agencies, both private and public, should be utilized. To cite but one illustration: the Extension Division of the Department of Agriculture is rendering a distinctive service in many rural communities, but its work would have even greater effectiveness if more closely integrated with the work of local agencies.

A third change is essential: the better preparation and selection of administrators and discussion leaders in adult education, both paid staff and volunteers. No compulsory education laws enforce the attendance of adults: adults continue only as long as the activity holds their interest. This very fact may have deterred some school administrators from risking an adult program. However, responsibility for trained leaders goes farther back than the local community. Teacher-training institutions have a definite responsibility which they have only now begun to recognize to provide training for adult education.

When these and other changes are made, then adult education will adopt the best in the education of children and youth, and provide a continuous laboratory of democratic experience and a constant growth toward more purposeful living. As Lindeman[6] concludes: "Our nation stands confronted with fateful issues. Within the very near future we must come to some general agreement regarding the type of economy which is most likely to meet our requirements; we must decide what is to be done about our deep-seated habits of racial discrimination, how we are to democratize our vast educational equipment, how we are to play an appropriate role in world affairs. These are all crucial issues upon which not merely our future as a nation depends but also the future quality of life in the world. It is these very issues which furnish adult education with its program and its mission."

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[6] *Op. cit.*, page 12.

Chapter 20

SOCIAL ATTITUDES

BEHAVIOR, from the standpoint of the educational sociologist, is not only overt, but includes also the attitudes of both the person and the group, for it is the social attitude of the individual that to a large degree determines his behavior.

The term "attitude" is used in common parlance and its meaning in sociology is not dissimilar. Attitude is *an acquired and relatively fixed tendency to react in a given way in relation to other persons, or to things.* It may be thought of as a learned predisposition toward or against, or indifferent to, a person or an object. Attitudes vary from the extreme of strong attraction expressed in the emotion of love to that of revulsion and hate.

The earlier discussion of the individual and the group has a definite bearing on our discussion here. The person's attitude toward himself is the result of the real, or that which he assumes to be real, attitude of others toward him. Since each person is both a subject and an object in social interaction, the problem of attitudes becomes a major field of interest in educational sociology.

Because attitudes are acquired, they cannot be studied except in the light of knowledge and understanding of the cultural pattern. As Ellsworth Faris[1] points out: "Social attitudes, once they are grasped in their full significance, become the counterpart in individual equipment of the richly varied customs of the peoples of the world—differing as customs differ, from land to land, and changing as the mores change, from age to age. For the

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[1] *The Nature of Human Nature,* page 134. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937.

social attitudes of individuals are but the specific instances in individuals of the collective phenomena which the sociologists have labored for a century to bring to the consciousness of their colleagues in social science. . . . It is clear that culture precedes particular individuals, that cultural patterns were ancient when you and I were young, and that the key to the varying attitudes is to be sought in culture history, culture contact, and social change."

The relation of the attitude of a person and his overt behavior in a given situation forms an intriguing area of investigation. Whereas attitudes are predispositions to act in a given way, actual behavior under specific conditions may be very different. A person may dislike peas, for example, yet when visiting a friend, he may eat with apparent relish. The same difference in behavior may be shown in relation to a person toward whom one has a distinct aversion but greets warmly when meeting on the street. Other attitudes, such as that of a sense of courtesy or an awareness of self-interest, may predominate for the moment. So frequently is the person's attitude regarding a person or object at variance with what he says and does, that there is some credence to the story of the man who lost all his friends in one day because he told them exactly how he felt about their clothes, their actions, and their relatives and friends, and acted in accordance with his attitudes. Similar variation may be shown between the general attitude toward a given group and that toward one person of that group. An illustration is the lad who had been taught to dislike those who "lived across the tracks," but developed a deep friendship with one of the boys from this area.

Situational variation of behavior resulting from conflicting attitudes should stimulate, rather than disparage, study of social attitudes. It indicates one way in which attitudes may be directed, namely, that of using the person's behavior in a specific situation as a basis for raising it to a generalized attitude. The sense of conflict in attitudes is the first step in their modification.

Thus far our discussion has been only of personal attitudes. Some sociologists have sought to differentiate between attitudes

of persons and those of groups, restricting the term "social attitudes" only to the latter. This distinction in terms does not appear meaningful since all attitudes are socially acquired. The group concept is, however, entirely sound, since opposition and cooperation in social interaction are largely based upon group patterns of behavior, which are crystallized in social organization and, in turn, are created by such organization. Illustrations are everywhere about us: management and labor; Negroes and whites; Republicans and Democrats; Catholics, Protestants, and Jews; Americans, British, and Russians. However, we have seen that group attitudes are not only on the basis of world, national, or large-group interaction, but are based on primary groups as well —the family, the play group, or the neighborhood area.

Group attitudes show relatively little variance in particular situations, and, except in periods of stress, change slowly. That changes do occur is shown, for example, in the increasing equality of educational opportunities for Negroes, and, conversely, in the increasing tension between labor and management in the aftermath of World War II.

Attitudes are acquired in several ways. Initially they are the result of the process of social adjustment, as described previously. The person accepts the attitudes of others in his desire for status in the group. The degree of we-feeling determines the extent to which a group attitude is accepted by the person.

Attitudes, however, are not learned solely within the framework of group patterns: they are acquired also as a result of deliberately planned education, from that which is pure propaganda to a carefully organized schoolroom situation. An advertisement seeks to make one like a particular brand of lipstick, cigarettes, or make of car. Newspapers, the radio, and the motion picture are powerful agents in the formation of attitudes. When such agents are internally consistent as in war, they create patriotic fervor toward our allies and hatred of our enemies.

An extremely significant aspect of attitude is the *stereotype*—a "group-accepted image or idea, usually verbalized and charged with emotion." It is an oversimplified, often caricatured con-

ception of a person, an aspect of social organization, or a social program, which takes the place of accurate images or individualized concepts. The late Franklin D. Roosevelt was always caricatured with his cigarette tipped up in a long holder at a sharp angle; a radical organization is portrayed by an individual with long hair and disheveled appearance; a teacher is pictured as a middle-aged spinster with a peaked face and wearing spectacles. But words are stereotypes, too; such words as "red-head," "penny-pincher," and "shantyite" are generalized concepts.

Stereotypes may be deliberately developed by a group and through the channels of communication, newspaper cartoons being the most obvious illustration. They are also developed by one or more isolated experiences which are generalized by the person as applicable to an entire group or class. For example, an individual may have an unfortunate experience with a member of another race, and, as a result, may accept the generalization that all members of the race would act in the same way. The individual is all the more prone to accept a generalization if it conforms to the group attitude. Stereotypes may, of course, be positive as well as negative, praiseworthy as well as critical.

In the remainder of the chapter, attitudes in specific contexts will be discussed: civic attitudes, those toward minority groups, attitudes of and toward veterans, and chauvenism. Other attitudes might have been included, but the principles suggested in relation to these four are applicable also to other fields.

Civic Attitudes

The term "civic" is here used in a broad sense to include not only the more frequent connotation of the individual's relation with government but also the more comprehensive meaning of the individual's relation with his fellow man. It includes the concepts frequently designated as "citizenship" or "character education." One is able specifically to discuss the interrelation of the person with governmental agencies and authority, but this would be but one aspect of the larger problem of citizenship in a democracy. In terms of behavior, such a distinction is artificial

and unrealistic, as is evidenced by the ever-increasing points of contact between the individual and government.

Among primitive groups, the child learned the essentials of getting on with the others of his group, both children and adults, through the day-by-day contacts within the community, supplemented by tribal rituals and especially the initiation ceremony. Only as society becomes increasingly complex and primary groups are supplemented by secondary and tertiary relationships does deliberate emphasis, placed upon inculcating attitudes to govern behavior, become necessary.

The modern emphasis upon the development of civic attitudes has gone through four cycles. The first was the predominantly religious aspect of the period of the *New England Primer.* The second began with the secularization of education and the growth of the publicly controlled school. Religious material was supplanted by that which too obviously drew a moral. From approximately 1825 to 1875, children's readers included vivid stories in which, as the author has elsewhere stated,[2] "our young hero always conquered triumphantly, while the evil-doer invariably sank into disgrace and inglorious defeat, and died, mourned by none but his immediate relatives." Literally hundreds of books were published under such titles as "The Rewards of Virtue" and "The Miseries of Men Are of Their Own Procuring." Even editions of Mother Goose rhymes followed each rhyme with a specific moral printed in large type, such as is found after the following:

> When I was in London, I lived by myself.
> All the bread and cheese I got I put upon the shelf.
> The rats and the mice they led me such a life
> I had to go to London to get myself a wife.
> The streets were so wide and the lanes were so narrow
> I had to bring my wife home in a wheelbarrow.
> The wheelbarrow broke and my wife took a fall,
> And down came the wheelbarrow, little wife, and all.
> *Moral: Hope for the Best, But Expect the Worst!*

[2] "Character Education—Past and Present." *School and Society,* May 2, 1936, Vol. 43, No. 1114, page 586.

The third period was that just before the turn of the century when these moral lessons were largely discontinued, although the effort to build attitudes through hero stories has never wholly disappeared. Greater attention was given to citizenship education to meet the mounting criticism of the schools, which, as one writer phrased it, were "palaces of iniquity in which every subject is taught except how to live."

The fourth period, that between World Wars I and II, brought the rapid increase in the concern of the school and other agencies for the development of civic attitudes. Data on juvenile delinquency and other indications of social maladjustment stimulated many, sometimes frenzied, developments by the school and other agencies. Youth organizations were created; extracurricular activities were included in the program of the school; and courses were established in the relation of the individual to his government, and others providing for direct instruction in character building. In one school, a different character trait was discussed each week during the home-room periods. A precocious child critically appraised such a program as follows:

> The first week, I am honest, sincere, and most contrite.
> The second, well, I just don't care, but that week I'm polite.
> The third week I am careful, no auto need me fear.
> While on the fourth, I'm thrifty of stolen pennies, dear.

Civic education is a fundamental responsibility of the school and of all agencies of the community. Much that has been done has been of inestimable value in building morale and developing a sense of civic responsibility, but there is need for a more realistic approach. Our earlier discussion clearly indicates the changes sought by the educational sociologist in civic education. These proposed changes will be reviewed here and more specifically related to the development of civic attitudes.

The basic concept of social interaction is best shown in the development of primary group values. Through shared responsibilities, children and teacher working together to achieve common goals and purposes in a spirit of coöperation, the basic elements

of civic attitudes are, to use an old adage, "caught, not taught." That every individual be given an opportunity to have status within the group and that status be determined by the recognition of the rights of others, are fundamental concepts of social relations, which are as essential in out-of-school and adult relationships as in the relationships of children in the classroom.

But this is only the first step; the second is to give the child, within the range of his level of maturity, a deep appreciation of the struggle of mankind to achieve social organization. Too often it is assumed that this has been done when historical facts are memorized in chronological sequence; too seldom do teachers and pupils undertake to discover why institutions have developed and procedures been established. Unfortunately, texts are written to answer "what" and "when," but not the more difficult question of "why." Possibly history needs to be rewritten, beginning with the present and working backward to discover how each event of consequence was dependent both upon its coeval circumstances and upon preceding developments. As Charles Judd states:[8] "All persons who teach or administer schools and all citizens who support schools should be led to see clearly that the purpose of education is to give young people the fullest possible equipment of civilized ideas and civilized methods of thinking and behavior. It should be recognized that it is only through an acceptance of these gifts of civilization that the individual can achieve in a short lifetime the goals of personal existence. The individual can make his contributions to civilization only when he has command of the best techniques of life that are contributed through social effort."

The third step in the development of civic attitudes is observation of, and participation in, as wide and as realistic social interaction as possible, varying with the age and ability of the individual to appreciate the significance of such vicarious experience. Many ways in which schools have sought to provide this experi-

[8] "Teaching Government in Public Schools," quoted from E. George Payne, Editor, *Readings in Educational Sociology*, page 173. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940.

ence have been extremely artificial. Children have been assigned to police the halls or playground; children's "courts" have been established to handle discipline cases; city officials have turned over their desks to school children for a day. Students quickly sense the facts that the first two measures provide limited experience, through which they are doing unpleasant tasks that are a part of the responsibility of teachers and administrators, and that the third measure is but a staged performance bearing no real responsibility.

Abundant opportunities exist within the age and ability of the child for the assumption of responsibilities by the classroom or the entire school. For younger children, such experiences will be provided almost wholly within the school; for older groups they may well lead into community activities and services. One illustration is the school organization developed in the experimental school of the Harris Teachers College in St. Louis. Payne describes this program in an unpublished manuscript as follows:

"To give the children opportunity for active coöperation in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the school and community, each room above the fourth grade was organized into a school improvement society. The room selected a president, vice-president, a secretary, and as many committees as were thought necessary by the children to carry on the work they felt worthwhile. In the beginning they selected committees: on regularity and punctuality, on the care of books, on welcoming new pupils, on neatness of school building and grounds, on school studies, and on safety. In each room once a week, a meeting was held at which the elected chairman presided. The meeting consisted of the discussion of matters in which the children were interested and of the plans for the work that they could carry out. They heard, discussed, and decided what to do about reports of committees.

"With this beginning, the work of the children progressed until they engaged in studies of accidents, the health conditions of the city and of the children, ways of improving the health and accident situation in the schools, in the homes, and in the community,

and all other problems that came within their experience. The committee not only made studies of existing conditions, but prepared plans for improvement wherever and whenever that was possible. With the advice and leadership of the school staff, then, these children were actually engaging in civic functions of first importance, and incidentally acquiring social knowledge and capacity for social adjustment and social service.

"This type of organization has been extended and always with excellent results. In St. Louis it was an important factor in reducing accidents and improving the health of children."

In the development of civic attitudes on the basis described here, a fourth step is necessary, namely, providing opportunity for selective leadership. A realistic approach to civic education must entail recognition of the fact that all cannot be leaders, that it is as important to know how to select leaders as it is to learn to work collectively toward a common end. The tendency is widespread to assume that leadership is innate and that "the times produce the man," especially in government. The school has assumed that scholarship is the major criteria in the selective process, yet the facts indicate that other qualities create a Hitler, a Huey Long, or a local political "boss."

The training of leaders for national government service is only now beginning. The Army's School for Military Government was the first attempt to select and train men in any considerable number. Several colleges have recently initiated courses for those planning to go into diplomatic service. Cornell University, in 1945, opened a school for training in labor-management relations in which each student is required to serve an internship in both a labor organization office and in one of management.

However, the need for training leaders is very much greater than these isolated illustrations imply; it is twofold: selection and specialized training for leaders also in local and state government and other positions involving human relations, and, even more, the development of positive criteria as a basis for the selection of leaders—criteria thoroughly understood by those who

select leaders, from the officers of a school group to our Congressional representatives.

This social emphasis in education and the development of civic attitudes in the children themselves is stated by Payne [4] as follows:

"The development of the concept of the social function of the school may be accomplished by eliminating the notion that the children come to school primarily for the learning of lessons in the conventional subjects and to substitute for this the concept that children come to school to learn how to live outside of the school. For example they should be fully aware that they come to school to learn to be healthy, to acquire civic practices, to participate actively in home betterment, to learn to participate in groups, to properly utilize leisure, and the like. This means that they would regard the school subjects merely as a means, and only one of the means to this end. We do not imply that this revolution in attitude would take place at once in the pupils, but that the teachers would start out deliberately to build this attitude into the lives and practices of the children. No adequate school organization can be devised except as the children themselves become progressively conscious of the purpose that the school should serve in their lives.

"The next attitude to build into the lives and practices of the children is, that the realization of school purposes is their problem as well as the problem of the school and the teaching staff. The teachers are mere leaders and helpers in the realization of the pupils' aims and purposes. This point of view, of course, is one that can be attained only gradually, as it means a transformation of long cherished school attitudes and practices."

Attitudes Toward Minority Groups

America is a land of many peoples. Only the American Indian is a "native," and anthropologists are agreed that even he is an

[4] E. George Payne, unpublished manuscript.

early migrant from Asia. The extent of the heterogeneity of population is only hinted at in Table XXXIX. The "foreign born," if broken down by native country, would include every nation on earth; and the native white, if described by country of origin, would show the same wide distribution. During the 124 years from 1820 to 1943, a total of 38,394,753 immigrants came to the United States. The five countries that have contributed most, in order of number, are: Germany (6,028,377), Ireland (4,719,825), Greece (4,582,595), Austria-Hungary (4,144,366), and Russia (3,343,480). A breakdown by social and economic status would show even greater heterogeneity, as immigrants came from every strata of European and Asiatic society, from peasant to aristocrat—farmers, tradesmen, and political refugees.

For almost a century and a half, America was the golden land of opportunity. The first small bands of immigrants were swelled by ever larger numbers, reaching a peak of over a million a year during the decade 1905 to 1914. When the wave of immigration started again after the close of World War I, the flow was stemmed by the establishment of a quota system for each country and, in 1945, the maximum number of immigrants in any one year was approximately 150,000.

The author [5] has elsewhere described the problem created by heterogeneity as follows: "The one universal characteristic of mankind is variability. Social organization crystallizes such differences as those of race, religion, and nationality, and the awareness of differences is lifted from an individual to a group concept. Each group tends to develop a 'we' or 'in-group' feeling with a definite attitude of superiority as to its own cultural pattern and a feeling of antagonism toward that of the 'they' or 'out-group.' It perpetuates its own folkways, exalts its own culture, fosters its own self-glorification, and seeks to transmit this same attitude, undiminished and even enhanced, to its children. Likewise, each group tends to disparage the accomplishments of those of

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[5] Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, *One America*, page 1. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945.

Table XXXIX *

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY NATIVITY AND RACE, 1940

Race	Number	Per Cent
All classes	137,669,275	100.00
White	118,214,270	89.78
Native	106,795,732	81.11
Foreign-born	11,419,138	8.67
Negro	12,865,511	9.77
Other races	588,887	0.44
Indian	333,969	0.25
Japanese	126,947	0.09
Chinese	77,504	0.06
Filipino	45,563	0.03
All others	4,904	0.01

* Francis J. Brown and Joseph S. Roucek, *One America*, page 645. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945.

the out-group, ridicules its culture, and often, as in Germany during the life and death struggle of Nazism, seeks to exterminate it by rigid censorship or by persecution. Thus in ethnocentrism —the superiority of the in-group and the evaluation of all others by reference to the culture pattern of one's own group—is found the basis of differentiation between dominant and minority groups."

The problem is complex and one for which there is no ready-made solution. It involves basic economic factors that at times are overt but that more often are covered up by easy platitudes and prejudiced generalizations that seek to conceal vested interests. The relation between prejudice and the total range of social and economic problems is described by Benedict: [6]

"Mistaken explanations of the nature of race prejudice are of minor importance so long as they are concerned with theoretical points like instinctive antipathies or the role of racial visibility. There is a far more important issue. The fact that to understand race conflict we need fundamentally to understand *conflict* and

[6] Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics*, pages 237–245. New York: The Viking Press, 1943.

not *race* means something much more drastic. It means that all the deepseated causes of conflict in any group or between groups are involved in any outbreak of race prejudice. . . . If civilized men expect to end prejudice—whether religious or racial—they will have to remedy major social abuses, in no way connected with religion or race, to the common advantage. Whatever reduces conflict, curtails irresponsible power, and allows people to obtain a decent livelihood will reduce race conflict. . . . It is not enough merely to legislate human rights for the minorities. The majorities also—the persecutors—must have solid basis for confidence in their own opportunity to live in security and decency."

These forces must be faced realistically and no action which does not take them into account can be a solution. The seriousness of such factors is indicated by Figure 30 showing the sharp contrast in rejection rate of white and Negro inductees, especially in the rate of rejection because of educational deficiency and syphilis.

Racial attitudes are learned from the group. The small child may note physical differences between himself and his playmates, but the recognition of social significance in such differences is the result of learning from older children and adults. The child finds that acceptance of the group attitude gives him status; nonconformity brings rebuke or social isolation. Gradually, and for the most part, uncritically, he accepts his "we-group" pattern of thought and of behavior, and develops emotionalized convictions toward those of other races or groups.

The group aspect of racial and other minority-group attitudes makes them difficult to change, and then only gradually. The writer was recently speaking before a mixed group of disabled veterans in a northern hospital. Following the general discussion, four young Negro officers asked, "What are we to do? We lived all our lives in a little community in a southern state. We accepted the segregated life in our home town because we had never experienced any other way of living. Then war came, and we have known what it is to be able to associate freely and as an equal with other people. We have often talked about it, and

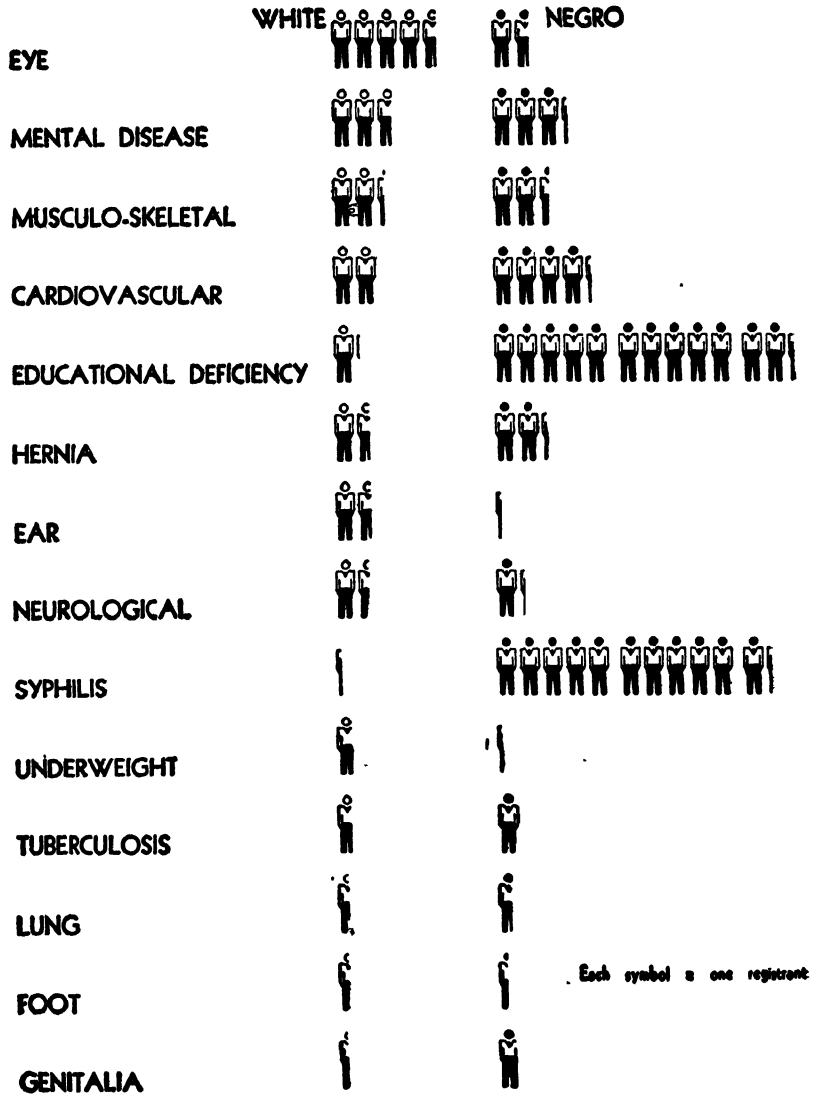


Figure 30. Major causes of rejection among 18- 19-year olds per 100 white and 100 Negro registrants for military service. Based on a sample of 45,585 examinations, February 1945, Selective Service System. (Source: *Physical Fitness Through Health Examination,* p. 11. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Office of Education, 1943.

we do not see how we can go back and again accept the discrimination that we know still exists there." There were only two suggestions that could be given: "Do not go back" or "Go back but remember that the people in your home community have not shared your experience. The very fact that you return will have some influence in changing the attitude of the community because of its recognition of the service you have given to our country." Neither answer could be wholly satisfactory, but everyone who is interested in intercultural relations must recognize that the overlapping of generations and the solidarity of the group make it impossible to do more than progress gradually toward the desired goal.

Factual studies, such as Dollard's *Class and Caste in Southerntown* or Brown and Roucek's *One America,* bear out the gradualness of change in social relations. The same conclusion is drawn from the study by Allison Davis and Burleigh and Mary Gardner:[7] "Life in the communities of Deep South follows an ordered pattern. The inhabitants live in a social world clearly divided into two ranks, the white caste and the Negro caste. These color-castes share disproportionately in the privileges and obligations of labor, school, and government, and participate in separate families, associations, cliques, and churches. Only in the economic sphere do the caste sanctions relax, and then but for a few persons and in limited relationships. Within the castes are social classes, not so rigidly defined as the castes, but serving to organize individuals and groups upon the basis of 'higher' and 'lower' status, and thus to restrict intimate social access. Both the caste system and the class system are changing through time; both are responsive to shifts in the economy, in the social dogmas, and in other areas of the social organization. Both are persisting, observable systems, however, recognized by the people who live in the communities; they form Deep South's mold of existence."

Stereotypes are common ways of describing a minority group. The author still vividly recalls the generalized description of the

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[7] *Deep South,* page 539. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

Mexicans who lived in a box car along the railroad and worked as section hands. In the one word "greaser" was couched "swarthy-skinned, dirty, treacherous, and stilleto-carrying."

For long decades, the problem of minority groups in American life was wholly ignored by education. The segregation of caste was accepted in the South, and little effort was made to provide equal educational opportunity for Negro children. The "melting pot" theory was tacitly assumed to be a practical analogy—that those of widely different cultures from foreign lands were being molded into a common pattern through the "crucible of America." Although it was known there were Little Italys, Chinatowns, Jewish neighborhoods, and a thousand other communities in which English was seldom spoken and the cultures of the Old World still persisted, such places were the drawing cards of sightseeing buses for curious tourists, not a serious problem in American life.

It has been largely within this century that the interaction of these divergent groups has been of serious concern to sociologists, educators, and now to the general population. Studies of delinquency showed the highest rate among children and youth faced daily with the opposition of Old and New World standards of conduct. Surveys of sickness and mortality showed vastly higher rates among groups deprived of equal opportunity and status. A high correlation was found between illiteracy and dependency.

With this awakening, causal factors have been sought and widely publicized. In one southern state in which Negroes comprise approximately forty per cent of the population and own fifteen per cent of the wealth, less than nine per cent of the total expenditure for education is spent for the education of Negro children. Another state spent, in 1940, almost exactly ten times as much for each white child in average daily attendance as for each Negro child. Comparative expenditures for 1941–42 for eleven southern states are shown in Figure 31. For every dollar spent per white child in average daily attendance—not in total number of children—only $38.95 is spent for each Negro child. Only Oklahoma varies from the otherwise consistent pattern.

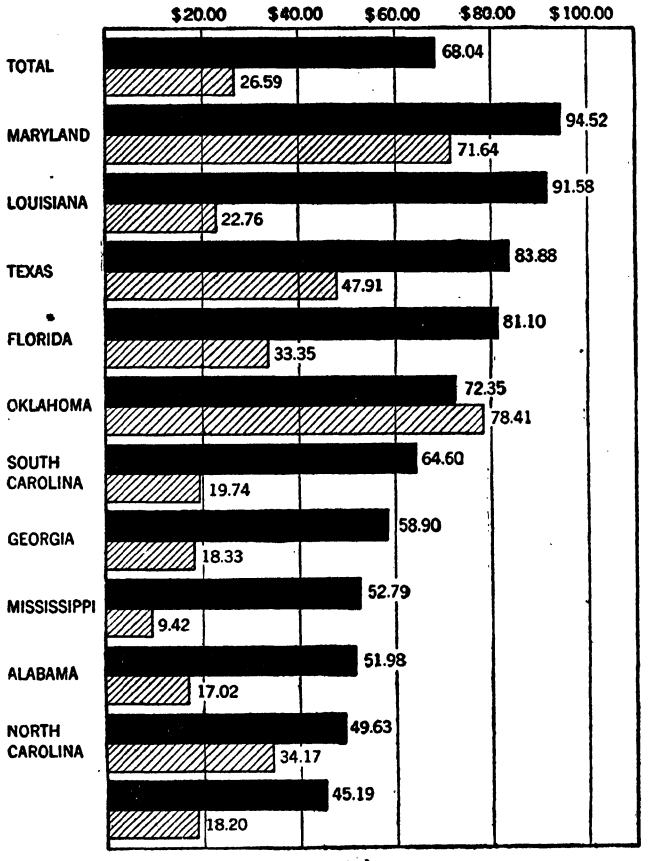


Figure 31. Public school expenditures per pupil in average daily attendance in white and Negro Schools, 1941–1942. (Data from *Biennium Report,* U. S. Office of Education.)

In both World Wars, the rejection of Negroes because of illiteracy was nearly seven times as high as for whites. Data on discrimination against the Jews and other culture groups have likewise been effectively pointed out.

The gradual awakening to the problem resulted first in the rejection of the "melting pot" theory and the development of the concept of cultural pluralism—the preservation by each group

of its cultural heritage, not in isolation, but with the mutual respect for, and appreciation of, the culture of other groups. This new emphasis brought a re-awakening in folk arts. Folk-dancing groups sprang up in many communities, uniting in a folk-dance festival. Exhibits of Old World handiwork were shown; folk music was revived.

The danger in cultural pluralism is that it may easily be the basis for retaining or re-establishing ethnocentrism. Ties to the country of origin are perpetuated in even the second and third generation foreign born, for it is an easy carry-over from cultural to political identification.

During World War II, there was a further change in emphasis, best described by the term "cultural democracy." Recognizing that there is still need to preserve the best of the culture of the Old World, the culture is related, not to the country from which it came, but to America. Poets, artists, statesmen, military personnel, contributed not as Poles or Russians or Negroes or Jews, to their own ethnic group, but as Americans to the greatness of America. This is more than a difference in a word, it is a difference in fundamental attitude; it implies a basic change in educational procedures.

Only a few of the activities in intercultural education can be suggested. In New York City, selected areas are being studied to determine specifically what attitudes exist toward racial and cultural groups, how such attitudes are expressed in behavior patterns, and programs of action are developed with measurement of results to determine effectiveness of the methods used. New York University has created professorships in Jewish and in Negro culture and established a library which now contains a valuable collection of works by Jewish writers—the courses and library open to all students. In Massachusetts, a Governor's Committee for Racial and Religious Understanding has been appointed, and several local communities have named parallel committees in their own areas. The Springfield Plan illustrates the type of program developed in one such community. Intercultural or intergroup workshops have been conducted at the Uni-

versity of Chicago and other centers, with students widely representative of various minority groups. Discussions, forums, exhibits, and special programs are being conducted in many communities both for school children and for adults. Radio programs, both local and national, are being given and a series of motion pictures are being produced in the general tenor of such books as *One God* and *One America.* National agencies have been formed, such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Association for America Unity, the Bureau for Intercultural Education, and the Common Council for American Unity, to name only a few.

Much has been and is being done to develop intercultural understanding and to minimize the long-standing attitude toward minority groups. But there is a basic weakness in meeting the entire problem—the school and the other agencies of education can do much, but the community itself and its cultural patterns are also a potent educational influence. If minority groups continue to live in poor housing areas, are relegated to menial jobs with lower incomes, all that the educational agencies can do will be continually counteracted by community behavior patterns.

There is another problem which is of vital importance. The emphasis upon intercultural education has tended, too often, to emphasize the rights of the group rather than its responsibilities. The Fair Employment Practices Act, passed during World War II, while it accomplished much, was a reflection of this emphasis. Equality of opportunity entails also the necessity of equal responsibility for all in sharing the obligations of group participation—local, state, and national—in the achievement of common goals.

As stated in the concluding paragraphs of *One America:* "The 'islands of culture' are fast disappearing. Never has there been so great an opportunity for sharing in the day-to-day associations of life. Never before has there been the opportunity for mutual understanding and genuine appreciation.

"Only by the careful thought and the earnest effort of every agency of education to direct the attitudes of all can the present lead toward the goal of replacing conflict by earnest and sin-

cere coöperation. Only thus can we achieve an unprecedented sense and fact of national unity through the pluralism of culture. Only so can America truly become a cultural democracy—One America!"

Attitude Toward Veterans

During the postwar years, America faced another problem of attitudes—that of the veteran of World War II toward himself and of others toward him. The years immediately following the war will determine whether such attitudes will become a divisive or unifying force in American life. Some writers have attempted to create a stereotype of the veteran, assuming that all veterans possess a common attitude. The veteran is an individual. He entered the armed forces as a person with definite abilities and interests; the experiences in the armed forces were varied, more so than if war had not come. Some were in less danger than the civilians tending the machines of war production; others faced the harrowing danger of momentary death. Some had positions of authority which would not have been open to them under normal circumstances; others gave up such positions in civilian life and were inducted as privates. Some received a total income higher than that which they would have earned in a peacetime economy; others suffered serious financial loss. It is contrary to fact, as stereotypes always are, to assume that veterans are alike and can be described as a type.[8]

It is false, too, to assume that veterans are so different from civilians that each must be given separate and specialized types of service. The older veterans' organizations have been supplemented by many new ones all seeking to give such special services. Some of these organizations cut across normal associations and increase the sense of separatism, such as the National Collegiate Veterans Fraternity, the Veterans Taxi Drivers Association, and many more.

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[8] Francis J. Brown, "False Hopes and Plain Facts." *Veterans Outlook*, August 1945. Vol. I, No. 1, pages 1–4.

Such organizations tend to foster the even more dangerous attitude that the rights and benefits of the veteran can be dealt with independently of the total population and the national economy. More than 4,000 bills, each providing some special benefits to veterans, were introduced into the Seventy-ninth Congress during the closing months of World War II and the immediate postwar period. To assure veterans jobs at the expense of unemployment for youth and other non-veterans; to provide education for veterans with no comparable concern for those who did not wear the uniform; or to limit public services to veterans are means through which sharp divisions in American life are inevitable consequences.

The government and the American people have earnestly sought to express their gratiytde to those who served the nation during World War II. Through legislation, they have sought to compensate the veteran for the losses of war. For those who gave more than time, the Nation has a continuing responsibility and no provisions of legislative action can adequately compensate for the loss of a limb, threatening malaria, or permanent mental disability. Fortunately, these include less than one per cent of the total of those who were in the armed forces.

As the war years slip back into memory, the kind of attitudes that are perpetuated become of increasing importance. Veterans and non-veterans share the same civilian economy; the welfare and security of one is also the welfare and security of the other. The attitude of shared and mutual responsibility rather than special rights and benefits must be developed through all of the agencies of education and permeate our national life.

Chauvenism

No issue is of such vast importance to the peace and security of the world as the extent to which chauvenism—extreme nationalistic attitudes—will dominate in the councils of men. Will mankind have at last learned, through the fearful carnage of war, the way to peace? Can the individual members of the United Nations now submerge their quest for power and the re-establish-

ment of world trade and together build the framework of permanent peace upon the ashes and the crosses of war? Whereas such basic questions may be the immediate province of diplomats, ultimate decisions rest with the people of the nations of the world.

Educational sociology does not include the field of political economy, and a discussion of the historical development of nationalism has no place here. But an analysis of nationalistic attitudes which are determined by group patterns are an important field of study for the educational sociologist.

In the establishing and maintaining of effective organization for peace, America must play a vital role. This leadership was pointed out by George F. Zook in his testimony in November 1945 before the House Committee on Military Affairs:[9] "Now as never before the Nations of the world look to the United States for leadership. The very prestige which we hold imposes on us an obligation to bring to fulfillment the hopes and ideals which we forcefully announced when we entered the war; hopes and ideals that are embodied in the Atlantic Charter, in the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and in the San Francisco Charter of the United Nations. We are officially pledged to coöperate with other peace-loving nations to abolish the fear of aggression and collectively to maintain international peace. . . . At this time the United States has its second great opportunity to exercise effective leadership toward world peace. That leadership should be directed to the reduction of armed forces among all the nations, not the promotion of armed might by our own example. . . . This leadership should also, and most importantly be exercised positively in building, with other nations, an international organization with full authority and strength to control the destructive use of atomic power, to prevent aggression and to preserve the peace of the world."

Chauvenism denotes the dominant ethnocentrism of the group —the aggressive or defensive pursuit of self-interest by each group,

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[9] *Compulsory Military Training.* Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1945.

whether a minority within the state insisting upon autonomy, or the state itself. It is, as was described in relation to minority groups, the extension of the "we" or "in-group" feeling to the nation. Loyalty to the "in-group" implies hostility to those who by fact or by interpretation belong to the "out-group"; it extends the concept of the "we-group" to those who actually or assertedly belong to the group. It accepts the principles of cultural unity, race superiority, and manifest destiny. It is enhanced by pageantry, songs, dances, and impassioned orations, in organized youth movements and "patriotic" societies.

After World War I, idealists sought to project this larger group concept to include the entire family of nations in the formation of the League of Nations, but the framework of the League was established on a state basis and failed. One important cause of failure was the refusal of the American people in the famous Wilson-Harding election of 1921 to support our entrance into the League. Whether or not the same attitudes will develop and America will give only lip service to the United Nations Organization will largely be determined by the extent to which chauvenism and isolationism again dominate the attitude of the American people. In determining the decision, education both of the child and of the adult will be a vitally contributing factor.

It will not be enough to leave so vital a decision to chance. The commercial radio and the press, by the very nature of their operation, sells time and prints the news regardless of the point of view advocated. The school, in its education of both the child and the adult, must accept a major responsibility in the development of the attitude of mind which is based not on nationalism but on internationalism.

To stress primarily the horrors of war, as was done during the interim between World Wars, will be totally inadequate even though one shudders at the potential destruction in event of war. The emphasis must be positive, not negative; constructive, not destructive. It begins in the recognition of interdependence and coöperation in the school and the play group. With maturing years, it embraces the application of the same attitudes to the

larger relations of the community, the nation, and the world.

No magic formula can be devised; no single method will suffice. The atmosphere of the classroom and the school, as well as that of other agencies of education, must be permeated by a thorough understanding of the issues involved, by appreciation of the culture of the peoples of all the world, and by the day-to-day application of good will in human relations.

The very preservation of all that the world values can be achieved only by the molding of public opinion to the point where the individual and the nation, which in one sense is but a collective term for a group of individuals, will put world organization above nationalistic interests—to learn to control emotions by reason; to think less of saving face and more of saving mankind; to transplant self-interest by world well-being; and to act rationally whatever the crisis that may arise.

The Role of Education

In a recent article, "The Essential Task of Education,"[10] E. George Payne emphasizes the vital role of education in the development of attitudes: "We mean by the attitudes, that is, the prejudices, the sentiments, the ideals, and the like, those aspects of the mental life that give direction to the whole development of personality and determine the character and nature of behavior. The attitudes explain one's contribution and his career. They are little understood and have been taken for granted in determining the educational program. The assumption has been that when knowledge is acquired and the intellect developed the attitudes will be properly developed and directed. Although this notion of the relation of the intellect and the attitudes was exploded a half a century ago it has made comparatively little difference in educational emphasis. . . .

"It should be clear that the attitudes as here conceived cannot be left to take care of themselves if education is to serve a sig-

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[10] *Journal of Educational Sociology,* September 1945, Vol. 19, No. 1, pages 61–62.

nificant social function. The reason for this becomes clear if we examine the process by which attitudes are transmitted. Note as an example the prejudices. These become fixed in community practices and characterize the adult population and are handed down from the adults, that is, parents and others, to the children from generation to generation in practically unmodified form. . . .

"The point I am emphasizing here is that you cannot deal with these prejudices by developing the intellect or by acquiring knowledge. We shall have to outline a program of education definitely directed toward the elimination of these prejudices. This means the subject matter of instruction, the methods, the school organization, and the measurement of the whole educational effort will have to be reconstructed. The task of education, therefore, is the building of a curriculum that is definitely directed toward the building of new attitudes and the reconstruction of the old in line with essentials of democratic living."

Attitudes reflect themselves in behavior. Knowledge is of value to the degree that it is interpreted in terms of appreciation and of action. Although the four types of attitudes discussed in this chapter have little relation to one another, the methods of creating desirable attitudes are the same—development and extension of primary group values, sensing and understanding the common elements of the cultural heritage, and striving together to achieve common goals.

Chapter 21

SOCIAL PLANNING AND SOCIAL CONTROL

THE nation and the entire world faces a crisis so serious that our continued existence depends upon applying human reason based upon a deep sense of personal and social values. This crisis is not only one of nations; it carries down into every community, fraught with the tensions of the aftermath of war. Phrased differently, our only hope for the future lies in constructive social planning and effective social control.

In previous chapters, we have dealt with this crisis in discussing social change and social organization. In Chapter 20, attention was specifically directed to two aspects of the crisis: (1) the development of an attitude of world-mindedness as the basis for effective international organization—an organization that preserves the freedom of nationality groups, yet unites all into a common sense of primary group values and of their interdependence and (2) the fostering of attitudes which establish equitable intergroup patterns of behavior among ourselves, without regard to race, religion, national origin, or other characteristics.

There is a third aspect of the present crisis which is interrelated with the other two: the organization of a planned economy such as will provide the greatest possible degree of equality of opportunity for all. Such equality is not only in terms of education: it should remove the haunting fear of insecurity resulting from personal factors such as prolonged illness, and from economic forces illustrated by seasonable employment or changes in methods or materials of production.

The analysis of these and their many related problems, the formulation of basic principles, and the translation of such principles into recommended programs of action is the field of eco-

nomics. On a national basis, many agencies both within and outside of government have been charged with such planning. The blue eagle of the National Reconstruction Administration (NRA) was a symbol of a program based upon economic planning. Although caustically criticized later and supplanted by other programs, NRA was initiated with most enthusiastic and dramatic demonstrations. Months had been spent in developing an attitude of acceptance of the program, and on the day of its initiation, millions of persons paraded for hours through the streets of the larger cities. Comparable national planning preceded the establishment of the National Youth Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and other programs. The National Resources Planning Board made extensive economic studies, embodying their findings in a series of comprehensive reports.[1] The work of the board was discontinued in 1944, but planning was continued by other agencies. As the emphasis shifted increasingly toward postwar readjustments, greater emphasis was placed also upon social factors. It was recognized that such problems as contract termination and surplus property disposal could not be considered independently of their effect upon social values. Two illustrations of such planning are the Baruch [2] report and the quarterly statements by the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion.

Of the hundreds of agencies outside of government which carried on planning, three are selected as illustrative: the Committee for Economic Development, which prepared several comprehensive reports, issued them on a confidential basis for comments and criticisms by experts in the field, and later published them;[3] the National Planning Association which issues a series

[1] Reports were published by the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. See especially the Postwar Conference report, *Demobilization and Reconversion*, 1944.

[2] Bernard M. Baruch and John M. Hancock, *War and Postwar Adjustment Policies*. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1944.

[3] See, for example, Richard A. Lester, *Providing for Unemployed Workers During the Postwar Transition Period*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1945.

of "occasional papers"—pamphlets—each dealing with a current economic issue; and the Postwar Planning Conference which holds a series of lectures and conferences and publishes a monthly magazine now called *Postwar Economics,* formerly *Postwar Planning.*

Whether such planning is on a national, regional, or community basis, the problems involved are the province of educational sociology. Every change in our economic structure, whether the result of the invention of new artifacts of culture or changes in intergroup relationships, is reflected in social organization, often creating vital problems of social adjustment. This relationship is forcefully described by Dan W. Dodson:[4] "The changes ushered in by the war have created cataclysmic upheavals in American life. Millions of people have been lifted out of environments to which they were more or less adjusted and catapulted into types of social milieu for which they had no training of any sort. No one knows just how many of these people are involved.

"Somewhere around fifteen million of them were in war industries and thereby lifted from more or less rural to industrial economies. Eleven million have been lifted out of their communities to serve in the armed forces and they, as well as their families, are facing problems of adjustment which only education of some sort can solve. The longer the war continued, the larger became the percentage in this group of young men whose education ceased at the eighteenth year and who have never had vocational experiences of any sort. Three quarters of a million will be men who had to receive special instruction to bring their literacy to the level of the fourth grade before they could serve in the forces.

"Nor is the end in sight. Already ninety-three per cent of the agricultural commodities of this country are produced by fifty per cent of the farmers. The development of the Rust Cotton-picker and other mechanized processes will further reduce millions of people to economic marginality, if not peonage. The

[4] Editorial, *Journal of Educational Sociology,* Vol. 19. No. 1, pages 1–2.

only hope for their salvation will rest in their leaving rural communities for urban industrial sections. How they adjust in this migration will depend upon what adult education does.

"The war has demonstrated the fact that people from such backgrounds can be taught to tend machines on an assembly line in a relatively short period of time, but it has also taught that it is a longer process to teach them industrial habits which curb absenteeism, dietary habits which curb illness, social habits which keep their children from becoming delinquents, and attitudes toward unionization which make it possible for workers to maintain their status through collective bargaining with management. In addition to these problems of adjustment, the changing of attitudes is imperative."

The above quotation also implies the second function of educational sociology in relation to economic issues: the development of attitudes which not only facilitate adjustment to social change but also foster creative change. In our analysis of social lag it was pointed out that many advances in technical and scientific knowledge have had little effect upon the behavior pattern of the person or the group because of its resistant attitude toward a deviation from the familiar and accepted ways of action and thinking.

Social Planning

Social change as such may be detrimental to individual and societal welfare. If social change is constructive, it must be the result of social planning:[5] "The interactional process—investigation, discussion, agreement—of projecting order upon human relationships involves a number of people reaching agreement as to what may be in human relations. . . . It is the application of known sociological laws and principles to the accomplishment of specific and recognized social objectives." Since the term "social planning" has been used in other than its strictly sociological

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[5] Henry P. Fairchild, *Dictionary of Sociology*, page 288. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944.

connotation, and, for some, has become associated with opposition to the capitalist system, a number of sociologists prefer the terms "social engineering" or "human engineering."

World War II demonstrated the need for establishing specific objectives and formulating and executing definite plans for their realization. When war production lagged because of lack of skilled manpower, social planning brought two developments: the breakdown of general skills to single-skill jobs which could be learned quickly, and the establishment of the extensive training program previously described. Similar changes were made in training within the armed forces, especially in the repair and maintenance of equipment and other non-combat duties.

When transportation facilities seemed inadequate to keep the vast quantities of supplies moving to factory and battle front, experts were called in, plans were made and carried out, civilian travel was limited, and priorities established for air transportation. Through coördinated planning, supplies moved on, American goods were available where needed, and troop movements made the greatest migration in history.

Hundreds of other illustrations were provided by war, but social planning is not limited to periods of emergency, though it is frequently accelerated by them. The public health program described previously and the provision for social security through federal and state legislation, full employment, and the proposed minimum wage law are but four instances of planning for the long-range future. Regardless of the voices of those who seek to re-establish the "rugged individualism" of our expansion period, our growing interdependence is inevitably resulting in more social planning on a national basis.

One of the most significant illustrations of social planning is the Tennessee Valley development, which, over a period of fifteen years, has markedly changed a whole segment of the population living in an area of approximately 50,000 square miles. The importance of this experiment to the educational sociologist was pointed out in a special issue of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*, "Some Educational Implications of the Tennessee Valley

Authority" from which the following is quoted:[6] "Social change is the outstanding characteristic of American life today. Much of this change is sheer drift—the aftermath of the industrialization of our earlier agricultural economy; in most of the nation whatever happens, just happens! But, now, in the Tennessee Valley, technologists are attempting to bring all of these processes of change into a well defined program, and to direct them to chosen ends, as much as may be. On the physical side, this fact is obvious even to the casual tourist who stops for only a moment to gaze in awe on the mighty work being done. But there are things which no tourist is likely to see, and these less obvious things are at least as important as the more spectacular ones.

"The enormous gulf between American 'culture' and the promise of technology is nowhere more vividly dramatized than in the Tennessee Valley. Everywhere our culture still lingers in the nostalgic haunts of agricultural days, except as it has been shattered by machineries in the industrial centers, and here it is a mingling of rural innocence and the ugliness that comes of 'conspicuous waste.' Nowhere have we developed a culture that is worthy spiritual expression of the promises of science and technology. Our inner life is nowhere the spiritual realization of the implications of our industrial programs.

"The Tennessee Valley project offers us the preliminary promise that this ghastly gulf between the body and the soul of America is to be filled in at last, so that the two may be united and a healthy organic integrity may be attained. The machines that are gnawing away the hills of East Tennessee are laying the foundations of stability, security, a good life. They are laying the foundations; these machines cannot *give* us that good life. They are destroying many of the forms of the old social order; they cannot, themselves, put anything adequate in the place of what they are destroying. The machine can tear down old social orders; it cannot, itself, create new social orders, develop new cultures, create new social minds, evolve new moral outlooks, bring new spiritual

[6] Joseph K. Hart, Editorial, January 1935, Vol. 8, No. 5, pages 257–258.

realizations. It cannot even build a new earth, in any genuine sense; it can apply mathematical principles to the processes of change and produce an earth that is mathematically ordered. But in what respects would such an earth be more desirable than the present one? It must be obvious that technology needs guidance."

Writing almost ten years later, Lilienthal[7] describes the accomplishments in the Tennessee Valley. Hundreds of thousands of acres of land terraced to prevent further erosion; a million trees planted in a gigantic reforestration program; power transmitted to over sixty municipalities, to some thirty coöperatives, and to 320,000 ultimate consumers; and industries for both war and peace have been established where there were but frequently flooded valleys. But even more important, new villages and cities have arisen in accordance with carefully developed plans, providing the maximum of safety, recreation, and health; new modern buildings have replaced many of the one-room rural schools; coöperatives have arisen spontaneously as producer and consumer have been drawn closer together in a new sense of social organization. . .

Social planning must also be carried on within the local community. Here the social processes of adjustment, opposition, and coöperation can be studied in the light of first-hand sociological data: social organization can be analyzed in its microcosm. One such study, looking definitely to the readjustments that should be made as a result of the changes during World War II is that to which reference has already been made—the Social Survey of Washington, D. C. The study is divided into nine areas of social interaction: family and child welfare, correction, recreation, vocational adjustment, race relations, religious relations, labor-management relations, community organization (Community Chest and Councils), and adult education. In each of these areas, the paid staff of the survey is under the direction

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[7] David E. Lilienthal, *TVA: Democracy on the March*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944.

of a Citizens' Committee, thus providing for wide participation in the study and in the formulation of recommendations as a basis for action.

Thus far, social planning has been discussed solely in its larger aspects. To be successful, the school must reach beyond the formal agencies of education. The school must develop a sense of values as a basis for appraising projected plans, whether for the local community or for a new world organization. It must also provide leadership at all levels—men and women who can draw the blueprints of a social structure in which the best welfare of each individual and of society as a whole is mutually assured. The changes that are necessary in classroom organization, in curricula, in methods, and in measurement of the results of teaching have been presented in earlier chapters.

Social Control

Social planning has little value unless it leads to action and the realization of the plans formulated. Such action involves social control, not only of the artifacts of culture, but also in the development of cultural values. The countryside, village, or metropolis may plan and build for its physical well-being, may erect structures that tower against the sky; but unless it provides also for the necessary social structures to assure a common life, there is no lasting gain.

Social control is defined in the *Dictionary of Sociology* as "the sum total of the processes whereby society, or any sub-group within society, secures conformity to expectation on the part of its constituent units, individuals, or groups." Social control is of two types, differing sharply at their extremes, but virtually indistinguishable in their moderate forms: *coercive* and *persuasive*.

The most obvious form of coercive control is law, whether that of a childhood gang or of the state. Durkheim[8] distinguishes between two types of legal control. One, repressive law,

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[8] Harry Alpert, *Emile Durkheim and His Sociology*, pages 192–197. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.

involves punishment of the offender; the other, restitutive law, aims at the restoration of troubled relations to normalcy by making up the loss to the individual. Durkheim believed that the higher the level of society, the greater is the proportion of legislation that is restitutive in character.

Only two general comments need be made regarding the legal control of behavior. The first is that it is largely restrictive. A speed limit of 35 miles an hour is established to prevent exceeding this speed, rather than to compel one to drive at such a speed. It has been often said that the person is not aware of the existence of law until he violates it. The second comment reverts to an earlier statement in discussing culture. It was pointed out that folkways emerge into mores, systems of mores are inherent in institutions and, in time, folkways and mores are codified into law. Folkways and mores (including attitudes) determine right and wrong. Legislation, to be effective, must grow out of, and conform to, the accepted folkways and mores of the majority of the dominant group—in a democracy, this, presumably, is "all the people." In a democracy, legal control cannot long outrun the will of the group. The Eighteenth Amendment is an illustration of the reaction that is almost inevitable in a nation of free people, if law departs too far from the acceptable mores of that society. The illustration of the Navaho regulation against dual marriages illustrates this fact. So, too, nations outlawed war, yet, within a little more than a decade, those same nations were at each other's throats. The United Nations Organization, the foundations of which were laid at Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco, will be as useless as the outlawing of war unless the nations of the world have the will to peace, unless, at last, they have shed enough blood and destroyed enough cities to desire, as a people, to seek and to maintain peace.

Actually more important than law in controlling behavior are the sanctions and taboos inherent in the folkways and mores of the group. Little so-called "primitive law" is legislation in any literal sense. Primitive law is unwritten; it has developed gradually; but it is definite and inexorable. Among American In-

dians, only ten offenses, and those the major ones against the person, such as murder and rape, are punishable by the United States courts. All other crimes occurring on the reservations are within the jurisdiction of the tribe's unwritten sanctions and taboos, but the latter are not restricted to primitive societies. Every insitution has its code of conduct, whether the family, the child's play group, or the church.

The basic problem of coercive social control is the lack of consistency in its enforcement. The child in the home is punished on one day for taking books off the shelf; the next day he is not punished at all for the same offense. The same behavior wins status for the person in his play group, is condoned by his other friends, and condemned by his family. The person is thus constantly forced to make value judgments, not in terms of behavior, but in terms of the group in which he desires to have status.

Persuasive control differs from coercive in several respects but chiefly in that the punitive factor is not involved and the person has a greater element of freedom in determining his own behavior. Persuasive control operates through all of the various agencies and instrumentalities that induce the person to respond to the standards, wishes, and imperatives of the larger social group. It is achieved by suggestion, imitation, praise, blame, reward, recognition, and response. Many factors determine the extent to which the person responds to persuasive controls: the degree of consistency of his childhood environment; the extent to which he possesses a "we-feeling" with other persons or with groups; biological and psychological factors, the latter including day-to-day variations as a result of fatigue and other factors; the nature of the controlling influence; and the manner of the presentation to the person. A variant in any one of the above factors may be the determining influence in the behavior of a person in a given situation.

An ever-present means of social control is suggestion. The physical environment is itself a factor—if the home is neat and clean, the individual members tend to be so; if the home is dirty and untidy, the child tends to be careless also in his personal

appearance. The example of those with whom the person associates is an extremely important factor in suggestion, especially when accompanied by a "we-feeling" or the identification of the person with the individual or with the group of which he is representative. Every race and nation and many groups have built monuments to great leaders to symbolize their lives as an example to others of the group. The art of a group has the same element of suggestion—if coarse and vulgar, it suggests such behavior; if fine and beautiful, art is a factor in lifting the person to higher levels of behavior. Through mythology, literature, music and precept social ideals are held up as desirable. This is as true in the ideals of behavior within the family as it is in larger group life. Paralleling social ideals may also be a pragmatic standard. In attempting to inculcate honesty, the ideal is paralleled by approved "little white lies." In many aspects of behavior this dualism exists, making social control all the more difficult.

Rituals and ceremonials are developed as a means of social control—of instilling in the person the sense of his identification with the group and of his acceptance of its behavior patterns as his own. This is the purpose of the initiation ceremonies described earlier; it is the purpose, too, of the spontaneous ceremony of a group of boys swearing secrecy and loyalty to the gang, and of the oath of allegiance of new citizens—now taken, in many communities, in a group ceremony on American Citizenship Day. The utilization of mass ceremonials as a basis for developing national solidarity had been developed to a high degree, prior to World War II, in Italy and Germany.

Implied above is one other means of social control that should be included in this general treatment—the role of leadership, whether within the family or the nation. The leadership role may vary with the situation, as in the play group, or it may be vested in a national personage such as Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill, or Joseph Stalin, but within the limits of the situation, the social values are similar. In a democracy, there is also the continual aspiration for leadership which in itself is an important factor in social control.

The problem of food rationing during the period of a national emergency is illustrative of the process of social control on a national basis. Rationing has both an idealistic and a materialistic aspect—"Share with Them" (military personnel) and "Help Your Country Win" are the idealistic pleas, while the individual's own needs are a constant reminder of the materialistic aspect. A whole new system of values and of procedures must be superimposed upon the entire population; acculturation that would require decades must be universalized in a few months. The sense of group responsibility on a national and world scale must be made the dominating factor for, as Anderson points out:[9] "Effective operation of rationing depends in turn upon the level of morale. If the national effort is supported loyally and the post-war period is anticipated with confidence, rationing will be accepted with good grace. Where the usual condition is one of law obedience and 'civic spirit,' evasion will be rare, accusations of inequality will be few, and administrative fumbling will not so readily be taken as a signal for withdrawal of confidence." But, conversely, Americans are loath to accept restrictions of government, question the extent of its authority over personal matters, and many have a different code of relationship with their government than when dealing with individuals—hence black markets and the necessity of initiating coercive control even in wartime!

Education as Social Control

The fundamental responsibility of education in relation to social control is fourfold: (1) analysis of the rich background of our cultural heritage to determine those elements which have proved of worth to the individual and to society, (2) constant appraisal of social change to establish the nature and direction of adaptation to meet new developments as they occur, (3) inculcating into each generation of youth respect for and conviction

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[9] C. Arnold Anderson, "Food Rationing and Morale." *American Sociological Review,* February 1943, Vol. 8, No. 1, pages 23–33.

toward these common elements of our social structure, and (4) the development of personality of each individual, within the social milieu.

The discussion of our cultural heritage in the earlier chapters of this book was included as a basis for such an analysis. Not all of the folklore of the Navahos and the Acomas can continue to have value to youth who return from the far corners of the world, the communal life of military camps, or the new experiences of living in war-boom towns. Many of the customs of the rural community and village have little meaning today. The box social, during which the women's basket dinner was sold to the highest bidder; the husking bee; and the gathering of the neighbors to help with the threshing of small grain have little place in a rural community of automatic corn huskers, modern threshing machines, and entertainment through radio and motion pictures. Rural institutions have tended to disappear although their tenacity varies with the community. Hundreds of rural churches that once served the local neighborhood are closed, now that former members of the congregation drive by to attend services in larger churches—or do not go at all. Only a few country stores remain in which can be purchased anything from a pin to a corn plow and in which neighborhood news and national events are freely discussed. Even greater changes have taken place in urban communities, and the controls of the neighborhood mean little when a few minutes' travel removes the person from his group associations.

Some indications of the desirable continuing elements have been given in previous chapters. Community studies, such as have been frequently referred to, are illustrations of the type of further research that must be carried on lest fundamental values be irretrievably lost.

The second fundamental problem in social control, appraisal of social change, is even more difficult, but it is likewise even more essential to find solutions. These solutions lie in two directions: the recognition that such changes are inevitable and the discovery and application of ways through which such new developments

can be used to conserve basic values even more effectively. Improved methods of production can bring higher standards of living to all. New means of transportation and communication may be the instruments of creating new foci of interest, but without disintegration of primary groups.

Some years ago, it was seriously proposed that all research in the natural sciences leading to new discoveries should be suspended until social adjustments could "catch up." Very recently, the same proposal has been made regarding atomic research. Even if such a "science holiday" could be declared, it would not solve the problem nor significantly reduce social lag. The solution lies, rather, in the other direction—stimulating the more ready appraisal of these developments in the light of the total cultural heritage. It is not change, but the attitude toward change, that leads to social disintegration. To develop the attitude of acceptance, appraisal, and adjustment is a basic function of all of the agencies of education.

The third problem, that of respect for, and conviction toward, the common elements of our social structure, is the essential concomitant of the first two. This does not entail uniformity or regimentation, but does entail the development of a common sense of values in those aspects of social organization essential to individual and group welfare. MacIver [10] has made a significant distinction in the sociological use of the term "common": "The 'like' is what we have distributively, privately each to himself; the 'common' is what we have collectively, what we share *without dividing up.* The credits we receive at college belong to the first order, the college life in which we participate belongs to the second."

Angell [11] has well emphasized the importance of these common elements: "The only principle that seems suitable to the task is what we shall call 'common orientation.' Men will feel bound

[10] Robert M. MacIver, *Society: A Textbook in Sociology,* page 30. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1937.

[11] Robert C. Angell, *The Integration of American Society,* page 15. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1941.

to one another either if they are pursuing a common end together or if they are jointly seeking to maintain some qualities of a common life. For short periods, nothing is more integrative than a desire for such a goal as military victory. But over the long run, societies are chiefly knit together by a common attachment of their members to systems of value like those of a religion or democracy. One can say that men's wills need either to be striving for some common end or *in terms of* some commonly accepted values. In both cases they are moving *together* and *in the same direction.* They can feel fellowship in the process."

The type and extent of external association and organization becomes then of secondary importance. The degree and effectiveness of communication and transportation are influential but not determining factors. An isolated group may be highly integrated; a group to which are available the most efficient means of communication may not be integrated. *The factor that does determine the degree of integration is the extent to which all of the members of the group are devoted to the achievemnt of common ends and the realization of common values.* This is the basis, too, of the development of personality.

One illustration on a national scale indicates how difficult it is to achieve this goal. The writer recently met with a group of young scientists that had worked on the atomic bomb. At each of the larger centers of research, an organization had been formed and these, in turn, had joined in a national association. At a conference called by the group, it was significant that the scientists implied that now that this power was in their hands, it was their responsibility to set the pattern for the extended use of atomic power and to control its devastating destructiveness. They seemed little disposed to join hands with the social scientists, the political economists, or any others whose concern regarding the economic, social, and political implications of this new power was as great as those who had participated in its discovery. It is this attitude of separatism and self-sufficiency that is the threat to the basic institutions of society, to the nation, and to the world.

One further distinction between types of social control should be drawn, as it has specific bearing upon the whole educative process, and specifically upon the school: the differentiation between authoritarian and democratic control. This is more than a distinction in ideology: it is a fundamental difference in a way of life. Cognizance of the difference between authoritarian and democratic control is not only a national philosophy: it permeates every aspect of human relationships. The contrast between these two types of control can be more effectively drawn by description than by generalization.

For almost two decades, American educators watched with interest, and some praised, the rapid rise of authoritarianism in the totalitarian states of Europe. It was not until stereotypes of "superior race" and "decadent and spineless democracies" had fanned certain European peoples to the fever heat of war that the threat of authoritarian control spread throughout the free peoples of the world.

The interrelationship of the individual and the state under Fascism was expressed by Mussolini as follows:[12] "Fascism wills the State. It does not believe in the possibility of a social order which is not contained in the framework of the State. . . . Only the State can transcend the opposing interests of individuals or groups in order to direct them to a higher aim. . . . This State presents itself as a centralized, organized, and integral democracy. . . . Fascism is a great mobilization of material and moral forces."

The basic philosophy of this new education under Gentile and, later, under Bablino Guiliana was a modified Hegelianism. The mind of the child revealed itself in action; schools developed unified and disciplined personalities; moral personality was achieved by identification of the individual with the state through a knowledge of its culture and of its government; moral freedom existed only within the framework of the state; it was not, nor

[12] *Promise and Performance,* Selection from the speeches of Mussolini. Distributed by the Italian Library of Information, 595 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.

could it be, individual freedom, for culture and morality exist only through the state.

With such a philosophy there could be no questioning of the goals to be achieved; the methods were clearly laid down by, and the control vested in, a hierarchy of administration with definitely designated functions: the Minister, a National Board, inspectors and directors of education, and teachers carefully trained in normal schools embodying Fascist philosophy—four years preparatory and three years advanced work. All were selected on the basis of loyalty to Fascist doctrine and preference was given to World War I heroes. The purification law of 1925 removed any remaining dissenters.

An analysis of the Fascist educational system must include two separate but very closely related institutions: the formal school system and the organizations for children and youth. The former entailed compulsory education through the first twelve years: the preparatory grades from three to five inclusive, the inferior grade from six to eight, the superior grade from nine to eleven, and a secondary school from twelve to fourteen. At this point the educational system became selective, varying from trade schools to further work leading to professional schools. Such selection was not, however, on the basis of individual interest or the financial status of the parents, but was solely for the purpose of preparing the individual for that type of service which would make the child of most value to the state.

Throughout the entire system, emphasis was laid on national culture and service to the state. National heroes and national holidays were stressed; all songs, stories, and books were strongly patriotic and all textbooks and materials were carefully censored by the State Department. Play was directed to show the value and the glory of the soldier. Even in religious instruction, Italian saints were given more attention than any others.

Selections from textbooks embodying the principles of Fascism might be chosen almost at random. Only one can be given, drawn from a text used in an economics class in the continuation schools for children 14 to 16 years of age. "As there is only one

official religion—the Catholic—and all Catholics must blindly believe in this and obey the Church blindly—so the perfect Fascist must believe in the principles of Fascism and obey the hierarchical heads to whom he owes allegiance without reserve. Religious dogmas are not discussed because they are truths revealed by God. Fascisti principles are not discussed because they come from the mind of genius—Benito Mussolini."

Constantly before the child's eye were the symbols of these two religions: the lictor's rod (emblem of Imperial Rome and Fascism) and the cross. The day began with prayer and the national hymn; Fascist discipline pervaded the atmosphere and Fascist doctrine and achievements permeated every lesson from the kindergarten to the professional school and in the literary classes for the peasant and laborer. When the Allied Military Government sought, after the occupation of Italy in 1944, to find suitable textbooks for the reopening of the schools, they were faced with serious difficulties. Even standard children's stories ended with a Fascist moral, and quotations from Mussolini were inserted in the center of pages of a text. Many of the books, even in academic subjects, had to be rewritten and printed under the pressure of war.

The second organization, equally important in the development of the Fascist youth, was the Nationale Ballila, organized in 1926. Its officers were Fascist soldiers and its basic purpose was the development of physical strength and endurance and the training in the discipline and art of war. With some modification, the most important being its extension both downward and upward and the inclusion of a parallel organization for girls, this movement played an increasingly important part in the education of Italian youth. It was, however, selective, not universal; optional, not compulsory.

The Nationale Ballila was divided into five units: Enfante Fascisti, for little children from 4 to 7 years of age; the Ballila, for those from 8 to 13 (named after a young lad who fought in the War of 1870); the Avanguardista, from 14 to 17. At 18 years, the young people entered the Voluntary Militia for National

Safety, and those who had finished their terms of service in the militia returned to renew their former pledges and to be admitted into the ranks of the Fascist party, the Institute dei Givoanni Italini.

Each year on the 22nd of October, these organizations gathered in every province in Italy and marched in military formation to the open square, as many thousands as possible repeating the Fascisti March on Rome. The emotional element was predominant as 90,000 trained young militarists, their idols called God and Mussolini, gave the Roman salute, while 80,000 young blackshirts were transferred from the Avanguardista to the militia; 100,000 stepped up from the Ballila into the Avanguardista; and thousands more transferred to the Ballila. Hundreds of thousands of the picked youth of the nation, from the infant to the hardened soldier, lifted their open palms in tribute to Il Duce and swore unwavering allegiance to the state.

The purpose of this two-fold system—the one universal and inculcating the theory and accomplishments of Fascism, the other, selective and embodying this theory into vigorous discipline and militant action—was to develop a singleness of purpose and a unity of spirit that then seemed both alluring and alarming. It was alarming in that its dominant ethnocentrism instilled antagonism and imperialism; it was alluring in that it objectively demonstrated that through a consistently planned and uniformly executed system of education the ideals and purposes of the totalitarian state might become the supreme objective of each individual and demand and procure an unfaltering loyalty to those ideals.

This contrast has been presented in some detail to provide a factual basis for appraising the whole problem of social control through education. Fascism represented the extreme position in which the entire educative process was directed by authority to achieve a prescribed goal—the development of militant nationalism in which the individual was subject only to the will of the state.

One of the most serious problems now facing the world is the extent to which it will be possible to rebuild the spirit of de-

mocracy in nations which for a full generation of youth have known only authoritarianism. Certainly democracy cannot be forced upon them: democracy cannot be sold as a condition of lend-lease or of providing relief. The peoples of the conquered nations can be won over to the principles of democratic control only to the degree democracy proves its superiority in providing the tangible and intangible values of life.[18]

Democratic social control operates upon a totally different premise, recognizing the individual, not as a puppet of the state, but, collectively, as *the* state. During World War II, it was necessary to establish national controls over many aspects of life, but even such controls were an expression of the will of the people. In the matter of food control, a group of dieticians, sociologists, and anthropologists spent many months studying the folkways and mores of the American people, and ways through which these folkways and mores could be modified with the least possible disruption of our cultural pattern. Similarly, in the period of readjustment after war, the acute shortage of housing assumed alarming proportions. With the full support of the nation, controls were re-established, construction other than housing was limited by national and local action; and priority on materials was given to the construction of homes only within a given price range. Temporary housing, even the use of discarded Navy LST boats, made it possible for more than 300,000 veterans to attend college who would otherwise have been barred by the lack of living accommodations for themselves and their families.

The emphasis upon societal and intergroup welfare does not imply a lessening of concern for individual development. Education must continue to provide every opportunity for the development of the personality of each individual, for decisions in a democracy are vested in him. It is the common man who is the "authority" in matters of both local and national policy. It is the person who gives direction to social change. But at the same

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[18] Feliks Gross, editor, "Philosophies Underlying European Nationalist Groups." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, April 1945, Vol. 18, No. 8.

time, education must also instill a sense of basic social values, a recognition of the rights of others, an appreciation of the rich cultural heritage that is ours, and a knowledge of the social processes and their application in social interaction that not only makes the individual a person, but that also is the foundation of group social organization.

The school at all levels must accept these responsibilities, and, in coöperation with other agencies of the community, be an effective agency in social control. As such an agency, it can enhance the happiness and welfare of the person and the nation, and the future peace of the world.

Chapter 22

EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY AND TOMORROW'S SCHOOL

WE HAVE come now to the end of this phase of our study of educational sociology. It is hoped that it is only a beginning of the reader's interest, and that new vistas have been opened up; that new paths have been pointed out and that those paths only dimly discernible have been made more marked. Some could only be hinted at for there is yet little more than a conviction that they are right; others could be more definite as research has begun to justify or to discard formerly held assumptions. But for all, further research is needed that progress may be more rapid and more sure; some of the fields for such research have been indicated.

Education is not fixed or static. Across the span of centuries, education has changed to meet the constantly expanding needs of man. The school, beginning as a means through which society sought to perpetuate those elements of its culture—folkways, mores, and institutions—essential to its own well-being, in the nineteenth century turned almost exclusively to mastery by the individual of knowledge and skill often very little related to his own life or to society. The struggle to reverse the emphasis from individual to group values, described in some detail in Part I of this book, is summarized in the article by E. George Payne, "The Essential Task of Education":[1] "Toward the end of the nineteenth century under the leadership of such men as James, Dewey, and others, a revolutionary approach to education came

[1] *Journal of Educational Sociology,* September 1945, Vol. 19, No. 1, pages 59–61.

about. This new approach had two essential and important facets; first, the conception of education as the acquisition of new ways of behaving; and, second, the idea that all education should serve a social function. These two aspects of the educational process developed the testing movement which laid emphasis upon the conventional subject matter that characterized a nineteenth-century program. This emphasis did not necessarily follow, but because of the relative simplicity of the measurement of simple habits and knowledges the trend was determined. The result was that the whole scientific movement in education in the twentieth century turned educational practices away from the social outcomes of learning to the acquisition of subject matter. We were in the anomalous situation of developing education along scientific lines while neglecting the significant purposes of educational effort. . . .

"Dewey's educational philosophy, however, was expounded at the exact time that we began to think of scientific education whose results could be correctly measured, and the measures developed were logically those that could most adequately be developed and used. The measurement movement began with handwriting tests followed by those in reading, arithmetic, and other subjects in which knowledge was sought. The outcome of this emphasis was obvious. For a generation the real function of education was ignored, while educators developed thousands of tests for the measurement of the most minute items of knowledge of all sorts. Those in the educational profession who dared to contend that, after all, the purpose of education is to develop human beings into characters that can live adequately in a complex society were thought naive. The whole social emphasis in education for the time being was neglected in the effort to determine exactly what was learned through scientific measurement.

"This historical statement is by way of introduction to the consideration of what seems to me the essential task of education, and the one to which the sociologist has given emphasis; the one he has not lost sight of even in a period when it was unpopular. It is the task to which educational sociology is devoted; namely,

that education is concerned with the whole mental life of the individual, his emotions as well as his intellect. In fact it is in the attitudes that the cue to the development of the personality and behavior is to be found. Therefore a program of education which seeks to develop the attitudes, to measure their changes, and to give them direction toward the realization of personality is the one with which the sociologist is concerned."

Pearl Harbor and the following years of war brought some of the deficiencies of education into bold relief and demonstrated the values of other aspects of training and education. The high rate of illiteracy—a total of 750,000 rejected because of less than fourth grade ability in spite of permission of each local board to induct ten per cent of its "quota" with less than this standard, the large percentage of rejections for physical and mental disability—some 5,000,000 out of 22,000,000 by July 1, 1944, and the marked differences among communities and races in rejections—all indicated inequality of health care and of educational opportunity.

The effectiveness of the technical training for military operations and for unprecedented war production was facilitated by the high level of education of youth; the colleges and universities, through the Army and Navy Reserve Officers Training Corps, provided the military with approximately 125,000 officers. Techniques of training and education developed through the insistent time factor of war have challenged much of the tradition of education in schools and colleges. The excessive emphasis upon technological skills and scientific knowledge, culminating in the atomic bomb, has diverted a whole school generation of youth and has brought the need for a new emphasis upon social values among men and among nations.

More than all else, war brought the sense of functional participation of every person in a gripping common struggle. Community agencies coöperated in meeting new needs created by shifting populations and the release of normal social controls. State and federal agencies, both government and non-government, coöperated with those in the local area with a minimum of fric-

tion. Commercial agencies assisted government in interpreting necessary restrictions and controls. As Paul V. McNutt stated even before Pearl Harbor but while America was feverishly expanding its defense program:[2] "Our present effort to integrate health, welfare, and defense is important not only for the great contribution it can and must make to individual strength and national unity. It is equally important as a demonstration that our kind of government—coöperative democracy—can meet and master its own necessities. What we, here in America, do today and how we do it are being 'weighed in the balance' of history; let there be no mistake about that. And let there be no fear that what we do shall 'be found wanting.' We are all partners in this joint enterprise—the great enterprise of serving a united people as a single integrated nation, as a union of sovereign States, and as a vast network of local communities, of factories and farms, of families and human lives."

Almost four years of war heightened this new sense of solidarity of the American people and of our responsibility for the eventual peace and security of the world. Food and raw materials and finished products moved out in tremendous volume from farms and mines and factories manned by millions of youth and adults laboring toward the common goals—victory and peace. Nations of the world joined hands, and deep in the heart of all was the longing that a secure peace would provide freedom for all mankind—the freedoms of the Atlantic Charter.

Now the holocaust of war is over and America and the world face the years ahead. Can the one gain of war—that of solidarity —be preserved?

The Immediate Postwar Years

Already are heard the rumblings of struggle between groups so recently united. A wave of strikes has paralyzed many industries, and goods needed to meet the almost desperate needs of

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[2] "Social Services and Defense." *Journal of Educational Sociology*, October 1941, Vol. 15, No. 2, page 72.

veterans are lying in warehouses unable to be moved because of labor disputes. The promised jobs and proposed full employment are not forthcoming for lack of the same teamwork that alone made victory in war possible. Prices are skyrocketing as government controls are released and groups and individuals put self-interest above the common good.

The same divisive forces have arisen among nations. While feeble efforts are being made by governments to create a United Nations Organization, greed and suspicion are restoring power politics and nationalism as the determining factors in delayed negotiations for permanent peace. Even America is seeking, at one and the same time, to establish permanent peacetime military training and to collaborate with other nations in building a permanent peace!

The years immediately before us may be used to lay a firm foundation for such abundance for all as a decade ago would have been but an illusory dream. New raw materials, new methods of production, and new sources of power have increased man's potential for the physical comforts of life beyond his fondest hope. New methods of communication may bring the world of sight and sound instantaneously into every home. On December 1, 1945 the first television broadcast was made of the Army-Navy football game. The vast expansion of private and public services may provide unprecedented opportunity for the rich enjoyment of the ever-increasing amount of time freed from the labor of subsistence. And in the new methods of production, even labor may lose much of its drudgery.

Or will these years bring a return of individualism such that taxes are cut regardless of the public services which must be sacrificed; that selfish interests advance wages or profits without regard to the consumer; that race and nationality groups rebuild the ethnocentism that makes unity impossible? And will individual good again become the dominant motive in dictating man's relation to his fellows?

Many factors, as discussed in the preceding chapter, will contribute to determine which of the two alternatives will be chosen.

Reason and judgment dictate the former; emotional self-interest beckons toward the latter. Education, largely conceived, will be one of the vital forces in influencing this choice; the school will play an important part.

Tomorrow's School

As never before in our history, the school has an opportunity to match courage and vision with that of the scientist in shaping a new world. The school has demonstrated its flexibility during war, and has related its services and its functions to those of the community and the nation. But if it is to play its rightful role in the world of tomorrow, the basic shifts of emphasis described throughout this volume must be translated into vital functional programs for students of all ages, and for teachers and school administrators at all levels of education.

The school must first conceive its role, not as an agency whose primary function is to impart knowledge, but that of the development of attitudes—toward knowledge and toward other people. The rapid increase in human knowledge and the facilities for its dissemination make it both impossible and unnecessary for the school to seek to span the whole range of human experience. More important is that subject matter be selected which will open doors for further and continuous learning, that methods be used which will relate such learning to that which goes on outside of the classroom, that school organization be modified to develop the awareness of the individual's relations with the members of his group, and that the ends of education be measured, not only in terms of knowledge and skills acquired, but also in terms of changes in behavior patterns of individuals and of groups.

The school of tomorrow must be an integral part of the total community which it serves. The school will not be the same in any two communities, since many of its activities and services will depend upon the extent to which other agencies are or can render such services effectively. Surveys, often only of an informal character, and a planned continuing organization of the

community are essential if the school is to reappraise its role in the life of the individual and the nation.

This flexibility will be all the more important because tomorrow's school will serve a larger number of youth and adults for a longer period of years than ever before. The expansion of the school to 1940, shown in Figure 15, is but an indication of the growth of the next decade. Through Public Law 113 (vocational rehabilitation of the disabled), Public Law 16 (rehabilitation of veterans with ten per cent or more service-connected disability), and Public Law 346 (education for other discharged military personnel) the 15,000,000 scholarships, referred to earlier, have been made available to the young men and women of the nation. Plans are projected to provide other scholarships on a selective basis to both undergraduate and graduate college students. A number of states are expanding their scholarship programs—some on a selective basis, others to all the children of veterans residing in the state. As the elementary school was considered the common school at the turn of the century, and the completion of high school was the accepted goal by 1940, so a minimum of two years for all above what is now the secondary education level may well become the aim within the next decade, with an even larger number of young persons going on to complete college or professional school. New demands of production and of our complex civilization will motivate a larger number of adults to go to school, day or evening, or to enroll in organized home courses given by correspondence or by recordings under school or college supervision.

If this end is to be gained effectively, two further developments are mandatory: educational opportunities must be equalized throughout the nation and for every child, youth, and adult; and teaching must be made a profession with adequate compensation. In 1940, the average teacher's income was below the average individual income for the nation. In many communities, teachers received less than most of those engaged in even semi-skilled trades. During World War II, teachers salaries advanced 11 per cent, the cost of living 35 per cent, and the wages of labor

approximately 17 per cent. This need for better teachers is forcefully and hopefully expressed by Payne: [8] "What then is the future of education? Can we educate the leaders and the teaching staff necessary for the important task of education in the postwar world? There seems to be no need to be discouraged. Educators need merely to face bravely the new tasks of education. In the first place, schools of education and teachers colleges need to revise in a fundamental way their programs of instruction and their underlying philosophy. This is necessary before any progress is possible. Furthermore, educators will have to face their relationship to the community with a new program and a new vision. The improvement of education will depend upon the attitude of our citizens. Are people willing to permit and then support a new program essential in the postwar world? Of course it is not the business of communities through their representatives—boards of education—to create such a program and put it into operation except through the educational leadership of the community. The whole future of education, as I see it, hinges upon the kind of leadership that educators can provide. I believe they are not only capable but that they have the disposition to provide this leadership."

Support of education must be sincere and generous if the school is to meet the deep obligations which society has placed upon it. All too often school people have differed in their points of view as to how this support is to be maintained and strengthened. Verbal battles are still being waged over the relative responsibility of the local community, state, and nation in the support of education, both privately and publicly controlled. The school must remain free to teach while accepting financial assistance from larger units of support.

Too often school people have assumed that they need exert no effort to enlist the coöperation of agencies both in and out of government. Figure 29, page 498, is an illustration of initiative

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[8] E. George Payne, "Teachers Wanted!" *Journal of Educational Sociology*, October 1945, Vol. 19, No. 2, page 128.

being taken by a national private organization to sell education to its members and to the general public. Labor groups have likewise advocated the extension of educational opportunities. Education need not fight its own battles if it will but realistically enlist the support of, and join forces with, other agencies whose interest is also that of improving the general level of education.

But even if all of these developments are achieved, the school of tomorrow will fail if it does not build into the youth of today a deep appreciation for the rich heritage of the past, yet, at the same time, develop also the ability to adjust to new social patterns and to create the patterns in which the ideals and aspirations of mankind may become a living reality. If education can but lift the vision of youth from self to others, from individual well-being to group welfare; if the school will but join with all of the agencies for social betterment and, each forgetting its own interests, plan courageously and coöperatively for the betterment of all mankind through an awareness of group relationships in social interaction, then tomorrow's school may truly create the new heaven and the new earth of the world of tomorrow. Educational sociology is devoted to assisting in the achievement of this end.

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PART IV—OUTCOMES OF INDIVIDUAL-GROUP INTERACTION

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INDEX

A

Ability:
  grouping, criticism of, 320–321
  measurement of, 289
Accidents, motor-vehicle, 1910–1941 (*table*), 75
Accommodation, defined, 145
Acoma Indians, 55–61, 62–63, 101, 149, 246, 248
  dual culture of, 59–60
  interculturation, 142
Acquired characteristics, 115–128
Activity analysis, 314
Activity groups, 219–243
  changing attitudes toward, 234–237
  gang, 221–229
    social processes and, 237–241
  organized group, 221–229
  play group, 220–221
  relation of, to other agencies, 241–243
  youth membership, 229–234
Addams, Jane, 229
Adjustment, 145
Adler, 236
Adolescence, 197
Adolescence, 235
Adult education:
  correspondence courses, 519–520
  during World War II, 520–521
  early developments in, 512–516
  implications for, 521–525
  parent education, 520
  recent trends in, 516–521
  successful programs, steps toward, 523–525
  under W.P.A., 517–519
  welfare agencies, 520
Advisory Committee on Education, 397
Agencies:
  educational, 185–188
    classification of, 186–187
  public health, 447–449
  recreational, 386
  social planning, 552–553
Agencies of social interaction:
  active, 375–401 (*see also* School):
    community councils, 387–394
    government, 395–401
    institutional, 381–387
Agencies of social interaction (*Cont.*):
  active (*Cont.*):
    larger units of, 394–401
    private, 395
    recreational, 375–381
    youth, 381–387
  passive, 402–437
    commercial motion picture, 403–412
    educational films, 412–417
    press, 430–437
    radio, 417–430
Aiken, Wilford M., 336
Aims of education, 309–314
  World War I, 310–312
  World War II, 312–313
Alphabet, development of, 69
Alport, Floyd, 154
AMA, Joint Report of NEA and, 445, 450
Amala and Kamala, 110–112
American Child Health Association, 448
American Dilemma, An, 126
Americanization program, 517–518
American Library Association, 385
American Public Health Association, 445
American Red Cross, 395, 448, 452
American Social Hygiene Association, 448
American Society for the Control of Cancer, 449
American Vocational Association, 395
American Youth Commission, 294–295, 321
  studies of, 126
Analogy, 128
Angell, Robert C., 142, 564
Animal behavior, 11–12, 16
  group, 19–21
Anna, story of, 110, 112–113
Anthropology:
  cultural, 21–22
  in college texts, 26
Ants, group behavior of, 19
Apes, communication among, 20
Appley, L. A., 485
Apprenticeship, 252, 476, 478
  of future, 495–496
  World War II programs, 486–487
Aristotle, 23
Arlitt, A. H., 121
Army:
  adult education, 520–521

Army (*Cont.*):
courses, vocational, 508
Arrests:
by age, for girls and boys (*fig.*), 77
by age groups, 1942 (*table*), 76
Artifacts, defined, 21
Ashburn, Frank D., 288
Assimilation, defined, 145
Athens, schools in, 249–251
Atlantic Charter, 575
Atlantis, 29
Atomic bomb, 565
Attendance, by age, sex, urban-rural residence, 1939–1940 (*fig.*), 268
Attitudes, 150
and behavior, 527
chauvinism, 546–549
civic, 529–535
defined, 526
group, 528
how acquired, 528
personal, 526–527
racial, 537–545
role of education, 549–550
social, 526–550
toward minority groups, 535–545
toward veterans, 545–546
Australian tribes, 86–88
Authoritarian control, 566
Automobiles, accident deaths, 1910–1941 (*table*), 75

B

Bacon, Francis, 29
Bagley, William C., 119
Barnard, Henry, 257
Barnes, Harry Elmer, 100
Barrett, Wilton A., 411
Baruch report, 552
Behavior:
changes, 166
influence of press on, 434–437
in infancy, 132–134
patterns, 16
types and (*table*), 71
Bell, Howard M., 379, 407
Bellamy, Edward, 29
Benedict, Ruth, 122, 537
Benjamin Franklin High School, New York City, 349–351
Benton, William, 435
Bernard, Jessie, 21, 203, 215
Bett, 41
Better Films Councils, 412
Biography of a Baby, 47
Biological factors in human behavior, 8–11
Biological inheritance, 9–11
Biological selection, 5, 7
Biologists, 3
Biology, 18
and psychology, 11
sociology and, 28
Birds, group behavior of, 19
Blackwell, Gordon W., 362
Blatz, William E., 117
Blue Cross, 470
Board of Health, first, 445
Bobbitt, Franklin, 313
Bolton, Francis, 14
Books, study of reading, 430–432
Boutwell, William, 428
Boys, Movies and City Streets, 405
Boys' Club Federation of America, 230
Boys' Club of New York City, study of, 387
Boy Scouts of America, 70, 230, 231, 395
Bride show, 200–201
Brigham, C. C., 118–119, 121, 123
Brookover, Wilbur, 304
Brown, Alice Clara, 123–125
Brown, Francis J., 149, 191, 211, 213, 403, 432, 536, 537, 540, 545
Brunner, Edmund deS., 391
Budget, family, 25
Bureau of American Ethnology, 22
Bureau for Intercultural Education, 544
Burgess, Ernest W., 130
Burns, Robert, 131
Business colleges, 480
Butler, Samuel, 29

C

Camp Fire Girls, 70, 231
Canada, in textbooks, 328
Cantril, Hadley, 420
Capital, influence of, 170–171
Cartwright, Morse A., 370
Case-study method, social control, 45–46
Cather, Willa, 57
Celestin, William, 20
Cellar clubs, 226–227
Censorship, motion picture, 410
Chambers, M. M., 233
Chancellor, W. E., 42
Change, cultural, 72–80
Chapin, F. Stuart, 71, 72, 216
Character education, 529
"Character Education—Past and Present," 530
Characteristics, innate and acquired, 115–128
Charlemagne, 252
Charters, W. W., 314, 406

Chautauqua, 513–514
Chauvinism, 100, 546–549
Chicago Recreational Survey, 375
Chicago Trade School, 319
Child:
  behavior of, 135, 148
  social adjustment, family and, 207–215
  spoiled, 140
Child-centered school, 283
Child Centered School, The, 285
Childersburg, 343–344
Child labor, 177–179
Child-parent relationships, 195–198
Children's Bureau, 396, 397
Christianity, and schools, 252
Church, 104, 382–384
  and State, 247
  influence of, 170
Churchill, Winston, 561
City, The, 340
Civic attitudes, 529–535
Civic education, 529–535
Civil Aeronautics Authority, 396
Civilian Conservation Corps, 396, 506, 552
Clarke, Sir Fred, 501–503
Class and Caste in Southerntown, 540
Classroom response, 292–293
Class system, England, 158
Clinton, DeWitt, 257, 280
Cliques in schoolroom, 294, 299
Clow, F. R., 42
Colleges:
  Army- and Navy-organized programs in, 272–273
  attendance, community study, 361–362
  changes in subject matter, 323–325
  growth of, 259, 260–264
  in United States, 255–264
  women's, 282
Collins, Selwyn D., 453
Columbia University, 30
  Department of Educational Sociology, 43
  Teachers College, 43
Comenius, 31
Comics, study of reading, 433–434
Commencement, 252–253
Commission on Teacher Education, study on cooperation, 297–300
Committee for Economic Development, 552
Common, defined, 564
Common Council for American Unity, 544
Common experience, 293
Commonwealth Fund, 449
Communism, schools under, 255
Community, 95
  model, 153–154
Community (*Cont.*):
  modern, 343
  organization:
    changing, 345–347
    development of, 69–70
  relation of school to, 340–374
  school and, interaction (*see* School-community interaction)
Community: A Sociological Study, 95
Community councils, 232–234, 387–394
  principles of, 393–394
Community surveys, 88–89, 357–360
  effects of, 360–364
  utilization of data, 360–364
Comparative psychology, 10
Competition, 153
Comte, August, 22–25
Condorcet, 24
Conflict, 153
Confucius, 249
Congeniality group, 95
Conscious control, 165–166
"Consciousness of kind," 91, 92
Control, 109
  conscious, 165
Cooley, C. H., 30, 131, 155
Cooperation, 145, 161–163
  coerced, 161, 162–163
  defined, 161
  egocentric, 161
  family and, 214–215
  in the gang, 240–241
  study on, 297–300
  teacher-pupil, 293–294
  voluntary, 161–162
Cornell University course in labor-management relations, 534
Coronado, 57
Correspondence courses, 519–520
Counseling.
  occupational, 508
  school-community relationships in, 364–373
  social and personal, 365
  vocational, 365, 493–494
Counselor, functions of, 366–367
Course-unit system
  criticism of, 320–321
  in high schools, 319
Covello, Leonard, 351
Crabbe, George, 254
Creative role of education, 183–185
Cressey, Paul M., 405
Crime, 76–77
Criminal gang, 226, 227–228
Criminal traits, 9
Criminology, 4, 27
Cultural anthropology, 21–22

Cultural change (*see also* Social change):
analyzing, as subject matter, 328–329
and vested interests, 82
and World War II, 275
factors influencing, 78–80
variability of, 74
Cultural democracy, 213–214, 543
Cultural differences, 289–291, 303
recognition and constructive use of, 291, 294
Cultural environment, 28
Cultural Evolution, 61
Cultural heritage, 55–83, 563
Acoma Indians, 55–61
transmission of, 170
Cultural lag, 77–78
Cultural pluralism, 213, 542
Cultural trait, 62–63
Cultural transmission, 168–172
Culture:
and education, 274
area, 63
change in, 72–80 (*see also* Cultural change)
complex, 63
cumulative nature of, 68–72
diffusion of, 80–83
material, 62
meaning of, 61–64
non-material, 62
Culture of Cities, The, 373
Curriculum, 308–339
affected by community survey, 361
and change in behavior, studies of, 336–339
goals, determination of, 309–314
methods of teaching, 330–333
research needed, 49
social measurement of education, 333–339
subject matter, 314–330
vocational training, 497
Cycles, in cultural change, 72–73

D

Dame School, 254
Damrosch, Walter, 423
Darwin, Charles, 11, 24
Davis, Allison, 540
Davis, H. L., 362
Davis, Jerome, 29
Davis, Kingsley, 112, 210
Death:
causes of, 460
rates (*table*), 459
ratio of, to births, 303 cities (*fig.*), 187
Death Comes to the Archbishop, 57
Deep South, 540
Delinquency, 9–10, 349–352
Democracy and Education, 283, 287, 293
Denominationalism, 383
Denver high school motion picture project, 414–416
Department of Agriculture, 395, 397
Depression, Great, 75–76
effect on health, 460–461
Descartes, 24
Design for General Education, A, 325–328
Determinist theory of instincts, 14–15, 119
Dewey, John, 41, 74, 281, 283–284, 287, 293, 573
Dictionary of Sociology, 27
Differences:
biological, 9
individual, 17
Diffusion of culture, 80–83
Dionne quintuplets, study of, 117
Discipline, wartime, 273
Discovery and invention, 78–79, 80
Divorce, 204–206
Dodson, Dan W., 36, 352, 553
Dollard, John, 88
Dominant characteristics, 9
Douglas, Harl R., 295, 321, 348
Dower system, 200, 201
Drives, 72
Dryer, Sherman, 425
Duncan, H. G., 27, 136
Dunn, Loula Friend, 343
Durkheim, Emile, 162, 558
Dutton, S. T., 41
Dynamic Sociology, 40

E

Ecology, in college texts, 26
Economic factors, literacy, 279–280
Economic Life of Primitive Peoples, The, 65
Economic status, and medical services, 463–465
Economist, 3
Edison, Thomas A., 412
Edman, Irwin, 323
Education:
adult (*see* Adult education)
agencies contributing to, 169–170
agencies of, 185–188
aims or objectives of, 49
as learning, 280–283
as self-expression, 283–288
as social control, 562–571
at outbreak of World War II, 264–270
culture and, 274–276

Education (*Cont.*):
federal control of, 170
for social control, 269, 270
functional approach to, 273
functions of:
assimilation of traditions, 168–172
creative or constructive role, 183–185
development of new social patterns, 172–183
health, 449–458
inequality in, 265–269
in United States, 255–264
meaning of, 165–168
objectives, in our time, 168
Oriental, 249
public, struggle for, 257
religious, 170
Roman, 251
social measurement of, 333–339
social nature of, 165–188
workers', 514–516
Educational films, 412–417
Educational psychology, relation of educational sociology to, 37–39
Educational Radio Script Exchange, 429
Educational sociology:
books:
after World War I, 42
between wars, 41–42
early, 40
challenge of, 50–51
defined, 33–36, 165
function of, 160
interaction approach to, 33–51
major fields of, 39–44
relation to educational psychology, 37–39
research, development of, 44–50
terminology, 144–145
Educational Sociology (Chancellor), 42
Educational Sociology (Snedden), 42
Education of Man, 31
Education Policies Commission, 317
Educative process, 167
Eighteenth Amendment, 559
Elective system, colleges, 323
Elementary school, changes in subject matter, 316–318
Ellwood, Charles A., 30, 34, 42, 61–62
Émile, 31, 283, 287
Employment, shifts of, 177–181
Engineering, Science, and Management War Training, 483
England, schools in, 254
English National Health Insurance, 470
English Poor Law, 254
Enrollments:
during World War II, 271
in full-time day schools, 1939–1940 (*fig.*), 269
Environment, 7, 115–128
Environmentalists, 119
Ephebic oath, 250
Erewhon, 29
Eskimos, 156
ESMWT, 483
Ethnocentrism, 98, 99–100
Examinations, importance of, 333–339
Expenditures for education, 265–267
compared with national income, 266
per pupil, 1939–1940 (*fig.*), 265
public school, white and Negro schools (*fig.*), 542
External forces, 7

F

Fairchild, Henry Pratt, 27
Fair Employment Practices Act, 544
Family, 25, 94–95, 191–218
and law, 206
and social processes, 207–215
a social institution, 192–195
child-parent relationship, 195–198
divorce and marriage, 204–206
functions of, 202–203
changes in, 195, 202–203
future of, 215–218
husband-wife relationship, 195, 198–202
nature of, 192–195
of foreign stock, 211–214
organization, present trends in, 203–207
origin and development of, 195–203
prejudices in, 192–193
size of, 204
sociology and, 36
study of, 4
types and behavior patterns, 71
Faris, Ellsworth, 13, 152, 526
Fascism, 566–569
Mussolini on, 566
Father-family, 199
Federal Communications Commission, 421
Federal control of education, 170
Federal funds for education (*table*), 398
Federal Vocational Training for War-Production Workers, 483
Female seminaries, 262
Feral man, 109, 114
Fitzhugh, 30
FM stations, 428
Folk arts, 543
Folkways:
defined, 64
nature of, 101–103
Folkways, 30, 46, 92

Folsom, J. K., 360
Food rationing, 562
Foreign stock, family of, 211–214
Foreman, 484, 485
Forman, H. J., 403
Foster, Robert G., 151
Foundations of Educational Sociology, 42
4-H Clubs, 232, 395
France, schools in, 254
Franzen, Raymond, 456–457
Frederick the Great, 254
Free Academies, 256, 259
Free educationists, 285
Freeman, Frank N., 120
Freud, 14, 236
Friendship sociograms, 296, 298
Froebel, 31, 281
Functional education, 168
Fundamentals of Sociology, 41
Furbey, Paul H., 237
Future Farmers of America, 232, 396

G

Galton, Francis, 118
Gang, The, 46, 95
Gangs, 221–229
  age distributions in (*table*), 224
  defined, 222
  lost interest in, reasons (*table*), 242
  social processes and, 237–241
  society and, 228
  studies of, 223
  types of, 226
Garth, T. R., 121, 123
Gast, Ira M., 126–127
General education, 324
  design for, 325–328
    objectives, 327–328
  in vocational education, 499–503
General Education in a Free State, 121, 301, 319, 346
General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, The, 512
Geographical area, study of, 47
Geographic isolation, 82
Geography, and social organization, 89–90
George-Deen Act, 479, 505, 508
Gesell, Arnold, 15, 148
G.I. Bill of Rights, 273, 369, 493, 521
Giddings, F. H., 30, 91, 92
Gillin, John P. and John L., 98, 144, 146
Girl gangs, 223–224
Girls, education of, 262–264
Girl Scouts, 70, 230, 231
Goals, determination of, curriculum, 309–314
Gold Coast and the Slum, The, 47, 387
Goldfrank, Esther S., 68
Good, Alvin, 42
Governmental assistance to education, 397–400
Government service, training of leaders for, 534
Graduates, school's interest in, 353–354
Grange, the, 70, 395
Great Didactic, 31
Greece:
  health practices in, 442–443
  schools in, 249–251
Greenwich House, 229
Gross, Karl, 235
Group, 84–108
  attitudes, 528
  awareness, rise of, 85–86
  classification, 94
  forces acting on, 106–108
  mind, 25, 128–129
  primary (*see* Primary group)
  secondary, 96
  social (*see* Social groups)
  tertiary or marginal, 96
Group Health Hospitalization, Inc., 470
Groves, Ernest R., 42, 144, 146
Guidance, 364–373
  bureau, not for testing, 367–368, 369
  specialist, 366–367
Guideposts for Rural Youth, 391
Guide to Colleges, Universities, and Professional Schools in the United States, 369
Guide to the Evaluation of Educational Experience in the Armed Forces, 368
Guild apprenticeship, 252
Guinea pig, 10
Gymnasium, 250, 253

H

Haldane, John S., 11
Hall, G. Stanley, 235
Hamlet, 100
Hancock, John M., 552
Handedness, study of, 126–128
Hanus, Elisha, 449
Harbors, natural, 89
Harris, Elisha, 445
Harris, W. T., 41
Harris Teachers College, St. Louis, 533–534
Harshbarger, H. Clay, 424
Hartland, Sydney, 154
Harvard Report (*General Education in a Free Society*), 121, 301, 319, 346

Health:
defined, 444, 445
education, 352, 449–452
aid to teachers, 451
conclusions, 458
defined, 450
for future, 455
in schools, 452–458
programs, 455–456
teacher training in, 456
group, and medical care, 470
in 18th and 19th centuries, 443–444
insurance, 469
in other countries, 470–471
national, proposed plans, 471–472
national program, 459–469
potential developments, 469–472
practices, in school, 454–455
propaganda, 451–452
public (*see* Public health in United States)
recent developments, 469
regulations, early, 441–444
Henry Street Settlement, 229
Herbart, J. F., 31, 281
"Five Formal Steps," 40
Herder, J. G. von, 24
Hereditary Genius, 118
Heredity, 5, 115–128
laws of, 9
role of, 10
Herskovits, Melville, 65, 70, 245, 246
Heterogeneity of United States, 536–537
Hippocrates, 442
Historical method, social research, 45
History of Human Marriage, 45–46, 195, 197
Hitler, 90, 534
Hobbes, 24
Hoehler, Fred K., 344
Holaday, Perry W., 404
Horizontal enrichment, 320
Housing, 328–329
How Gertrude Teaches Her Children, 31
"How to Move a College Off Its Hill," 370–373
Hughes, 30
Hull House, 229
Human association, child behavior apart from, 110–113
Human behavior:
biological factors in, 8–11
psychological factors in, 11–18
Human beings, experimenting with, 109–110
Human ecology, defined, 4
Human nature, how acquired, 137
Hunter, W. S., 121, 123
Hunting instinct, 12–13
Huntington, E., 90
Husband purchase, 200
Husband-wife relationship, 195, 198–202
Huxley, Julian S., 11, 44, 74, 128
Hygiene, differentiated from health education, 450

I

Identification, 155
Ilg, Frances L., 148
Illnesses causing most school absences (*table*), 453
Imbecility, studies of, 118
Imitation, 148
Immigrant communities, school in, 351
Income:
and reproduction (*table*), 205
levels, per cent at each educational level by (*table*), 498
national, expenditures for public education compared with (*fig.*), 266
sources, for colleges and universities (*fig.*), 267
Indians (*see also* Acomas; Navahos).
and whites, comparative studies, 121, 123–125
Individual, 113–115
and person, 109–138
behavior patterns of, 16
differences, recognition of, 288–289, 291
group organization and, 107
interacting with another, 97
mental ability of, 10, 17–18, 320
Individual-group interaction, 7
Industry, types and behavior patterns, 71
Inertia, cultural, 81–82
Infant behavior, 4, 15–16, 17, 132–134, 148
In-group (*see also* We-group):
development of, 277–307
larger, 306–307
Inheritance:
of characteristics, 115–128
of special abilities and aptitudes, 119
Initiation ceremony, 247
Instinct, 11–16
classification, 12
defined (McDougall), 13–14
determinist theory of, 14–15
Institute of Human Relations, 47
Institutions, 101, 104–105
defined, 64
Institutions, educational, 185–188
horizontal, 104–105
new, development of, 106
vertical, 104

Instruction (*see* Teaching)
Intelligence, and opportunity, 121
Intelligence quotient, 17–18, 320
Intelligence tests, 289, 303
Interaction, 144
  term, 33
Intercultural education, activities in, 543–545
Interculturation, 142
Inter-learning, 34
Interview, 48
Intolerance, 107, 537–545, 548
Introduction to Educational Sociology, 41–42
Invention and discovery, 78–79, 80
I.Q., 17–18, 320
Iroquois, family organization of, 199
Isolation, 153
Ivey, John E., 361

J

Jack Roller, The, 46
James, William, 12, 131, 132, 155
Jefferson, Thomas, 257
Jennings, Helen Hall, 295–297
Jesuits, 254
Jews, persecution of, by Nazis, 159
Job analysis, vocational training based on, 496–497
Job Instruction Training, 484
Job instructors, 484, 485–486
Job placement, 365
Joliet, Illinois, health study, 457–458
Journal of Educational Sociology, 43, 44
Journeyman, 252, 476
Judd, Charles H., 120, 532
Jung, 236
Junior colleges, 261
  curriculum of, 323–324
Junior Red Cross, 232
Juvenile delinquency, 9–10, 349–352

K

Kahn, M. C., 20
Kalamazoo Case, 259
Kallen, H. M., 158
Keller, Albert G., 86, 90, 100, 201, 245
Kentucky, University of, 361
Kilpatrick, William H., 284, 285
King, 41
Kirkpatrick, E. A., 41, 391
Klineberg, Otto, 122–123
Köhler, Wolfgang, 20
Kropotkin, 160

L

Labor, division of, 25
Labor colleges, 330
Labor-management relations, course in, 534
Laissez faire policy, 159
Lamarck, 24
Lancastrian system, 280–281, 331
Language, 166–167
  foreign, new methods of teaching, 331–332
Latin America in School and College Teaching Materials, 328
Latin Grammar School, 259
Law, family and, 206
Lazarus, Moritz, 235
Leadership, 561
League of Women Voters, 70
Learning:
  advances in, 5
  education as, 280–283
  process, 167
    emphasis on, 17
Lebensraum, 90
Lee, Harvey, 43
Legal control, 558–559
Leighton, A. H. and D. C., 65, 67, 149
Leisure-time.
  activities, according to sex, 379–380
  how spent, 376–381
Leonard and Gertrude, 31
LePlay, Frederic, 25, 90
Lesser, Simon O., 366
Library service, 384–386
  educational function of, 386
  inequality of, 385
Life expectancy, 459
Lilienthal, David E., 557
Lindeman, Eduard, 516, 525
Linton, Ralph, 207
Literacy:
  comparative, World Wars I and II, 259, 260
  economic factors, 279–280
  of present adult population, 278–279
Little red schoolhouse, 345–346
Lloyd George, David, 470
Locke, 31, 309
Long, Huey, 534
Looking Backward, 29
Lovejoy, Gordon W., 404
Lunt, Paul S., 47, 88, 430–432
Lyceum, 513
Lynds, Helen and Robert, 47, 88, 513

M

McDougall, William, 12, 236
McGurk, Frank C. J., 123

MacIver, R. M., 95, 564
McLeish, Archibald, 83
McMurray, Frank, 284
McMurray, Fred, 284
McNutt, Paul V., 575
Magazines, study of reading, 432–433
Maller, J. B., 349, 387
Man, as animal, 11
Manhasset Youth Council, 388–390, 393
Manifest destiny, 548
Mann, Horace, 257, 281
Manual training:
  high schools, 488
  programs, 480
Manus, children of, 245
Marginal group, 96–97
Marine Hospital Service, 447
Maritime Commission, 483
Marriage, 195, 197–202, 215
  age of, 203–204
  specified age for, states requiring (*table*), 209
Maryland study, youth, 378–381, 406–407
Massachusetts Acts, 256
Mathematical sciences, 23, 24
Matriarchal family organization, 198–199
Maturation theory, 12
Mayer, Joseph, 44
Mead, Margaret, 169–170, 184, 245
Measurement:
  of education, 333–339
  of mental abilities, 17–18, 289
  social interaction, 99
Mechanics, 24
Mechanics Institute, 513
Medical services, 461–465
Meiklejohn, Alexander, 307
Melting-pot theory, 213, 541, 542
Mental ability, 10
  heredity and environment, 118
Mercein, Thomas, 512–513
Meriam, J. L., 284
Mezerik, A. G., 181
Middle Ages, schools in, 251–252
Middletown, 47, 88
Middletown in Transition, 47, 88
Migration, postwar (*figs.*), 175, 176
Milbank Memorial Fund, 449
Mill, J. S., 24
Miller, Neville, 417
Minority groups:
  and employment, 181
  attitudes toward, 535–545
  intelligence records, 119
Mob, 25
Monastic Orders, 252
Montagu, M. F. Ashley, 122
Montclair, New Jersey, previewing of motion pictures, 412
Montesquieu, 24
Moore, Harry E., 144, 146
More, Sir Thomas, 29
Mores, 101, 103–104, 151
  defined, 64
Morgan, Arthur E., 343
Morgan, L. H., 22, 73
Morrell Acts, 261
Mosquitoes, sounds made by, 20
Mother-family, 199
Motion pictures:
  attendance (*table*), 403
  censorship, 410–411
  codes, 411
  commercial, 403–412
  conclusions *re.*, 409
  control of, 409–412
  courses in appreciation, 412
  educational, 412–417
  postwar, 416–417
  selection of, 411–412
Movies, Delinquency and Crime, 405
Mumford, Lewis, 373
Murdock, K., 121
Murray, D. Stark, 471
Music, inherited ability in, 119
Music and Arts High School, 320
Mussolini, Benito, 566, 568, 569
Myrdal, Gunnar, 126

N

National Board of Review, 411
National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 449
National Committee on Children in Wartime, 397
National Conference of Christians and Jews, 544
National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 395
National Defense program, 473
Nationale Ballila, 568–569
National Education Association, 395
National Federation of Settlements, 395
National Geographic Society, 22
Nationalism, 99
National Planning Association, 552, 553
National Reconstruction Administration (NRA), 552
National Resources Planning Board, 552
National Social Work Council, 395
National Society for the Study of Education, 119
National Society for the Study of Educational Sociology, 43

National Vocational Act, 479
National Youth Administration, 396, 506, 552
Nations, we-group feeling in, 93
Native ability, 17
Natural History of a Delinquent Career, The, 46
Navahos, 60, 65–68, 101, 149–150, 246, 248
Navy:
  adult education, 520–521
  courses, vocational, 508
Nazism, 159, 160
  schools under, 255
NEA, Joint Report of AMA and, 445, 450
Needy, care of, 29–30
Negroes:
  and race prejudice, 537–545
  and whites, comparative studies, 121–123
  attitudes toward, 528
  educational opportunities of, 275
  health status of, 352
  postwar migration of, expected (*fig.*), 176
  schools and colleges, 261
Neighborhood, 95
  and cultural differences, 290–291
Nelson, Janet F., 217
New Atlantis, 29
New Bedford, Massachusetts, workers' education, 515–516
New England Primer, 255
New Guinea, children of, 245
New Harmony, Indiana, 153–154
Newman, H. H., 116
New Science, 23–24
New Worlds for Old, 29
New York City:
  rate map juvenile delinquency, by neighborhoods (*fig.*), 350
  social base, map of an area of, 359
New York City's Million Young People, 379
New York University:
  Department of Educational Sociology in, 43
NRA, 552
Nursery schools, increase of, 272
NYA, 396, 506, 552

O

Oak Ridge, Tennessee, 90
Occupational counseling, 508
Occupations, number of, 70
Offenhauser, William, 20
Ogburn, W. F., 78, 202, 203
Olsen, Edward G., 362
One America, 211, 213, 536, 537, 540, 544
144 Smaller Cities, 89, 341
Opportunity, intelligence and, 121
Opposition, 145, 152–160
  between persons, 156–157
  classifications of, 154–155
  conflict within person, 154–155
  defined, 152–153
  development of in-group, 294
  family and, 207–217
  group with group, 157–160
  how determined, 158–159
  in gang, 238–240
  motion pictures, 409–410
Ordinance of 1787, 264
Organization:
  classroom and school, research needed in, 49
  large units of, 394–401
Organizations:
  educational, 397
  federally subsidized research, 397
  government agencies, 395–397
  private, 395
Organized group, 221–229
Original nature, 113–115
  becomes human nature, 128–131
  defined, 114
Origin of Species, 11
O'Shea, 41, 74
Our Movie Made Children, 403
Out-groups, 92
Owen, Robert, 153

P

Paper, manufacture of, 253
Parental ambition, 209–210
Parent-child relationship, 195–198
Pareto, Vilfredo, 129–130
Park, Robert E., 130, 340
Parker, 281
Parker, Francis W., School, 285
Parran, Thomas, 459, 472
Passive adaptation, 149
Patents, number of (*fig.*), 79
Patrick, George T. W., 236
Pauper schools, 257
Pavlov, 16, 147
Payne, E. George, 187, 191, 313–314
  on development of new social patterns, 172
  on education, 167
  on educational psychology, 37–38
  on educational sociology, 33–34
  on needed areas of research, 49–50

Payne, E. George (*Cont.*):
on need for better teachers, 579
on new approach to education, 571–573
on role of education, 549–550
on social emphasis in education, 535
on teaching method, 332–333, 334–336
on the curriculum, 308, 309
on the educative process, 167
on the individual and social change, 183
work of, 43–44
Payne Fund, 404, 405
Pearl Harbor, 574
Pearson, Karl, 118
Pedagogy, 31
Pennsylvania, school controversy in, 257
Person, 17
individual and, 109–138
Personal-data method, social research, 48
Personality, 109
development of, 131–137
instinctive basis of, 14
meaning of, 137–138
term, 132
Personal problems, 322
Pestalozzi, 31, 281
Peters, C. C., 42
Peterson, J., 121
Peterson, Ruth C., 405
Philosophy, 3
Physical environment, and cultural change, 78
Physical sciences, growth of, 4
Physicians, shortage of, 461–462
Physiologists, 3
Pintner, Rudolph, 121
Plagues, 443
Plainville, U. S. A., 89, 193, 341
Planning, 76
need for, 74
postwar, organizations, 76
social (*see* Social planning)
Plato, 23, 309
Republic, 29
Play, changing attitudes toward, 234–237
Play group, 220–221
nature of, 95
Police Athletic League, 226, 243, 382
Political scientist, 3
Polson, Robert A., 341
Population:
in college texts, 26
movements, 173–177
per cent married, 203, 205
urban and rural (*fig.*), 171
Positive Philosophy, 23
Postwar Planning Conference, 553
Prejudices:
family, 192–193
Prejudices (*Cont.*):
race, 537–545, 548
President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 397
Press, 430–437
Pressey, S. L., 121
Priest class, 248
Primary group, 94–96
defined, 94
we-feeling of, 96
Primitive Culture, 65
Primitive groups, opposition in, 153, 154
Primitive man, 3
Principles of Educational Sociology (Payne), 43
Principles of Sociology, 24, 30
Printing press, invention of, 253
Professional schools, 323, 475–476, 478
Progressive education, 283
laboratory schools, 284
revolt against extreme, 286–288
Progressive Education Association, 285, 336
Progressivism, revolt against extreme, 286–288
Project method, 284
Prussia, schools in, 254
Public and Its Problems, The, 287
Public health in United States, 445–449
administration, 445–447
agencies.
private voluntary, 448–449
state and local, 448
U. S. Public Health Service, 447–448
first school of, 446
Public Law 16, 578
Public Law 113, 469, 508, 578
Public Law 346, 578
Public Law 410, 469
Pueblos, 65, 66
Puffer, J. Adams, 236
Pule, W. H., 121
Puritan religion, 309
Purposeful living, 511–525
Psychological factors, human behavior, 11–18
Psychologists, 3
Psychology, 18
and sociology, 28, 168
educational, 37–39

Q

Quadrivium, 251
Questionnaire, 48

R

Race, 105
and biological inheritance, 10

Race (*Cont.*):
differences, 9, 119, 121–126
groups, intelligence classification, World War I, 119, 121
prejudice, 537–545, 548
Radio, 417–430
allocation of wave lengths, 421–422
broadcasting by students, 429
C.B.S. code, 422
commercial broadcasting, 422–423
control of, 421–422
educational broadcasting, 423, 425
FM, 428, 429
in teachers colleges (*table*), 428
number of radios, in 309 cities (*fig.*), 186
potentialities, 429–430
programs:
in classroom, 423–425
influence on behavior, 419–420
public-service broadcasting, 425
response to public opinion, 420–421
Radio Act of 1912, 421
Rate bills, 257–258
Rating of children, 305 (*see also* Testing; Tests)
Reading, 321
study of, 430–432
Recessive characteristics, 9
Reconversion, 487
Recreation, 375–387
agencies, youth using, New York City survey, 386
annual cost of, estimated, 377–378
Red Cross, American, 395, 448, 452
Reformation, schools during, 253–254
Regimentation, 564
Religion:
community aspects of, 382–384
types and behavior patterns, 71
worship, 104
Renaissance, schools during, 252–253
Reports, teachers', 305
Reproduction, 204–205
Republic, The, 23, 29
Research:
development of, 44–50
educational aims found through, 313–315
Residues, Pareto's, 129–130
Reuter, E. B., 35
Rhoton, Paul, 452–453
Rivers, W. H. R., 22
Robbins, C. L., 42
Rockefeller Foundation, 449
Rocky Mountain Radio Council, 425
Romans:
education of, 251
Romans (*Cont.*):
health practices of, 443
Romulus and Remus, 110
Roosevelt, F. D., 529, 561
Roosevelt Infantile Paralysis Foundation, 449
Rosenwald Fund, 449
Rote learning, 281
Roucek, Joseph S., 211, 213, 536, 537, 540, 544
Rousseau, 31, 215, 283, 287
Rugg, Harold, 285
Rural communities, attendance, 267–268
Rural Community Organization, 341
Rural school, 346
Rural sociology, 27, 105
Rural youth, community organization of, 391–393

S

St. George School for Child Study, 117
Sand, Rene, 444, 450
Sanderson, Dwight, 341
Sanitation, 446
Satan Acts, 256
Scarsdale, Radio Committee of, 420–421, 422
Schizophrenia, 155
Scholarship programs, 578
School:
and other community agencies, 348
at outbreak of World War II, 264–270
failure to hold students, 277–278
growth of, 249–255
in United States, 255–264
of tomorrow, 572–580
origin of, 244–249
relation of:
to community, 340–374
to culture, 244–276
responsibility for graduates, 353–354
year, differences in length of, 268
School and Society, The, 41, 284
School as a Social Institution, The, 42
School-community interaction, 340–374
appraisal of, 373–374
changing organization, 345–347
counseling, relationships in, 364–373
principles of, 347–357
relationships, 347–357
surveys, 357–360
use of data, 360–364
Science of social control, 38
Science of Society, The, 90, 195, 197
Scott, C. A., 41
Secondary group, 96, 232

Secondary school:
changes in subject matter, 318–323
growth of, 259
suggested reorganization of curriculum, 321–322
Second generation problem, 351
Secret controls, 136–137, 155
Secret societies, 226
Seldes, Gilbert, 426
Self, in relation to others, 131–137
Self-expression, education as, 283–288
Settlement houses, 229–230
Seven Liberal Arts, 251, 252
Shand, 236
Shared responsibility, 291–293
Shaw, Clifford R., 46, 349, 387
Shinn, 47
Shull, Claude, 408
Shulman, Harry M., 388
Shumaker, Ann, 285
Siblings, 115, 117
Sickness, days lost from (*tables*), 453
Siepman, C. A., 426
Sigerist, Henry E., 444, 449
Simkhovich, Mary K., 229
Singh, J. A. L., 110
Skinner, Charles E., 38
Slavery, 159
Slave system, American, 158
Small, A. W., 30, 40
Small Community, The, 343
Smillie, Wilson G., 446, 448, 449
Smith, Adam, 24
Smith, Stephen, 445
Smith, W. R., 41
Smith-Hughes Act, 479, 480, 505, 508
Snedden, David, 42, 43
Social adjustment, 146–152
definitions, 146
Social Aspects of Education, 41
Social change:
appraisal of, 563–564
cyclical, 72–73
evolutionary concept of, 73
purposive, 73–74
three orders, 72–73
Social Contract, 287
Social control, 551, 558–571
and authoritarianism, 566
coercive, 560
defined, 558
education as, 562–571
food rationing, 562
leadership, 561
rituals, ceremonials, 561
science of, 38
suggestion and, 560–561
through law, 558–560
Social Development and Education, 41
Social distance, 98–100
horizontal, 98–99
lateral or third dimensional, 99
vertical, 98
Social dynamics, 24
Social Education, 41
Social groups:
classification of, 91–100
dynamic character of, 105–108
function of, 100–105
Social history, 24
Social interaction, 139–164
classification of:
degree of intimacy, 140–144
number of persons involved, 139–140
social processes, 139, 144–146
defined, 139
school-community relationships, 347–357
terminology, 144–146
Socialized medicine, 445, 470
Social Life of a Modern Community, The, 47, 88
Social organization:
and individual, 91
approaches to study of:
individual, 3–18
relation to external world, 19–22
sociological, 22–32
classification of groups, 91–100
differentiated from institution, 64
factors influencing, 89–91
ecological, 91
geographical, 89–90
in college texts, 26
nature of, 84–85
rise of, 85–86
Social Organization, 30
Social pathology, in college texts, 26
Social patterns, new, development of, 168, 172–183
Social Phases of Education in the School and the Home, 41
Social planning, 551–558
agencies, 552–553
defined, 554–555
World War II, 555
Social principles and processes in college texts, 26
Social Principles of Education, 41
Social problems, in college texts, 26
Social Problems and Education, 42
Social processes:
coöperation, 161–163
family and, 207–215
meaning for education, 163–164
opposition, 152–160

Social processes (*Cont.*):
social interaction classified by, 144–146
Social psychology, areas of study, 3–4
Social reform, 25
Social research:
development of, 44–50
fields in which needed, 49–50
methods of, 45–47
Social sciences, growth of, 4
Social scientist, defined, 3
Social Security Act, 447, 469
Social statics, 24
Social studies, 321–322
Social Study of Washington, D. C., 557–558
Social surveys, 47
Social work, 4
sociology as, 29–30
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 254
Sociologist:
as scientist, 517
defined, 3
influence of, 6
Sociology:
and educative process, 31–32
and psychology, 28, 168
as field of knowledge, 22–29
as social work, 29–30
as subject of study, 30–32
biology and, 28
defined (Duncan), 27
differentiated from other social sciences, 45
educational (*see* Educational sociology)
first course in, 30
first Department of, 30
geographic school, 78
literature, 27
meaning of term, 22–23, 24
rise of, 22–25
special fields, 27
terms, 26–27
texts in, principles and processes, 26
today, 25–32
Sociology and Education, 42
Sociology and Modern Social Problems, 42
Sociology for the South, 30
Sociology of Childhood, 149, 191, 403, 432
Sociology with Educational Implications, 42
Sociometrics, 99
Sociometry, 295–300
Socrates, 249, 250, 309
Sorokin, Pitirim, 35, 78
Southern Town, 88
Sparta, schools in, 249–250
Special abilities or aptitudes, 119, 120–121
Specialized interests, 70
Spencer, Herbert, 24–25, 30, 40, 73, 128, 235, 309, 310
Spiller, G., 115
Spinoza, 24
Springfield Plan, 543
Stalin, Joseph, 561
State, 105
Church and, 247
types and behavior patterns, 71
States' rights, 74
Statistical method, social research, 46–47
Status:
importance of, 294–297
struggle for, 156
Stereotypes, 99, 150–151, 540–541
defined, 528–529
Stirling, Mathew W., 55
Stoddard, Alexander J., 500–501
Stoddard, George D., 404
Stoddard, Theodore L., 196
Story of Youth, The, 196
Student participation, 291–293
Sturm, Johann, 253
Subject matter, 314–330
changes in, 315–318
colleges, 323–325
elementary school, 316–318
secondary school, 318–323
conclusions on, 329–330
curriculum, 314–330
functional basis of determining, 325
integration of, 28–29
job-analysis method of determining, 325
nature of, 314
suggested reorganization of, 321
Sumner, William G., 30, 46, 90, 92, 100, 201, 245
Surveys:
adult education, 523–525
community, 88–89, 357–360
use of data, 360–364
Suzzallo, Henry, 43, 281

T

Taboos, 441–442
Tact, of teacher, 293
Tarde, Gabriel, 128–129
Teachers:
constructive use of cultural differences, 291, 294
during World War II, 302–303
first, 248

Teachers (*Cont.*):
first training schools for, 301
knowledge of individual child, 303–304
provision for wider participation, 293
recording and guiding behavior, 305
role of, 300–307
shortage of, 579
training for, development of, 302
Teacher-pupil relationship, 293–294
Teaching:
language, new methods, 331–332
methods, 330–333
research needed in, 50
sociological approach to, 306
techniques of military, 332
Teaching Orders, 254
Technical institutes, 493
Teen-age Canteens, 381–382
Telic process, 73
Tennessee Valley development, 329, 555–557
Terman, Lewis M., 120
Terminal courses, 264
Terminology, 144–145
Tertiary group, 96
Testing:
first mass, World War I, 118–119, 121
guidance bureau not for, 367–368, 369
Tests, 289
Army classification, World War I, 118–119, 121
educational, 333–339
mental, 17–18
Rhoton's, health misconceptions, 452, 454
Textbooks:
Italian, Fascist, 568
study of, 328
Thomas, W. I., 48, 130
Thorndike, Edward L., 12, 89, 121, 341
laws of learning, 42
Thoughts on Education, 31
Thrasher, Frederic M., 46, 95, 221, 237, 240, 241, 340, 349, 387, 405, 413
Thurstone, L. L., 405
Totalitarianism, 566
cultural transmission and, 171–172
Trades, 476
Tradition, assimilation of, 169
Training Within Industry, 285, 484
Transference, 147–148
Transportation, 206–207
Treatise on Sociology, 30
Trivium, 251
T.V.A., 329, 555–557
Twins, study of, 116, 120
Tylor, E. B., 22, 61, 65

U

Uniformity, 564
Unions, workers' education in, 514–515
Unit courses, high schools, 319
United Hospitals, Inc., 470
United Nations Organization, 93, 559, 576
United States, schools and colleges in, 255–264
United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI), 368–369, 521
United States Chamber of Commerce, 395
United States Employment Service (USES), 365, 507
United States Office of Education:
vocational education, 507
United States Public Health Service, 447–449
Universities (*see also* Colleges):
publicly administered, 261
University of Chicago, 30
University of Kentucky, 361
University of Missouri, 30, 284
Urban communities, school attendance, 267–268
Urbanization, 176
Urban sociology, 27, 105
USAFI, 368–369, 521
USES, 365, 507
Utopia, 81
Utopia, 29

V

Vertical enrichment, 320
Vested interests, 82, 347
Veterans, 106
administration, 369
attitudes toward, 545–546
educational counseling of, 365, 368
need for vocational training, 508
readjust through adult education, 521–523
Vico, 23
Victory Corps, 322
Vocational education, 168, 473–510
academic material in, 499–503
based on job analysis, 496–497
basic problems, 487–494
curricula, 497
development of, 474–481
federal aid for, 489–490
full-time school, 488–489
future, 494–506
general education integrated with, 499–506
industrial arts education and, 488
magazines, 497

Vocational education (*Cont.*):
new methods and techniques, 497–499
period of training, 490–493
persons for whom essential, 506–507
programs:
of World War II period, 481–487
specific, 506–510
textbooks, lesson sheets, 498–499
Vocational Rehabilitation Act, 273–274
VTWPW, 483

W

Wald, Lillian, 229
Warbasse, James P., 470
Ward, Lester, 40, 73, 129
War Food Production Training, 484
War Manpower Commission, 482, 483, 487, 496
Warner, W. Lloyd, 42–44, 47, 88
Wartime Health and Education, 461–469
recommendations, 467–469
War-training programs, 272–273
Washington, D. C., Social Survey, 557–558
Adult Section, 523–524
We-feeling, 94
in family, 208
We-group, 92
Welles, Orson, 420
Wells, H. G., 29
West, James, 89, 193, 341
Westermark, E. A., 22, 45, 195, 197
Western world contrasted with Eastern world, cultural change, 74–76
What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?, 40
Wheatley, Parker, 419
Wife-purchase, 199–200
Wished, 130–131
Wissler, Clark, 22
Wolf children, 110–112
Women:
education of, 262–264
employment of, 179–181
by industry, 1944 (*fig.*), 182
in family, 198–202
Woody, Thomas, 248
Wordsworth, 152
Workers' education, 514–516
Work experience, 321
Working Men of Europe, 25
Works, George A., 366
Works Projects Administration, 396, 397, 518–519
World War I, 41, 42
aims of education, statement of, 310–312
and vocational education, 479
World War I (*Cont.*):
educational level of men, 259–260
rejectees, health data, 465
tests, Army classification, 118–119, 121
World War II, 6, 74, 76
and change in subject matter, 315–318
and cultural change, 275
and diffusion of culture, 80–81
and population movements, 174–176
and subject-matter reorganization, 322–325
and vocational proficiency, 473–474
educational level of selectees, 259–260
effect of:
on colleges, 324–325
on education, 270–274
on family, 216–217
on school-community relationships, 364
expansion of government services, 397
intelligence records, 119, 121
new teaching methods, 331–332
rejectees, health data, 465–469
rejection of white and Negro registrants, causes (*fig.*), 539
services rendered by schools, 272
teacher during, 302–303
veterans of, 106
vocational programs, 481–487
women employed, 180–181, 182
W.P.A., 396–397, 518–519
Writing, evolution of, 68–69

Y

Yale Clinic of Child Development, 47
Yankee City, 88, 430
Young, Kimball, 95
Young, Pauline V., 45
Y.M.C.A., 231, 395
Young people's organizations, 231
Y.W.C.A., 231
Your City, 88–89, 341
Youth, organizations of and for, 381–387
Youth councils, 387–394
Youth membership groups, 229–234
year organized, membership, 18 organizations (*table*), 233
Youth of New York City, The, 378
Youth Tell Their Story, 379, 407

Z

Zingg, R. M., 110
Znanieski, 48
Zook, George F., 399–400, 547
Zorbaugh, Harvey W., 14, 37, 47, 49, 114, 146, 155, 156, 387, 433, 518
Zuni Indians, 60, 156