

The Purposes of Education in American Democracy



EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION

*National Education Association of the United States
and the American Association of School Administrators*



THE GENERAL WELFARE

THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

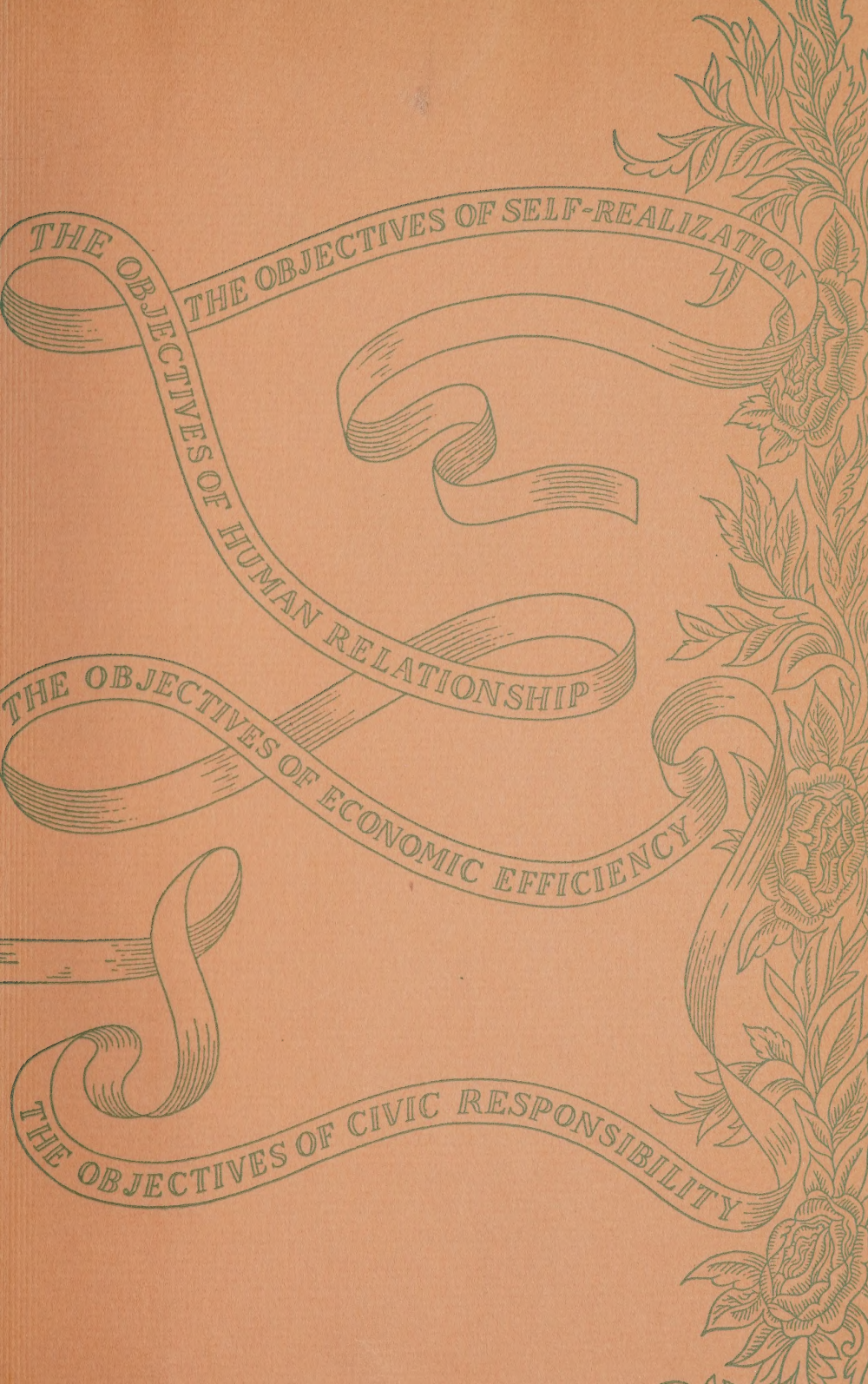
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THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED



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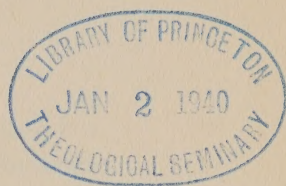
THE OBJECTIVES OF SELF-REALIZATION

THE OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

THE OBJECTIVES OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

THE OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

The Purposes of Education in American Democracy



✓ National education association of the U.S.

Educational Policies Commission

*National Education Association of the United States
and the American Association of School Administrators
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Acknowledgment

A STATEMENT of the purposes of education is a project of such magnitude and importance that it has necessarily been considered by the Educational Policies Commission at each of the seven meetings it has held during the past three years. The work in this field has been carried forward also by a series of conferences directed by subcommittees of the Commission. An account of these conferences and their personnel is given at the end of this book. The report in its present form was approved for publication by vote of the Commission on April 25, 1938.

Although the Educational Policies Commission recognizes that DR. WILLIAM G. CARR, in his capacity as its Secretary, has contributed to every pronouncement and publication of the Commission, his relationship to this particular project has been unique. The Commission is indebted to Dr. Carr, not only for much of the structure and substance of this volume, but especially for its cogent and vigorous style.

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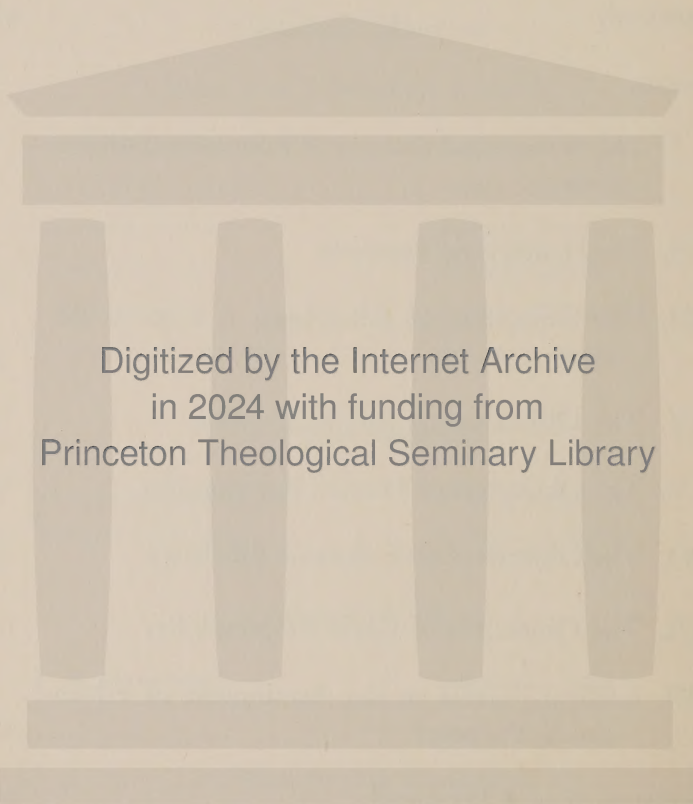
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Forewords

To the Teacher:

A million teachers in America have listened to addresses and read books, articles, reports, and courses of study on the purposes of education. These talks and publications sometimes fail to affect what is done in the classroom. One reason for their limited influence has been the tendency to deal in extremely broad generalizations which, for classroom procedure, could mean almost anything and, therefore, mean almost nothing.

In this book your Educational Policies Commission has tried to do just two things. First, we have stated what we think the schools of the United States ought to try to accomplish. Second, we have described some of the things which we think need to be done if these purposes are to be realized. We venture one more discussion on educational objectives because we hope to carry our analysis forward to the point where its meaning for the classroom and the administrative office will be clear.

The introductory chapters, dealing with the relation between education and democracy, provide a necessary basis for the rest of the statement. The kind of society in which we are to live is important for education. The democratic way of life establishes the purpose of American education. And the democratic way is being sharply and sometimes successfully challenged at home and abroad. These hard facts make the achievement of democracy through education the most urgent and the most intensely practical problem facing our profession.

The Commission hopes above all that this book will lead you to think, for yourself and with others, about the purposes back of your daily work, to grow in professional

skill and insight, and to hear more clearly than before the sharp imperatives of your great opportunities and your great obligations.

To the Layman:

Suppose you were a stockholder in an enterprise with a million employees, doing a two-billion-dollar business every year and occupying a plant valued at six billion dollars. Suppose also that this enterprise had a vital and direct effect on the welfare, safety, and happiness of you, your children, and your countrymen, and that it was concerned with the protection and development of a certain natural resource worth five times as much as all our material, mineral, soil, oil, and forest resources put together. Would you not want to meet occasionally with representatives of the management and consider with them and with the other stockholders just what this great organization was attempting to do, and how it could secure the greatest success? You would not sit back and let your vital interest in this concern go by default. You would eagerly follow the activities and reports of the enterprise and you would be found occupying a front seat at the meetings of the stockholders.

The public schools are not such a business corporation, but they are even more important. The youth of America are the natural resource which they are developing and protecting. The teachers and other workers in the schools are the employees. The school buildings and grounds are the plant. Every American citizen is a contributing stockholder, pays taxes for public education, and sees that his children attend school. Few of us give further thought to the matter.

Why do we have schools in this country? What differences ought the schools to make in the way people think

and act? Every child must attend the schools and the laws will punish his parents if they do not provide for his schooling. What is the reason for such strict legislation? Why are schools so important that everyone in the community is required to help, through taxation, in their support? You know that the fire department is to prevent and extinguish fires, the police department to maintain order, the public health department to control disease. Public education has unique and pervasive purposes and powers which set it in a class by itself.

The purposes which direct education are of the greatest significance to everyone. The Commission hopes that you will agree with our analysis of what these purposes ought to be in the American democracy of 1938. Even if you do not agree with us, our publication will succeed if it helps you to think seriously about the great cause of education. And if you do accept the conclusions of this book, we invite you, on behalf of the educational profession, to work with us in making our schools what they should—can—must become.

I.

THE NATURE AND SOURCES OF EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES¹

If philosophy is for anything—if it is not a kind of mumbling in the dark, a form of busy work—it must shed some light upon the path. Life without it must be a different sort of thing from life with it. And the difference which it makes must be in us. Philosophy, then, is reflection upon social ideals, and education is the effort to actualize them in human behavior.

—JOHN DEWEY.

Educational Objectives Depend on a Scale of Values.

Every statement of educational purposes, including this one, depends upon the judgment of some person or group as to what is good and what is bad, what is true and what is false, what is ugly and what is beautiful, what is valuable and what is worthless, in the conduct of human affairs. Objectives are, essentially, a statement of preferences, choices, values. These preferences are exercised, these choices made, these values arranged in a variety of ways.

Educational Purposes Are Rooted in the Life of a People.

The purposes of schools and other social agencies are not “discovered” as a prospector strikes a gold-mine. They evolve; they reflect and interact with the purposes which

¹ The terms “aim,” “purpose,” and “objective” are used here interchangeably.

permeate the life of the people. In each of the phases of individual and social living, there are elements which people commend, others which they condemn. Such judgments are based, in the last analysis, on moral standards or ideals. That which, out of their intelligence and experience, the people declare to be good, they will attempt to maintain and perpetuate for the benefit of their children and their children's children. They strive through education to transmit what they think is good to all the generations to come.

*The Objectives of Schools Are a
Form of Social Policy.*

A society which exalts force and violence will have one set of educational aims. A society which values reason, tranquility, and the paths of peace will have another and very different set. Again, a society which worships its ancestors and blindly reverences the past will have and does have different educational purposes from a society which recognizes the necessity for adjustment and change. The educational objectives in each case rest on certain ideas of good and bad, but these ideas are different in each case and lead to aims for the schools which differ from one another as the day from the night.

Educational purposes, then, are a form of social policy, a program of social action based on some accepted scale of values. Since the application of these values varies from place to place and even from day to day, detailed purposes of education can never be developed so as to be universally applicable and perpetually enduring. Constant study and revision are required to keep them meaningful to the people and effective in the schools. Only the broadest lines of policy can have more than temporary and local application, but these controlling principles are of prepotent importance. Everything, in fact, depends upon them.

The early Protestant sects believed it morally necessary that each person acquire salvation in a certain way. Once this moral decision was made, certain educational purposes followed. It was thought necessary, for instance, that each person consult the Bible at first hand. Hence each person must learn to read. Given these premises, the subsidiary purpose of literacy followed inevitably. Today, everyone takes instruction in reading as a matter of course. Yet a moment's consideration will show that such instruction is not justified by the sheer act of reading itself, but rests upon such considerations as religious necessity, or good citizenship, or personal enjoyment. The controlling purpose represents a choice of values.

This illustration suggests that many influences determine the scale of values cherished by a people. The development and continuing revision of this scale, and the consequent statements and revisions of educational purposes require attention to the conditions and trends of social and economic life, of practical efficiencies, and of ethical principles.

The Conditions and Trends of Society Must Be Considered.

Educational objectives, if they are to be of significant practical value must not be established in defiance of known or ascertainable facts concerning the economic and social situation as it is and as it may become. The values cherished by individuals and by social groups are the product of experience and may be changed by the same force which created them. In this realm every effort must be made to substitute tested truth for ignorance and hunches. Every major change in the structure of human society from tribal government to nationalism and from chattel slavery to capitalism has been accompanied by profound changes in educational purposes. A clear and exact knowl-

edge of the status and direction of any culture is indispensable to a statement concerning its educational purposes.

Social Values Vary in Application.

The principles which guide any society in establishing its objectives and those of its educational systems are usually simple, deep-rooted, and persistent. But the approved conduct which conforms to these principles is necessarily complex, variable, and transient. New social and technological developments change the mode of applying ethical principles to conduct. Vital decisions change with racial experience. Constant reapplications of the scale of values to specific problems are necessary.

Thus, the simple distinctions between *mine*, *thine*, and *ours*, which sufficed for the conduct of life in more primitive times, become immensely complicated in a society marked by entrepreneurial profits, holding companies, international finance, and corporate ownership. The desirability of making the distinctions persists; the practical difficulties in so doing are multiplied and perplexing.

The Methods of Effective Teaching and Learning Should Be Sought and Utilized.

Scientific studies of the process of education itself affect the nature of educational objectives. Such studies may ascertain the degree to which given objectives are acceptable to the public, to the profession, or to any segment thereof. They may discover how universally or how perfectly the objectives are or have been attained by any person or group of persons. They may measure the positive or negative contributions made to the objectives by the schools or by other social agencies. They may compare and evaluate the relative efficiency of various educational agen-

cies, methods, or materials in approaching the objectives. They may throw light on the nature of man as learner and teacher and thus color the entire policy of education.

Ethical Judgments Control the Application of Other Standards.

The most potent and universal bases for determining educational objectives, however, are those which deal with ethical or moral distinctions.

Consider a single example. Schools are expected to promote a desirable present and future family life for the children in their care. But why is this purpose given prominence? Clearly, it is emphasized because people generally believe that the home and the family are wholesome institutions, capable of contributing to a good and significant life. If we thought that the home was an unimportant or worthless institution, we would not include education for home life among our educational purposes.

This purpose of the school is frequently summarized in the phrase "worthy home membership." Again, what is *worthy* home membership? The objectives of the school in this area acquire concrete meaning only when that word "worthy" is defined. This definition must be made, ultimately, upon an ethical basis. We have all known families ruled by a stern, personal, yet not unkindly autocracy. Many look with favor on this type of home membership. Others believe in a more democratic family regime. Whichever party is right, it is clear that the two types of home membership are quite different and that each would require a different education. Which of them is the worthy one? Or are both unworthy? The answer to these questions involves a choice of values, essentially ethical or moral in nature. And that ethical choice determines the real purpose of the school in this regard.

This conclusion is reinforced as we examine the other great areas in which the schools operate. We are told that the schools ought to develop *good* citizens, possessing *ethical* character, who make a *worthy* use of their leisure time. But what is good, ethical, or worthy?

Every nation is interested in education for "good" citizenship. But the ethical decision as to what is "good" in this field produces widely variant and indeed opposing practices at different times and in different parts of the world. A *good* American citizen, we think, is humane, just, and restless under restraint. But these same qualities may be the marks of a very unacceptable or *bad* citizen in the cultures of other times and places.

Quantitative and other scientific studies of current social problems and social trends, as well as of the nature of the learning process, are of great value in helping to direct social policies. Equally important in the selection of either social or educational policies is the way in which facts are related to issues and the interpretations placed upon the facts. Science can help us to determine what the facts are, but it has no answer to the question as to whether existing conditions *ought* to be changed or perpetuated. Science, physical or social, declares, "These things are so." Ethics alone lifts a finger to the things that ought to be.



II.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES

The critics of democracy have the easiest of tasks in demonstrating its inefficiency. But there is something even more important than efficiency and expediency, namely, justice. And democracy is the only social order that is admissible, because it is the only one consistent with justice. The moral consideration is supreme.

—ROBERT BRIFFAULT.

The Social Policy of America Is Democracy.

We have seen that before the objectives of education at any point of time and place can be stated, people must decide which of several possible social policies are to claim their allegiance. We have seen also that this decision hinges primarily upon certain fundamental judgments of values. The social policy thus accepted and endorsed by the American people is the continued striving toward the democratic ideal. A general description of democratic ways of living is, therefore, an indispensable part of our statement of educational purposes.

Democratic living is a developing and complex process in which certain great elements stand out in bold relief. This chapter attempts to sweep into a few broad generalizations these minimum essentials of democracy.

The General Welfare.

Democracy prizes a broad humanitarianism, an interest in the other fellow, a feeling of kinship to other people more or less fortunate than oneself. One who lives in

accordance with democracy is interested not only in his own welfare but in the welfare of others—the general welfare.

Civil Liberty.

Democratic behavior observes and accords to every individual certain “unalienable” rights and certain inescapable corollary responsibilities. One who lives in a democratic way respects himself. And to self-respect he adds respect for the moral rights and feelings of others, for the sanctity of each individual personality.

The Consent of the Governed.

Democratic processes also involve the assent of the people in matters of social control and the participation of all concerned in arriving at important decisions. This implies that all the people must have access to the facts which will help them to reach a wise decision.

The Appeal to Reason.

Peaceful and orderly methods of settling controversial questions are applied by a democracy to matters of national and international policy as well as to private disputes. The callous use of force and violence is rejected as unworthy of a civilized people.

The Pursuit of Happiness.

Finally, democracy sets high value upon the attainment of human happiness as a basis for judging the effectiveness of social life.

We are to examine each of these five ideals of democratic conduct, seeking from them to derive a general under-

standing of the purposes of our schools. It is desirable to preface this examination by a brief sketch of some aspects of the development of democracy in this country and of its present status in the world. No comprehensive treatment is attempted here; the Commission has in preparation a more extensive report on the historical background of educational and social purposes.

Democracy and Education Have Developed Together.

The natural environment of America has been unusually congenial to liberty, yet we have never been entirely free from arrogance, intolerance, and despotism. Long before 1776 battles for democracy were fought. Traditions of distinction as between the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant, the governing and the governed, were imported by the early settlers along with their household goods. More than one group, learning nothing of sympathy through its own persecution, sought America's shores, in the words of the earnest young clergyman, "in order to worship God in our own way and compel all others to do the same." Many a European "gentleman" crossed the Atlantic with full intent to make himself a landlord over wide domains and to enrich himself at the expense of other immigrants whose passage he paid. The craftman came, with what amounted to a monopoly on his particular kind of training in a country where craftsmen were scarce, with the clear determination to bring himself to power and riches through the work of his apprentices.

Education in the Colonies, reflecting these influences, was primarily the support of various authoritarian groups. In New England, where public education began, it was the bulwark of a Protestantism which dictated its content, methods, and general administration. Other religions, too, founded their own schools. The wealthy landlord hired

private teachers to instruct his own children and grudgingly established inferior charity schools for the poor. In the towns and small farms along the Eastern Seaboard the "bound boy" fared a little better. The apprenticeship system, however, was the nearest approach to universal education which America could claim for nearly two centuries.

Such educational arrangements were a far cry from the schools of today. There has been a ceaseless struggle for the extension of education to all. The wresting of educational opportunity from those who found it a convenient means of perpetuating a religious belief, and from others, more worldly-minded, who gained monetary advantage from the limitation and restriction of educational opportunity, fills many stirring pages of history.

Democratic Schools Arose from American Conditions.

Changes in the objectives of education which our forefathers imported from Europe were inevitable. The influence of frontier and wilderness, the substantial economic and social equality of the people began to break down Old World class barriers. Colonists of the second generation began to demand genuinely American schools—schools which would educate their children for their day and location. The inadequacy of the traditional schools was slowly undermining them. Many a growing boy—girls were then little considered—found no school equipped to teach him what he most needed and hence was obliged to study outside any school. Many another was financially unable to pay for the education provided. The ideas gained by these young people naturally reflected the influences of life as it was lived in America rather than life in the atmosphere of the classical schoolroom. Finally, the isolated schools of each state were welded into systems of public education—free, tax-

supported and open to all, of whatever creed or condition. At last a universal education, deemed suitable and necessary for the citizens of a democracy, was envisioned. But the battle to keep free schools politically, economically, and intellectually free goes on. It may well be that we are now mobilizing for the greatest conflict of all.

The public schools were launched a century ago under conditions entirely dissimilar to those of today. Never since the development of primitive agriculture, say the experts, have such revolutionary changes occurred in the basic activities of life. It has been said that the founding fathers were nearer to the age of Confucius than we are to them. Their schools were located in the open country or in small towns. People were relatively independent and self-supporting. They owed their bread and their shelter to no one but themselves or to friends and neighbors who were equally indebted to them. No group or individual was in position to demand individual liberty in exchange for the necessities of life.

Science and Invention Have Created Social Tensions.

But today a new social force of incalculable strength has disrupted the rural civilization that founded our democracy. The independent, self-sufficient farmer has been succeeded in many cases by an industrial employee, dependent for livelihood on persons who may have no direct interest in him as a human being and who may recognize no responsibility for his welfare. A new industrial society is here. New means are found for developing and using the resources of nature. Machinery of every sort multiplies the strength of man a thousandfold, sees and hears more keenly than any human senses, and surrounds us by a material and social environment unlike anything known by any

people of the past. It is clear that if democracy is to function effectively under these new conditions, new requirements must be met. Just as *religious* domination over the purposes of public education once made room for considerations of *personal economic gain* and *political efficiencies*, so now *social adjustments* arising from the developing technology urgently demand attention.

It is scarcely necessary to pause to document the foregoing statements. Everyone can testify to the changes made in his own habits of living by scientific discoveries and their applications in industry, medicine, or homemaking. In the literature of the day these trends are convincingly summarized. We are told that approximately one and one-half million new patents were granted during the first third of the twentieth century. Invention on such a scale, even though many of the patents are of negligible importance, must be accompanied by social adjustments or it will be followed by social collapse. Our food, our travel, our communications, our very lives now depend on an intricate network of technological processes. A machine has no philosophy of life, no organs, senses, affections, or passions. Largely because the social consequences of scientific advances have not been anticipated or met, we witness economic depression, technological unemployment, desolating wars, and confused loyalties.

Science and Invention Must Serve Humanity.

The gap between traditional social processes and the material phases of life widens daily. Many social institutions of today are poorly prepared to meet the demands and make the adjustments required. Inventions designed to save time, energy, and health and to increase productivity are somehow followed by unemployment, occupational diseases, and scarcity of the necessities of life. These

are the manifestations of a culture in which material progress has outpaced social control and individual character. At the present time, humanity, not the machine, is having to make the required adjustments. New wine ferments menacingly in old bottles. These tensions can be resolved only through the application of intelligence and good will. A new birth of freedom—freedom which is effective in an industrial culture—is required. Technology places in our hands the means of freeing ourselves from scarcity. This great and novel efficiency must be made to serve the ideals and purposes of democracy.

The time ripens for a new companionship between ethics and science. An eminent biologist, in the 1937 presidential address¹ before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, puts the issue succinctly: "As scientists we are inheritors of a noble ethical tradition. . . . The profession of the scientist, like that of the educator or religious teacher, is essentially altruistic and should never be prostituted to unethical purposes. To us the inestimable privilege is given to add to the store of knowledge, to seek truth not only for truth's sake but also for humanity's sake, and to have a part in the greatest work of all time, namely, the further progress of the human race through the advancement of both science and ethics." As this call is heeded, democracy and science will succeed together. The records of the past strongly suggest that the great advances in scientific inquiry have been coeval with the great periods of democratic ferment.

Certain Modern States Reject Democracy.

Industrial and cultural changes confront the entire world with perplexing problems of adjustment. And some

¹ Conklin, Edwin Grant. "Science and Ethics." *Science* 86: 595-603; December 31, 1937.

modern states have dealt with these problems by means which are repugnant to democratic ideals.

Of Italy, we are told, "The universities have lost their old independence." Even the peasants and the children in rural village schools are propagandized by the radio. The press is under strict governmental control. Freedom to know, to think, and to express their thoughts, so essential to educational processes, are denied the Italian people as far as it is possible to deny them.²

Of education in Germany, Charles A. Beard states: "It is evident from the mass of laws and decrees spread over hundreds of pages that German educational administration is not concerned merely or even primarily with providing favorable physical conditions for intellectual and moral life. . . . Decree after decree shows that it is . . . openly hostile to every manifestation of free inquiry and discussion in the schools from the bottom to the top. The subjects to be taught, the books admitted to schoolrooms, the papers and magazines bought for libraries, and the very spirit of instruction are prescribed in minute detail. No room is left for private opinion. . . . The life and sports of students as well as the thought and conduct of teachers are brought within the system of regimentation. The declared purpose and program of education is to crush all liberty of instruction and all independent search for truth."³

Whether the effort is to establish and preserve certain fixed classes or whether, as in Russia, it is bent on destroying all class distinctions, the results for education appear to be the same. Not expansion of thought but crystallization of opinion around one point becomes the objective. "It follows logically that education under the rule of a

² Poole, Ernest. "Sons of the Wolf." *Harper's Magazine* 175: 460-69; October 1937.

³ Beard, Charles A. "Education under the Nazis." *Foreign Affairs* 14: 437-52; April 1936.

single party which boasts of its monolithic character and power, which suffers no competitors, must be an authoritarian affair. . . . First and foremost, authoritarian dictatorship means for education a uniformity and fixity of ideas and faithfulness (stimulated by close scrutiny and realized through the expulsion from service of those not in conformity) to orthodoxy in political, social and economic thinking as defined by the party line.”⁴

Japan also weaves a net in which the intellectual powers of her people are entangled. The organization chart of the Imperial Japanese Department of Education includes a Bureau of Thought Supervision coordinate with the Bureau of Higher Education, the Bureau of General Education, and the Bureau of School Books. The Bureau in question was created in 1934 when “movements of somewhat radical character arose to gain the hearts of the people” and “even teachers and various bodies of youth were found involved in them.” The staff of the Bureau includes “thought supervisors” and “thought inspection commissioners” who are dispatched from headquarters to the various prefectures “for inspection, for guidance and for supervision in connection with thought matters.”⁵

The Gains of Many Generations Are at Stake.

The political organization through which education is controlled thus definitely affects the educational product which may be desired or expected. These examples have their chief value for us in providing a sharp contrast with the objectives of education suitable for a democracy. They remind us that the safety of democracy will not be assured

⁴ Woody, Thomas. “Towards a Classless Society Under the Hammer and Sickle.” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 182: 140-52; November 1935.

⁵ Japanese Department of Education. *A General Survey of Education in Japan*. Tokyo, 1935. p. 7, 58, 59.

merely by making education universal. The task is not so easy as that. The dictatorships have universal schooling and use this very means to prevent the spread of democratic doctrines and institutions. American education today plays a role of world-wide importance. The resistance to be hurled in this and future generations against the menace of dictatorship in its proposed reconquest of the world will stem chiefly from the strength and the clarity of thinking of the American citizen. If schools are to help in defense of the democratic ideal, their purposes must be defined in terms of that ideal, and their activities must be resolutely directed toward it. Those who administer and teach in the schools must regard the study of democracy as their first professional responsibility.

"THE GENERAL WELFARE"

The General Welfare Is Promoted by Human Sympathies.

Ideally, each able-bodied person should provide through his own efforts for the comfort and welfare of himself and of those dependent upon him. If this desirable condition does not exist, a democratic society does not hesitate to take appropriate forms of governmental action. Such public activity does not, however, exempt the individual from the duty of responding to his own natural and kindly impulses. Personal charity and helpfulness need not be sidetracked or stifled by the increasing activity of organized relief.

The conduct of those who live in the democratic spirit is guided by a broad and expanding humanitarianism. Distress, frustration, unhappiness are of concern to persons other than the sufferer. The members of a democracy share

its responsibilities no less than its advantages. Callous indifference to the desires and needs of others and shortsighted concentration on personal welfare are discouraged. Each individual, working alone or cooperatively in private or public efforts, seeks to prevent, cure, or ameliorate the sufferings of others, and thus to advance the general welfare. More than that; the democratic way of life seeks not merely freedom from suffering but also a positively wholesome, constructive, and abundant life for all.

*The General Welfare Places Individuals
above Institutions.*

Social institutions are convenient systems of relationships among individuals, the lengthened shadows of groups of individual men and women. The State, for example, consists of its members. Destroy all the members and the State is gone; but destroy the State and the members remain. Apart from these individuals the social organization has a merely fictional existence. There can be no such thing as the welfare of "the State" at the expense of, or in contrast with, the general welfare of the individuals who compose it. Man is not made for institutions. Institutions are made by and for mankind.

The institutions of a democracy are not, therefore, set up as golden calves to worship or as Molochs demanding human sacrifice. They sanctify no symbols greater than man himself. They are subject to adjustments at any time according to the wisdom, tolerance, and enlightenment of the individuals who function in them. It is, of course, true that social institutions are not only inescapable but are positively essential for individual well-being. Nevertheless, particular institutions of society can be, and often are, fundamentally changed in form, function, and authority.

*The General Welfare Is Decreased by the Lag
of Social Institutions.*

A savage tribe may exorcise a plague by sacrifices, dances, incantations. By some coincidence the epidemic abates. The ceremonies which were observed immediately acquire a special sanctity. Their value may be entirely fictitious; better measures may be ready to hand. Yet the mighty medicine becomes firmly established among the tribal customs. The ceremonies are repeated on the same date every year. Those who question the necessity or value of the ceremony are regarded with suspicion or hatred. If the skeptic is a member of the tribe he is condemned for flouting the exemplary traditions of his forefathers. If an outsider, he is suspected of spreading "subversive" doctrine or of being the secret tool of an alien tribe.

This resistance which social institutions offer to change is well known. Man in setting up his social organizations runs the constant danger of creating, like Frankenstein, a monster which threatens his own welfare and happiness. There are several reasons why the momentum of social institutions is so difficult to check or turn from its well-worn course. Change brings a perplexing and uncomfortable rearrangement of the mental furniture, a painful adjustment of established habits of acting and thinking. And then, change is always uncertain. One can never be absolutely sure how a social institution will work under a new set of conditions. The proverb about the fire and the frying pan distills the experience of the race in this dilemma.

Moreover, success in solving grave social problems is gained with difficulty and people are reluctant to surrender ways whose effectiveness has been demonstrated, to their satisfaction at least, in favor of other ways which, though defensible by every evidence of science and every principle of logic, are new and untried. The willingness of people to

suffer accustomed evils rather than risk untried remedies was remarked by the authors of the Declaration of Independence: "Mankind," said they, "are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed."

A further difficulty in modifying social institutions arises from the attitude of the persons in control. Minorities who depend for livelihood or prestige upon keeping an institution unchanged, and those who derive indirect benefits from controlling it, often prevent fundamental changes in the institution itself. Occasionally such vested interest leads to deliberate untruthfulness and other forms of dishonesty in efforts to maintain the institution unchanged, regardless of the general welfare. But this selfish minority interest is seldom recognized as such by the general public or even by the group which exercises it. More often the minority in control, by wishful thinking, convinces itself as well as others of the "great social necessity" of some archaic social institution or agency. An important function of education, as an agent of the general welfare, is to encourage a continuing and critical appraisal of the suitability of all existing social institutions to the needs of people in the current social scene. Obviously, the schools in a totalitarian state are entirely unable to perform this function. In a democracy, however, the schools neglect a proper duty if they fail to promote the general welfare by reducing the lag between social institutions and human needs.

Social Customs Are Conservative Elements.

It is no doubt futile to hope for instantaneous adjustment of social institutions to every transient desire of restless humanity. Even if it were possible to make such adapta-

tions, it would be unnecessary and harmful in many cases. There is virtue in a certain degree of stability. Social institutions cannot be built for the moment, like a child's pile of blocks, without plan and without mortar. Public convenience and necessity require institutions which can be depended upon in an emergency. But the strongest building "gives" a little in an earthquake or tornado, while the building which is completely rigid is easily toppled in ruins. Social institutions minister to general welfare most fully when they have an appropriate degree of stability because of the very fact that they are built to provide a little flexibility in periods of stress and strain.

"CIVIL LIBERTY"

Democracy Endows the Individual with Important Rights and Duties.

The "essential, necessary, and unalienable rights" of mankind include free speech, unhampered access to the facts on important questions, the voting franchise, religious liberty, impartial justice, the equal protection of the laws, and the great triad named in the Declaration of Independence—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We seldom pause to count these blessings. The right of a man to speak his mind, to worship according to his conscience and his training, or not to worship at all, to enjoy the freedom of the press, to have access to sources of information, to appeal in criminal cases to a judgment by his peers, to be governed by laws rather than by the caprice of men, to be respected even though in a minority—recognition of all these was attained at a great cost which we today have nearly forgotten.

Not only should each of us in a democracy have these rights; but each of us must be willing to accord them to

all the rest, sometimes under extremely difficult conditions. For example, we must not deny the right of free speech to another person even though we profoundly disagree with him. It is easy and natural to seek impartial justice for one's friends. It is not so easy to grant the same rights to one's enemies. Nor are these the most arduous of our tasks. For we must not only grant freedom of speech and press to friends and opponents alike but we must restrain any third party from denying these rights *to either side* in the controversy.

*These Rights Presuppose a High
Regard for Humanity.*

The basis of all human rights appears to be a respect for personality, a belief in the worth, a reverence for the essential sanctity, of all that is human. The members of a successful democracy are, therefore, eager to recognize, develop, and protect the unique and valuable traits of each individual child and adult. They believe that every individual, if given the chance, can make at least some contribution to the common welfare and to his own happiness. They approve Horace Mann's thesis concerning "the accelerating improvability of the human race" and applaud Emerson's dictum that "all men are capable of living by reason."

This doctrine of the worth and dignity of every man received a perennially challenging expression in the ethics of the founder of Christianity. In economic terms it has been described as the supremacy of human rights over property rights. In American literature the dignity and the unique value of each personality have been celebrated by the poetry of Whitman and the prose of Thoreau. The doctrine is revealed as a moving force in American life

through many social trends, perhaps by none more clearly than by the gradual extension of the voting franchise.

Thus, the democratic ideal sharply differs from any and all theories which regard the individual as a mere instrument for serving the state, the church, the school, or any other social institution and organization. The individual must occupy a place of primacy, superior to every institution he himself has ever devised, the point of reference from which values are taken, the final criterion of worth. Democracy and education alike find their warrant in respect for the individual. Democracy strengthens the individual by requiring much of him. "Even the least of these" is given every chance to realize his own inherent capacities; democratic institutions derive their just powers through service to the individual. Through the achievements of individuals the democratic process maintains the solidarity of the group and lifts it to higher planes of civilization.

Education Is the Ultimate Guarantee of Civil Liberty.

Applied to education, this great doctrine reminds us of the dangers of mass instruction, dangers which are all the more deadly because of the superficial efficiency of factory methods as applied to schools. A truly democratic school system strives above all else to recognize individual differences and provide for the development of desirable traits. Neither democracy nor real education can exist without each other. From a thousand rostrums the fact that *our democracy needs education* has been proclaimed. It is indeed quite clear that no government based on democratic principles can long endure in a nation of ignorant people. But the equally important thesis that *our education needs democracy* has been given less than the consideration it deserves. Opportunity for education to follow

its natural process of growth, experimentation, change, development, is afforded only by liberal governments.

The drift of nations toward dictatorship has alarmed many people, and justifiably so. As a result they are frantically casting about for some means of "saving" democracy. But the greatest menace to the institutions we desire to perpetuate is within our own borders—within us, indeed. Safeguarding democracy is no simple task, and many of its well-meaning friends are in the way of becoming its worst enemies. They would hamper freedom of speech, if those who disagree with them are speaking; they would persecute persons who suggest social innovations; they would place a halo of sanctity above prized political traditions. In other words, they would protect democracy by using the weapons of the dictator. It cannot be done that way. Democracy must rely on those defenses which are appropriate to its own nature. It is a growing thing, nourished by the intelligent cooperation of free men. As such, a liberal education (literally, the education suitable for a free man) is its only proper defense, and the only defense necessary.

Social Objectives Are Not Neglected.

Social progress and individual freedom interact; each is essential to the other. Yet this vital fact is slowly understood. The real nature of social institutions is all too easily disguised. Only in brief, brilliant flashes of insight has the individual gained control over his social agencies and known them for what they are—nothing more than *systems of related human activities*. The terms *university*, *church*, or *state* refer to activities which individuals in certain relationships perform. They achieve a second-hand reality only through the individuals who use them to achieve some human purpose.

Yet throughout almost the whole course of history there have been those who, to further their own ambitions, would set institutions over man, their creator, reducing him to a mere social atom, meaningless outside of some institutional frame of reference. History conspires with ambition to obscure the worth of the individual. Myriads of people have labored to create vast empires, to conquer continents, to raise skyscrapers and pyramids, to establish well-defined social and legal codes. Man's works overshadow himself, and the individual contribution to those stupendous achievements seems of little worth. It is difficult but necessary to realize that for him alone those majestic works in the physical realm were raised; for him alone, those greater cathedrals of the mental world, systems of government, economics, education, religion, and family life were lifted.

Emphasis on the liberties of the individual need not detract from the values placed upon group life; neither does it lessen the need for social objectives. A delicate balance between individual and social purposes is necessary. Society can act upon no wiser policy than to allow each of its members the freedom essential to his own capacities; this to be contingent only upon his recognition of the rights of others to the same privileges. No other factor in all history has so impeded progress as have deliberate and unnecessary restraints imposed by powerful institutions upon the freedom of the individual. Only by the attainment of full mental and spiritual maturity by each of its members can a democracy create the conditions of its own success.

Men Are Also Endowed with Important Differences.

Modern investigations concerning the nature and extent of individual differences in intelligence, artistic ability, dexterity, strength, vital capacity, and scores of other traits indicate how wide is the range of human abilities

and how complex is the pattern of each human personality. These studies suggest the way in which the democratic doctrine of human values is to be put into effect.

When Thomas Jefferson included among the "self-evident" truths listed in the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal" he meant to imply that they are equal in the ethical and legal sense. He certainly knew that all men are not equally tall or equally intelligent. The American people have rightly turned to their public school system as one of the great agencies for bringing about the ideals set forth in the Declaration of Independence. Today there runs, through the procedures of the classroom, through the arrangements for educational guidance, through textbooks and courses of study, through the theory of school administration, and even through the formulae of school finance, the objective of an ever more equitable distribution of educational opportunity, an increasingly emphatic denial of multiple-track educational systems based on economic and social distinctions.

This ideal does not, however, require *identity of educational programs* but rather *equality of educational opportunity*. The two are not necessarily the same. Attempts to provide identical programs are, in fact, doomed to failure by the very existence of individual differences. Democracy does not require that every child comprehend some abstract theory which delights the mind of certain gifted pupils. That would be identity of program but not equality of opportunity. Democratic school systems, seeking the latter, will provide for every child an opportunity which that particular child can really accept, an opportunity not inferior *in its own kind* to that given to others. Democracy does not make one man "as good as another"; it merely seeks to remove all artificial barriers and to assist every man to amount to as much as his ability, character, and industry permit.

"THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED"

Popular Government Is a Long-Sought Ideal.

We have been saying, in effect, that democracy is not merely a form of political structure; it is a method of living. But government does play an important part in encouraging and exemplifying democratic processes. Democratic government, as such, was dimly but hopefully foreshadowed on this continent in the Mayflower Compact and announced in its most inspiring form by the Declaration of Independence, especially in that reference to the right of the people to change their government so as to make it "most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." The practical operation of this policy was greatly facilitated by the writers of the United States Constitution when they devised many skillful governmental techniques, including especially the plan of combining federal powers with substantial amounts of state and local self-government. Still more recent developments include the steady extension of the voting franchise and the establishment of universal education to make that franchise both intelligent and wholesome.

The separation of the state from all authoritarian controls other than the popular will has been achieved in theory. Whatever may be the shortcomings in practice, our theory recognizes no arbitrary controls over government, no vested economic, ecclesiastic, or other interest authorized to over-reach the popular will. From the ultimate popular verdict there is no mundane appeal.

Popular Government without Universal Education Is a Prologue to Tragedy.

It is easy to see the direct educational implications of representative and democratic forms of government. We

need not go very far back in history to find examples of the fact that mere plebiscite is not necessarily the hall-mark of democracy. The ballot is a travesty unless it is cast by a citizen who is not only free to vote as he pleases but also informed and intelligent with respect to the issues involved.

The men who created the framework of American statecraft were keenly aware of the vital relation of education to the new social order which they were forging in the fires of revolution and controversy. Having committed themselves to representative government, to a government dedicated to definite social responsibilities, they turned to education as a guarantee that the nation so conceived and so dedicated might endure. They recognized, too, that mere political education was not enough. They sought the deepest and surest possible foundation in the arts, industries, institutions, and amenities of civilization itself. They recognized that good government and economic welfare alike rest upon widely shared ideals, wisdom, and knowledge.

Knowledge Is Extended, Particularized, and Diffused.

The serious difficulties confronting democratic ways of living are frequently cited. The full audit, however, must not fail to note the assets. Modern democracies have certain advantages over those of the past and those advantages happily provide the particular kind of strengthening which democracy requires.

First, there is *abundance* of knowledge. Science and the specialization of scholarship will never again permit one man, single-minded, to amass and classify all knowledge as Aristotle tried to do. Intelligence is potential power; knowledge alone can transform it into dynamic energy.

A second advantage lies in the *specificity* of knowledge.

Democracies today have direct, pertinent knowledge to bring to bear on a particular problem even on those pertaining to social living, though this last has been long in coming. We no longer study the stars to gain insight into the character of an individual or to determine the probable course of events. We no longer resort to the auguries as a means of determining foreign policy. Nor need we consult soothsayers for lack of a better source of advice. Man has at last discovered that the way to get the facts about a particular object or event is to study the thing itself.

A third advantage is the *universality* of knowledge. Through universal education the people receive the greatest of all benefits from a powerful institution without in return being forced to pay with their freedom. Knowledge multiplies manyfold the chief defense of democracy. The liberal governments of the distant past had no system of education through which enlightenment could be spread. Today, knowledge that was once the revered possession of a few has been placed within the reach of all. Widely diffused and courageously applied, it affords the means of attack on social and economic ills. It is a curative, the most potent remedy possible, not only for the pestilences which attack the health of the body but also for those evils which infect the body politic.

The individual, the reason for the existence of democracy, becomes through enlightenment its chief defense. From humble sources come those who, sharing in the opportunity for education, rise to defend the institution which provides it. Here is a reciprocal process in which both the group and the individual benefit. The inherent tendency of man to grow in stature and wisdom is turned to excellent account. Where shall the peoples of the world turn for light if the great darkness closes in? Would not wisdom and experience point to those nations where freedom dwells? To individuals whose minds are not crippled

by shackles? To places where knowledge is cherished and extended? To governments whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed? "Education has now become the chief problem of the world, its one holy cause. The nations that see this will survive, and those that fail to do so will slowly perish. . . . These must be re-education of the will and of the heart as well as of the intellect, and the ideals of service must supplant those of selfishness and greed. Nothing else can save us." ²

"THE APPEAL TO REASON"

Democracy Repudiates Violence.

We try to settle our differences by counting noses rather than by cracking crowns. We try to resolve conflicts by the process of compromise, conference, debate, search for pertinent facts, plebiscite, and cooperation, as contrasted with the use of force. When controversies come, as come they must, we provide for balloting to ascertain majority views, accepting the decision with the door always open for appraisal and review. The entire process is carried on under the refereeship of even-handed justice and with due regard to minority rights. The innumerable associations, conferences, and committees which mark the transactions of American life are another evidence of our reliance upon peaceful and rational methods.

It is not to be supposed that coercion is unknown in a democracy. There will long continue to be required that minimum of coercive restraint which prevents one individual or small group of individuals from harming others or invading their liberties.

² Hall, G. Stanley. *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1923. p. 21.

*Violence and War Frustrate the
Ideals of Democracy.*

Applied in the international sphere, democracy necessarily stands for peace among nations. The resort to aggressive war, declared or undeclared, denies the tenets of democracy. War and civil riot always encourage the blind worship of institutions, the suppression of individual rights, the circumvention of representative government.

The World War offers an excellent example. It was fought, we believed, "to make the world safe for democracy." Now we see nation after nation falling under autocratic rule. Many now laugh at the old slogan in cynical disillusionment, declaring that the ideal of democracy for which men and women gave their lives, and more, was a dream of idealists who refused to face reality. The world was not made safe for democracy by the World War. It may not be made safe by any war in the future. It has been wisely said that there will never be a war between a democracy and an autocracy because the moment war begins, the former will lose its democratic characteristics. Violence, whatever its forms, its agents, or its motives, makes for material destruction, intellectual regimentation, and spiritual and physical impoverishment.

Constructive means which insure mental, physical, and economic integrity are essential to the maintenance of the democratic ideal. There is nothing wrong with the slogan, "Make the world safe for democracy." But methods must be chosen to advance this cause which are akin to it in spirit. Not in democracy but in the unwise and ineffective means taken for its attainment, does disappointment lie. To lose faith in democracy is to lose faith in humanity. Other philosophies require faith in institutions, rather than in the builders of institutions. Since democracy rests on individual rights, its chief support must come from each

citizen—and its decay is from the same source. Its oldest and greatest enemy is the greed, indifference, selfishness of its members and the inequities which exist within its borders.

It is clearly a function of education to encourage the use of democratic processes as substitutes for coercion. The possible contribution of education to the development of tolerance, reason, and fair play has been clearly demonstrated. That the ordinary school does too little in developing these attitudes may be admitted. The omission represents one of the great areas in which the objectives of education need to be reformulated and reemphasized.

The Spirit of Education Outweighs the Forms of Schooling.

The spirit and organization of the school are prepotent. We shall not enthrone peace and reason, at home or in the international sphere, merely by conducting model Leagues of Nations or model Senates in our classrooms, or by memorizing the Kellogg Pact or the Bill of Rights, or by teaching children about the cunning habits of their little Eskimo, Italian, Russian, Japanese, or Ethiopian "cousins," or by a study of the legal system of the United States. The attitudes basic to a wholesome viewpoint on controversial matters will not be created in so simple a manner, though at appropriate times and places the various devices suggested may prove helpful. There can be no lasting contribution to peace, reason, and order from a school in which the discipline is based on autocracy; from a school in which the mainspring of effort is rivalry; from a school in which the chief purpose is personal advancement; from a school where the very atmosphere is heavy with intolerance, fear, and suspicion; from a school that ignores and overwhelms the living individual personality of each child.

Only from a school which is served by a socially in-

formed and socially effective teaching personnel; from a school with a broad, humane, and flexible curriculum; from a school saturated with the educational philosophy which commands respect for the personality of each child that it touches; only from methods of instruction which not only teach but which actually *are* democracy and cooperation, will the appeal to reason be heard and heeded.

"THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS"

Opportunity To Secure Happiness Is a Democratic Ideal.

The purposes that impelled the establishment of this democracy were different from those that had dominated other governments. This new nation, established in the wilderness, was a cooperative endeavor to secure an unfettered opportunity for the pursuit of happiness. Other rights, such as life and liberty, were included but, significantly enough, the series culminated in the right to pursue happiness. The term "happiness" as used here, and undoubtedly as conceived by the authors of the Declaration of Independence, does not refer merely, or even primarily, to that effervescent and transitory joy that comes from the exuberance of living, or to the careless excitement frequently generated by the artificialities of life. Happiness is that abiding contentment that comes from a complete and abundant life, even though such a life includes, as all lives must, both success and failure, prosperity and adversity, sunshine and shadow, cradle songs and funeral hymns. To be happy, we must know the realities of life, whatever they may be. We must be able to understand relative values in the midst of confusion, to seek the deeper meanings beyond the shallow, to desire worthwhile achievement in the midst of much that is trivial.

Initiative Is Necessary in the Pursuit of Happiness.

The mere guarantee of the right to pursue happiness would be but an empty gesture unless some means were provided to give effect to this promise. The establishment of schools did not settle the problem. First occurred the struggle to make them free. Then came the battle, which has not been fully won to this day, to make the schools minister effectively to the varying needs of all the people. From the beginning the greatest challenge has been to select and make effective those methods and procedures best adapted to make real for each individual his right to pursue happiness. Several aspects of this problem require further analysis.

In the first place, what will be accomplished by giving a person the right to pursue happiness without the development within him of that initiative, which will lead him to make an effort to realize his right? Initiative is the priceless quality that causes one to undertake voluntarily a search for solutions to problems that confront him. How futile it would be for an individual to be a citizen in a democracy and lack initiative! The value to the individual of the right to pursue happiness lies in his willingness to claim that right.

Initiative can be developed in the same way in which other learning takes place; that is, by confronting the learner with as many kinds of situations as possible that call for the exercise of initiative under the guidance of an expert teacher. It is the same pattern that is followed in teaching a person to read a foreign language, or to walk, or to swim, or to do problems in mathematics. Day in and day out, year in and year out, the growing child is surrounded by an environment that presents real problems for solution. The problems raised by that part of the en-

vironment which comprises the school should be closely related to life as it is lived at each age-level and as it will be lived in the future. The learner is asked to help select the objectives of his study in order that the learning may mean more to him and be more directly related to his interests. Those problems are so chosen that he will want to solve them, will be challenged to put forth his best effort to do so, and will understand the practical implications of the solutions when found. Of course, the problems are simple and concrete in the early years of life and expand in complexity as the activities of the learner become more complicated and abstract.

The educational method of the past was expressed largely in sentences of the declarative and imperative type. We told and we commanded. Today, the interrogative and exclamatory sentences have been added to the process. We question and we stimulate. The learner is confronted by a situation that requires a solution; under some circumstances he may be told the answer, but usually he is required to find it for himself. He is asked questions such as: "What do you suggest?" "What will you do about it?" "What do you think is the way out?" "Where and how do you think the problem should be attacked?" He begins to think, to act, to study, or, in other words, to use his initiative to start out on his search for happiness.

Happiness Involves Wisdom in Making Judgments.

A second question confronts the schools in this process of educating the individual to attain success in his pursuit of happiness. What is to be gained by giving the right to pursue happiness, by developing the desire and the tendency to begin the search, if we fail so to educate the citizen that he can and will make the proper choices as, time and

time again, he comes to an issue? As he grows older he discovers that life becomes more and more complex. He finds his way through the maze only by choosing as carefully as he can between an endless variety and succession of alternatives.

Can critical judgment be developed through the process of education, and, if so, how is it done in the schools? We are dealing again with an acquired ability which comes as the result of innumerable opportunities to make choices and to arrive at conclusions, under the guidance of an expert teacher. In other words, critical judgment is developed just as is the ability to play chess, or to read a book, or to solve problems in geometry; that is, by long and continuous practice under the criticism of someone qualified to evaluate the decisions. The child must learn the value of evidence. He must acquire a reverence for facts, must desire to find them, and must learn where they can most likely be secured. There are certain sources of facts, certain repositories of knowledge, that have been authenticated through the years. The student must learn what they are and acquire the technique of using them, and develop the habit of turning to them when called upon to solve problems. He must learn to defer judgment, to consider motives, to appraise evidence, to classify it, to array it on one side or the other of his question, and to use it in drawing conclusions. This is not the result of a special course of study, or of a particular part of the educative procedure; it results from every phase of learning and characterizes every step of thinking.

*Education Is the Key to an
Abundant Life.*

Finally, the schools must, in the preparation of the individual, search for the types of experiences that will make

probable the realization of happiness. Somehow, the learner must come to know what constitutes real happiness, must learn where it is most likely to be found, must desire to acquire it for himself and others, and must master the way of claiming it. For what is the use of establishing a democracy guaranteeing the right to pursue happiness, and of developing through processes of education the initiative to search for it and the ability to choose the right path, if we leave the person unable to recognize happiness when he finds it, or to interpret its deeper meanings if he recognizes it?

The ability to claim and live the abundant life is not innate. It is acquired through long and patient study. Therefore, the modern school gives a large place to those subjects and those types of experiences that mankind has found to satisfy the deeper longings of the soul, and to inspire the noblest achievement. Many phases of the curriculum help the individual to supply his needs in relation to his physical existence; other phases include the skill subjects which enable one to use his environment and deal with his fellow-beings; still another phase has to do with the various forms of expression of human thought and feeling that constitute the culture of mankind. This last includes our religion, art, literature, architecture, music, poetry, drama, and all other forms through which noble thoughts and feelings have been added to the social inheritance and handed down through the centuries as man's tribute to his Creator and his gift to posterity.

It is the function of the schools to help every person to find and use the key that will unlock the riches that are the common possession of all. Unlike some other inheritances, this one can be claimed only by those who will prepare themselves to be worthy of it. Merely dotting our land with buildings that point their spires heavenward, or hanging the masterpieces of art on our walls, or making countless

books available through a thousand libraries, or bringing the drama of the ages into every city, village, and hamlet, or making great music available to everyone, does not mean that all will be able to claim the heritage that these and a myriad other sources of happiness provide. Only those who have acquired the methods of interpreting, who have learned the meanings of the various languages through which the heritage is transmitted, who have attuned their eyes and ears, their thoughts and emotions, to catch the messages that are all about us like the unsensed and uncaught radio waves which in the dead of night flood the world—only those are educated to succeed in the great task of happiness.



III.

THE OBJECTIVES OF EDUCATION: A GENERAL REVIEW

There is only one subject-matter for education, and that is Life in all its manifestations. Instead of this single unity, we offer children—Algebra, from which nothing follows; Geometry, from which nothing follows; Science, from which nothing follows; History, from which nothing follows; a couple of Languages, never mastered; and lastly, most dreary of all, Literature, represented by plays of Shakespeare, with philological notes and short analyses of plot and character to be in substance committed to memory. Can such a list be said to represent Life, as it is known in the midst of the living of it? The best that can be said of it is, that it is a rapid table of contents which a Deity might run over in his mind while he was thinking of creating a world, and had not yet determined how to put it together. . . . —ALFRED N. WHITEHEAD.

The Purposes of Education Have Received the Attention of Leaders in Thought and Action.

What is education to accomplish? What changes in human conduct should the schools seek to bring to pass? Is growth or achievement the fundamental aim of education? Should the schools render first loyalty to the promotion of individual welfare or to the general social improvement? Should schools seek primarily to adjust students to the conditions of life as it is or to impel them to improve these conditions? Should organized education emphasize ideals and attitudes or facts and skills? Should the public

schools try to prepare young people for specific jobs? What knowledge is of the most worth?

These questions have been found worthy of sustained and devoted attention by such great philosophers as Plato and Spencer, such religious leaders as Luther and Loyola, such men of letters as Milton and Montaigne, such statesmen as Marcus Aurelius and Thomas Jefferson, such scientists as Agassiz and Huxley, and such educators as Comenius, Pestalozzi, and Parker. These great thinkers, and many more besides, have left us a store of trenchant wisdom and inspiration regarding the purposes which education and the schools should promote.

Popular Opinions on the Purposes of the Schools Are Held.

Interest in the objectives of educational institutions has not been confined to a few exceptional leaders. Plain citizens, parents, taxpayers, and even the young learners themselves have in mind, although more or less confused and dimly perceived, some notion as to the reasons why they support and participate in the means of education.

An examination of these popular concepts of educational purposes would reveal much that is trivial, much that is inspiring. We ask a child, "Why do you go to school?" He replies without hesitation, "To get a good report card." What answer could be more conclusive—or more profoundly disturbing?

Ask a youth in high school the same question. The answer: "To prepare for college; to be on the team; to be a better citizen." And the college student may reply: "To get ahead in the world; to get a better job; to earn more money; to keep up with my crowd; to learn to make the most of my life."

Many parents, especially those whose own schooling is

limited, have a touching faith that the possession of knowledge (particularly the knowledge recorded in books) will somehow make their children happier, better, more successful. What parent does not share with Enoch Arden

“ . . . the noble wish
To save all earnings to the uttermost
And give his child a better bringing-up
Than his had been.”

From all of these sources—from the writings of leaders in thought and action, the deliberations of professional groups, the quick, naive responses of youth, and the dimly-felt, ill-expressed longings of the ordinary citizen—there emerges an array of stated educational objectives, similar in some respects, but differing in viewpoint, in form, in arrangement, in degree of detailed analysis, and in the methods thought suitable for attaining the desired goals.

*A Democratic Way of Life Is the Inclusive Purpose
of American Education.*

The general end of education in America at the present time is the fullest possible development of the individual within the framework of our present industrialized democratic society. The attainment of this end is to be observed in individual behavior or conduct. The term *education* implies the existence of some person other than the learner, a person moreover who is interested in the outcome and who desires to encourage one type of conduct rather than another.

Ideals and values derive their entire practical importance from the behavior which results from them. The expression of high ideals accompanied by the doing of wrong is thoroughly vicious. Education, therefore, seeks to encourage the mastery of such knowledge, the acquisition of such attitudes, and the development of such habits as make a socially

desirable way of living likely to be followed by the learner.

The choice of this way of living, as we have already seen, is primarily determined by the prevailing scale of social and personal values; that is, by ethical standards in the broad. The definition of this scale of values is a continuing and crucial problem of both social and educational policy in this age or in any other.

We have seen also that the way of living to be encouraged by the education of the American people is a steadily closer approximation to the democratic ideal. In the immediately preceding chapters, the value of this ideal has been defended and its essentials have been described.

The Aspects of Democratic Living May Be Classified in Diverse Ways.

We are ready now to set down in some detail a description of the necessary and desirable elements of information, skill, habit, interest, and attitude which will most surely promote individual development and encourage democratic ways of living among the people of this country.

This is a large order which can be carried conveniently only if it is wrapped up in several smaller packages. There is a real difficulty at this point. All behavior is interrelated. Even the facile distinction between the conduct which concerns an individual alone and the gregarious conduct which the individual shows in his relation with others, eventually breaks down. What a man does about his own health, for instance, may be a matter of concern to his family, to his business associates, to the entire community in which he lives, perhaps even to the people of the entire world.

It is necessary, nevertheless, for convenience and clarity in writing and thinking about the purposes of education to consider separately the various dimensions of total behavior. One can identify and name various mountain peaks even

though all of them are part of one unbroken mountain range and even though the exact spot where one mountain ends and another begins may not be located. But, in the process of dividing and subdividing, we must always remember that this body of behavior which we dismember on paper is carried on by a living whole person.

Educational Leaders and Professional Groups Have Classified the Objectives of Education.

Herbert Spencer, writing in 1860, was perhaps the first to popularize the classification of human activities as a basis for classifying educational objectives. He identified five major classes of human conduct: "(1) self-preservation, (2) securing the necessities of life, (3) the rearing and discipline of offspring, (4) the maintenance of proper social and political relations, and (5) the activities which make up the leisure part of life, devoted to the gratification of the tastes and feelings."¹

Since Spencer's day scores of similar analyses have been made and published. One survey discovered 44 such classifications defining a total of 349 different areas of human activity.² There will be no attempt here to review completely that extensive and interesting literature. A few illustrations will suffice to suggest its general trend.

Groups of teachers have been particularly active in stating the aims of education. Representative of their work, and undoubtedly the most influential of the resulting statements, is the 1918 Report of the Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association. In twenty years over 130,000 copies of its chief report have been distributed. Crucial excerpts from that

¹ Spencer, Herbert. *Education*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1861. p. 32.

² Frederick, O. I., and Farquear, Lucile J. "Problems of Life," I and II. *School Review* 46: 337-45 and 415-22; May and June, 1938.

document have been reprinted and circulated by the millions. It is probably the most influential educational document issued in this country. The heart of the report is its analysis of individual activity leading to "seven cardinal principles of education: (1) health, (2) command of the fundamental processes, (3) worthy home-membership, (4) vocation, (5) citizenship, (6) worthy use of leisure, and (7) ethical character."³

Chapman and Counts,⁴ a few years later, identified "six great interests about which human life revolves." Men must always "(a) care for their bodies, (b) rear their children, (c) secure the economic necessities, (d) organize for civic action, (e) engage in recreation, and (f) satisfy their religious cravings."

An important document⁵ on the curriculum issued in 1928 identified four general areas of education by listing the relation of the individual first, to his own growth and development; second, to the world of nature; third, to the systems of organized society; and fourth, to the Power which in some way orders the development of man and his universe. "The individual self, nature, society, and God—these four and in particular the adjustments which the individual self must make—constitute the objectives of education."

The most detailed analyses of human activities for curriculum building purposes are probably those prepared by Bobbitt. He adopted the following tenfold classification of activities: (1) language (social intercommunication),

³ U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*. Bulletin, 1918, No. 35. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1918. 32 p.

⁴ Chapman, James Crosby, and Counts, George S. *Principles of Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. p. 195-365; 437-78.

⁵ National Education Association, Department of Superintendence. *The Development of the High School Curriculum*. Sixth Yearbook. Washington, D. C.: the Department, 1928. p. 51-56.

(2) health (physical fitness), (3) citizenship, (4) general social activities (meeting and mingling), (5) spare-time activities (amusements and recreation), (6) mental fitness, (7) religion, (8) parental, (9) unspecialized or non-vocational practical activities, and (10) vocational activities. By analyzing each of these ten areas, lists of literally hundreds of specific objectives were developed. One publication names 160 specifics in the first nine fields alone, and analyzes each of these into twenty or more still finer subdivisions.⁶

A New Classification Is Proposed.

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that there is no ultimate virtue in any single classification of objectives. The particular analysis followed in this volume lends itself well to the type of discussion desired. It permits a reasonable degree of specificity in pronouncement while avoiding the enmeshment of detail. It is not identical with any of the above lists, although, in a general way it resembles some of them, as they resemble each other.

Education Is Concerned with the Development of the Learner.

The first role, or phase of total behavior, is that of the educated person. Conduct in this field is centered on the personal development, growth, and learning of the individual. It includes his use of the fundamental tools of learning, his health, his recreation, his personal philosophy. The placing of these objectives first in the list is not accidental. They deal with the development of the individual himself. In a democracy this field is of supreme importance. Success in this role conditions one's success in every other phase of life's activities. The purposes of education which fall under

⁶ Bobbitt, John Franklin. *How to Make a Curriculum*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. p. 7-9.

this section of total behavior will be referred to as *the objectives of self-realization*.

Education Is Concerned with Home, Family, and Community Life.

A second area is that of home and family relationships with their immediate and natural extensions to neighbors and community. Educationally the home is the most powerful, as it is perhaps the oldest, of all social institutions. Good homes and good communities are the basic units of democracy. The activities of the educated individual which relate to these immediate, person-to-person contacts are, therefore, grouped together in a section on *the objectives of human relationship*.

Education Is Concerned with Economic Demands.

The next aspect of the activities of the member of a democratic society includes the economic sphere—the creation and satisfaction of material wants. Here we consider the education of the individual as a producer, a consumer, an investor. The importance of such education in providing the indispensable material basis for comfort, safety, and even life itself is clear. The objectives within this general area will be classified under the heading of *the objectives of economic efficiency*.

Education Is Concerned with Civic and Social Duties.

Finally, there are the activities of the educated citizen. They involve his dealings with his government—local, state, and national—his relationships with the peoples of other nations, and his other “long-distance” contacts in

large-scale collective enterprises. This field of activity is served by education through *the objectives of civic responsibility*.

Four Groups of Objectives Are Identified.

To recapitulate, four aspects of educational purpose have been identified. These aspects center around the person himself, his relationships to others in home and community, the creation and use of material wealth, and socio-civic activities. The first area calls for a description of the educated *person*; the second, for a description of the educated *member of the family and community group*; the third, of the educated *producer or consumer*; the fourth, of the educated *citizen*. The four great groups of objectives thus defined are:

1. The Objectives of Self-Realization
2. The Objectives of Human Relationship
3. The Objectives of Economic Efficiency
4. The Objectives of Civic Responsibility.

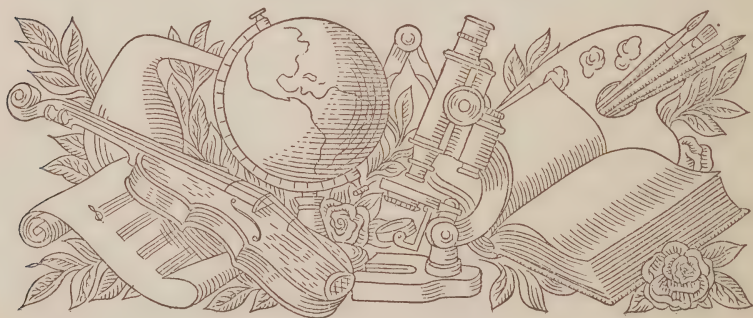
Each of these is related to each of the others. Each is capable of further subdivision.

Before we begin to discuss separately each of these groups of educational purposes, several comments regarding the classification as a whole may be made. It is not intended that we should think of the purposes of education as a field which is now neatly divided into four equal quarter-sections, each of which is in turn to be further surveyed and staked out into claims. The classification will be more helpful if we think of it as a series of four vantage points from which the purposes of education may be studied, the total result being a comprehensive view of the whole. In making our reconnaissance, each field of view will be seen to shade imperceptibly into the others and into the field as a whole.

Furthermore, the school is only one of the many educa-

tional influences in these various fields of human life. Its responsibility extends to all of these areas, but in some areas the weight of education rests on the schools more exclusively than in others. The role of the school is especially definite in preparing for *civic responsibility*. The school, therefore, must condition, and concern itself with, every phase of civic education. It must concern itself with loyalty to society as a whole rather than to the political manifestations of society as revealed in any single institution. Vested control of this function by the political State leads to dictatorship. The field of *human relationship* is shared by the school, the home, and the rest of the environment. Education in the field of *self-realization* or personal development is coming to be more and more a duty of the schools although much of this responsibility necessarily inheres in the home and the church. Under modern economic and industrial conditions preparation for *economic efficiency* is largely a function of the school.

Finally, it should be clear that the following four chapters are not in any sense to be regarded as a pattern of instruction at any particular educational level. There will necessarily be variation in the application of the objectives to instructional need within particular schools, communities, states, and regions. These are the objectives of education—qualities and conduct to be encouraged by all educational agencies for all American citizens.





THE OBJECTIVES OF SELF-REALIZATION

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

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

Reading. The educated person reads the mother tongue efficiently.

Writing. The educated person writes the mother tongue effectively.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Esthetic Interests. The educated person appreciates beauty.

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



IV.

THE OBJECTIVES OF SELF-REALIZATION

And, if we think of it, what does civilization itself rest upon . . . but rich, luxuriant, varied personalism? To that all bends; and it is because toward such result democracy alone, on anything like Nature's scale, breaks up the limitless fallows of human-kind, and plants the seed, and gives fair play, that its claims now precede the rest. The literature, songs, esthetics, etc., of a country are of importance principally because they furnish the materials and suggestions of personality for the women and men of that country, and enforce them in a thousand effective ways.

The purpose of democracy . . . is, through many transmigrations, and amid endless ridicules, arguments and ostensible failures, to illustrate, at all hazards, this doctrine or theory that man, properly trained in sanest, highest freedom, may and must become a law, and series of laws, unto himself. . . .

—WALT WHITMAN.

It is appropriate to begin a survey of educational purposes with a program for the development of the individual learner. There exists at the moment great pressure on schools and other social agencies to "mold" the child in the interest of his *future* economic efficiency, his *future* adult citizenship, his *future* membership in the family. There is real danger that our preoccupation with "preparedness" in education may defeat itself by weakening our concern for the child as he is, as a growing individual human being, quite apart from remote social preparatory ends.

Here is no unsocial motive, for after all, as we have already seen, it is only through individual growth that social

progress can come. The ancient and artificial antithesis between the individual and society and the concept of a perpetual struggle between the two is not supported by this analysis. The realization of "self," as considered here, occurs through interaction between that "self" and society. It cannot occur unless the individual effects a satisfactory relationship to the society in which he moves. If an individual is to become his own best self, he must constantly be in contact with the best that is in humanity. Thence, he will draw his highest aspirations, thence his greatest achievements.

The processes of growth, or of self-realization, therefore, are a primary concern of education, a concern which includes, but also reaches far beyond, the memorization of the useful and useless facts which usually make up the bulk of the school curriculum. Only as each individual grows in power to write his own declaration of intellectual independence can we keep unfettered the spirit of that other Declaration written a century and a half ago.

The Educated Person Has an Appetite for Learning.

The educated person in the years of his immaturity has been started upon a career of life-long learning. With an active and wide-faring curiosity, even an untutored man may become an educated person. Without it, the holder of the most decorative diploma from the highest school in the land remains essentially uneducated.

The curiosity of the educated person ranges widely over many topics and probes deeply into a few. Because of the enormous and growing stock of human knowledge, every one must be content with a limited education in many fields. A little knowledge is a wholesome thing; only its misuse is dangerous.

The educated person finds a sense of intellectual adventure in learning all he can about the world in which he lives

and about the people, the animals, and the plants which share his existence on this planet. In addition to this general learning the educated person, through continuing study, experience, experiment, and reflection, has made some corner, however small, in the vast field of knowledge securely his own by right of personal conquest. Let it be noted in passing that this learning does not by any means depend solely upon books. Its sources are as varied as the life of man. Such an education is not gained in a few years in school; it is a lifetime enterprise for which formal schooling should supply a good running start. No great exaggeration is contained in the observation in the *Education of Henry Adams*—"They know enough who know how to learn."

The Educated Person Can Speak the Mother Tongue Clearly.

A mastery of the various arts of using one's own language is the most universal of all educational objectives. It was a primary concern of the schools of ancient, as it is of those of modern, times. It is perhaps an open question which of the four language arts—speaking, listening, writing, and reading—is most important. The ceaseless grind of the printing presses and the existence of basic literacy among almost all of the adult population combine to magnify the importance of the reading aspects of language. Yet the spoken word remains, for the great majority of American citizens, the principal channel of receiving and giving information and of exchanging ideas and feelings. Modern inventions seem to be emphasizing listening and speaking activities at the expense of reading as a method of education. The telephone, spreading its network throughout the country, makes possible remote conversation for social as well as business transactions. The talking motion picture watched by an average weekly audience of 115,000,000 persons, is another invention which now emphasizes the spoken

word. Finally, there is that one-way conversation, the radio, which pours through 30 million loud-speakers enormous amounts of information and propaganda, as well as material designed for amusement and recreation. In sum, it has been estimated that speech is the basis of 90 percent of all our communication, leaving only 10 percent for writing and reading.

Since speech in its most rudimentary form is acquired in the home and elsewhere, it seems to require less highly detailed techniques of teaching than does the acquisition of the art of reading. This fact, however, scarcely excuses the school from assuming some share in the responsibility for improving the ability of the people to express themselves. Certainly the disparities between actual and desired achievement are more readily detected in oral speech than in reading or in any other school subject.

Observers familiar with social life in foreign countries often comment disparagingly on the aridity of American efforts at conversation. Even people who are otherwise well educated frequently lack the ability to converse coherently and interestingly about any topic, even (or perhaps especially) about the topic with which they are most fully acquainted. True, successful conversation is no simple art. "It is much more than a matter of composing, more than mere communication of one's ideas; it obviously includes choosing which ideas to communicate, and which, for the time at least, to suppress. It may involve finding a topic in which the *vis-à-vis* is interested. It involves tone of language, tone of voice, manner, all suited to occasion and personalities. And in addition it involves the ability to anticipate the effect produced."¹ There seems to be no good

¹ Hatfield, W. Wilbur, chairman. *An Experience Curriculum in English*. A Report of the Curriculum Commission of the National Council of Teachers of English. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935. 323 p.

reason why this ability, so useful for disseminating information and increasing the value and satisfaction of social contacts, should not be more generally included as a definite aim of instruction in American schools.

To conversation, which is private speaking, we should add ability in public speaking. The tongue-tied confusion, or worse, the unorganized loquacity which afflicts many of us when "called upon" is neither necessary nor wholesome. The degeneracy of public speaking is by nothing more clearly shown than by the common reference to a speaker as a "spellbinder." If more of our people possessed the ability to speak their minds and their hearts clearly and simply, they might assume a more critical attitude toward the demagogues who often aspire to public office. A nation of Daniel Webster's or Patrick Henry's would, no doubt, be altogether too voluble and resounding for comfort. But for the general run of students the schools may well sacrifice the studied arts of the orator if they will provide instead instruction in the ability to state what one knows or believes in a simple, brief, and direct fashion.

The Educated Person Reads the Mother Tongue Efficiently.

In addition to the eager search for knowledge which the educated person always exhibits, he needs to have available every possible means of satisfying his urge to know the truth. One of the important tools in this quest is an ability to read. When we teach this skill to a child, we hand him a passport to cross boundaries of time and space, a letter of introduction to the great minds in all parts of the world and in all periods of time. To this ability should be added, wherever possible, the ability to read in other languages, although the availability of translations of practically all important writings makes the possession of a second reading language a matter of less than primary importance and

one which need be undertaken only by those students who have at their disposal a relatively long period of formal education.

There are three kinds of illiterates. First, there are those persons, now happily few in number, who do not know how to read. Programs for the reduction of illiteracy among the adult population, combined with almost universal elementary schooling, are making this a problem of rapidly declining importance. There is, however, a second type—the functional illiterate who possesses some degree of skill in reading but who never reads anything. And there is yet a third type who possesses the skill to read and who does read but who never reads anything significant. The last two types of illiteracy are even more dangerous than the first. To teach the mechanics of reading without giving guidance in the selection of reading material and without developing reading habits is, to put it mildly, wasteful on a colossal scale. The schools must be concerned with eradicating all three types of illiteracy.

We must never be content, therefore, to declare our objective gained when a child has first learned to stumble through words and sentences. Nine thousand different books are issued in the United States alone every year. This is at the rate of a new book every 60 minutes. Magazines, pamphlets, newspapers represent an even greater mass production. The schools must, as part of the program in reading, show the child how to *select* his reading, to read some things carefully, to skim other books hastily, to reject still others entirely, to comprehend what he reads and to apply it in the solution of his problems, to use reading as a means of experience, and to enjoy to the fullest degree possible the rich domain of his heritage of world literature. Nothing less than this is a justifiable goal in teaching reading. The amount, distribution, and quality of reading done by

a population is likely to be an excellent index of cultural development and social competence.

The Educated Person Writes the Mother Tongue Effectively.

Since every citizen of a democracy should be able and willing to contribute from his experience and his beliefs to the solution of the common problems of all, it is clear that every citizen should be able to write a simple and straightforward statement in clear, cogent, and legible English. Writing activities fall into such functional categories as letter-writing, formulating announcements, reporting an experience, writing directions or explanations, and keeping personal memoranda. These expressional activities are basic to the teaching and learning of written composition. They should contrast with the formal theme, the academic forms of discourse, and literary rhetoric.

In addition to the functional program in written English there should be provided opportunity for creative expression, the artistic translation of personal experience into words. This type of writing may develop the pupil's capacity to value experience for its own sake rather than for any utilitarian end, and increase his pleasure in the experience through the effort to translate it into words. The obligation of the writer to present his ideas legibly is universally recognized. For those students who are likely to spend time in formal education at the college level or elsewhere, the ability to write shorthand and to write on the typewriter is a desirable aid to further learning and, often, to finding a job. Writing as practiced by the newspaper reporter, the journalist, and the professional author is a vocational subject, the treatment of which belongs elsewhere. For these persons, however, as well as for those whose writing will not be directly associated with earning a living, the characteristics of the writing desired consist especially of simplicity, clarity, honesty, legibility, and brevity.

The Educated Person Solves His Problems of Counting and Calculating.

Some acquaintance with numbers and skill in the fundamental operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division is an educational objective to be taken for granted. The skills to be taught in this field and the types of problems to which these skills are applied should be determined by the kinds of arithmetical calculations which the ordinary American citizen has occasion to make. Elaborate and helpful investigations have been made to bring these fundamental operations into a position of prominence and recent revision of the curriculum in many school systems has resulted in great improvement in arithmetic instruction. In addition to skill in mathematics there needs to be developed an appreciation of the cultural value of mathematics, and of its usefulness as a mode of thinking and as a means of interpreting world affairs.²

Closely associated with the fundamental arithmetical operations are the elements of intuitional geometry and applied algebra. Intensive technical study of more advanced mathematics should be offered to those whose vocational outlook, future education, or other special interests will make it necessary or helpful for them to use such knowledge.

New aspects of applied mathematics are constantly developing and the educational experiences of children and adults need to be extended to include them. For example, the presentation of numbers in graphic and tabular form is becoming extremely common. Children should learn the rudiments of graphic presentation, particularly since this

² Williams, K. P., chairman. *The Place of Mathematics in Secondary Education*. Preliminary Report of the Joint Commission of the Mathematical Association of America, Inc., and the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1938. 70 p.

form of presenting data is at once so effective and so easy to misinterpret. The presentation of numerical data in graphic form is becoming a language with its own grammar and syntax. It is, however, a language which can ensnare and deceive the unwary. If children are to be taught that in the number 376, the 3 is in the hundred's column, the 7 in the ten's, and the 6 in the unit's, why should they not learn also the proper form for a chart and know that a chart which lacks certain features is potentially or actually dishonest and unreliable?

The ability to deal with number and form, the fundamentals of mathematics, has always been a basic human need. In an age such as ours where almost every phase of life is strongly marked by applied science and technology, the appreciation and use of basic mathematical skills and concepts offer significant assistance for self-realization.

The Educated Person Is Skilled in Listening and Observing.

With a fine disregard of orthography, the fundamental skills of learning have been traditionally referred to as the three R's—reading, writing, and arithmetic. The scope of these basic skills needs extension. The true fundamentals of learning include much more than those three which have been enumerated. Most of our knowledge is gained, and most of our thinking engendered, by other methods, particularly by speaking and other means of self-expression, by listening, by observing, and finally by reflecting on what we have read, written, counted, calculated, said and done, heard and seen. Hazlitt's remark that "it is better to be able neither to read nor write than to be able to do nothing else," is in point here.

The traditional three R's, it is true, require for their mastery, a certain intensive application which is probably

unnecessary for the other cultural fundamentals. But this does not mean that some training in the other fundamentals is unnecessary. It requires less skill, no doubt, to watch with some comprehension a moving-picture version of "Treasure Island" than it does to read the book of the same title. Both may be wholesome activities for an educated person. If so, is it not a part of the fundamental cultural equipment to be able to extract from a play, a motion picture, a radio program, or even from the observed events of everyday life their utmost in the possibilities of life-enrichment? There are, in short, more than three "tool subjects," and schools should be concerned with securing the greatest possible proficiency in the use of all of them. If the rudiments of some skills are acquired outside of the school, the school's task remains, nevertheless, that of perfecting the effective use of these more common tools and of promoting safeguards against their exploitation to the disadvantage of the individual.

*The Educated Person Understands the Basic Facts
Concerning Health and Disease.*

Health is a factor which conditions our success in all undertakings, personal and social. For that reason schools properly place great emphasis on health as an outcome of education. For the educated person the first requirement in the field of health is an inoculation against superstition, voodoo, witchcraft, and humbug in the fields of medicine and human biology. The best serum now available for this purpose is scientific knowledge concerning the human mind and body as a functioning organism. Thus protected, the educated person looks with sturdy skepticism on the claims of the makers of patent medicines for the ills of the body and the appeals of the large tribe of pseudo-psychologists who claim to minister to the mind diseased.

The national health survey completed in 1938 by the Public Health Service showed that six million people in the United States are incapacitated by illness or accidents on a typical winter day. In one year there occur twenty-two million illnesses disabling for a week or longer. The average person is disabled approximately ten days out of every year. People ignorantly waste many millions of dollars on needless illness and on useless or harmful patent medicines, spiritualistic seances, mind healers, and a sorry train of similar nostrums and quacks. The schools would save more than their own total cost if they could see to it that the oncoming generation of adults used its resources for health more wisely.

*The Educated Person Protects His Own Health
and That of His Dependents.*

Knowing what is necessary for maintaining health in body and mind, the educated person so conducts his life as to respect these great rules of the game. For himself and his family he tries to secure competent medical advice and treatment with special attention to the early discovery and treatment of remedial defects and a systematic plan of health inventory and illness prevention.

Knowledge of the structure of the human body is incomplete and of little value without knowledge of how the various parts operate. The instructional emphasis here should be positive, dealing with the healthful functioning of the human organism, rather than with the breakdown of this function in disease. The approach should be rational and scientific; should include all the basic biological functions, such as nutrition, respiration, and reproduction; should be adapted to the maturity and interests of the learner; and should eventuate in firmly established habits of healthful living. The scope of health education should

clearly include the promotion of mental, as well as of physical, health.

A democracy, with its respect for individual life and happiness, is dedicated to the proposition that all children should be well-born, carefully guarded against avoidable infections, properly nourished in body and mind, and given an environment in which they can grow into healthful maturity and have a chance to live long, happily, and well.

Safety from mental and physical disease suggests safety from accidents. A collision with a ten-ton truck may be as deadly as a collision with a streptococcus. Accidents cost the nation one hundred thousand lives and a million injuries in 1937. An encouraging phase is the steadily declining accidental death rate among children. Much of this gain is apparently attributable to safety instruction. These efforts should be continued and expanded, with particular emphasis on carrying over safety habits into adult life.

The Educated Person Works To Improve the Health of the Community.

The interests of the educated person in the field of health are comprehensive. That which he desires for himself in this field, the educated person desires also for others, knowing that health is one commodity which is increased in proportion as it is shared. Especially in a democracy, the educated person will cherish a sincere interest in maintaining the health standards of the entire community. His humanitarian sympathies can here be strongly supported by self-interest since the transmissible nature of many diseases assures security for the individual only when the entire community is protected, and safety for the community only when the health of each individual is maintained. The educated person, therefore, insists on community, state, and national health services which not only enforce sanitary

ordinances and guard against the more obvious epidemic diseases, but which definitely promote the health of the entire population. He shows an active concern in all conditions which threaten the safety or injure the health of others, promotes the health work of schools and other social agencies, and encourages study and corrective action concerning the economic, physical, and social conditions which cause disease and imperil health of mind and body.

*The Educated Person Is Participant and Spectator
in Many Sports and Other Pastimes.*

Under the stress of modern life recreation has become a first cousin to health. The educated person does not make the mistake of confusing health with strength. He understands how to utilize both his working time and his leisure time to the maximum personal and social advantage. His hours of relaxation from the strain of productive effort are carefully guarded and wisely used.

The American people stand in urgent need of learning how to relax. Material success has too long been made our supreme objective in schools and elsewhere. Psychiatrists and other physicians are testifying to the mental and bodily damage caused by the ineptitude of the average American for the fine art of having a good time out of one's own resources. Many have attained success only to find they have lost happiness in the process. An extravagant worship of the unremitting drive of business activity prevails in many quarters. Even our everyday language betrays this confusion of values; we even speak of the "business" of living, whereas the principal and important part of living is an art and not a business. The precepts taught by the school in this field need to be supported in many cases by changes in what the schools are actually doing.

Recreational skills may be divided into two general types:

those which emphasize direct participation, and those which emphasize the role of the spectator. Both are important.

The participant in recreational activities requires a certain mental and physical equipment which can be improved through education. The development of the physical skills, strength, and agility necessary for participation in a variety of wholesome games and sports is an important aspect of education. The athletic and physical education programs of secondary schools and colleges are moving slowly and tardily toward a democratic basis which serves the entire group of students rather than being largely concentrated on a few favored individuals who "make the team." This trend is wholesome; it should be accelerated and broadened.

Competitive sports are a powerful and, within limits, a desirable motivating force in encouraging wholesome bodily activity, but such competition may do more harm than good if it centers on a few persons to the neglect of the majority, if it elevates winning the game over playing the game, or if the game is too rigorous, exhausting, or otherwise dangerous. Recreational training, therefore, should include in its purview the less competitive physical activities such as walking, camping, swimming, skating, and various forms of manual and creative arts.

The fact that recreative activity is as essential for adults as it is for children and youths, and the desirability of promoting common family interests, suggests the importance of giving training in sports and other activities which are suitable for both adults and youths. Games and creative activities which children and youths enjoy and which also carry over into the interests of adults, have a strong claim for attention.

Recreation also includes the role of spectator in the theatre, at the opera, or at the stadium. Only a small pro-

portion of such activity has learning for its purpose, though involuntary learning, wholesome or the contrary, may well occur. Some fear has been expressed lately about the evils of "spectatoritis" on the ground that the American public is becoming altogether too concerned over passively watching others play and not sufficiently interested in taking an active part. Whatever the present trend may be, there is little to be gained by debating the relative merits of observing and participating in various recreational activities. Most of us are not likely, under present conditions at least, to get too much of either. We should not quarrel about participation *versus* observation, but should seek to encourage both. The right balance of these two types of activity varies with the individual, but for the average person each actively supports and enriches the other.

There is some tendency to regard the role of spectator at certain recreational activities as being inferior to others. Many people feel that a visit to the theatre to watch professional actors perform is somehow more wholesome and worthy than a visit to the baseball park to watch professional athletes perform. There is probably little justification for such an attitude. It is true that some ugly and debasing aspects are associated with professional sport but the professional theatre is not always noted for its freedom from such influences. It is at least open to question whether there is anything intrinsically more dramatic and elevating in watching the struggle on a darkening stage between Macbeth and his conscience than in watching under a warm summer sun a good nine-inning pitching duel. In any case, we may well teach boys and girls how to watch and appreciate a well-played football or baseball game. Similarly, we may learn to enjoy taking part in amateur theatricals and through such activities reap a richer harvest in watching the performance of professional actors.

*The Educated Person Has Mental Resources
for the Use of Leisure.*

Properly defined, the term recreation has an even wider meaning than that already developed. Despite a common misuse of terms, "recreation" is not synonymous with "exercise." The former is not, nor should it be, limited to vigorous large-muscle activities. Is there any good reason why a curriculum which can include football and baseball might not also include checkers and even bridge?

Reading, of course, is one of the major forms of recreation. Skill in the use of printed material for acquiring information has already been mentioned. Reading for fun likewise is no unworthy occupation, nor is it one that can be followed without some preliminary training. Children should come to know books as a means of acquaintanceship with other boys and girls, as a way of learning about animals and birds and plants and stones, of finding out how people live in the country and in the city, and of enjoying fairy tales, nonsense rhymes, and stories of wonderland. From these beginnings emerge the continuing life interests in recreational reading pursued during adult life to escape temporarily from reality, to relive common everyday experiences, to satisfy curiosity about human nature and human motives, to enjoy pleasurable emotional experiences, to learn of immediate current happenings or of those far away from one's own environment, and to pursue a hobby.

Fiction, travel, biography, history, or even scientific and technical materials, may serve these ends depending upon the interest and purpose of the reader. Even catalogues, shoppers' leaflets, and railroad time-tables may sometimes represent recreational reading.

For many persons the playing of musical instruments, alone or in orchestras, is a satisfying recreation. Almost everyone can sing and enjoys doing so; with some training

for the singer, others may enjoy it too. The rudiments of the international language of music are for most people easier to acquire than the art of reading words. We are told that in Elizabethan England, for example, every educated person had musical competence. Should any child today leave our schools who has not added to the art of reading words the simple and pleasure-giving art of reading music?

Painting, sketching, photography, and other forms of representative art can also be placed within the reach of many by means of a little preliminary assistance, encouragement, and instruction. The wide and ingenious range of hobbies must also be included among the constructive recreation possibilities. Under present conditions, leisure-time interests which require a minimum of expense and equipment are particularly desirable.

None of these matters is unworthy of serious attention by schools which are earnestly concerned with the democratic ideal of helping each individual to grow in self-realization. These are extracurricular in name only; indeed it is to be doubted whether any elements of the "regular" curriculum are more truly educative than the activities associated with recreation. A shallow respect for false and harmful "standards" has in the past kept the recreative arts in the place of the poor relation. It is time to place them in a position of honor at the educational table.

The Educated Person Appreciates Beauty.

Beauty is one of the great desires of the human heart. Even very young children eagerly and unmistakably respond to beauty in color, rhythm, harmony, and form. A bright toy is treasured above a dingy one. A cube, a ball, or a wheel seems to contain in its very contour elements of form which bring forth the approval and delight of children. It is one of the important functions of education

to help the growing child to seek, to enjoy, and to treasure beauty throughout his entire life. The delicate colorings of fine paintings, the balanced masses of sculpture, the strength and lightness of noble architecture, the rhythm, harmony, and melody of poetry and music—all these should surround the growing child. He should hear beautiful music and participate in making it. He should make with his own hands the designs of representative art in order to increase his understanding and appreciation of the artistic work of others. These are not easy things to teach and the first requirement for doing so is the teacher's own understanding and appreciation of the esthetic elements of life. It is more difficult and much more important to teach a child appreciation of the beauty of poetry than it is to require him to memorize a poem or to identify the grammatical elements which enter into its construction. It is easier to teach the rules which permit one to classify plants than it is to teach an appreciation of the color and form of flowers.

The importance of the school environment in this connection can hardly be overemphasized. The people of the United States will not reach their full stature in esthetic development while their children spend formative years in school buildings with unkempt grounds, ugly architecture, and bare or garish walls. The home life of many children is lived in mean and sordid conditions. This fact increases the responsibility of the schools to see that the stars are not completely shut out above their heads, to keep alive in them the love for the song of a bird, and to stimulate the ambitious reach of the soul for the things which enrich it.

*The Educated Person Gives Responsible Direction
to His Own Life.*

Our democracy, with its necessary and wholesome separation of Church and State, gives to every man and woman complete freedom of religious belief and opinion. We all

have a right, a constitutionally-guaranteed right as well as a moral one, to choose that form of religious expression or outlook which we find most completely satisfying. The public schools are required, by law and by every element of their tradition, scrupulously to respect this American doctrine of religious liberty. The inculcation of any particular religious creed is therefore entirely foreign to the proper function of public education, although other educational agencies, particularly the home and the church, may well be actively concerned with such tuition. Yet there remain the great problems of human destiny which will always perplex, inspire, and ennoble the human spirit—problems of the relation of man to that which is beyond man, of the plan, if plan there be, which directs or conditions human existence on this planet, of the meaning in human birth, life, aspiration, suffering, and death. That man is not well educated who ignores these problems. Nor is he educated who maintains an attitude of cynical indifference or of intolerant bigotry toward the efforts of others to satisfy their spiritual needs. He is educated only when he understands and appreciates the spiritual and ethical principles which constitute a central part of the heritage of the race.

Many Americans find a satisfying answer to religious questions in the teachings of one or another of the organized churches. Others find a solution which satisfies them outside of the framework of organized creeds. Education for self-realization in a democracy permits these perplexities to be squarely faced and confers on each of us the priceless privilege of developing his religious philosophy in his own way and in an atmosphere of tolerance and freedom. The educated man uses this privilege to attain a personally satisfying religious philosophy.

Out of the sheer necessity for some interpretation of himself and his world, each person develops his own philosophy

of life. This functioning philosophy may be regarded as a framework through which one views the circumstances of everyday life, an organizing accumulation of ideas, feelings, and attitudes which comprise a basis for the individual's criticism and evaluation of what comes within his experience. A philosophy of life is not the exclusive possession of scholars and priests. It is an everyday necessity. Although he may be unaware of its existence, or if aware may see no semblance of its design, each man, nevertheless, is finding always a certain pattern by which he interprets and conducts his life. He has his own way of meeting the disappointments that are his lot. He possesses some set of values, some code of ethics, some sense of the esthetic. And he has a certain faith upon which he relies when his knowledge has carried him to its ultimate limits. The result of this philosophy in his everyday life reveals his true religion no matter to what formal creed, if to any, he may subscribe.

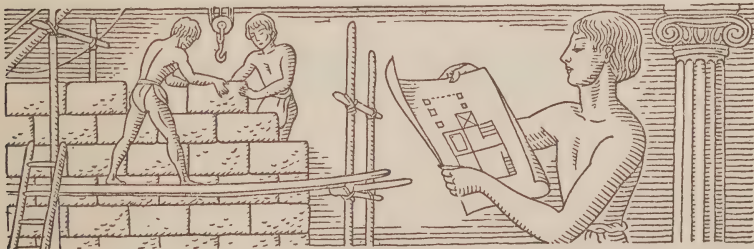
The development of a philosophy of life is highly important from the standpoint of society as well as from that of the individual. A man may consecrate himself to the finest ideals of a great religion, to a loyalty to truth, to devotion to human brotherhood, to reverence and aspiration toward his God. On the other hand, he may interpret vital matters in terms of the grossest supernaturalism; his interpretation of religion may lead him to persecute those who strive to find truth by means which he neither approves nor comprehends; his code of ethical values may lead him to applaud the most vicious depravity and the most selfish exploitation. Although such a philosophy may be satisfactory to its possessor, it is definitely unsatisfactory to others.

It is of especial concern in an evolving democracy that educational experience shall develop a strong sense of responsibility for the direction of one's own affairs. Economic maladjustments have often conspired with human frailty to

encourage a degree of indolence and a willingness to saddle upon others the burdens which are properly one's own. Whether such dereliction of duty takes the form of allowing one member of the family to carry an unfair share of the household work, or of idle and luxurious living without attempting to produce goods or services of social value, or of failing to vote at important elections, or of allowing one's front yard to become a neighborhood eyesore, or of accepting relief or charity when able to find suitable employment, this lack of self-responsibility is a serious threat to democratic ways of living.

Such attitudes are to a large degree a product of faulty environment and faulty education. A democracy must be concerned not only with giving every one an opportunity to hew out his own destiny but must also seek to develop in each individual strong qualities of initiative, accountability, and self-direction.

The development of a philosophy of life, or a religion, is based on the learning process. Like other learning, it is not fully consummated until it makes a difference in the practical conduct of one's life. No imposition of the thinking of another, however well fortified with threats and promises, can give the individual a ready-made philosophy, or a set of superior values. Any other mode than following the processes of education through their natural course of questioning, testing, and forming judgments, is poorly suited to self-realization through democratic processes.





THE OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

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

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

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

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

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

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

Homemaking. The educated person is skilled in homemaking.

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



V.

THE OBJECTIVES OF HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

Education maintains and demonstrates human relations indispensable to the good life and to the perdurance and functioning of a democratic society. In the classroom and on the playground is woven during the formative years of youth a texture of knowledge, habit, aspiration and mutual respect which aids in holding society together and helps to sustain humanity amid all the forms of untried being through which it must pass.

THE UNIQUE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.

The previous chapter emphasized some important purposes of education with respect to the development of the individual. The present chapter is devoted to the objectives of education as related to the more intimate connections of the individual with his friends, his immediate neighbors, and the members of his own family group. On the whole, there is perhaps no field of human activity requiring the services of education which has been so meagerly dealt with by the schools. Between the individual's inner life and his far-flung contacts with 130 million fellow citizens, there is an important intermediate area of day-to-day, face-to-face relationships which could be profitably studied by those directing educational programs.

THE FRIEND AND NEIGHBOR

The Educated Person Puts Human Relationships First.

The impact of education on a developing personality should lead that person to place human welfare at the very

summit of his scale of values. He should judge old traditions and new inventions by the same high and single standard. Whatever has an evil effect on human beings and their relations to each other is to be disapproved, regardless of the comfort, luxury, or economic gain it may bring. Too often, modern standards ignore the intangible effects of scientific and social inventions on human relationships. We tend to approve anything if only it adds in some small particular to our ease and comfort. The schools have a definite responsibility for developing a sense of values which exalts men above money or machinery.

The history of inventions shows the disrupting effects of their uncontrolled use for economic gain without due regard to concomitant influences on human relations. New machinery for the weaving of cloth, for example, while it made possible a more ample supply of textiles, at one time deprived thousands of men and women of their means of livelihood, and degraded the level of living for other thousands. Many workers died of want before even crude social and economic adjustments to the new and more efficient methods of cloth production were made. The industrial revolution has taken its toll of lives as ruthlessly and cruelly as any political revolution has ever done. Its influence still shadows our path and much of the hardship and strife which have accompanied the struggles between owner and workman could have been prevented by a proper concern for the human elements in the situation.

The application of machinery to transportation provides another example of unfortunate influences arising from the use of inventions without regard to human values. The automobile, for example, is highly attractive because of its speed and comfort. Yet, when we see the automobile in its total social effect, we remember that it has helped criminals to escape the reach of the law, that it takes an

enormous toll of injuries and deaths every day, and that it has tended to disrupt community and family life. The school can inculcate an attitude and habit of considering inventions and social innovations with first regard to the human aspects of them. The desirable material advantages of inventions should be conceded, but the "march of progress" is a travesty unless the superior importance of human values be made the center of attention.

In short, the educated person learns through practice to consider the well-being of others. The school is particularly competent to help in this process. It is detached from commercial and promotional interests to a degree which makes it more able than any other institution to appraise conflicting interests in significant terms. Children in school will probably never again be in a social situation more favorable for this purpose.

*The Educated Person Enjoys a Rich, Sincere,
and Varied Social Life.*

When life was simpler than it is now, the satisfaction of the need for genuine friendships required little attention on the part of organized social agencies. Today, the concentration of millions of people in large cities, as well as other social changes, have made the achievement of a genuinely social life difficult for many. Social groups are large and complex and especially so for that growing part of the population in the metropolitan centers. These nuclei of population give rise to many special problems relating to crime, delinquency, divorce, and other aspects of broken family life. Many children in urban schools have gone there from the country. From a relatively simple social environment they are thrust into one which is highly complex. The same circumstances hold for a large part of the adult population. Whenever such new adjustments

have to be made, education has a part to play in facilitating these changes.

The newcomer to the city misses the spontaneous meetings of neighbors which he formerly knew. The shallow pretenses of "society" may be substituted for friendly sociability. He finds that almost every phase of his social life is highly organized and specialized. He must *join* something in order to participate. Among the dozens of groups and organizations which compete for his attention, there is none, with the possible exception of the school, where he is regarded just as an individual. Organizations are interested in what he may contribute or in some one particular phase of his behavior—his religious activities, his recreational interests, his business or professional career, his political affiliations, and so on. His nostalgic longing for the old folks at home, the neighbors "'way out yonder," is vividly portrayed on many a stage and screen and provides a recurrent motif in modern music and literature. Each of the various separate aspects of his social life may be nurtured by the efficient and highly organized social life in the city, but the genuineness represented only by the relationships of whole personalities to each other is often lacking. Juvenile delinquency and crime often reveal the failure of young people to adjust to this piecemeal type of social organization. Disintegration in human relationships finally results in disintegration of personality.

The school can closely parallel the simple, honest, and sincere forms of community life. It enjoys unique possibilities for providing in the life of the child an integrating influence. The school can help him to interpret and unify his detached and seemingly unrelated experiences. The child may learn several codes of ethics—one at church on Sunday, one taught by the boss with respect to selling newspapers, and one accepted by his friends at play. In such a situation the school can never obtain its real objec-

tives if it is content to regard itself as merely one more organization to concentrate on one special angle, the intellectual angle, of the personality. Schools should minister to all phases of the developing personality.

The methods used in encouraging learning are extremely important as far as developing desirable human relationships is concerned. The work of the classroom is too often arranged so as to destroy, rather than to create, friendship. This is especially true when an undesirable amount of competition among pupils is stressed. The bright pupil grows jealous of his laurels. Every other member of his class looms as a competitor rather than as an ally. Meanwhile, the less favored pupil may develop a bitter and natural resentment, not only against the school which continually places the mark of failure upon him, but against his more fortunate classmates who consistently surpass his efforts. The school which permits and encourages such antagonisms needs to re-evaluate its purposes and methods in the light of human relationships. The bookworm who has exchanged friendships for erudition has made a poor bargain at best.

The Educated Person Can Work and Play with Others.

Democracy is a highly cooperative undertaking. It can become more effective if children learn to cooperate in school. The traditional methods of teaching, however, stress competition rather than cooperation. Marks of distinction and honors of all kinds have been showered on the pupil who surpasses his fellows. Ideally, our schools should give prizes not to the one who wins more credit for himself, but to the one who cooperates most effectively with others. We pin the badge of failure on the child who is defeated in a competition rather than on the child who has not learned to cooperate. This not only makes the social life of the competing children unhappy and unfruit-

ful while they are young, but it destroys those impulses towards friendly cooperative effort which might have made their lives as adults happier and more wholesome.

As a practical matter, the substitution of cooperation for competition as the chief motivating force of education must be accomplished gradually. In many schools, where the children have known no other guide to learning but competition, other motivations will have to be introduced slowly and tactfully. Democratic cooperation in the classroom, and outside of it, is only possible when the group works toward some common goal. Each individual shares the opportunities of leading and of following; each carries a part of the responsibility; each shares in the total product. Children should learn through experience, as directly as possible and at an early stage of their lives, that the combined efforts of a cooperative group can often solve problems that the ablest individual in the group cannot meet unaided. The possibilities of cooperation through government, cooperative marketing and purchasing, voluntary associations, credit unions, and similar devices should be explored by children at appropriate times in their educational experience.

A reconciliation must here be effected between two desirable and to some extent conflicting outcomes. It is important that young people gain confidence in their own individual powers. This calls for a measure of success in competition with others. A certain degree of self-reliance is highly important. It is not likely to come except through demonstrated individual achievement. At the same time the development of the self should not be allowed to run to excess. Democracy must have its leaders but they should be leaders who work in the spirit of cooperation. In the schools of democracy successful cooperation should be a part of the experience of all.

The Educated Person Observes the Amenities of Social Behavior.

The Chinese, it is said, open a conversation with a new acquaintance by inquiring, "And what is your honorable age?" In America we usually say, "What line are you in?" Every society develops its code of polite behavior, the lubricating elements in its machinery of human relationships. A genius may be able to get along in defiance of these amenities. Most people find them inescapable necessities, sometimes annoying, but usually extremely useful.

Knowledge and practice with respect to one's conduct at a social gathering, the approved method of introducing one person to another and of acknowledging an introduction, the use of "please" and "thank you," table manners which are not offensive to others, and other similar social courtesies ought to be learned by every child.

It is true that many of these customs are of little intrinsic significance; true, also, that most of them are rooted in the customs of antiquity and have little current logical justification. Nevertheless, they simplify and facilitate social intercourse and thus fulfill an important function. The educated person has learned these rules of conduct, with some understanding of their origin and role in social contacts. He realizes that the origin of all politeness is courtesy, and that the root of all good manners is consideration for others. So taught, these customs will make easier and more profitable the development of desirable human relationships.

HOME AND FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Among all social institutions the family holds first place as a creator and guardian of human values. What the child shall become depends first of all on the kind of family

responsible for his upbringing. The home is literally the nursery of humanity, the matrix of personality during the most impressionable years, and a continuing influence throughout life. To what degree a person is fearful or confident, malicious or kindly, ruthless or reasonable, bigoted and autocratic or tolerant and democratic is perhaps determined more completely by relationships in early family life than by any other set of experiences. Not only are these experiences first in time and prepotent in effect during childhood, but family relationships continuously influence the manner in which persons conduct their affairs in other groups.

One important responsibility of education, therefore, is to improve and develop home and family life. Effective discharge of this responsibility requires work with younger children, with adolescents, and with adults. Children at various points in their school careers may be helped to understand the family as a social institution, to acquire homemaking skills, and to work out happy and socially constructive adjustments with members of their immediate families. Young people may be helped to master and appreciate the specific knowledges and insights needed in marriage, homemaking, and parenthood. Married couples and parents on the job may be given opportunity to study their problems and work out ways of handling their obligations.

*The Educated Person Appreciates the
Family as a Social Institution.*

The family, that is the system of relationships among parents and offspring, is important everywhere, but the structure of the family group and family activities and customs differ from culture to culture, and from age to age. The size and composition of families, marriage customs, the obligations of members one to another, and the

responsibilities of families as units to other social groups all seem to vary under the influence of climate, topography, natural resources and the methods of utilizing them, the dominant forms of social, economic, and political organization, and the prevailing ethical standards.

However varied, the institution of the family performs two fundamental and interrelated sets of services. For the individual the family provides care and protection while capacities are maturing, guidance in learning to get along with others, security, and affection. Biological parenthood is only the first step. Without protection and nurture, infants could not survive. Without the give and take of family life they could hardly become social beings. Without the affectionate intimacies of the family circle, personality is not likely to develop normally. Every individual is thus the product of family life in a social as well as a biological sense.

For society as a whole the family performs its second group of essential functions. It regulates sex relationships, making it possible for men and women to express the sexual phases of their nature in a socially constructive manner. It produces future citizens and nurtures them into adulthood, sharing this responsibility with the schools and other agencies during middle and later childhood.

If a person understands how fundamental is the role of the family in human society, he will see social significance in every home and every family, and he will be more likely to value his own home and family life. Education should help to develop this appreciation.

The Educated Person Conserves Family Ideals.

Because of the headlong progress of invention and science, the forms of family organization are changing. Chores and common production enterprises were formerly

training grounds of character. As labor-saving devices eliminate or reduce the chores and as consumption becomes the primary family activity, conflicts tend to arise, not so frequently over who will do what work, but over what share of the family income each will have for his own use, and what use each will make, and when, of such family goods as the radio and the car.

In the modern world women frequently find full-time employment outside their homes. One-fourth of the wage earners of the country are women, and of these gainfully employed women, more than one-third also maintain homes. It has been estimated that 40 percent of the wealth of the country is now held by women. Each year, therefore, economic security becomes a less important motive for marriage. These tendencies, together with more liberal divorce laws and a decline in the authority of the church, are accompanied by higher divorce rates. This trend, in turn, is complicating the lives of many adults and increasing the hazards of wholesome personality development for many children.

Economic developments have given to those who own and control capital increased power over others. It is estimated that 80 percent of the families of America live on incomes of \$2,000 per year or less and that half live on \$1,200 per year or less. Millions of persons desiring work are unable to secure any; other millions work only intermittently. Many a family is forced to live from hand to mouth on a stop-and-go income. Under such uncertainty, expenditures cannot be planned. Deprivation and anxiety alternate with easy thriftlessness. When the search for work goes long unrewarded, morale weakens and accusations are hurled. Hunger lurks at the threshold; tensions rise; tempers snap.

With fewer jobs available, the employment of young people is delayed. Many remain dependent on their families

at a period in life when they are most eager to be on their own. This delayed economic weaning increases the difficulties of establishing independence and adulthood and results in not a few strained family situations.

Again, the concentration of manufacture and commerce has resulted in the crowding of ever larger proportions of the total population into urban centers. The demand for living quarters sends land prices sky-rocketing and leads to the construction of smaller rooms and apartments. Crowding and cheap construction bring fire and disease hazards. Unplanned use of land for building deprives children of outdoor play. The prevalence of such conditions, despite counteracting movements, adversely affects the lives of many families.

To turn to a quite different influence, each year the women of the country of child-bearing age taken as a whole are giving birth to fewer children. This decline in the birth rate is greater in cities than in the country; it varies also by regions and by ethnic groups. This means that more attention may be concentrated on each child and that older children have less opportunity to learn the arts of homemaking and parenthood in their own homes.

Most changes in family life stem back to changes in economic and social organization. However much we may bemoan the passing of older patterns and ideals, or fear the coming of new, we cannot hold back this tide of economic and social change that is breaking today into every corner of society. We can, however, with the help of education, try to understand it, use it, and control it for the attainment of our democratic purposes and the preservation of cherished human values.

The creation of satisfying and socially constructive family life under these conditions requires unstinting skill, intelligence, patience, and devotion. The pull of habit tends to keep us feeling, thinking, and acting as we always

have. Yet we come to grief when we attempt to meet new conditions in old ways. For instance, when two and sometimes several members of a family contribute to the family income, sooner or later they expect to have a voice in spending it. For the father whose will has been household law, adjustment to these expectations involves basic reorganization of deeply ingrained habits. Yet such co-operative participation in budgeting and income management seems to be indicated by the conditions under which many family incomes are secured.

Many other adjustments are required of both young and old. For instance, during adolescent years many parents seek to control every detail of personal expenditures and friendships. Yet, to remain dependent on parents for all one's money, continuing in school or simply marking time unable to find a job, is a grueling experience for that host of young people who endure it. Consider also the predicament of many couples today. Under the pressure of economic hardship or the frustration of ambition, affections sometimes become strained. To face the situation realistically and to handle it constructively is more difficult than to drift into indifference or veiled hostility and then into divorce; or if the social and financial costs of legal separation are too high, to live in barren indifference, meanwhile trying to secure the basic satisfactions of life outside the home.

At such points, then, education has a task. If it can help people understand the social origin of ideals, how they are transmitted in family life, how they have changed in the past and are changing now, it can help them make the adjustments required. So far as education does help people make these adjustments, it will be making one of the most significant contributions both to individual happiness and to cultural development.

*The Educated Person Is Skilled
in Homemaking.*

Every member of the family plays a role in the drama of home and family life. Each role is different and, for all but the younger members of a family during their more dependent years, constantly fluctuating. Different kinds of food must be prepared with each year of infancy and early childhood. Changes in age and fashion dictate what clothing shall be purchased and how it shall be repaired. Similarly, the managing of income, the operation of heating units, the upkeep and repair of fixtures and appliances, the protection and maintenance of health, the special care of children in sickness and convalescence, the selection of play equipment and guidance in its use, and many other house-keeping and homemaking activities change with the ages of children and of parents, with shifts in income, with changes in taste and values, and with many other variables.

Not only is each role constantly changing, but nowadays the players are often called upon to exchange roles. Here, for example, is a family where the father is out of work and the mother is able to find a job, leaving him to be the resident homemaker. Traditional lines between the man's job and the woman's work are thus erased. Both sexes and all ages are called upon to take responsibility for some or all of the tasks of homemaking.

Most persons go a long way in teaching themselves these homemaking skills, with or without the help of interested relatives. In addition, girls for three decades past, and more recently boys, have sought help from schools in mastering the homemaking skills. The teaching of cooking, budgeting, accounting, management of time, routine care of children, and consumer purchasing is rising toward a high level of effectiveness.

Further development of this phase of education should

give special consideration to new labor-saving and efficiency devices, new distributing and servicing facilities, and new consumption habits. It should be remembered also that skills serve in fact as instruments of personality. The teaching of homemaking skills is an important phase of family life education, but as in all education the development of skills should be correlated with the development of an understanding of the dynamics of family relationship and of the family as a changing social institution and with the cultivation of appreciations and insights.

Every homemaker and parent possesses valuable resources in his own wit and in the wisdom developed by experience. But other resources are also available. Books contain rich stores of knowledge about housekeeping, health, nutrition, child care and development, and other phases of family life. Few persons live beyond the reach of libraries or traveling library services from which books on these matters may be secured. In all but a few of the more remote areas there are also available the professional services of doctors, public health workers, home demonstration agents, homemaking teachers, social workers, and recreation leaders. As time permits, the educated person explores books for knowledge and his neighborhood for facilities and professional services which may be used for the welfare of his family. He tests each and makes use of promising discoveries.

*The Educated Person Maintains
Democratic Family Relationships.*

The educated person understands that families will differ one from another, in order the better to meet the needs of their members, and that family living requires constant adjustments on the part of each member. Only when each young person discovers a scale of values which

he believes socially desirable will he be able to let himself go in making these adjustments creatively.

Education for family living will deal chiefly with problems of everyday human relationship—problems of children in their parental homes; problems of young people as they struggle to separate themselves from parents and to enter into comradeships within their own age groups; problems arising in the cycle of falling-in-love, engagement, marriage, and the establishment of one's own home; problems of parents in trying to understand growing children and in cheerfully according an increasing measure of independence to children as they attain maturity. Such education will seek to make clear the important human values to be protected in all these different areas of life.

While the resulting scales of values will be different for each individual, belief in democratic ideals would result in certain common behavior. The educated person puts himself in the place of other members of the family, both older and younger. He understands their experiences, enjoys with them their satisfactions, and undergoes with them their fears and sorrows. As older persons succeed in doing this, their assistance to those who are younger becomes a spontaneous response to emotional need and so is more likely to be accepted and used constructively.

When democratic ideals and processes are applied in family life, plans for enterprises in which the family as a whole engage are made cooperatively. This includes immediate activities, such as choosing what movie the family will attend tonight, as well as long-time planning, such as the making of yearly budgets. Every person expresses preferences and contributes opinions according to his experience and ability. No member of the family who is mature enough to have an opinion on the matter in question is disregarded.

In the democratic family the carrying out of family

plans is also cooperative. Every member of the family has chores scaled to his ability, time, and interests. Sometimes these are done alone, sometimes with others. At successive stages of growth and family development, each accepts as just a share of the household work commensurate with his age, ability, and interests and with tasks being carried by other members of the family. Each exercises initiative in discharging these responsibilities and seeks to improve his performance of them.

In the democratic family differences are settled by reason, persuasion, and compromise. This process works successfully to the degree that each participant makes an effort to discover how the other person understands the situation, and how he feels about it. If older members of a family rely upon this method, it is generally accepted by those younger as they mature. Qualifications are necessary: to expect children to be "reasonable" before they are mature enough to understand the experiences of others is to desire the impossible. Again, when health or safety is in question, the parent's first obligation is protection.

The person who learns how to be democratic in his family relationships will tend to participate in political and economic affairs in a democratic manner. It is no accident that the early home life of many statesmen and other leaders, whose names are associated with democracy, has been characterized by broad humanitarianism, cooperative attacks upon the problems of family living, and the adjustment of differences habitually by methods of reason. To foster democratic family relationships is to build democracy into the economic, social, and political life of the nation.

Schools and other agencies of education have a long way to go before offerings in this phase of education will begin to meet the need. Although "worthy home membership" was one of the seven cardinal principles formulated in

1918, education for home and family life is still unknown in many schools and a stepchild of the curriculum in others. Despite advances made during the past twenty years, only about 15 percent of the high school and college students of the country and probably less than 5 percent of the parents now engage in any kind of systematic education for home and family life.

With increasing social and political complications, the tasks of operating family life and making needed adjustments in its pattern are increasing in difficulty. Education must bend anew to this work, for the stakes are vital. As citizens learn and practice in their families that regard for the common welfare and that use of reason in composing differences which are essential in the democratic way of life, they will be predisposed to democratic behavior in wider relationships, and democracy in the nation will receive fresh impetus at its source.





THE OBJECTIVES OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

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

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

Occupational Choice. The educated producer has selected his occupation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



VI.

THE OBJECTIVES OF ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY

*Use, labor of each for all, is the health and virtue
of all beings. Ich dien, I serve, is a truly royal motto.
And it is the mark of nobleness to volunteer the
lowest service, the greatest spirit only attaining to
humility.*

—EMERSON.

The objectives of economic efficiency relate to those activities which have to do with creating and using goods and services. At present, the major emphasis in education for economic efficiency is placed on the productive or vocational phase. It is often the only aspect of economic education which receives serious attention. This one-sided emphasis is unfortunate. Granting the importance of producer education, the equal and corollary importance of consumer education must not be overlooked. Production and consumption are related to each other as the back of the hand is to the palm. The roles of the consumer and the producer are equally dependent upon education for efficiency.

We begin with the objectives of economic efficiency as they relate to the production of goods and services.

THE PRODUCER

The Educated Producer Knows the Satisfaction of Good Workmanship.

In a democracy each person contributes according to his ability to the essential welfare of all. This means that under ideal conditions each able-bodied adult follows an occupa-

tion for which he or she is fitted by ability, personality, and training and which provides goods and services of social and individual value. It is important that children should learn that each may properly enjoy the fruits of civilization only by doing his part in the work of the world. Work should be regarded as something to be sought, enjoyed, and respected rather than as something to be avoided, suffered, and despised. "Work," as used here, includes the efforts of the teacher, the doctor, the housewife, the business man, the artist, as well as the usual shirt-sleeve and white-collar occupations. Even the younger children can learn the necessity of contributing effort to a common cause. Changing social conditions make work around the home for children difficult to arrange. Even at some inconvenience to the adults, however, such work would prove to be of wholesome educational value.

In the schools opportunities for real and socially desirable employment may readily be found. Why should not students learn valuable practical arts, contribute to the social dividend, and save public money by improving and safeguarding their own school building? Such work, of course, should be discontinued when the educational value of student participation reaches the point of diminishing returns.

The barrier to providing work opportunities as part of the educational program is largely traditional. As with many other realistic educational suggestions, this proposal is slowly adopted because of an unwillingness to recognize that there can be educational values occurring outside of classroom study and book-centered recitation. It is declared that the students cannot spend time away from Latin declensions and geometry theorems in order to learn the value of useful work. Under such circumstances, we must always try to determine what activity has the maximum educational value for the particular child concerned.

Nothing in the foregoing statement should be construed as indicating approval of exploitive child labor, curtailment of educational opportunity, or the use of children in occupations in competition with adult employment. Students should not be entrusted, of course, with work of a highly technical nature for which they lack strength or skill.

The Educated Producer Understands the Requirements and Opportunities for Various Jobs.

The classic example of occupational learning is Benjamin Franklin's story of how he was led by his father from one shop to another to observe the work of the artisans. Under the relatively simple economic conditions of that day, occupational information was easily acquired outside of organized schooling. The boy learned about farming from his father and on his occasional visits to the county seat watched the blacksmith, business men, and the representatives of the other occupations of the day at their work. Now all that is changed. There are more specialized occupations, less opportunity for learning on the job, and consequently greater need for the assistance of the school.

The Educated Producer Has Selected His Occupation.

Most people *drift* into some occupational field with the result that there is much wasteful occupational shifting and many a square peg in a round hole. The more nearly the age of entry to vocation coincides with complete maturity and all the responsibilities that go with it, the more imperative it becomes that the first vocational choice be as nearly right as possible. The future success, happiness, and efficiency of the individual, to say nothing of the direct concern of society in the matter, often depend on making

a proper, though not necessarily a permanent, vocational adjustment not later than the attainment of adulthood. The guidance of the school with respect to such vocational adjustment will help the student to survey the needs and opportunities for employment and to appraise his own potentialities and opportunities. It will point out to him the educational programs which best meet his needs, and help him to make wisely the choices he will have occasion to exercise during his secondary school career, during his induction into his vocation, and during his progress in the vocation. A statement of the importance of vocational guidance need not imply that the school personnel is omniscient or gifted with prophecy. Existing methods for appraising individual vocational aptitudes and predicting occupational trends leave much to be desired and call for further development through research and experimentation.

Without vocational guidance, vocational education may be extremely wasteful. Such guidance, of course, is to be regarded merely as one important part of a larger and continuing process of education involving adjustment of the individual from childhood to old age in all the areas of human activity. For youths in secondary schools as well as those of the later adolescent years who are not in school, the major problems of guidance are concerned with entrance into occupational life, adjustment to the withdrawal of parental support and parental control, establishment of new family relationships, progress toward economic independence, and the commencement of the duties and privileges of adult citizens.

One of the most striking examples of the need for an expanded and effective program of vocational guidance is the existence of certain tutorial and correspondence schools making extravagant claims for training men and women in a variety of occupations. There are, it is true,

many excellent schools of this type which conduct vocational training of a high type and render a real educational service. There is, no doubt, a definite need in American education for the services of a few such schools. But it has been necessary for the Federal Trade Commission on occasion to issue warnings to protect the public and control the more glaring examples of exploitation and quackery in this field. Well-designed programs of vocational guidance and education in the public schools should develop, among other things, the ability of young people to distinguish between the valid and the spurious types of private enterprise in vocational preparation.

*The Educated Producer Succeeds in His
Chosen Vocation.*

Education for economic productiveness is affected by several comparatively recent developments in the personnel to be served and in the prevailing socio-economic situation. With reference to the student personnel, there has been a considerable extension of the period of legally compulsory school attendance. This legal development is supported by equally important extensions in the period of voluntary school attendance, due to restricted employment opportunities and greater social and individual interest in education. The result of both has been a phenomenal increase in the number of students in high schools and colleges. Although this spectacular numerical gain has occupied the spotlight of attention, it is eclipsed in real importance for education by the vastly increased range of interests, social backgrounds, vocational outlooks, intellectual abilities, and manual skills among the student personnel. Thus the demands on secondary and higher education are not merely increased in quantity but are also made much more diversified and complex.

Other socio-economic trends are affecting vocational education. There is a distinctly higher average age and a resulting greater maturity among those seeking gainful employment. Among youths unable to find profitable occupations there is a fertile field for ill-defined but highly explosive feelings of discontent, unrest, and insecurity. Among adult workers, changing industrial processes create a demand for vocational retraining. Workers incapacitated for certain occupations by advancing age, illness, or disabling accidents also seek vocational rehabilitation.

That preparation for vocational success is a part of the total educational job is not seriously questioned by anyone. The chief points at issue at the present time are the extent to which such vocational preparation should be provided within the organized schools, and the educational level at which specialized vocational preparation should begin. One need only consider the vast differences in the intellectual, physical, and other requirements for vocational success in the various occupations, to see that no single simple formula can determine the role of the school in each case. In most of the vocations which are usually called "professions," it is generally agreed that the school, college, and university must carry the primary educational responsibility, with some cooperation with the professions concerned through various forms of internship. In the vocational preparation of mechanics of various kinds, differences of procedure are in order. Skilled occupations which are carried on quite uniformly in almost every community, such as carpentry, masonry, and automobile repairing, can be prepared for effectively by school agencies provided the demand for workers and the density of population are such that it is possible to assemble a sufficiently large number of learners to provide instruction at a reasonable cost per student. In other occupations of a more specialized nature, as for example, those of the airplane pilot or the

ship radio operator, vocational preparation has to be given either in state or regional training schools or in schools operated by the employers of the persons in these specialized occupations.

Although it is impossible to state in detail the specific responsibilities of the schools in equipping children with specialized vocational skills, there are certain general principles which seem to be valid. First, the relationship between vocational education and the employing and the employed groups must be close, sympathetic, and cooperative. Schools ought to cultivate relationships with industry and other occupational fields. The term "practical" education should not be used solely to describe society's *out-of-school* efforts to deal with the occupational preparation.

Second, it is no longer profitable, if indeed it ever was so, to debate the relative importance of vocational and non-vocational education. The two are not properly considered as competitive; they are phases of a single process. An educational program which, taken as a whole, neglects either aspect, is incomplete, if not actually harmful. The difference between vocational and non-vocational studies, then, is one of emphasis in the individual student's purposes. A working distinction cannot be based on any single logical or arbitrary classification of the parts of the curriculum. When a subject or part of a subject is pursued for the primary purpose of developing marketable initial skills or vocational competence, it may be vocational, but the very same activities undertaken to discover or develop interests and abilities or to enrich living, become essentially non-vocational.

Every subject of instruction and every daily lesson may relate to occupational activities—the linguistic, mathematical, scientific, and social as well as the musical, artistic, homemaking, agricultural, and industrial studies. More-

over, each may contribute a significant share to general education as a whole. Every subject is also, at some stage, a tryout of the interests and abilities of students. An evening course, designed primarily to train workers in certain occupational skills, may be pursued by some students as a recreational activity, in which latter cases it is essentially non-vocational. Again, the prospective teacher of French or of drawing studies French or drawing as part of his occupational preparation, while other students ordinarily aim at enrichment of experience.

The principle should also be made clear that when interests and abilities have been discovered in any field, opportunities should be provided for their continuous development without excluding other possible or desirable interests or activities. The guidance program should aim to plan each pupil's total learning activities in harmony with his interests, abilities, and vocational outlook, and to provide the necessary safeguards against too early specialization on the one hand and dissipation of effort and neglect of abilities on the other hand. This planning, it should never be forgotten, must be done pupil by pupil. It is not an activity suitable for mass action.

Again, we must remind ourselves that the advance in technology in the present century and earlier, the social and economic dislocations following the World War, and the cataclysmic sweep of the cycle of boom, depression, and recovery have brought changes in the social organization which are significant for vocational education. Even a brief enumeration of these changes would include: (1) the increase of unemployment, particularly in the cities; (2) the decreased demand for the gainful labor of children and youth, reflected both in employment policies and in legislation; (3) delayed entry into full vocational responsibilities; (4) legislation marking the first steps toward

social security in old age and in time of unemployment; (5) the increasing specialization of many types of trades and professions; (6) the mechanization of many agricultural as well as industrial operations; (7) the increase in the gainful employment of women; (8) a decreasing demand for labor requiring little special training, judgment, or manual dexterity and an increasing demand for workers with skill, insight, and adaptability; and (9) increasing acceptance of public responsibility for the social effectiveness of the entire population.

These social changes confront America with the need for informed intelligence and a sense of social responsibility as well as vocational adequacy among its people. They do not suggest that the schools diminish their energies in vocational preparation although the period of vocational specialization may well be postponed in an increasing number of cases until the completion of a general program of secondary education. The home and other non-school agencies help in supplying vocational needs, but they cannot and do not complete the job. Organized education is the primary agency which society holds responsible for seeing to it that these purposes are realized. The school, the only social agency whose sole business is education, completes and organizes the work of the other agencies. It need not in all cases undertake to do the whole educational job. It may do part of the job and attempt to see that the rest is done by other agencies.

The Educated Producer Maintains and Improves His Efficiency.

Perhaps the most significant current development in American education is the growing recognition that the responsibility of educational agencies for the welfare of youth no longer ends with graduation or school leaving.

The continuous study of the problems of vocational adjustment which confront all youth and, to some degree, all adults, in school and out, must continually modify educational objectives. The schools and other educational agencies should develop attitudes which will lead the worker to attempt to improve his vocational fitness through constant study of the relationship of his work to that of other fields. Technological change indicates the wisdom of widespread opportunity for adult vocational training and retraining. Workers who, because of technological, economic, or accidental reasons, find themselves unemployed or unemployable must be helped to make a new choice of work and to retrain for competency in a new vocation.

*The Educated Producer Appreciates
the Social Value of His Work.*

With proper social motives, a vocation may be made the most compelling purpose of education which we can set before a pupil. The fundamental subjects of study, preparation for home life and citizenship, applied science and mathematics, and practical economics—these and many other fields when approached from the viewpoint of the vocation and its related life often take on a richer meaning. On the whole, America has been fortunately free from the Old World concept that no “gentleman” can follow any occupation other than that of scholar, priest, or soldier. A democracy will not separate its work and its culture. It will not regard one who works as inferior nor set false distinctions between occupations. One of the important tasks of education is to extend the worker’s insight into the social utility and significance of his work, the scientific background of what he is doing, his relation to other workers, and what his work means to other people.

The vocational life of many persons now includes an extremely narrow range of intellectual activity. Until more fundamental reforms can be devised and secured, society should take steps through its educational agencies to ameliorate the undesirable features of this trend. Equally desirable with a share in material wealth, is a share in the intellectual resources of the world. For this latter field, the schools are particularly responsible. Vocational education in a democracy should stress the contribution of the occupation to the social welfare and temper the all too common use of personal pecuniary advantage as the primary objective of learning.

THE CONSUMER

The Educated Consumer Plans the Economics of His Own Life.

The economic security of many people is highly tenuous. Disability, the cost of medical care, unpredictable losses of savings, incomes insufficient to provide a reasonable living standard, irregular employment, and complete unemployment are factors which interfere with the best laid personal economic plans. Individual action, no matter how prudent or industrious, may be quite inadequate to meet these hazards to personal economic well-being. These larger economic adjustments will need to be made by large-scale social and governmental action. The role of the educated person in such action may best be considered in connection with the chapter on "The Objectives of Civic Responsibility."

Apart from these larger socio-economic adjustments, however, there is no inconsiderable area for individual care and discrimination in planning and operating the economic phases of life. Not all economic insecurity is due to unemployment and illness. Foolish spending which yields

no enduring satisfactions or advantages, general gullibility and thriftlessness, gambling against odds which can be stated only in astronomical terms—these undermine economic security and efficiency at all income levels and among all sorts of people. The educated consumer budgets his expenditures in the light of good principles as adjusted to his own particular circumstances and financial ability. He has learned that small expenditures, constantly repeated, mount to large totals. He knows that all borrowing costs the borrower money, and sometimes exorbitantly so. He knows that instalment buying is a form of borrowing. He can balance a checkbook. He buys no gold-bricks. He uses good sense in his savings and understands the relative advantages of banks, insurance, credit unions, the postal savings system, government securities, and the various types of business investments as a means of developing and utilizing his reserves. Through such means, the educated consumer has learned to exercise the highest possible degree of economic self-responsibility.

*The Educated Consumer Develops Standards
for Guiding His Expenditures.*

The individual judgments and preferences of the buyer, weighted in our economy by monetary incomes, determine the uses to which natural resources and human energies are put. To the extent that there is ignorance of need and undesirable standards, there will be discrepancy between effective demand and the line of general advantage in terms of health, vigor, beauty, creative activities, and similar values. Productive energy is misdirected on a grand scale by unwise consumer judgments.

The consumer's education should seek to improve his scale of preferences by leading him to evaluate his own standards. Consumers should be acquainted, therefore, with the most important conclusions of science and ex-

perience about human needs and the means of meeting them. Those tastes should be cultivated that are the source of esthetic enjoyment and the development of those arts and aptitudes that recreate, enrich experience, and widen the outlook. At this point of special need in our society our educational program is weak. Those whose knowledge is deficient should be familiarized with the most desirable consumption patterns. This democratization of high-level consumption is a part of the mass education necessary in an equalitarian society. A simplification of living or deviation from the approved pattern based on ignorance is not the same as simplicity or deviation based on deliberate preference. As a basis for the understanding and appraisal of their own standards consumers should be acquainted with the social and esthetic value of other culture groups, past and present. Attention should be given to the psychology of choice; current consumption standards should be analyzed and an attempt made to understand and evaluate the forces that have shaped and are now shaping them. Independence of judgment and discrimination in making consumption choices are especially to be fostered since in this realm blind obedience to custom and slavish deference to the opinion of others are so characteristic.

Education for consumption with the objective outlined above obviously cannot be limited to one sex; nor can it without grave hazards be entrusted to those interested in guiding demand for their own financial advantage. Clearly also this education cannot be attained through the study of a single field of knowledge.

The Educated Consumer Is an Informed and Skillful Buyer.

An important role of the consumer in our society, or of an unpaid family member to whom the responsibility is

delegated, is that of buyer. We are here concerned not with directing wants but with their economical satisfaction through market selection. Concretely, the consumer attains this end—gets the maximum amount of what he wants for his money—only when he selects the best goods available at a particular price or when he gets an article of specified quality at the lowest price available. Thus, although there is some relationship, education of the consumer for buying is obviously a different matter from education to form values, to elevate tastes or stimulate new interests and desires.

Education for buying is not so difficult a task or so far-reaching in its scope as the education of the consumer as choice-maker. More fundamental than the economical satisfaction of wants is their shaping and direction. The former is, however, a necessity if great economic wastes are to be avoided. Consumer-buying is now a haphazard process characterized by mistakes and losses that can be corrected only by market changes and by education of the buyer. Here are involved questions of prices and price changes, quality, quantity, adulteration, substitution of one commodity for another, fashion and style, instalment buying, and “sales resistance.”

An educational program, designed to increase the buyer's efficiency, should begin with knowledge of what goods are available in the market. The buyer must learn what specific qualities to seek and what to avoid in these goods. He must discover in other words what makes an article good and what makes it bad *for his purposes*. So far as the qualities or quantity of specific goods are made known by means of a standardized nomenclature, the buyer must know the meaning of such terms. The buyer must know not only the goods he is buying but the market in which he buys. The educational program organized for his benefit should, therefore, give him understanding of marketing

agencies and their operation. He should understand the pricing process under various conditions; he should be familiar with selling methods; he should be able to evaluate sales talk, price policies, and market arrangements in general.

Since buying is today so largely in the hands of women, education for buying should especially be emphasized in all educational programs constructed with their special needs in mind. Education for buying may be considered as a major part of the vocational training typically, but not exclusively, needed by women under the current division of labor in the home.

The Educated Consumer Takes Appropriate Measures to Safeguard His Interests.

Finally, the intelligent buyer would know his legal remedies in case of injury to health or purse and be familiar with the special protection given by state or federal statutes or local ordinances. He should be able to evaluate the adequacy of his legal protection and know what changes are desirable. He should know which legislative measures proposed would be to his interests and which would be against them. He should join with other consumers in bringing about necessary protective legislation. He should learn the advantages and disadvantages of joining with other consumers for the cooperative purchase of goods, for securing impartial advice on the relative merits of different brands and makes, and for securing legislation which is in the interest of consumers generally.

In all of the aspects of consumer education, sales promotion is today the dominant educative (or mis-educative) force. This force, by the very circumstances of its existence, is in the hands of personally interested parties who must seek to create effective and continuing demand for

their goods or services. Advertising should, of course, be truthful but, even if misleading or "false" advertising were completely eliminated, the need for consumer education would not be met. Information and skill in choosing and buying are as important as information and skill in producing and selling. Consumer education is a universal need; it should be provided for all through the schools and not left to accidental learning.





THE OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

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

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

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

Critical Judgment. The educated citizen has defenses against propaganda.

Tolerance. The educated citizen respects honest differences of opinion.

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

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

World Citizenship. The educated citizen is a co-operating member of the world community.

Law Observance. The educated citizen respects the law.

Economic Literacy. The educated citizen is economically literate.

Political Citizenship. The educated citizen accepts his civic duties.

Devotion to Democracy. The educated citizen acts upon an unswerving loyalty to democratic ideals.



VII.

THE OBJECTIVES OF CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

Our country might conceivably be overwhelmed by superior military force, but our democracy will never be imperiled by outside attacks. Democracy is always weakened from within. Only its own feebleness or complacency destroys it. We in Europe see more clearly than you that democracy dies from lack of discipline, unwillingness to compromise, group pressure, corruption, usurpation of public power because the public is greedy or indifferent. It dies unless it draws life from every citizen. Denouncing dictators gets nowhere. The job of those who believe in the democratic process is to be positive, not negative, to build it up, expose and correct its mistakes, keep it alive.

—A statement from Czechoslovakia published
in the *New York Times*, September 25, 1937.

The Educated Citizen Is Sensitive to the Disparities of Human Circumstance.

It is of peculiar importance that all the citizens of a democracy become aware of the extraordinary range of conditions under which men live. Most of us look at society with a lens of exceedingly short focus. What lies at a distance is invisible to us or is recognized only dimly. The area within which the educated individual "has a feel" for the experience of others has been greatly expanded. What is it like to be a farm laborer? a textile factory operative? a rolling mill hand? What is involved in living for years at the bottom? What is it like to live in a slum area? to survive a flood? to come through a dust storm? What does it mean to rise from the bottom? Vivid records of these

and a host of other human experiences can be brought to the attention of young people through the schools. Excursions to situations within reach of the schools can be used to good effect. Film material will probably in time serve the same purpose and bring both nearby and remote environments before the eyes of children and youths. Literature, too, affords excellent opportunity for vicarious sharing in the experiences of others. Of course, undue strain on youthful emotions is to be avoided, but properly safeguarded, the task can be carried through without hazard.

*The Educated Citizen Acts To Correct
Unsatisfactory Conditions.*

In the light of democratic ideals, current conditions appear to be far from satisfactory. If the result of sensitizing the student to the social situation is merely acute observation or pointless curiosity or a vague sympathy, not enough has been accomplished. A broad, expanding, and active humanitarianism should be the personal possession of all. Fortunately, among children and adolescents, sympathies run strong and the desire to do good is readily elicited. The schools should seek to give concrete exercise to these feelings and impulses on the level of the young people involved. Of course, sentimentality has to be avoided. It is one thing to wish to relieve human distress; it is something else to devise measures of relief that are constructive.

*The Educated Citizen Seeks To Understand
Social Structures and Social Processes.*

With the experts—the economists, political scientists, sociologists, and the rest—disagreeing in their interpretations of social phenomena, the path of the educator undertaking to deal with social activity is a thorny one. That

the social sciences are still in an early stage of development must be frankly recognized. Furthermore, differences in opinion on social issues arise not alone from the lack of knowledge and the other difficulties of scientific inquiry, but even more from the differing sets of values which, perhaps unknown even to himself, each student brings to the study of social problems. Making appropriate allowances, however, for inherent difficulties and limitations, something substantial can be done in giving young people a more adequate knowledge than they now have of the nature of the society in which they live. Differences between wishful and realistic thinking can be exposed, and the stubbornness of social facts, the momentum of social processes, and the inertia of social institutions brought pointedly home.

*The Educated Citizen Has Defenses
Against Propaganda.*

The reporting of social events is characteristically loose and inaccurate, even when not purposely colored or dishonest. Let the students find out how well-nigh impossible it is to ascertain just what happens in the course of a labor dispute. Let them follow, through a variety of journals of differing economic and political attitudes, the day-to-day record of the occurrences in a local strike. The typical conflict of testimony of eye-witnesses, say of an automobile accident, should be critically examined. The arts of propaganda and of modern advertising should be made known. The time has come to equip the individual citizen in the democratic state with reasonable defenses against the pressures of mass thinking and feeling exerted nowadays through bill-board and poster, press, radio, and film. A healthy measure of skepticism about social data should reinforce an aggressive search for reliable information in

the training of youth for more effective participation in democratic ways of living.

*The Educated Citizen Respects
Differences of Opinion.*

Even when it is possible to locate all pertinent facts and to agree concerning these facts, social situations still suggest to different persons a wide variety of practical, and yet often sharply conflicting, measures. Tolerance is, of course, one of the hallmarks of the truly democratic society, and lack of tolerance one of the sharply distinguishing traits of the authoritarian state. Tolerance does not imply an absence of belief and conviction; in fact, were there no conflicting beliefs and convictions it would be impossible to exhibit tolerance. Certainly it is clear that no democratic society can afford to purchase tolerance at the cost of clear and confident thinking on the part of its citizens. Young people in the schools need to be taught to reach their own opinions and within reason to hold to them, at the same time accepting the fact that others are entitled to differing opinions honestly reached and similarly defended.

*The Educated Citizen Has a Regard
for the Nation's Resources.*

Our national life and culture and, indeed, our very existence depend in the last analysis upon the availability of essential natural resources and the use which is made of them. Forests, soils, grasslands, water, minerals, oil, fish, game, and scenic beauty are among the rich natural endowments of the area of the North American continent covered by the United States. Realization of the basic importance of these resources, determination to utilize them for the common good through long-range planning, and general

knowledge of appropriate remedial and preventive conservation procedures are among the marks of the educated citizen. Since future welfare and safety depend on those things, the schools may well assume considerable responsibility for checking the ravages upon the heritage of the nation made by ignorance, indifference, carelessness, and unbridled selfishness. Instruction should include conservation problems of national and regional scope and may be most effective if organized in connection with the teaching of the natural sciences and the social studies at all levels of the school program. The school system will find cordial allies in this task in many departments of local, state, and federal government, and in many private agencies. In passing, it may be noted that there is need for materials on conservation which are written in a style suited to children and which are impartial and accurate. Reports of governmental and private investigations frequently meet the second criterion but seldom satisfy the first. Suitable materials on conservation should be included in standard textbooks and in other publications for use by children.

*The Educated Citizen Measures Scientific
Advance by Its Contribution to the
General Welfare.*

We have seen in an earlier chapter how the application of science and invention to problems of industrial production, medicine, and human relationship has revolutionized our social and cultural customs and standards. Yet science in itself is entirely indifferent to moral values. Thanks to the discoveries and applications of science, electricity can be manufactured, stored, harnessed, and transported over hundreds of miles of wire. And at the end of that journey it will with perfect neutrality speed a streamlined train, light a scholar's desk, electrocute a criminal, operate a life-

saving pulmotor, or burn the toast. Again, the intricate chain of scientific discovery and invention which involves the manufacture of paper and ink, the linotype, and the great printing presses will place in our hands with equal indifference the finest literature or the veriest trash, the honest conclusions of the scholar or the most poisonous propaganda. The methods and findings of science, then, seek with considerable success to ignore ethical judgments. But the applications of science to the needs and desires of man are entirely subject to social and individual control.

Science instruction has been too largely concerned with attempting to produce scientists rather than with producing citizens who have an intelligent understanding of the methods, significance, and application of science, and who are determined that science shall function in the improvement of the everyday life of the people. The teacher of English literature, even at the college level, rarely cherishes the illusion that he is making novelists, poets, and dramatists. Science too is, for the mass of the people, a cultural subject. The emphasis should be placed upon the past and possible future applications of science to increase the well-being of mankind.

*The Educated Citizen Is a Cooperating
Member of the World Community.*

Modern conditions of national interdependence make membership in the world community inescapable. Education should make that membership cooperative and constructive. Education which develops a rational and sympathetic attitude toward other nations and their problems is education of a highly patriotic type. A teacher who finds it advisable to create suspicion and hatred of other nations, as a basis for love of one's own country is exhibiting a social consciousness which is too narrow for the demands of the

twentieth century. The problem here is greater than vigorous education against war. Even the achievement of peace is not a final goal. Thoughtful persons throughout the world agree in desiring peace, not merely for its own sake but also because the necessary conditions for human happiness and development can be attained only under a peaceful regime.

Deep-seated political, racial, religious, and economic controversies now prevent the attainment of international peace. These problems can be adjusted only under conditions of tolerance, fair play, and democracy. To develop these attitudes so that they function in international affairs is an important function of education.

Much attention is now very properly centered on the role of the school in restoring reason and peace to the place of honor in international affairs. Much is already being done to acquaint pupils with the nature of existing machinery for international relations and with the truths of national history. The contributions of the various races and nations to civilization and culture, the sufferings and moral degradations brought about by war, and the superior value and importance of the arts of peace are subjects considered in many schoolrooms. All this is wholesome and should be extended.

The Educated Citizen Respects the Law.

All laws and other governmental controls are properly established by the people and their duly chosen representatives and are subject to popular review and revision. Certain essential rights of minorities are recognized and appeals for protection may be carried to the courts if these rights are invaded. Obedience to constituted authority, as manifested in law, is a necessary element in a well-ordered society. Disobedience and disrespect for law, on the other

hand, are symptoms either of indifference to the welfare of others or of distrust of democratic processes. As compared with other countries, we are a lawbreaking, though by no means a lawless, nation. Many factors have been suggested as causes for the relatively high crime rates in this country. Whatever the cause, the schools should attempt through instruction and organization to develop an understanding of the nature of law and of its role in human affairs, to promote habits of willing and intelligent obedience, and to create an attitude of respect for law and an appreciation of the inherent dignity of the law-abiding citizen in a democracy.

Such a program does not commit the schools to an endorsement of every law on the statute books, but it does suggest that every citizen owes obedience *even to laws of which he does not approve*. His remedy is not to flout the law but to seek to change it. And a democratic government permits him to do this if he can convince others that such change would be in the interest of the general welfare.

The Educated Citizen Is Economically Literate.

Government has always been closely related to economic problems. Whether or not that relationship is becoming closer with the passage of time, it is certainly true that the major problems of public life have important economic aspects. The issues upon which elections turn, the questions which agitate the public mind, the problems debated by legislative bodies, and the agenda of public officers, are very frequently economic in origin. The citizen of a democracy, therefore, needs to acquire the information, the experience, and the willingness to deal constructively with collective economic problems. Each needs also informa-

tion, experience, and motivation to maintain his own economic contribution at a high level.

The person who is economically literate has found out by direct or vicarious experience, that wealth is produced by work; that goods and services usually vary greatly in quality; that some advertising is truthful, some false, and all of it interested first of all in selling goods, services, or ideas; that collective expenditures, in cooperatives or in public finance, for example, may be either good or bad depending on the attendant circumstances; that getting something for nothing, through gambling in any of its forms, always means that the other fellow gets nothing for something; that every dollar spent is an economic ballot voting for necessities or for trash; that war is uneconomic because it uses natural resources to destroy human resources; and that individual economic advancement through deceit or exploitation of others is unworthy of an honest man.

The citizen who is economically literate is acquainted with certain broad economic issues, conditions, and procedures. He has become familiar through frequent usage with currently important economic concepts, with the ideas of supply and demand, investment and profit, capital and labor, scarcity and abundance, monopoly, the market, wages and prices. He is informed concerning the principal economic developments under public auspices, such as the Tennessee Valley power projects and the Social Security laws. He sees these trends and conditions in the light of their historic antecedents. He knows certain facts which are crucial to the economic life of the country—its basic physical and human resources, its potential and actual productivity, the distribution of incomes and wealth, and the degree of concentration or dispersal of ownership and management. Only as a growing degree of competence and

interest in these matters is diffused among the people can democracy function in the teeth of technological change.

The Educated Citizen Accepts His Civic Duties.

Every American citizen lives under at least three governments: local, state, and national. This arrangement in itself makes for complexity. The attempted readjustments of our political arrangements to a highly industrialized civilization have rapidly increased this complexity during the past quarter of a century.

It can no longer be accepted as a truism that the person who is a good citizen in his local community is automatically qualified for citizenship in the state or the nation. The requirements for the latter have grown to include a broad knowledge of national political affairs and the ability to exercise reliable judgment on problems which have their source far from the home community.

Thus, more and more knowledge must go into the equipment of the educated and intelligent voter. The fact that thirty million qualified voters do not exercise their franchise, even in the most exciting elections, certainly indicates a potential danger. It is even more alarming when voters are ignorant of the issues at stake. All too many of these latter have been persuaded to come to the polls with a feeling that their duty is done when they vote, no matter how little civic information and intelligence support their decision.

An urgent responsibility of the schools, then, is to lead the young citizens of America to discover the knowledge, and the means of obtaining the knowledge, which will enable them to discharge their duties intelligently. In order to do this they will need, among other things, to study all forms of government and economy, the advantages and disadvantages of each, honestly comparing one with an-

other. And this judgment has been rendered essential not only by the complexity of the situation but also by the efforts made by propagandists to take advantage of the present confusion.

But the interests of the school do not end with knowledge. The next step is to create the desire to act upon the judgments which the learners have made. Knowledge is power only as it is translated into action. Furthermore, knowledge alone does not lead to right action. For example, knowledge of human nature is invaluable to teachers and ministers in helping them to render better services, but it is just as useful to the confidence man, the pick-pocket, or the purveyor of falsehood.

The emotional side cannot be neglected, but its education is a process which requires the utmost care. It is a matter of greatest moment that feelings have their source in the individual's tempered judgment, rather than in the notions and prejudices of some organization or person. It is essential that future citizens learn that the means for solving the many distressing social problems of today must be the means of democracy: discussion, action through legally-provided channels, change of present governmental machinery when such change becomes necessary to progress. Force, craft, bribery, threats, and appeals to emotion are processes of dictatorship in no way effective in the maintenance of a democratic form of government.

The citizens of the future need to develop keen judgment in political matters in order to distinguish between those who would maintain democracy through democratic processes and those who are endeavoring to destroy its spirit, while they burn incense on the most conspicuous altars to the word itself. Governmental problems and the broader problems of society require calm reasoning, not hysteria, for their solution. Those who frantically rush to "give their lives" for a particular ideology, would many

times make a greater contribution to the general welfare if they but gave of their thinking and their time instead. Devotion may result in unwarranted sacrifice, and still fail to accomplish the desired ends.

In addition to voting, and voting with a ballot charged with good intentions, sound reasoning, and basic information, there are other civic responsibilities for which the schools should prepare the present and rising generations. One of the most important of these relates to the support of public activities in those spheres where private activity is not at least equally efficient and productive. The operation of the postal system, for example, is one among many accepted public responsibilities. The questions are always open, however, as to whether other services might not be added to those presently discharged by governmental agencies and whether, on the contrary, the government is performing services which might be better handled by private initiative.

The consideration of such questions is a necessary activity of an educated citizen and his schooling should fit him to engage in it. He should learn that there is nothing inherently bad or inherently virtuous in expanded governmental services; he should understand the circumstances in modern social life which have brought about the extension of governmental functions and which make further extension probable in the future; he should be quick to devise methods for utilizing public action in the public interest; and finally he should understand that the process of taxation according to ability to pay is the means by which all of us, working together, produce services and benefits needed by all which each of us working alone might not be able to create or enjoy.

There are other rights and responsibilities with which the educated citizen of democracy should be acquainted; for example, a general but not of course detailed or technical

knowledge of his rights and responsibilities before the law as plaintiff, defendant, witness, and jurymen. The list of specific civic responsibilities might be further extended but the three that have been mentioned—intelligent and socially-minded voting, an appreciation of governmental services, and a layman's knowledge of the law—appear to be outstanding needs at the present time.

*The Educated Citizen Acts upon an Unswerving
Loyalty to Democratic Ideals.*

As a people we have come to take our civic privileges all too lightly. We have no vivid impressions of how we should be individually affected if our heritage of civil liberties were lost. We need to be aware of what would happen to education, for example, if American democracy should be destroyed. For liberty to think there would soon be substituted the imposition of approved ideas; for unhampered judgment, parrot-like repetition of the judgments of others; for freedom to examine facts and draw the conclusions demanded by intellectual honesty, the acceptance of the whims and prejudices of the party in power.

Most of us have little notion of the century-long struggle through which our present privileges were won. It is high time that the drama of this historic record be presented adequately in our schools. No stone should be left unturned in the effort to give youth a full realization of what democracy means, of the privileges which it affords, of the ways and means through which, with work and patience, it is to be more successfully achieved.

It is important, too, that loyalty to the democratic ideal and appreciation of its possibilities be supported by an acute awareness of the factors which threaten it. Although these factors are not easily identified, certain items would be included in any comprehensive list.

First, the aggressiveness of the authoritarian states as well as other conditions are creating international tensions which threaten to bring about war. And, as has already been pointed out, war is poisonous to democracy. Second, our inadequate control of the application of science and technology has permitted great concentration of economic power, has destroyed morale and brought about prolonged depressions, widespread unemployment, and other social ills. These conditions are accompanied by unrest, insecurity, and general dissatisfaction. Another factor which threatens democracy is the weakening of religious convictions and of moral codes without the development of adequate ethical controls to take their place. Again, democracy is always in danger when government shows itself incapable of meeting justifiable human needs or when leadership in public affairs tends to express the momentary popular fancy or selfish minority interests.

There is also a threat to democracy in that naive equalitarianism which refuses to recognize and act upon the indubitable fact that individual human beings differ greatly from one another in important respects. Whether one believes that these differences are inborn or acquired may modify one's opinion as to how they should be treated, but under any circumstances it is both futile and dangerous to deny their present existence. Democracy is endangered also by the resort to force and violence in the settlement of controversial issues, with the accompanying decay of the ability and willingness to think dispassionately. Private control of police and military power and the open violation of law with impunity are examples of conditions which elsewhere have led to the downfall of democracy. Democracy must meet conditions created by modern propaganda which, without control and in the hands of a large number of minority pressure groups, threatens to destroy even the semblance of social unity. With these new tools of propa-

ganda the demagog is given new weapons. In the absence of a well-informed public opinion he may advocate policies which are popular without regard for the possibility of achieving them. By reaching large audiences in effective ways, he may lead many people to accept proposals which he, himself, knows are entirely impossible or inexpedient. A highly complex society which tends to distract the interests of men and women from civic and social questions is obviously difficult to operate in a democratic manner. Finally, we may mention a factor which is, to a degree, an outcome of all that have been mentioned—the lack of social discipline and unwillingness of many individuals to accept their just responsibilities for the social welfare. An ignorant people, who lack access to the facts on social issues or who lack an appreciation of democratic values, is perhaps the greatest danger to democracy. An intelligent understanding of these dangers should accompany and intensify loyalty to democracy as a way of life.

Let it not be thought that responsibility for the attainment of the objectives here described devolves solely upon the social studies. The entire curriculum, the entire life of the school, in fact, should be a youthful experience in democratic living, quickening social inventiveness and agitating the social conscience. So are citizens for the democratic state successfully educated.



VIII.

CRITICAL FACTORS IN THE ATTAINMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

To reshape reality by means of ideas is the business of man, his proper earthly task; and nothing can be impossible to a will confident of itself and of its aim.

—FRIEDRICH PAULSEN.

The purposes of education proposed in this report are not offered as a complete solution of the problems of American democracy. The results achieved, even by the best schools today, doubtless fall somewhat short of the objectives we have hopefully proposed. Many schools in which these goals would be readily accorded lip-service may actually, though unwittingly, seek very different objectives, perhaps even objectives of a directly opposing nature. As in other periods and places, a gap forms between the ideal and the accomplishment; a disturbing contrast arises between accepted aims and their attainment in practice.

Many Factors Condition the Success of Education.

The chief function of this final chapter is to show the relation between some of the everyday problems of the schools and the objectives proposed in the preceding sections. For this reason, frank and realistic treatment has been attempted. In addition, this chapter may serve in a measure as an overview of the program of the Educational Policies Commission.

In general, three groups of conditioning factors limit the school's effectiveness in reaching its objectives: (1) the

inherent quality of the human stock which is to be educated, (2) the effects of other educative and maleducative agencies outside the schools, and (3) the efficiency of the schools themselves. The existence of factors which condition the success of the schools should not harass or discourage those responsible for improvement. Every hindrance to ideal educational progress enlarges the opportunity of the school.

THE HUMAN STOCK

Variations Exist in the Human Material To Be Educated.

The school works with human beings. The native and acquired abilities or disabilities in the individuals whom the school is attempting to serve constitute not only the basis of progress, but also stubborn limitations to effective educational and social progress. No matter how skillfully the work may be done, there are limits to the adaptations which the school at present can bring about in the capacities, the information, the habits, and the dispositions of the individual learner. Many children have inherited or acquired handicaps which, however proficiently the school may work, interfere with the realization of educational purposes.

The Schools Must Begin with Children as They Are.

It would, no doubt, be gratifying to teachers of music, for instance, if every child would learn to appreciate and understand to the full the intricate beauties of symphonic music. Every teacher of English literature would be pleased to find all of his pupils able to read with pleasure and understanding the more difficult essays, poems, and plays. Every

teacher of economics would, no doubt, like to help every child to secure a complete understanding of the various theories of money and banking. Every teacher of industrial arts would be pleased to find each pupil sufficiently equipped with manual dexterity to learn to do highly skilled work in that field.

Some few children are so intellectually gifted, so esthetically sensitive, or so apt in manual skills that they seem scarcely to need either school or teacher. The democratic ideal requires that no pains be spared to offer a rich and significant educational program to these gifted children, to the end that their learning shall have maximum value.

Other children are dull, unresponsive, or clumsy. The process of education is difficult for them and for their teachers. Yet these children, too, must be served by the schools in the interest of the democracy to which the American people rightfully aspire. Although not all learners can attain to the educational aims set up as desirable, the aims must be maintained in the interest of all, including those unable to reach them completely. Otherwise there can be no social direction for the guidance of this agency of democracy.

A condition which often prevents the application of this philosophy is overemphasis on marks and promotions from grade to grade. These devices can do great damage to education if they are regarded by teachers and children as ends in themselves.

The Objectives of Education Are Goals To Be Approximated.

Education hitches its wagon to a star. It hopes, aspires, and struggles. The democratic theory of social life presupposes that every child and every other member of society must have at least some degree of capacity for improve-

ment and growth. That capacity, however large or small it may be for any given individual, is the fulcrum for the lifting power of democracy. The purposes of education might perhaps be called "directives" more appropriately than "objectives," although the latter word is sanctioned by long usage. These purposes indicate the *direction* toward which growth should occur. Failure to reach a particular end-point with perfection by every child does not constitute failure of the school or of the democratic ideal. Failure comes only when no progress is made.

Once these concepts of *approximation* and *direction* are grasped, the deficiencies in human material change in significance. If children are less gifted, in one way or another, than we could desire, we may be satisfied with a delayed and approximate attainment of the objectives. But such approximation is not to be regarded as a weak surrender of ideals to practical demands. On the contrary, to make the ability of the learner and the efficiency of the school as great as possible is the practical means by which our ideals may be approached. It is firmly believed that the objectives proposed in this report could be closely approximated by practically all boys and girls, provided the maleducative influences of life outside the schools could be decreased.

OTHER EDUCATIVE FORCES

The Cultural Environment Conditions the Success of Education.

Among all the factors which affect the efficiency of education, none is more powerful or more subtle in operation than the climate of ideas and customs in which we live. Some of these cultural surroundings may actually hinder the attainment of the goals proposed for education. The en-

vironment of ideas, folk-ways, and social customs, though often unobtrusive and unrecognized, must be given due consideration in considering the attainment of educational purposes. It must be recognized at the same time that this environment is itself undergoing a continuing change due to educational efforts and due to changes in the physical surroundings.

On each child and adult conflicting loyalties pull and tug, coloring outlooks and directing behavior. The school itself shares in these tensions and is, in a sense, a party to the conflict. For example, the viewpoint prevails quite widely that it is the prerogative of the state to prescribe the school program and to determine its purposes and that the proper loyalty of a teacher is to the state and to the political representatives of the state. This view which is openly asserted by totalitarian governments, nevertheless commands a considerable uncritical following in democracies as well. The viewpoint postulated in this report and in other pronouncements of the Educational Policies Commission, namely, that the responsibility of teachers is to the truth and to the promotion of the general welfare through the use of the truth, has not yet been accepted or indeed widely understood in democracies or elsewhere. Yet a realistic attempt to determine whether a given series of educational purposes can be attained must recognize that there will be serious opposition unless the prevailing concept of education to the state is profoundly modified. The new concept must be accepted in more than theory. The society concerned must vigorously act upon it.

This is perhaps the most striking of many illustrations which might be given concerning the effect of the uninstitutionalized, ideological factors which condition the success of an educational program.

Schools Often Compete with Maleducative Forces.

Most children are under the direct control and influence of the school for a relatively brief period of time. Ordinarily, a child does not enter school until six years of life have been completed. Those first years may be lived under varying conditions. They may be marked by happiness and abundance or by misery and squalor. However spent, these years are probably the most important ones, educationally, of the entire life-span.

Once in school, the average American child now attends for about ten years. The youth of twenty-one, therefore, has probably been out of school for more years of his life than he has been in school. Furthermore, school "years" are not years by the calendar. Only in the larger cities is the school open for as much as fifty percent of the days of the year; and in the smaller cities and rural districts school terms of five months or less are still quite common. Nor does the child attend the school all the time it is open. The schools of the United States were in session, on the average, about 172 days in 1934, but the actual attendance of each pupil was only for 146 days. Finally, the school "day" includes only six hours or so out of the twenty-four. The average American child probably attends school for something less than 9,000 hours all told.

During the many hours when the child is not in school a variety of educational forces are playing upon him. Some of these forces are distantly related to the objectives of the school; some have similar or identical objectives; some have objectives which are directly opposite to those which are approved by the school. The educative forces of society outside the school, therefore, occupy an important position in the control of educational progress.

The school undertakes to teach correct speaking; many homes and neighborhoods teach just the opposite. The school

teaches respect for human life, safety, and happiness; many social practices (a commercialized automobile race or partial enforcement of traffic laws, for example) teach the opposite. The school teaches healthful living; the incomes available to many American families compel a low standard of living which is detrimental to health. The school praises literary excellence; outside the school children are bombarded with printed pulp which debases their speech and degrades their tastes. The school teaches respect for law and honest government; the practices of corrupt political machines teach the opposite. The school teaches temperance and moderation in all things, "nothing in excess," as the Greeks taught; unrestrained and untruthful advertising (of liquor, for example) and the sequences from some modern motion pictures teach the opposite. The school teaches democracy; some aspects of life outside and even within the school may negate democracy.

The work of the school must be both reparative and developmental with reference to many of the objectives proposed. The more time and energy which the school must allot to repairing the damage done by other agencies, the less emphasis can be placed on positive effort to attain the accepted or desirable aims.

It is a strange paradox that a society should spend billions to support a school system dedicated to certain high purposes and then require it to divert a large part of the money in order to repair damages which that society itself encourages or tolerates. It is even stranger that this society, and most of the individuals who compose it, sincerely place a high value on the happiness and future welfare of children while permitting all sorts of harmful conditions to continue to destroy the very happiness and welfare so pathetically coveted for the young. At their best the schools can make boys and girls only a little better than their elders. Citizens who want young people to assume social respon-

sibility cannot look tolerantly on disregard of social responsibilities among adults.

*Many Potentially Educative Forces May
Assist the School.*

Encouraging, however, is the fact that many non-school agencies are constructive helpers in the work that the schools attempt to do. The objectives of education are cherished by such agencies no less than by the schools. Furthermore, even the maleducative forces in American society can be slowly changed by education itself. Educational gains are usually cumulative. Each generation strives to give its children a better preparation for life than its own.

But optimism and patience are not necessarily associated with indifference and inactivity. There are some definite things which schools and teachers may do now, day in and day out, to improve the quality of human materials and to remove maleducative influences from the environment of the learner. While the primary contribution of the school is its long-range educative service to society, the immediate measures available for direct action need not be disregarded. A school which makes a careful, scientific study of the handicaps and assets of each learner, to the end that he may be properly guided, has taken the first step to attainment of its objectives. A school which helps parents in their homes to do a better job of educating their own children will have less to correct. A school which links its efforts to those of other like-motivated agencies makes all such efforts more effective. A school where teachers maintain close contact with the homes of the children and participate in community activities can more readily offset adverse out-of-school forces. A school which is a center of wholesome recreation and education for an entire neighborhood is already doing much to offset undesirable influences. A school

which can arrange to be open on Saturdays and Sundays, in the late afternoons and evenings, as a community center, is not only grasping a direct educational opportunity but is making all of its "regular" work more effective by reducing the effectiveness of opposing forces.

Frequently parent education is the key to helping the child. Units of educational energy spent on parents may sometimes go further than the same number of units spent on the child. If parent education is effective, it does double duty, first to the parent and then to the child. It is the job of the home to provide the child with the vitamins of human emotional development, with security, affection, and the sense of accomplishment. In the event of the failure of the community and the home to provide these necessities of life, the schools or some other social agency must try to compensate for their lack.²

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

The attainment of better schools may require either greater knowledge as to the best means of educational procedure, or the removal of tradition and inertia which prevent change in desirable direction, or, more commonly, both of these measures. A few areas in which these requirements exist will be briefly treated.

Securing an Adequate Number of Competent Teachers Is a Critical Problem.

Qualified teachers are essential. The lack of this asset, however, cannot be solved by caustic criticism of those who are now teaching in the public schools. After all, every state has laws governing the certification of teachers and

² The place of the school among the other public social agencies of the community is the subject of a separate statement to be issued by the Educational Policies Commission.

the present incumbents have met the requirements of those laws. Often, indeed, voluntarily and at no small personal sacrifice, they have gone beyond the legally required minima. Furthermore, it must be remembered that neither the social nor the economic status of the teaching profession in general is such as to make it highly attractive to many of the more capable young people now preparing for their life work. Nearly one-third of the public school teachers are paid less than \$1,000 a year. The social status of the teacher in many small American communities confers few satisfactions to compensate for the relatively low economic status. Under the circumstances it need be no occasion for astonishment that thousands of teachers are quite unprepared intellectually or professionally to contribute effectively to worthy educational objectives. Better status and better qualifications for teachers must be brought about simultaneously and promptly.

The drag of easy complacency, which makes itself felt in all social organizations, penetrates in subtle ways into the affairs of the schoolroom. However, it must not be assumed that every unfavorable condition existing within the schools can be ascribed to the professional staff alone. Many of these unfavorable conditions are subject to only limited control by the members of the staff. For example, the failure to use up-to-date books and teaching equipment hampers the work of many schoolrooms. This *may* be due to unprogressive teaching and administration. In actual fact, however, it is more commonly due to the unwillingness of the public to provide sufficient funds for the purchase of equipment.

It is essential that institutions engaged in preparing teachers have a vision with regard to educational objectives of a depth and breadth at least equal to that of the public school systems into which these prospective teachers will enter. Institutions for preparing teachers should exhibit an unflagging audacity in their leadership. They should be

the cutting edge for the advance of the public schools. There are many existing institutions which meet this requirement admirably. There are some which fail to meet it almost entirely. There are some institutions engaged in preparing teachers where the educational philosophy is fundamentally different from that upon which the objectives proposed in this volume rest. If these objectives are sound and if the teacher-preparing institutions continue to ignore them, teachers prepared in such institutions will have to be retrained in a new philosophy on the job with consequent delay and inefficiency.

If the objectives of American education are to be attained, the gaps in what may be called the "social education" of the staff must be narrowed. Creditable work is being developed in technical training. But the mechanics of educational administration and teaching can be over-emphasized at the expense of the underlying social philosophy. The preparation of educational workers should include a broad general education as well as adequate professional preparation. The content and scope of the general education should differ very little, if any, from that for other well-educated citizens, and should be directed toward sound scholarship and a cultural background in the major areas of human experience. A community should expect its teachers and school officials to be the representative of a high level of humane culture. Much of the preparation of administrators as well as that of teachers now tends to make them provincials in the geography of interests and to narrow rather than broaden their social outlook. The general education of any worker in the field of education should acquaint him with the various institutions and forces that influence modern life and with the dominant current trends and issues in the major areas of learning—sciences, letters, philosophy, sociology, and economics.

*Conditions Surrounding the Administration
of Education Must Be Improved.*³

American education developed in part out of conflicts of contending interests. Among these conflicts were those which led to the removal of property restrictions on the ballot; to the abolition of imprisonment for debt; to the improvement of the conditions of workers generally, and of women and children especially; to the taxation for school support; and to other humanitarian and social reforms. Great statesmen have championed the cause of popular education in the face of indifference, opposition, or even physical danger. The history of education in this country is enriched by the story of men and women, apostolic in their fervor, tireless in their effort, who took part in these struggles.

With many educational administrators the proper direction of the public schools continues to be a dedication. Their faith and courage and energy have been the principal sources from which the democratic theories of public education have sprung into principles and passed into practices to become convictions with most of the American people. Some of them profess in their work a simple creed. They believe that the real values to this world are human values; that real gains in civilization are made only through the improvement of mankind; that a nation moves forward only on the feet of its children; and that the influence of great teachers outlives that of kings, politicians, or military leaders of their age. The extension of such faith would greatly aid education to meet its responsibility in American democracy.

Not all public school officials represent the best of the

³ Educational structure and administration have received attention from the Educational Policies Commission in: *The Structure and Administration of Education in American Democracy*. Washington, D. C.: the Commission, 1938. 128 p.

profession. Education, like every other human institution, has a share of novices and mediocrities. For, although there has been improvement in educational administration there is much room for more. And with an increase in the interest of the public, there will be an increased public demand for administrative leaders who are broadly educated and genuinely cultivated, inspired by the patriot's dream, and qualified to perform their technical tasks wisely and effectively. At the earliest opportunity the profession should establish certain advancing goals for the various types of school administrative work.

*Partisan Political Interference Continues
To Block Educational Progress.*

When partisan political considerations enter the school-room door professional management soon flies out of the window. The majority of the chief state school officers are still elected upon political ballot; many others hold office on conditions which involve partisan political considerations. The county school superintendency in most states remains definitely a political office with minimum attention to professional qualifications. When school administrators are chosen on such a basis they are definitely identified with partisan politics and are often bound by party pledges. The proper duties of such educational officials require natural abilities, educational and professional training, and other qualities which are only rarely reconciled with those qualities which usually commend men to political bosses. The immediate removal of all forms of political pressure and interference in the administration of schools would help greatly in the attainment of educational objectives.⁴

⁴ The case for a high degree of freedom in educational matters has been stated by the Educational Policies Commission in: *The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy*. Washington, D. C.: the Commission, 1937. 129 p.

Legislation Exercises Control Over the Curriculum.

Political influence reaches even nearer to the classroom through legal mandates affecting changes in the school curriculum. The nature and extent of this influence is seldom realized by the public. Modifications in the curriculum may come about through the initiative of teachers, research workers, supervisors, and other school people. They may also come about through the initiative of individuals and groups of individuals outside the school.

The legal right of the state to determine what shall be taught in the schools is fully recognized. The methods by which this right should be exercised is another matter, and an important educational question. If it goes no farther than to provide that a particular subject shall be taught, without specifying the length of time it shall be taught or what shall be included in the content, then the legal provision may work little hardship upon curriculum makers, regardless of whether they believe that subject should be legally stipulated or not. On the other hand, laws which prescribe curriculum content, teaching processes, and time allotments may not only cripple the initiative of the teacher but prevent the attainment of socially valuable objectives.

Furthermore, laws which obviously reflect the vested interests of certain minority groups may inject into the curriculum a body of content that is of neither real interest to the general public, nor of real value in the attainment of educational goals.

Local Units of School Administration Are Often Unplanned.

Other administrative conditions that delay or prevent the attainment of educational aims require brief attention. Prevailing conditions in many of the small rural schools obstruct efforts to obtain desirable educational results.

These schools are staffed as a rule by the least mature and least well-prepared teachers. There are some rural schools which seek the educational objectives here proposed, but they are relatively few in number.

Inadequate instruction in these schools results directly from inadequacies in the teaching staff. While prepared and better paid teachers are being recruited, however, it is possible to make significant improvements with the present staff by providing sound and helpful supervision, research, guidance, and health services. To do this with reasonable economy will, in many states, require the enlargement of administrative units. Even where consolidation of schools (into larger *attendance* units) is impractical or undesirable, a larger *administrative* unit, adequately staffed to give the educational services just mentioned, is entirely possible.

Professional Unity Is Necessary.

Another somewhat related condition that hinders educational progress is the lack of coordination of the various parts of the school system. This separateness results in needless rivalries, unseemly competition for funds and, most serious of all, in lack of that articulation which would permit steady progress of children, youths, and adults from one stage of educational development to another. Colleges and high schools are still not closely enough in touch with one another; in some states elementary and secondary schools, outside of the larger cities, are in entirely separate school systems; liberal arts colleges and professional schools tend to regard each other with suspicion; vocational education at the secondary school level is too often regarded as entirely separate from the general or common educational program. These are but a few indications of the lack of unity in American education. An ability and a willingness to keep the whole educational program in full view need to be systematically cultivated.

Progress could be made more effectively, and the responsibility of education to American democracy could be met more readily if the teaching profession could be united in the support of a few basic ideals. Existing professional organizations are less effective than they should be because of lack of a common purpose and common leadership. But even given appropriate machinery for professional action, there would remain an urgent need for a professional program around which the activity may be centered.⁵ It is the understanding of the Educational Policies Commission that the development of such a program is one of its principal responsibilities. For that reason, the Commission has made, and will continue to make, serious efforts to promote the study and acceptance of its reports by all branches of the teaching profession in all parts of the country.

Schools in Many Communities Are Underfinanced.

Problems in the field of school finances are many and complex. They involve: (a) questions relating to the most efficient expenditure of funds already available; (b) questions relating to means for increasing the total amount of funds; and (c) questions relating to the distribution of the burden of school support among various geographical and political areas and among various socio-economic groups in the total population.

To remedy the chronic condition of insufficient financial support is important. The services of qualified workers cost money; a sufficient number of workers to do an acceptable job costs still more money; providing these workers with suitable equipment and housing them under favorable conditions for work make further inescapable financial demands. Even a remote approximation to the objectives

⁵ Structure in professional organizations has been dealt with by the Commission in: *A National Organization for Education*. Washington, D. C.: the Commission, 1937. 47 p.

proposed is blocked by the overwhelming odds faced by many poverty-ridden schools today. At the same time, some critics of the schools look askance on requests for more appropriations until the work of the school is improved. Thus results an *impasse* which cannot be broken except by concerted efforts to secure more funds and improve the schools simultaneously.

There are aspects of school work which contribute meagerly to the attainment of the objectives of education as here proposed. Funds should be so allocated that preference is given to those services of the schools which make the largest contribution to the objectives for the largest number of pupils over the longest period of time. Activities which do not contribute to the objectives should not be financed at all. This is the real essence of "economy in school finance."

Glaring defects in the tax systems of the localities, states, and nation continue to be ignored for selfish protection or partisan expediency. A modern, equitable, and efficient tax system for providing school revenues is essential. The taxable wealth and income of the nation is distributed unevenly over its area. Some jurisdictions have relatively many children and relatively limited taxpaying ability and vice versa. Measures for equalizing the burden of school support within and between states are essential.

The removal of these unfavorable financial conditions confronts us with two problems. First and most important, our economic order must be made effective enough to provide the funds necessary for schools which will really approximate the objectives proposed. The second problem concerns the ways and means by which the necessary funds may be secured. This, in turn, involves questions of educational finance and of public finance in general as well as the public relations of the school system.⁶

⁶ The Educational Policies Commission has under way at the present time a study of the economic bases of school finance.

*Public Indifference, Antagonism, or
Ignorance Must Be Supplanted by
Effective Lay Relationships.*

The ultimate control of American education rests with the people. The theory of school administration under which we operate requires that such control be truly representative and, at the same time, give appropriate opportunity for the use of expert professional service in the work of the schools. Actually, these conditions often fail to develop. The board of education is not always truly representative of the entire people with respect to schools. Most members of school boards display intelligence, honesty, and devotion to the public welfare; some, however, are not qualified for their important tasks.

Perhaps the most crucial problem now confronting American education is the discovery and development of ways and means for securing competent lay control over the schools. Our desire to preserve the form and spirit of democracy confronts us with the necessity for discovering and opening up channels by which the American people may really exercise effective control over their interests in education. Our desire for efficiency and service demands some feasible working relationship between lay control and professional work.

The present forms of lay relationship to education are working imperfectly. Various suggestions for changes have been advanced. The direct representation of various vocational classes and other special interests on school boards; the establishment of advisory groups to the school board, following somewhat the English plan; the limited use of co-optation as a method of selecting school board members; the representation of the teaching profession on lay boards of control; the abolition of school boards in favor of a commission form of government—these are some of the more

commonly offered proposals. Meanwhile, many lay boards of education, as variously constituted, continue to render devoted and invaluable service to public education.

*The Schools Have a Responsibility for
Public Opinion with Reference to
Their Own Work.*

A share of the responsibility for the existence of defects within the school system itself must be borne by the general public. The public has often been indifferent to the problems and needs of the schools. The public all too frequently permits political interference with professional matters. It has refused to heed competent professional advice with regard to the administration and organization of schools. It has sometimes placed in office school board members who have been actually dishonest or, at best, grossly unqualified. Not all of these conditions may be charged entirely to public indifference; the necessary professional leadership has not always been offered. In any case, the ignorance and indifference of the public regarding educational objectives, methods, and problems, are conditions that retard educational progress and frustrate the achievement of desirable results. It is the public which must supply the funds for conducting the work of the schools. It is the public which selects the state legislators, the boards of education, and the other agencies which give official sanction to educational objectives and educational policy.

One of the most damaging evidences of the limitations of the schools in the past is the very existence of a considerable body of influential public opinion which is indifferent or even unfriendly to public education. This condition has always prevailed to some degree in this country. With few exceptions, the individuals who compose the public are or have been under the tutelage of the public school system.

Yet even today, most of our schools are graduating boys and girls who have little or no appreciation of the essential role which the public schools play in their own lives and in a democratic civilization. A wider social intelligence concerning the place of education in American democracy is needed. The courts, the legislative bodies, family life, recreational agencies, and many other important social institutions are studied with care, but the school, the one social institution which directly touches the lives of all American youth, is rarely discussed within its own walls.

Many intelligent citizens have sincere doubts as to the wisdom of some modern school procedures. One such honest and inquiring mind is worth a hundred uninformed friends and a thousand captious critics. To explain and justify desirable departures from tradition is an important and continuing phase of educational leadership. The laity should be encouraged especially to consider such educational problems as the basic social philosophy of the school, objectives, finance, child health, and public welfare. The contributions of the laity from such fields as medicine, psychiatry, public health, public finance, social service, architecture, and the religious ministry should be sought, as well as the contribution which every adult should make as a citizen of a democracy. The contribution of parents, as such, through parent-teacher organizations is exceptionally valuable because of their immediate contact with the children and their immediate interest in their welfare and happiness.

Efforts to take the public into *account* must be supplemented by efforts to take the public into *confidence* and, finally, into *partnership*. "Study groups" represent at present and on the whole, too great an emphasis on the first of these relationships. The depression has shown that an uninformed public support for education is quickly enfeebled in times of stress and may even be a liability rather than

an asset. Public opinion during the depression not only retreated on many occasions from its active support of education, but also on many occasions insisted on retrenchments in the more modern and constructive aspects of educational service. Being largely uninformed as to the real objectives of education in a democracy, the public too often acquiesced while essentials were discarded as frills and non-essentials with the weight of tradition behind them were scrupulously maintained. The entire experience of the schools in the depression should be carefully studied to bring to light the sources of weakness which appear most obvious in the time of greatest strain.⁷

The approach to the public as a whole must not be confused with the approach to the parents of children in school. The public which supports the schools and the parents who send their children to schools are overlapping groups, but they are by no means identical. One of the most serious errors of educational policy in the past has been to suppose that if parents were content with the education their children were receiving and willing to pay their taxes for the support of schools, the public relations of the schools were in a wholesome condition. As a matter of fact, in 1930 over one-third of all American families had no children under twenty-one years of age and over half had no children under ten years of age. These proportions are certainly even higher in 1938. The 1940 census is likely to show that the majority of American families have no children of school age. Nor should we forget the existence of a minority, often very powerful in the formation of public opinion and in the control of public affairs, which is not the product of the public schools and which does

⁷ National Education Association and American Association of School Administrators, Educational Policies Commission. *Research Memorandum on Education in the Depression*. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937. 173 p. *A Bibliography on Education in the Depression*. Washington, D. C.: the Commission, 1937. 118 p.

not send its children to them. For these reasons, the interpretation of the school to the supporting public should be universal, comprehensive, and intelligent. Educational leadership should stress the value of the school to society in general, as well as the value which the individual receives.⁸

*Methods and Materials of Instruction Must Be Remade
To Contribute to Major Objectives.*

The center of emphasis in education is being shifted from the program of studies to the individual learner. There is a closer concern with the major strategy of the classroom as opposed to the minor tactics of subjectmatter arrangement. We are beginning to study each child as a unitary, unique individual and to offer guidance, in an intelligent and sympathetic way, to each one in accordance with his needs. The clinical care and investigation which we provide for the maladjusted child should not be diminished. But what social advantage and what personal happiness might be realized if we exhibited equal concern for the *normal* and *gifted* individuals! This is not merely a question of prevention before cure, or of the "stitch in time." It is not merely or even primarily a question of saving money for society by preventing crime and other forms of maladjustment. It is a question of making each individual maximally competent to achieve for himself the "pursuit of happiness" and the other elements of the democratic ideal. This will require curriculum revision in the light of the stated objectives.

Fundamental Changes Are Necessary.

The process of educational reconstruction must penetrate deeply; it must not balk at leaping the barriers set up by

⁸ The numbers and location of the present and future school population have been discussed by the Educational Policies Commission in: *The Effect of Population Changes on American Education*. Washington, D. C.: the Commission, 1938. 58 p.

the traditional school program. It must think beyond mere "shifting" courses and adding or subtracting "topics."

Here is a scene for the pen of a satirist. *Time*: 1938. *Place*: an American high school. *Setting*: a democracy struggling against strangulation in an era marked by confused loyalties in the political realm, by unrest and deprivation, by much unnecessary ill-health, by high-pressure propaganda, by war and the threats of war, by many broken or ill-adjusted homes, by foolish spending, by high crime rates, by bad housing, and by a myriad of other urgent, real human problems. And what are the children in this school, in this age, in this culture, learning? They are learning that the square of the sum of two numbers equals the sum of their squares plus twice their product; that Millard Fillmore was the thirteenth President of the United States and held office from January 10, 1850, to March 4, 1853; that the capital of Honduras is Tegucigalpa; that there were two Peloponnesian Wars and three Punic Wars; that Latin verbs meaning command, obey, please, displease, serve, resist, and the like take the dative; and that a gerund is a neuter verbal noun used in the oblique cases of the singular and governing the same case as its verb.

Let there be no misunderstanding. The items of information just listed are entirely suitable for study by some children. But for the great majority of the boys and girls who now attend American schools such learning is transitory and of extremely little value.

Let us be even more specific, with no effort, however, to be comprehensive. *English* as now taught in most schools places too great emphasis on formal grammar and on the dissection of "classics." Whatever may be the merits of such exercises as a preparation for a career as an author, the great majority of American boys and girls will be more profited by a wide-ranging program of reading for enjoyment and fact-gathering. A program of instruction in literature

which makes people dislike the writings of Shakespeare, Scott, and Emerson destroys even the possibility of its own usefulness. *Mathematics*, as now taught, is a serious obstacle to many children. The numbers studying advanced theoretical mathematics should be reduced. An appreciation of the role of mathematics in civilization, an ability to deal with general mathematics as applied to everyday problems, and the fundamental skills of arithmetic should be provided for general consumption. *Languages*, ancient and modern, are now studied by thousands of children who will never acquire sufficient skill in them to be able to translate a single page or to conduct the simplest conversation. *Science* is too often taught as though it were a preparation for an engineering college. Much of the instruction now offered in *music*, *art*, and *manual training* is highly formalized, aimed at the preparation of technicians rather than critical users and appreciators. A great deal of *vocational education* has little relation to success on the job. *History* and the other *social studies* are still so organized in some schools that little sense of reality is preserved and direct contact with present issues studiously avoided. All of this illustrates the general fact that education has, on the whole, been altogether too much concerned with facts, and too little concerned with values.

All of these conditions do not exist in many schools; some of them exist in almost every school; the trend is distinctly hopeful. The current tendency to reevaluate, in the light of realistic objectives, all the activities of the common schools is a wholesome one. It should be speeded up and greatly widened in its scope. While there is need to examine present prevailing practices and subjectmatter to see how they may contribute to the objectives of education, this process must be safeguarded against complacent rationalization. There is even greater need to discover new

curricular emphases, new teaching materials, and new groupings of subjectmatter which will contribute directly and powerfully to the attainment of the purposes proposed.

*Active Participation of Teachers in
Formulating Educational Policy Is
Essential.*

The detailed preparation of course of study materials by teachers, alone or in committees, has often been successfully undertaken. But such work is significant only if it simultaneously increases the insight of the staff into the basic educational philosophy. To print new educational objectives does not necessarily abolish the old ones. It is relatively easy to tell teachers what to do. When thus directed, they usually try sincerely to "go through the motions." In curriculum revision, however, "the Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." Vigilance must be constantly employed to guard against the devastating impact of the printed word upon independent thought.

The subtleties of the educational process and the infinite variety of human reactions effectively bar the application of rules of thumb to the kind of education which truly serves the objectives of the democratic ideal. The industrial distinction between the engineer and the routine mechanic has little value in educational practice. The supreme function of the school is that of the teacher. Educational progress results from improved teaching, and in no other way whatsoever. The teaching functions of the school should not be subordinated to those of administration, research, or record-keeping.

The proper role of the well-prepared teacher of today in formulating educational policy is not, however, limited to the fields of instruction and curriculum-making. In many school systems definite provisions have been developed

for teachers to share fully and systematically in the study of all educational problems and in the development of comprehensive educational policies. In earlier years, when most teachers were transient employees, lacking in professional preparation and outlook, a case could be made for a benevolent dictatorship of the schools by a small group of administrative officers. Today, in schools where teachers are as well prepared professionally as the administrative group, there is need for a complete recognition of their professional position and of the unique and valuable contribution which they can make to all phases of educational service. Such recognition will require not only adjustments in the type of leadership provided by administrators, but also an enlarged sense of professional responsibility on the part of a well-prepared teaching staff.

*Learning Takes Place in Selecting Purposes
as Well as in Achieving Them.*

Schools should promote their objectives by providing for and encouraging greater initiative on the part of the learners in setting up objectives, selecting methods of study, and appraising results. An excellent example of such participation is found in reports to parents formulated by children and teacher together. The essential problem here is to identify the learner's interests with adult values. Even in comparatively recent years, we regarded children as adults in miniature. Now the pendulum is reaching the other extreme and we see some tendency to treat adolescents (and even adults) as if they were children. In providing educational experiences it is possible to do too much as well as too little. Schools which oversupervise, overstimulate, and overpower defeat their own purposes. A middle ground is sought, based on understanding of the nature of childhood and adolescence and of the existence of social

trends which limit the possibility of securing gainful occupation, postpone marriage and parenthood, and in a thousand other ways fundamentally affect educational processes and agencies.

High-Pressure Learning May Defeat Its Own Purpose.

Nursery schools and kindergartens provide carefully planned periods of relaxation in the midst of the school day's busy activities. At the other end of the educational ladder we find some colleges which offer definite provisions for recreation and rest. Except at these two extremes of the school experience, education is typically maintained at a furious and hard-driving pace. In high schools every moment of the student's day is carefully scheduled. Time between classes is brief; the students often move from one educational exposure to another at double-quick tempo. Time for the lunch hour is often too limited. Rest periods after meals and after exercise, which every healthy animal takes without special instruction, are ordinarily lacking. Even the hours after school are planned for homework and various extracurricular activities, all usually good and desirable things in themselves, but each making its demand for nervous and physical energy.

In some elementary schools there is something approaching the speed-up and stretch-out system. Standards for mastery of the fundamental skills are more difficult and insistent than ever before. More efficient methods of teaching and better materials of instruction make it entirely reasonable to expect a higher degree of accuracy in arithmetic, a more rapid rate of silent reading and a greater and more exact mastery of almost all subjects. Along with the demand for perfection in the tool subjects, the elementary school program has very wisely been enriched and varied

by pupil projects and activities. Furthermore, the introduction of standardized tests, many of which are administered with stop-watch precision, has made possible a more rapid and exacting check-up on certain aspects of the educational product than ever before.

At this point let it be said, and with emphasis, that one hundred percent accuracy in the fundamentals, a varied program of school activities, and the use of standardized tests under a time limit, with reasonable precautions, are all good things in themselves. It is the total effect of these new tendencies which must not be overlooked. Social and economic trends are causing an increase in the number of years which the average person spends in school. Some of this leeway might well be used to allow for a more gradual mastery of the tools of learning, for the postponement of some types of learning until greater maturity is attained, and for a general adjustment of the speed of learning to the abilities of each child and to the inexorable demands of the human organism for rest and refreshment. To ignore these demands makes the race liable to the stern but just punishment of nature.

*Measurement of Outcomes Must Be Directly
Related to the Objectives.*

Methods of measuring results and the measurement instruments themselves are powerful forces in shaping the *real* objectives of instruction. For example, it has been found that the content of instruction in New York high schools in general closely approximates the content of the Regent's Examinations, no matter what may be printed on the first page of course of study bulletins. The program of evaluation necessarily exerts influence upon the curriculum program. Ideally, the two should be based on recognition of the same objectives.

Measurement should be set up as a means of learning, as an integral part of the learning process. It is, when properly considered, not the climax of the act of learning but the starting point for further learning; while it may write "finis" to one learning project, it should always beckon the student on to another. Measurement must be changed from a promotional hurdle in the road of learning to a gateway opening on new paths. But before measurement can move on to these functions it must be broadened in scope.

Most of the standardized testing instruments used in schools today deal largely with information. The same general condition doubtless holds with respect to most non-standardized written examinations. There should be a much greater concern with the development of attitudes, interests, ideals, and habits. To focus tests exclusively on the acquisition and retention of information may recognize objectives of education which are relatively unimportant. Measuring the results of education must be increasingly concerned with such questions as these: Are the children growing in their ability to work together for a common end? Do they show greater skill in collecting and weighing evidence? Are they learning to be fair and tolerant in situations where conflicts arise? Are they sympathetic in the presence of suffering and indignant in the presence of injustice? Do they show greater concern about questions of civic, social, and economic importance? Are they using their spending money more wisely? Are they becoming more skillful in doing some useful type of work? Are they more honest, more reliable, more temperate, more humane? Are they finding happiness in their present family life? Are they living in accordance with the rules of health? Are they acquiring skills in using all of the fundamental tools of learning? Are they curious about the natural world about them? Do they appreciate, each to the fullest degree possible, their rich inheritance in art, literature, and music?

Do they balk at being led around by their prejudices?

These are criteria suitable for estimating the effectiveness of a democratic school system—suitable because directly related to the basic purposes. Until such criteria assume high importance in measuring educational results, the stated purposes of education are not likely to penetrate very fully into practice.

A Complete Catalog of Conditioning Factors Is Not Attempted.

This final chapter has dealt with certain conditions which now affect the work of American schools. These conditions must be improved if the proper and essential objectives of education in a democracy are to be realized. The weaknesses enumerated and the remedies tentatively proposed are not to be regarded as complete and final statements. A complete discussion of ways and means for improving American education would anticipate and include the entire program of an educational policies commission—a program which in the main is still on the anvil of discussion. To locate the differences between educational theory and practice, to arrange these differences according to their importance, to probe for their causes, to prescribe for their removal, and to appraise the results of the entire process—these are the persistent tasks of educational leadership.



Conferences and Personnel

The Commission wishes to acknowledge here the assistance of a large number of people, outside of its own staff and membership, who have contributed to the development of this report. In May 1936 the Commission called into conference, at Chicago, a group representing seven national deliberative committees concerned with problems related to the purposes of education. Those in attendance included Wilford M. Aikin, Thomas H. Briggs, George E. Carrothers, Harl R. Douglass, Fred J. Kelly, Paul T. Rankin, and V. T. Thayer.

Subcommittees of the Commission held conferences on educational objectives in October 1936, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and in November 1936, at San Francisco. The first conference was attended by: Hollis P. Allen, Francis L. Bailey, John M. Brewer, P. W. L. Cox, Ernest A. Harding, Henry W. Holmes, C. W. Knudsen, Edwin A. Lee, Henry Neumann, Bertram E. Packard, James N. Pringle, Harold Rugg, Warren C. Seyfert, Curtis H. Threlkeld, and Claire Zyve. The second conference was attended by: Marvin L. Darsie, Percy E. Davidson, Willard S. Ford, Guy Fox, Will French, Paul Hanna, Walter R. Hepner, C. A. Howard, J. R. Jewell, Grayson N. Kefauver, Vierling Kersey, R. D. Lindquist, George H. Meredith, A. S. Raubenheimer, Charles A. Rice, and C. E. Rugh.

In January 1937, the staff of the Commission held a three-day meeting, in Washington, with experts in general and vocational education to secure suggestions on policies in the latter field. Included in this group were: Richard D. Allen, Edwin A. Lee, William F. Rasche, and Worcester Warren.

In February 1938, the Commission called together, at Atlantic City, a group of curriculum specialists in order to determine the viewpoint of this group on a preliminary draft of the report and in order to anticipate the possible utility of the report in curriculum building. Members of this group included: Fred C. Ayer, Doak S. Campbell, Hollis Caswell, C. L. Cushman, Edgar Draper, J. Cecil Parker, D. R. Patterson, L. S. Tireman, and L. W. Webb. Helpful suggestions have

been received also from Maude McBroom, William C. Reudiger, H. B. Bruner, Luther Gulick, and many others.

Outside of its regular staff, the Commission is indebted for assistance to Edgar W. Knight for a memorandum on the historical background of educational objectives; to Hazel Kyrk for assistance in drafting the statement on consumer education; and to Ralph P. Bridgman for assistance in drafting the statement on education for home and family life.

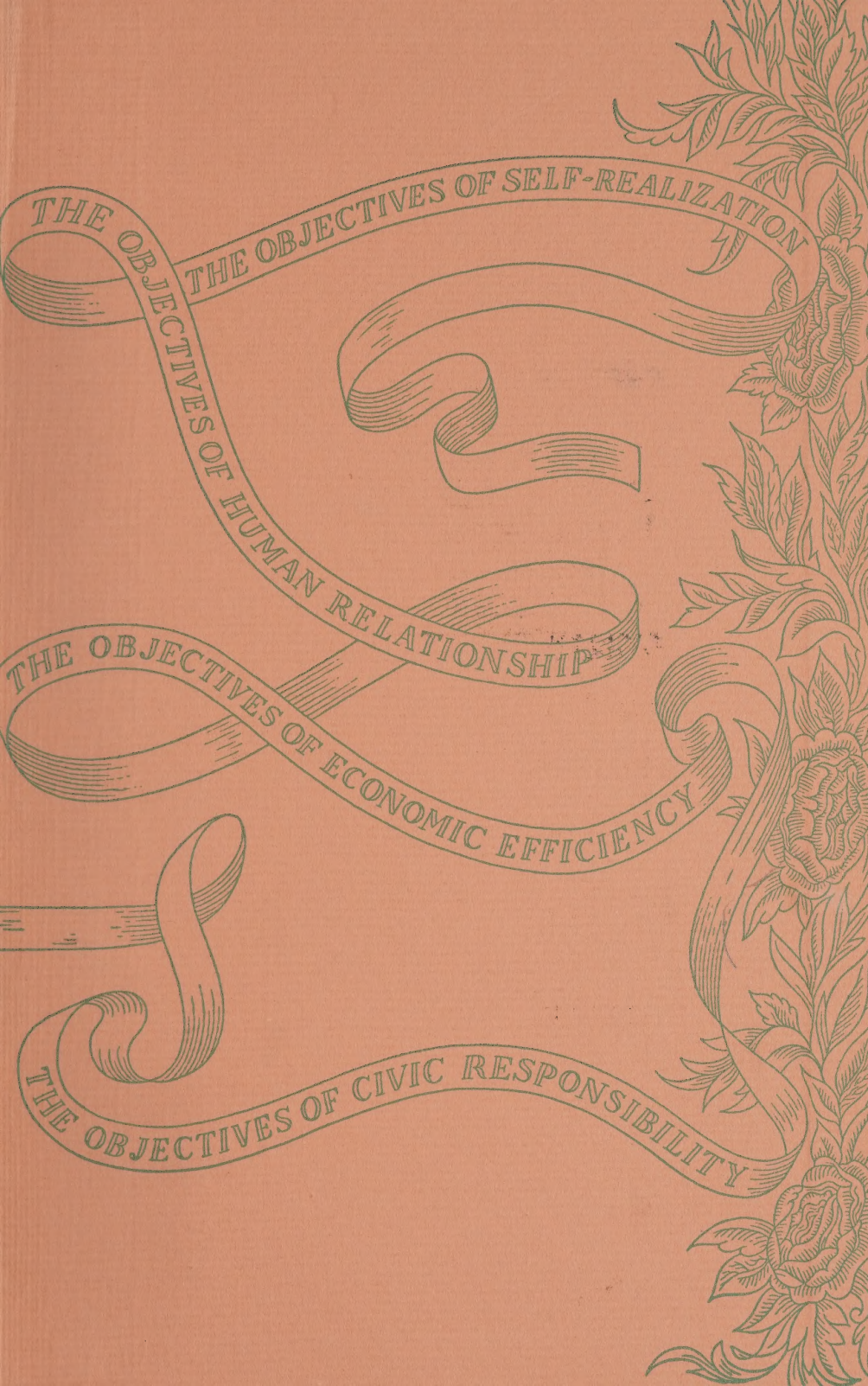
Although none of those named above should be held responsible for any statements in, or omissions from, this document, the Commission is deeply grateful for their cordial encouragement and helpful cooperation.

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